Europe as "the Other"

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*Images of Europe and the European
in Tanzanian Secondary Education*

Anders Daniel Faksvåg Haugen

Master of Social Science in Education
Master i samfunnsfagdidaktikk

Faculty of Education

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Abstract

The presentations of "the others" have been a concern in the global North since Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and the start of the post-colonial debate. This Master's thesis is a study of the images of Europe and the European presented in social science subjects in Tanzanian secondary education, and how these images coincide with common Tanzanian perceptions of the European found through the word *Mzungu*. The study was structured after three levels of curricula as described by John I. Goodlad (1979), taking the formal, teacher, and student perspectives. In Tanzanian secondary education, Europe and the European are presented through examples focusing on the differences between Europe and Tanzania, contributing to exotic and positive images of the European. These images reflect the content of the word Mzungu, representing an idealized picture of the European, and strengthen Tanzanians' perceptions of the dichotomous relationship between themselves and the European.

Keywords: Dichotomy, Europe, Tanzania, categories, Mzungu, Goodlad, Curriculum

Fremstillinger av "de andre" har vært et anliggende for det globale Nord helt siden Edward Saids bok Orientalismen (1978) og starten på den postkoloniale debatten. Denne masteroppgaven er en studie av hvordan Europa og det europeiske fremstilles i samfunnsfag i ungdomsskolen og videregående skole i Tanzania, og hvordan disse fremstillingene samsvarer med vanlige tanzanianske oppfatninger av det europeiske gjennom bruken av ordet Mzungu. Studien er bygget opp rundt tre nivåer av pensum som beskrevet av John I. Goodlad, og presenterer det formelle (læreplanens), lærernes og elevenes perspektiv. I ungdomsskolen og videregående opplæring i Tanzania presenteres Europa og det europeiske gjennom eksempler som fremhever forskjellene mellom Europa og Tanzania, noe som bidrar til eksotiske og positive fremstillinger av det europeiske. Disse fremstillingene reflekterer innholdet i begrepet Mzungu, som representerer et idealisert bilde av det europeiske, og styrker tanzanianernes oppfatning av motsetningsforholdet mellom dem selv og det europeiske.

Utambulisho wa "neno wao" ni mojawapo ya dhana zenye kuvuta hisia za watu walio wengi katika dunia ya iliyoendelea tangu wakati wa Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) na miaka ya hivi karibuni baada ya ukoloni.

Katika *thesis* hii nimejikita katika kuchunguza mtazamo juu ya bara Ulaya na watu toka Ulaya kama inavyoainishwa katika masomo ya ya sayansi ya ya jamii ngazi ya sekondari nchini Tanzania. Sambamba na hilo, utafiti huu unajikita pia kubaini ni kwa namna gani mtazamo huo unaenda sanjari na neno *Mzungu*, neno linalotumika na watanzania waliowengi kuwatambulisha watu kutoka Ulaya.
Mtililiko mzima wa Utafiti huu ni matokeo na marejeo ya mtaala rasmi pamoja na mtazamo wa mwalimu na mwanafunzi kuhusu aina ya mitaala kama ilivyoelezewa na kuchambuliwa na John I. Goodlad (1979).

 Matokeo ya utafiti huu yanayonyesha kuwa, kwa ujumla wake bara la Ulaya pamoja na watu wake wanatazamwa kwa mtazamo rafiki na chanya. Hii inajidhiirisha wazi pale ambapo wanafunzi wanapokuwa katika kujifunza tofauti kati ya Ulaya na Tanzania . Mifano inayotolewa pamoja na mtazamo huakisi maana – maudhui ya neno Mzungu linalowasilisha picha halisi ya watu wa Ulaya, mtazamo na mahusiano yaliyopo kati yao na watanzania waliowengi.

Maneno Makuu: Dikotomia, Ulaya, Tanzania, Aina, Mzungu , Goodland, Mtaala

Preface

Looking back on the past two years, it is clear to me that there are several people I want to thank for their contributions to my Master's project:

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Anders Daniel Faksvåg Haugen

Content

Abbreviations

ACSEE	Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
CFR	The Mozambique-Tanzania Centre for Foreign Relations
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
DUCE	Dar es Salaam University College of Education
EAC	East African Community
EFA	Education For All
EMAC	Educational Materials Approval Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoEVT	Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NSD	Norwegian Social Science Data Services
PEA	Primary Education for All
PSLE	National Primary School Leaving Examination
TCTP	Tanzanian Cultural Tourism Programme
TSS	Tanzania Secondary School
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Figures

Tables

1   Introduction

How "the others" are perceived, viewed and presented, has been a concern in the Western world since the colonial age. Back then most presentations of "the others" were constructed in order to contribute to the legitimization of the colonial rule in the global North. "The others", being the colonized people in the South, were presented as uncivilized and animal-like, with the European counterpart being described as the opposite: civilized, modern, and developed (Fanon, 1968). However, the end of the colonial era brought a drastic change to the Western perception of how "the others" should be presented. Fanon and his Manichaeism theory, but mostly Edward Said and his work *Orientalism* (1978), started a liquidation of the presentations of "the others", criticizing the systematic degradation of "the others" in order to maintain the European and Western position on top of the world hierarchy.

The awareness of how to present "others" has later reached the educational systems, and especially the social science subjects. The increasing migration has made the Western classroom more and more multi-cultural, with students originating from all over the world. This is very much the case in the Scandinavian countries, including Norway. This may be one factor that has contributed to the increase in research on this matter, with Yngve T. Nordkvelle and Lillehammer University College playing a central role in the Norwegian contribution (Nordkvelle, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1990) (Nordkvelle & Tvete, 2010). In addition to this, media presentations of "the others" have been subject to research, with Elisabeth Eide and Anne Hege Simonsen as important Norwegian contributors (Eide, 1999) (Eide & Simonsen, 2005, 2007, 2008).

In my practice periods during my teacher education, I found it difficult to teach about Africa. The class I was teaching had several students with African ancestry, and I realized the importance it had for them to present the continent in a good way, both for their own sake and for the sake of their classmates. This experience made me write my Bachelor's degree on the Norwegian curriculum and its impact on teaching about Africa in Norway. The same semester, I did my final teaching practice in Tanzania. The experience I got there of being a white person, was something I had never experienced

1

before. Ultimately, it made me interested in how the Tanzanian educational system presents Europe, and if their teaching reflects the impressions people had of me as a European. So when I got accepted to the Master's program in Social Science in Education at Bergen University College, my project was in many ways already decided. I wanted to take a closer look at how Tanzanians teach about Europe, and learn more about how they perceive Europe and the European.

1.1   Research Questions

My Master´s thesis answers the following research question:

> i.   *Which images of Europe and the European does Tanzanian secondary education present?*

My thesis also identifies the influence common perceptions of the white man have on the images of Europe and the European that are presented in Tanzanian secondary education, and answers the following questions:

> ii.   *What are collective perceptions of the white man through the word Mzungu among Tanzanians?*

> iii.   *Do the images that are presented reflect and coincide with common Tanzanian perceptions of the Mzungu?*

Mzungu is a Swahili word for "white man" that is used throughout the East African region. The word is a contraction of several words from different Bantu languages meaning *"one who moves around"*, and the word originally occurred as a description of European traders who traveled through East Africa during the 18th century. Several versions of the word exist in sub-Saharan Africa, with *M'lungu* in South Africa, *Mukiwa* in Zimbabwe, and *Mukuwa* in parts of Zambia, in addition to *Mzungu* that is being used in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, DR Congo, Mozambique, and Tanzania. Mzungu in plural form is written Wazungu, but even Tanzanians use the incorrect form Mzungus in

order to make themselves understood (Finke, 2010). This form also occurs in my data material.

1.2 Demarcation

The main question I wanted to answer in my Master's thesis needed some form of demarcation in order for my project to fit into the volume of a Master's thesis. Tanzanian secondary education was narrowed down to three subjects: Geography, Civics, and General Studies. These subjects were chosen because they represent the main arena for teaching about Europe and the European in Tanzanian secondary education.

1.3 Tanzanian History and Education: An Introduction

1.3.a Tanzanian Education in a Historic Context

The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964, and consists of the former German colony and later British protectorate known as Tanganyika, and the close-by islands including Unguja and Pemba, together known as Zanzibar. The islands are semi-autonomous, with their own president and parliament. Julius Nyerere was the Union's first president, and led a one-party state based on socialistic political principles until he retired in 1985. Nyerere is first and foremost remembered for his project called *Ujamaa*. The idea was based around collective villages that ideally should be self-reliant, and ultimately bring the Union out of poverty. *Ujamaa* was in most areas not a great success, and did not manage to lift Tanzania out of its poor economic state as intended. The dissatisfaction started to increase among Tanzanians, and the project was gradually abandoned during the 1970s and -80s. Nyerere's successor, former president of Zanzibar Ali Mwinyi, led the Tanzanian transition towards a more market-based economy, which still is an ongoing process. In the beginning of the 1990s, the Tanzanian constitution was changed in order to introduce a multi-party system, and the election in 1995 had candidates from several different parties. However, all the Union's presidents, including the present President Jakaya Kikwete, have come from the same political party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi, formerly known as Tanganyika African National Union (Frame, 2008).

Even though socialism was abandoned in Tanzania several decades ago, socialistic political principles are still very much present within different parts of Tanzanian politics. Education is one sector that still is influenced by the Union's socialistic past. One of the key elements of Ujamaa was the implementation of compulsory education for all Tanzanians provided by the government. Education for everyone is still a highly valued principle within Tanzanian educational politics, and it is arguably the main goal for the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) today. However, the political past of the nation is not the sole reason for the strong quantitative focus within education. The Education For All (EFA) movement led by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCU), and later the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) with Universal Primary Education (UPE) as one of them, have contributed greatly to the development of Tanzanian education. Addressing capacity issues has often been demanded in order to receive both financial aid and loans (Wedgwood, 2009).

Table 1.1: *Educational level of Tanzanian primary school teachers in 2013 (MoEVT, 2014)*

	Number of Teachers
PhD	28
Master's degree	1 951
Bachelor/PGDE	5 008
Diploma	127 359
Grade A	44 068
Grade B/C & Others	908
Grand Total	179 322

The strong emphasis on capacity building to achieve Primary Education for All (PEA) in Tanzania has resulted in an educational system without the necessary level of quality to effectively contribute to economical growth in Tanzania (Wedgwood, 2009, p. 1). Having PEA as the main priority has led to a deterioration of the Tanzanian primary education. With primary school being the foundation of any educational system, this reduction in quality has over time affected the Tanzanian educational system as a whole (Rajabu, 2000). With fewer students completing primary education and later secondary

education with good grades, the requirements to access higher education have had to be reduced. With teaching already being a low-status profession, the quality of the teachers has reached a critically low level in Tanzania, especially in the rural areas (Wedgwood, 2009, p. 7). To turn this trend and elevate the quality of the Tanzanian educational system have proved to be difficult. One result of this situation is the increasing number of private schools, both primary and secondary (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). However, efforts have been made to improve the situation. One of them is the introduction of a three-year Bachelor's degree in education in addition to the two-year diploma, which before was the top teacher education offered (Varvus, 2009).

1.3.b   The Tanzanian Educational System

Today's educational system in Tanzania starts with 7-year primary school, with students usually entering Standard 1 at the age of 7. Primary school ends with the National Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), whereupon enrollment into secondary education is based. Secondary education is divided into two sequential cycles. The first one is a 4-year program called Ordinary level (O-level), the second is a 2-year program called Advanced level (A-level). The first four years of secondary school lead to the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (CSEE), with the following two years leading to the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (ACSEE). Additionally, there is a national assessment exam in the second year of secondary school, which students have to pass in order to continue towards the CSEE (MoEVT, 2014). Swahili is used as the medium of instruction at governmental primary schools. However, many private schools use English as medium of instruction all through primary school. English is introduced as a subject from Standard 3 at Swahili-medium primary schools, while all schools use English as medium of instruction at the secondary level.

1.3.c   Geography

Geography is an important subject throughout Tanzanian education, and is taught all through secondary school. During the first four years, Geography is taught 4 periods per week, with the number of weekly periods increasing to 10 at A-level. The subject is divided into Practical Geography and Physical Geography in Forms 5 and 6 (MoEVT, 2010c).

1.3.d Civics

Civics is an O-level social science subject that covers topics like culture, globalization, poverty, development, government, gender, and life skills. The syllabus draws an image of the subject as a Tanzanian citizen education, and among the competences the students are supposed to learn are *"knowledge of the government, its workings and to participate effectively in its establishment and running"* and *"knowledge and respect for the rights and responsibilities of a citizen in a democratic state"* (MoEVT, 2010d, p. v). However, despite the important function of the subject, there is no teacher education specifically for Civics teachers.

1.3.e General Studies

General Studies is an A-level social science subject that in many ways is the equivalent to the Civics subject at O-level. The introduction chapter in the Form 5 textbook describes the subject in the following way:

> *"General Studies" is a multi-disciplinary course which draws its contents from different fields of knowledge. Its content comes from geography, history, psychology, biology, language, chemistry, physics and economics. Others may include philosophy, religion, sociology, law, civics and political science* (Mbalase, 2011, p. 1).

The subject is allocated 4 periods per week, and is, despite its width, one of the smaller subjects at A-level. As with Civics, there is no specific education available for General Studies teachers in Tanzania.

2 Earlier Research in the Field

With my Master's thesis, I take a closer look at how Tanzanian secondary education presents Europe and the European. When searching for earlier research projects of similar character, I quickly realized that this was not a perspective that had been widely studied. In fact, I did not find any research projects that had looked into presentations of "others" in African education. However, when searching for research on presentations of "others" in general, I found a number of projects. This chapter will present earlier research of a similar character as my Master's thesis. In the same way as other parts of this thesis, this chapter is structured after Goodlad's (1979) substantive domains of curricula, according to which level of curriculum the projects are based on. Goodlad and his conceptual system are further presented in Chapter 3.1.

2.1 The Formal level

The staff at Lillehammer University College, led by Yngve T. Nordkvelle, has over several years done research on the presentation of "the others" in Norwegian textbooks. In the publication *Pictures of Developing Countries in Norwegian Textbooks* from 1987, Nordkvelle presents an analysis of both the curriculum and textbooks of the social science subjects in Norwegian secondary schools. The textbooks are criticized in many ways, first and foremost for presenting a clearly negative image of developing countries. Also, the books' understanding of the term development is characterized as old-fashioned and conservative (Nordkvelle, 1987a). The same year, Nordkvelle published the article "The Textbooks about South Africa: Full of Errors and Shortages" (1987b), an analysis of the content about South Africa in Norwegian textbooks. Nordkvelle revealed major shortages in the presentations given, and claimed that the textbooks in general did not manage to provide the students with the necessary knowledge to fully understand the conflict between developing and developed countries (Nordkvelle, 1987b).

In 2010, Nordkvelle in collaboration with Ingrid Tvete published the report *The North/South Perspective in Norwegian Textbooks (*2010). The publication was commissioned by "Hei Verden", an organization working to increase the knowledge

about the North/South perspective among Norwegian students in primary and secondary education. The report looked at different issues concerning the relationship between North and South in textbooks for the subjects Religion, Civics, History, and Geography. According to the report, the textbooks explain poverty and the difference in development between the North and the South both in a historical context and by looking at incidents in recent years. The explanations are mainly linked to environmental issues and the effects of globalization (Nordkvelle & Tvete, 2010, p. 21).

Mai Palmberg of the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala has done research on Swedish textbooks and their presentations of Africa (The Nordic Africa Institute, 2015). In an article from 2000, the Swedish textbook presentations are described as primarily negative, presenting an image of a continent in the midst of crisis. The continent is generalized as one, big, developing country, and the textbooks barely touch upon African culture and people (Palmberg, 2000).

Dong-Bae Lee is the author of the article "Portrayals of Non-North Koreans in North Korean Textbooks and the Formation of National Identity"(2010), in which he presents research on the images of "the others" found in North Korean textbooks. By systemizing the presentations of "the others", Lee shows that the textbooks consistently present "the others" in a hostile way. According to Lee, this is due to the educational system playing an important part in the building of the North Korean national identity. Lee finds that in over 90 percent of the incidents where Non-North Koreans are referred to, a hostile presentation is given. This, together with a systematical praise of North Korea and its leadership, contributes to establish a perception of the country as superior to all other nations. According to Lee, this dualistic presentation of reality in the textbooks is central to the construction of the North Korean identity (Lee, 2010, p. 365).

2.2 The Perceived Level

The article "Teaching Asia in US secondary school classrooms: a curriculum of othering" (Hong & Halvorsen, 2009) presents a study done on the presentations of "the others" in Civics. Hong and Halvorsen have through six interviews with Civics teachers looked at how Asia is presented in American middle and high schools. Their studies show that the

teaching about Asia primarily is based on the students' already established knowledge. By comparing Asia with already familiar counterparts, mostly found in America and Europe, Asia is made exotic and foreign, as the majority of attention is given to differences. The teaching about Asia, as an example of "others", also contributes to the students' understanding of themselves as Americans, as well as to the construction of their national identity. The dichotomy of "us" and "the others" also plays a central role in this study:

> "… school curriculum involves both teaching about „us" and teaching about „others": these two aspects of school curricula are, in a sense, the two sides of the same coin in that they work together to construct a national identity" (Hong & Halvorsen, 2009, s. 388).

2.3   The Experienced Level

In 2003, an evaluation of the Norwegian National Curriculum introduced in 1997 was published. As part of the evaluation process, a quantitative study was conducted among Norwegian primary and secondary school pupils, with their images of Africa as one of the topics. The students were given three descriptions of Africa, and asked to choose the one they felt best reflected their perception of the continent. The results were clear as approximately 60% of the students chose a description in which Africa was described as a continent with much misery and problems. 20% of the students chose a more exotic description focusing on tribes and primitive customs and habits, while the remaining 20% saw Africa first and foremost as a continent with beautiful nature, rich culture, and many natural resources (Christophersen, Lotsberg, Knutsen, & Børhaug, 2003, p. 142).

Jack Zevin has done a study on Norwegian, American, and Russian youths' perceptions of their own and other countries' roles and positions in the world. The research is based on a survey conducted in the three countries, with the purpose of discovering the young people's perceptions of their own country in relation to the other two (Zevin, 2003, p. 229). The results showed that the youth had a clear mental image of each of the participating countries and their respective international position. Also, the teacher

proved to be a central contributor to these pictures, through teaching in the social science subjects.

Like Zevin, Inokuchi and Nozaki used pupils as informants in their study of the perception of Japan in American middle schools. However, as opposed to Zevin who used surveys, Inokuchi and Nozaki collected student texts from three schools with different geographical placement. While one school was located in the countryside, the other two were located in a suburb and a city center, respectively. The texts were analyzed using discourse analysis, focusing on elements from the discourses concerning Orientalism and "Othering", as well as how the students described the limit between "us" as Americans and "the others", the Japanese (Inokuchi & Nozaki, 2005). The results showed that the texts were strongly impacted by the oriental discourse, with several students locating Japan in the Orient. The country was in many cases given an inferior position, and was subject to "Othering":

> *"… the discourse of Othering in general sets up a binary opposition between "them" and "us". It offers two mutually exclusive categories and so brings a power to order one's view(s) of the Other, Self, and the relation(s) between the two. In this picture, the Other is not "us". The discourse of Othering not only portrays "Other" groups as different, but it also suggests "our" group as monolithic. The differences that actually exist within the category ("us") are erased in its representation. In other words, the discourse of Othering essentialises the image of "us", and "our" culture and identity."* (Inokuchi & Nozaki, 2005, s. 72)

The USA, being the "us" in the discourse, is placed in a power position in relation to Japan. Inokuchi and Nozaki also explain how the dichotomy between "us" and "the others" contributes to a clear and unambiguous American identity among the students. This happens through the alienation of "the others", but also by presenting "us" as a group without internal variation.

3   Theory

It was a Sunday afternoon, and I was lying in the sun enjoying a day off after a long week at Dar es Salaam University College of Education. The weather was perfect, with sun from a blue sky and a light breeze coming in from the Indian Ocean. Julie, my fellow student and travel companion, and me were the only Europeans around as it is Tanzanians who mostly use the Mbalamwesi Beach Club. However, its good location and reasonable prices made it a favorite for us as well. Lying there on the sunbed, I was not prepared for the conversation that was about to happen as a group of young men approached us. They asked if we could teach them how to swim, a challenge Julie was ready to take head-on. As almost the whole group went to the pool, I was left with one man called Godfrey. He asked me if he could bring me something to drink, but I replied that I was good for now. However, he was not content with my answer, and some minutes later he left to get each of us a cold Coca Cola.

When Godfrey came back, I asked him why he wanted to buy me a drink. As an answer, he asked me what I was doing in Tanzania. I told him about my Master's project and the intention of my stay, and he reacted with a big smile. I asked him what that had to do with him wanting to buy me a Coca Cola. The conversation then went as follows:

Godfrey: *Well, what have you found out [in your studies]?*

Researcher: *Well, most Tanzanians seem to have a really positive image of Mzungus. Also in school, the teaching…*

Godfrey: *Yeah, we worship you guys! And I think that is good, because as a developing country, we need all the help and support we can get. And would you like to help somebody that is not nice to you? Hell no! So that´s why it is real important to treat white people nice! Yeah, worship you guys!*

11

My meeting with Godfrey is further described in Chapter 5, but this was one of many field conversations that gave me glimpses of how Tanzanians perceived me as a Mzungu and European. I quickly realized that the term Mzungu, and Tanzanians' perceptions of both the word and the relationship between them and the Wazungu, would be a cornerstone in my thesis.

Situations like the one at the Mbalamwesi Beach Club in many ways led me to the theories I have utilized in my Masters' project. In order to understand perceptions of myself as a European that were so different from those of my own, I needed to look into the constructional processes of perceptions. Also, how Tanzanians saw themselves in relation to "others", or in this example Europeans, was something that disturbed me. So when looking at theory about "us" and "the others", one essential aspect was how the two groups relate to each other. In addition to this, my project as a study of curricula needed a structural foundation. This was found in Goodlad (1979) and his conceptual system.

3.1 Goodlad: Curriculum Inquiry

John I. Goodlad and his book *Curriculum Inquiry – The Study of Curriculum Practice* has been a major reference for curriculum researchers since it was published in 1979. Curriculum inquiry is defined by Goodlad as the study of the curriculum practice and its context, assumptions, conducts, problems, and outcomes (1979, p. 17). A central part of the book is Goodlad's description of five substantive domains. Goodlad argues that curriculum is not only what is described in a syllabus, but that it appears in different forms at different levels of the school system (1979, p. 58). He identifies five substantive domains of curricula: Ideological, Formal, Perceived, Operational, and Experienced Curricula.

Ideological Curricula

The Ideological Curricula can be found in the early parts of the process of creating a curriculum. An important factor at this level is the lack of political influence, and therefore the absence of need to take political considerations into account.

Also, the creators of ideological curricula do not need to have implementation as a goal, with the necessary adjustments and regulations this goal implies.

Formal Curricula

The Formal Curricula are the equivalents to the common understanding of the word curriculum. These are curricula that have been approved by the necessary authorities, and that work as the foundation for the teaching in their respective subjects. Curricula at this level also need to be written down, since they have to be available (Goodlad, 1979, p. 61).

Perceived Curricula

Even though the Formal Curricula are the same for all as they are written down, the perception of the contents differs for each recipient. Goodlad argues that different people have different interests and values, and will because of this both interpret and prioritize differently what they read in the Formal curricula. Therefore Perceived curricula are the results of the interpretations of the Formal curricula by the recipients. The most important perceptions are, according to Goodlad, those of the teachers (Goodlad, 1979, pp. 61-62).

Operational Curricula

In the same way that the Formal and Perceived Curricula differ, there are also differences between the perception of the teacher and what he or she ultimately puts to life in the classroom. Goodlad labels the curricula that are actually being taught the Operational Curricula (Goodlad, 1979, pp. 62-63).

Experienced Curricula

The Experienced Curricula are the students' experiences of the curricula. This is a level of great interest, telling something about the students' experience of what they are supposed to learn. However, Goodlad points out that this likely is the level of curricula that is the hardest to get dependable data from.

Choosing to use Goodlad's theory in my Master's project was an important choice. First and foremost my project is a study of curricula, which makes Goodlad a natural choice.

His different levels of curricula also gave my thesis a sound theoretical framework that allowed me to look at the images of Europe and the European from three different perspectives: the formal, the teacher, and the student perspective. Goodlad's description of how curricula can develop and change both in form and content on their journey from the ideological stage to the teaching experienced by the students, with the different levels acting in relation to each other and their surroundings, became the structural foundation for the design of the project as well my thesis.

3.2   Fanon: Manichaeism

Presentations of "the others" as an uncivilized counterpart to the Western world were seen during the colonial time. The colonial powers attempted to establish a world hierarchy in order to justify their occupations. In Western countries, the presentations of "us" and "the others" emphasized the differences. While the colonial powers viewed themselves as civilized and modern, "the others", or the colonized countries, were presented as the opposite. This gave the colonial powers, according to themselves, a mandate to colonize in the name of civilization (Breidlid, 2006, p. 9). This systematic depreciation of "the others" on the one side, with the praise of the colonial powers on the other, was labeled *Manichaeism* by the French author and psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (Fanon, 1968, p. 42).

The word Manichaeism originates form the Persian prophet Manis, and refers to the religion he founded during the third century. His teaching is known to be extremely dualistic in its perception of the world and a possible salvation. This is based on Manis' experience of the world as a fundamental conflict between light and dark, good and evil. Fanon identified this extremely dualistic view during the liberation war in Algeria, where he practiced as a doctor (Breidlid, 2006, p. 16). In his book *The Wretched of the Earth,* Fanon confronts what he believes to be a systematic oppression of the colonized in order to maintain a shaky colonial rule (Fanon, 1968). This dichotomy between "us" and "the others" did not only affect the Europeans. The Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1981) claims that the dichotomy has contributed to the creation of a colonized mind, meaning that the global South has adopted the perception of the West.

3.3   Dichotomy

A central term in my Master's thesis, and a natural continuation of Manichaeism with its extreme dualism, is dichotomy. A dichotomy is a culturally constructed pair that stands in opposition to each other, with one part raised above the other (Mac Naughton, 2005). Also, a dichotomy only gives meaning when dealing with both parts; one part has no meaning without the other:

> "*A pair always has two. One part of the pair is always the opposite of the other part. You cannot have meaning without having the opposite, or what Derrida describes as the 'other'*" (Mac Naughton, 2005, p. 82)

As the two parts in a dichotomy are opposites, describing one part of the dichotomy also automatically generates knowledge about the other part. Both Fanon (1968) and the term dichotomy are relevant for my project. In line with Mac Naughton (2005), the images that Tanzanian secondary education presents of Europe and the European do not only say something about how Tanzanians view that continent and the people living there, but also how they see themselves, given a dichotomous relationship between the two.

Dichotomies are one way of relating categories to each other (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). Categories and categorization are touched upon later in this chapter.

3.4   Said: Orientalism

Orientalism (1978) written by Edward W. Said is considered to be the most complete systematic inquiry of presentations from the Occident of the Orient or "the others". In this book, Said presents his findings on how "the others" are presented in a broad material of Western literature. Said paid much attention to discourses, which can be described as "systems of opinions that contribute to fortify a dominant social system or a political hierarchy" (Foucalt, 1987, p. 52). The oriental discourse claimed, according to Said, that fundamental differences existed between the Orient and the Occident. Said argued that exposing these differences was the main purpose of the portion of Western literature relating to the Orient. In the texts, Said found the Orient to be presented in a

similar fashion as the colonized countries according to Fanon and his Manichaeism theory, while the Occident had the favorable position of the colonial powers. Said describes Orientalism not as a neutral description of a different reality, but rather as a Western, constructed phenomenon with the purpose of maintaining a superior position for the Western world (Breidlid, 2013, p. 8–10). When Said's *Orientalism* was published in 1978, the book received much attention. Today the book marks the start of the post-colonial debate, where the discussion on presentations of "the others" has its home (Breidlid, 2005, p. 13).

One of Said's main points of criticism towards the Occident was how they claimed the power to define "the others" without basing their images on facts and knowledge about the Orient. Instead, Europe and the Western world attempted to present a picture of "the others" that suited their interests and picture of themselves. According to Said, Europeans lacked knowledge about the Orient, a fact that can partially explain the exotic presentation of "the others". However, Said points out that this lack of knowledge also was in the Europeans' interest. In their ignorance, the Europeans were in a better position to construct the picture of the Orient that best suited them. How pictures of "others" are constructed in order to fit the needs of the constructor, rather than presenting reality, is a central part of my thesis, including who is taking the role of constructor.

Finally, Said found the Occident's presentations of the Orient to have a strong focus on differences. By establishing the dichotomy between "us" and "the others", the process of "othering" was even more effective in achieving its purpose: to present an image of the Orient as something different from the Occident (Breidlid, 2013, p. 9). The dichotomy between these two was constructed to be unbridgeable, as pointed out by Rudyard Kipling: "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" (1889).

3.5   Categorizes, Categorization, and Prototypes

My Masters' project is mostly based on qualitative data, with interpreted observations playing an important role. This type of data is according to Aase and Fossåskaret not finished products that are ready to be collected, but rather results of a construction

process with the researcher in an active role (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 111). In this interpretation process, *categories* are important in order to systemize the data. Categories are, according to research done within cognitive science, a composite of four different elements: an object, biological senses, mental attributes, and culture (Lakoff, 1990). First of all, a category is constituted according to an object. The category *water* has an equivalent object in real life, with water existing as a material reality. Secondly, in order to experience this reality, the researcher is dependent on his or her biological senses. The third element is the mental attributes, which enable the researcher to see the world in a larger context. All these three elements are universal, as all humans are equipped with the same biological senses and mental attributes, and with objects having the same appearance to everyone. However, people perceive the world differently. This is because of the last element, which is culture. Different cultures often have many of the same categories, but with different contents (Lakoff, 1990).

My project has looked into how Tanzanians perceive *Europeans* as a category, a category I myself have a perception of, but with a different content. One way Tanzanians define this category, is through the word and concept *Mzungu*. The word Mzungu is not found at the Formal level of curriculum, including the syllabuses and textbooks. However, this changes as soon as teachers and students are involved, making the word essential at both the Perceived and Experienced levels.

A category can be explained as a jar where observations can be placed based on their content in relation to the researcher's experiences (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 112). People categorize differently based on their cultural background, and this may cause problems when the researcher and the informants have different cultural backgrounds. In this situation, the researcher cannot uncritically use his or her cultural categories when interpreting data, since the informants may not use the same categories (Wadel, 1991, p. 82). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, dichotomies are one way of relating categories to each other. Another way is using metaphors. Where dichotomies put two categories as opposites, metaphors put them as equals (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). These two different ways of relating categories to each other are central in the analysis of my data, with Tanzanians' perceptions of the relationship between themselves and Europe and the European as a main focus.

Categories can sometimes be broad, with large internal variety. Therefore, some observations can be more fitting than others in a certain category, even though they all belong to it. The observation that best fits the constituting idea of a category is often called a prototype. If prototypes are used in qualitative analysis, is it not correct to claim that the observations are put into categories. The observations are rather related to the cognitive prototypes of the researcher. Wadel's (1991) warning about not using cultural categories when looking at other cultures, also applies to the use of prototypes. However, according to Aase and Fossåskaret there is a need for both categories and prototypes. A specific group of people, for example *Europeans*, can be both a category and a prototype. The category *Europeans* can be limited to people living in Europe. However, the prototype *European* is not defined, but is subject to change. Some criteria might be the same, but the perception of the prototype *European* will differ according to changes in the cultural context. Aase and Fossåskaret (2007, p. 137) argue that social order is achieved through defining intangible prototypes as clearly delimited categories.

4   Methodology

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter I give an account of the methodological approach and choices used to answer the research questions of this thesis. Some believe that research within social sciences separates itself from other research fields by not striving towards an ideal of full objectivity. The understanding of the researcher as a subjective interpreter in and as a part of the research field makes this opinion irrelevant (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). I share this point of view with Aase and Fossåskaret. However, transparency is necessary to make the research available for both reviews and discussions that often contribute to validate the data and the result of the research. The methodology chapter is a prioritized part of my thesis, both in terms of pages and the amount of time put into it. This choice is done to make the process of data construction as open and transparent as possible.

John I. Goodlad and the three of his five substantive domains of curricula that I use in my thesis are important also in this chapter. Structurally, the first part of the chapter presents the project in general terms, giving a brief introduction to the different methods used. Next, a more detailed account is provided for the Formal, Perceived, and finally the Experienced level. In the end, methodological and ethical challenges are presented.

Throughout my Master's thesis, I have decided to use the phrasing *data construction* to describe the processes that have resulted in the data material presented. This has been a conscious choice, as I find the word to describe the impact I have had on the processes in a good way. Being the conductor of the project, my contributing to the final product has been inevitable. As described later in Chapter 4.8, the nature of my project made it particularly susceptible to influence from the researcher. This caused an extraordinary need to be aware of my influencing the informants. In addition to this, showing caution when using cultural categories in the interpretation of the data material has been crucial (Wadel, 1991, p. 82). Using the phrase *data construction* was done in order to constantly remind myself and be aware of these challenges while working with my thesis.

4.2   Preparations and Formalities

Answering the research questions of my thesis required a fieldwork in Tanzania. Before leaving for my fieldwork, some formal matters had to be addressed. First, the project had to be reported to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). This was done early fall 2014, and NSD found the project to be exempt to the obligation of notification to the NSD. I also needed a Tanzanian visa that gave me permission to conduct the necessary activities. The Immigration Officer in Arusha issued a visitor visa for the purpose of Section 13.5 of the Tanzanian Immigration Regulations on September 15th 2014, with the fieldwork starting the same day and lasting till November 7th 2014.

4.3   The Mzungu: Understanding Myself in Tanzania

During an earlier study trip to Tanzania I became introduced to the term *Mzungu*. The trip was a part of a social science course I took during my undergraduate studies, and included among other things a teaching practice period at a Tanzanian primary school. My experiences from the trip were many, but the Tanzanians' perception of the white man, or the Mzungu as they say, was one that stood out. So as I prepared for my return, this time for a field stay in connection with my Master's project, I knew that an awareness of myself as a Mzungu was important to have a successful stay. Once I arrived in Tanzania, I quickly realized that a deeper understanding of the word was both essential and crucial for my project.

On the third day of my first week at Tanzania Secondary School (TSS), the school where I spent the majority of my time in Tanzania (further presented in Chapter 4.5.a), I experienced a situation that made me realize two things. The first was how far away I was from fully understanding the meaning of the word Mzungu. Secondly I realized how important that knowledge would be, both for my data collection and the later data analysis. While observing Mr. Franklin teaching a Geography class, another teacher came into the classroom and asked if she could have a word with me. I had met this teacher the day before, as she was a part of the Form 4 teacher team, the same team I would be a part of during my time at TSS. We stepped outside the classroom, and she asked if I had 10 spare minutes some time before lunch. I told her time was not a problem as I only had the ongoing class scheduled for that day, and was eager to get to know my

colleagues. I did not know what to expect, but I was not prepared for her request: To take a photo with her little sister who was visiting her that week.

It took some seconds before I realized the situation. After a moment of thinking, I asked her why her sister wanted a photo with me specifically. She answered that it was because I was white. Her answer made me quickly regret my instinctively "Yes, that would be no problem". To be valued mostly based on the color of my skin was an experience that felt quite outrageous, and all of a sudden I found myself asking her how she would react if somebody asked for a photo with her because of her skin color. The question was really impulsive and not very calculated in any way. However, to my surprise she didn't seem find my question problematic at all, and she answered right away:

> *"I would be mad! To take [a] photo with white people is an honor for us. Why would you want a picture with [a] black person? I would be mad!"*

Her reply was the final words of our little talk, and the photos with her sister were taken later that day. While I found the reason for wanting a photo with me really opposing, the situation became a turning point for my project. The encounter gave me not only a better understanding of the word Mzungu in itself, but it also showed the importance of understanding how the Mzungu relate to Tanzanians. How my colleague at TSS was so open and honest about me being her superior because of my white skin, was my first experience of a cognitive hierarchy that I would see much more of during my time in Tanzania. From this day on, understanding the Mzungu term became a part of my project and was therefore included in all my interviews and field conversations. This understanding was not only crucial for my many encounters during my stay. Knowledge about the Mzungu term was just as important in order to understand and be able to analyze my data.

4.4   Research Design

In order to design a Master's project that could be handled within a 2-year period, I decided to look closer at three different levels of curricula in Tanzanian secondary education. These levels are three of five substantive domains explained in Goodlad´s conceptual system for curriculum research (Goodlad, 1979). John I. Goodlad launched his conceptual system in 1979 when he published his book *Curriculum inquiry* (1979). He presents five substantive domains, which he names *Ideal, Formal, Perceived, Operational and Experienced curricula.* Not all of these are written text; according to Goodlad curricula can also exist solely as a product of the mind (Goodlad, 1979, p. 58). A deeper presentation of Goodlad and his conceptual system is found in Chapter 3.1.

Choosing to use more than one of Goolads levels, my data would give me different perspectives on the images of Europe and the European that are presented in Tanzanian secondary education, and also provide an insight into how they might differ from level to level (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 13-15). By exploring these three levels of curricula, I constructed data not only about how Tanzanian secondary education ideally wants to present "the others", but also on how the curriculum is put to life and ultimately received by the students. In order to construct data from several levels of curricula, all with different demands and challenges, I needed to use a variety of methods.

The selection of the three levels was done before I left for Tanzania, and was based on a number of reasons. First of all, my project is a small-scale project, focusing on a limited part of the Tanzanian educational system. This limitation was necessary to make the project possible to complete within the framework of a Master's thesis. My data comes from three subjects, one set of textbooks, one secondary school, and one college of education. Because of the limitation in width, I wanted to go in depth on the small part my project does cover, and look at the secondary education all the way from the syllabus and textbooks to the experiences of the students. Goodlad and his conceptual system for curriculum research gave me a good theoretical framework to base my research design on. However, all five of his substantive domains were more than my project could handle, so some adjustments where necessary.

An important criterion when selecting which domains to include in my Master's project, was to design a project that was both interesting and at the same time possible to execute. All five of Goodlad's substantive domains represent potentially very interesting areas, but some levels are more demanding than others, both in terms of time and methodological difficulty. From the start of, Formal Curricula stood out as an obvious level that had to be included in the project. I had experience from working with data from this level from my Bachelor's degree, and the level represented a possibility to extend the scope of an initially narrow project. Tanzanian textbooks need to be approved by the Educational Materials Approval Committee (EMAC) under the MoEVT (MoEVT, 2014). Therefore, the data from this level would show me a presentation of Europe and the European as approved by Tanzanian education authorities. Also, this data would be easy to get, given that I had access to the textbooks even before I left for Tanzania. The Ideological Curricula would be of great interest as well, but the accessibility would be of a totally different character. Also, my main research question asks for the images the Tanzanian secondary education actually presents. Hence my focus is on the utilized curriculum, and I found the Ideological level not relevant enough to be prioritized.

As opposed to the Ideological curricula, the Perceived and the Operational curricula were highly interesting for my project. Looking at the teachers' perceptions of teaching on Europe and the European and their actual teaching, would give me data from teachers. However, the accessibility of those two levels differs greatly. Where the Perceptional curricula can be accessed with only one teacher present, the Operational level demands a teacher, a class, and a lesson with the right topic being taught. Given these criteria, I choose to get my data from the teachers at the Perceived level.

Goodlad describes the Experienced curricula as the most difficult level to collect dependable data from. However, my attention was immediately drawn to this level when planning my project and fieldwork in Tanzania. To get quality data was going to be a methodological challenge at any level, given that I ultimately was looking for other people's perceptions of a group that I myself am part of. To succeed, I needed to establish relationships built on trust. I quickly came to realize that the teacher-student relationship and the Experienced level represented a data source of great potential. Also,

one of my main personal ambitions for my Master's project was that it should contribute to my development as a teacher. I knew from my earlier teaching practice in Tanzania that preparing the students to be informants for my project would be a demanding and challenging task. This process is described in Chapter 4.6.c. Finally, the unique data I would get if I succeeded, convinced me that the Experienced level had to be part of my project. Making this decision was definitely not without risk, but my supervisor agreed that with the right planning and preparations, it was a risk worth taking.

4.5   Collaborative Educational Institutions and Informants

When presenting the collaborative educational institutions and informants, all names except one are fictive in order to protect the informants and institutions. Dar es Salaam University College of Education, being the exception, approved the use of the full name of the institution. This has been done because the position of the University College as the prime institution within teacher education in Tanzania has importance for the quality of my data.

4.5.a   Tanzania Secondary School

The data from the levels of Perceived and Experienced curricula was constructed during my stay at a governmental secondary school in a city in Tanzania. To keep the school anonymous, it is given the name Tanzania Secondary School (TSS). TSS was chosen for several reasons. First, the school had been cooperating with Bergen University College before, and therefore it was easy to get access to. Secondly, TSS is a big school. It offers all subjects both at O-level and A-level, and has 5 and 2 parallel classes at the O- and A-level, respectively. The classes vary in size, ranging from 60 to 90 students at O-level. The A-level classes are much smaller, with 25 to 30 students. TSS has a staff of around 110, with 90 members in teaching positions. This gave me many opportunities, both concerning classes to teach and teachers to interview at the same school. Also, the ability to stay at the same school over a longer period of time gave me many advantages concerning the relationship with both teachers and students, which are touched upon later in this chapter.

TSS is by most people viewed as the most highly respected governmental school in its region. It can be argued that it by no means represents the average Tanzanian secondary school. However, this was never a goal in it self. My project is a qualitative study with no intention of generalization. Therefore, the point of my school being as close to average as possible, is important solely for the general relevance of my results, not the validity. Also, to make the study possible in the first place, given the timeframe of my fieldwork, a well-functioning school with both students and teachers with a certain level of English language skills was demanded. By choosing to stay at TSS, I could travel to Tanzania knowing that my project was not put in jeopardy by my selection of school.

Informants

Mr. Franklin

Mr. Franklin was my main supervisor at TSS, and the teacher I spent the most time with during my stay at the school. He has a Bachelor degree in Education from Dodoma University, with Geography and English as major subjects. Besides teaching Geography in Form 4, he was Head of Maintenance. He has been teaching for three years at four different schools in Tanzania since his graduation, and works at his family's farm in the weekends. Mr. Franklin has never been outside Tanzania, but has traveled much around the country.

Mrs. Mianda

Mrs. Mianda is responsible for the General Studies teaching at TSS, and has a Bachelor degree of Arts with Education from the University of Dar es Salaam. Her major subjects are Geography, Political Science, and Public Affairs. She has worked at TSS since she graduated six years ago. She is married and a mother of two. Like Mr. Franklin, Mrs. Mianda has not been outside the country, but she has seen much of Tanzania including the islands of Zanzibar.

4.5.b Dar es Salaam University College of Education

Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) is a Constituent College of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), and international partner with Bergen University College. The University College was established to address the acute shortage of

teachers in Tanzania, a result of the expansion of primary education enrolments through the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP). DUCE has three faculties: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (FoHSS), Faculty of Science (FoSc), and Faculty of Education (FoED). As the prime educational institution in Tanzania for teacher education, DUCE plays an important role in the development of education in Tanzania. The campus is located in the Chang'ombe area in Dar es Salaam, and includes sports fields, a library, and computer labs, as well as a primary and a secondary school used by the students for teaching practice and classroom observation.

Informants

Mr. Kabaka

Mr. Kabaka is a lecturer at DUCE, responsible for the Geography methodology courses. He has a Master's degree in Education, with a focus on curriculum and teaching. His Bachelor's degree is in Art with Education, with the major subjects Geography and History. Both degrees are from the University of Dar es Salaam. Mr. Kabaka was a teacher in secondary education before he got his position at DUCE.

Mr. Msunga

Mr. Msunga is a Geography teacher at DUCE. He has a Master's degree in Geography from the University of Dar es Salaam, and is head of the Geography Department at DUCE. He has been teaching in higher education all his life, and has no experience from secondary schools. The position at DUCE is his second teaching position, and has been 6 years at DUCE.

4.6   Levels and Methods: An Overview

In order to construct data for my thesis, I have used methods from three categories: Conversation-based methods, observation and text analysis. Methods based upon different forms of text analysis were used for the Formal and Experienced levels, while both observation and conversation-based methods were used for all three levels. Figure 4.1 clearly shows that three methods have been essential for my work as they are used at all three levels: Field conversation, participant observation, and teaching. All these

methods tend to construct high quality, in-depth data if the right factors are in place. One of the most important factors is trust between the researcher and the informants.

Table 4.1: *The project's method map, showing methods used by level of curriculum, with green and red indicating if the method has been used (green) or not (red)*

Level	Conversation-based methods		Observation		Text analysis	
	Interview	Field conversation	Participant observation	Teaching	Class assignments	Text and image
Formal	2 (DUCE)					
Perceived	2 (TSS)					
Experienced						

In order for me to achieve the necessary level of trust, it was critical to spend a longer period of time in the field. I decided to limit the number of secondary schools I planned to stay at to only one due to the issue of trust and the amount of time it required. The objective of my stay in Tanzania was to construct data so that my thesis later could give the best possible description of how teaching on Europe was done and experienced at TSS. By staying at the school for 5 weeks, I managed to get to know the teachers and staff, students, and everyday life and routines at the school. This enabled me to increasingly become a part of the school as the weeks went by.

Before going into each level and a more detailed description of my data construction, a general introduction to my main methods – interview, field conversation, observation, and text analysis – is necessary. In table 4.1, interview and field conversation form the group *conversation-based methods*, both being a conversation between at least two people. However, that is one of the few similarities between the two. An interview can be described as a professional conversation, a inter-change of views and perceptions about a topic or theme that all participants have an interest in (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 2). An important characteristic of the qualitative interview in relation to my project is the open-ended question that offers the informant the opportunity to create the options for responding. Such open-ended questions make the analysis of the results difficult, because of the limited possibility of sorting the data into categories. However,

the data that is created might be more precise because of the freedom the informant is given when answering (Creswell, 2008, p. 225-226).

The field conversation differs from the interview in many ways, one of the most important being the level of formality. Where interviews usually are scheduled and conducted with clear a purpose, the term *field conversation* refers to all the informal, non-scheduled conversations, discussions, and everyday chats that occur during a fieldwork. These conversations can often provide relevant data and answer questions from a different perspective than the primary data source. The field conversation is, just like a scheduled interview, a conversation between the informant and the researcher. At the same time, it offers a different environment that can have a positive effect on the data constructed. The field conversation is often effective when spending a longer period in the research field. The researcher will over time become a part of the local community or, in my case, the staff at the school. This will provide situations where the informant might feel more comfortable, and the two parts in the conversation will in many cases have a much more similar status than in a scheduled interview (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 30-31).

My primary data source on the Formal level was written text. Use of documents in research is sometimes limited to a representation of the original content, but more often includes in-depth analysis of the contents. I my case, both forms of use were applied. What the syllabus, textbooks, and final exams say about Europe and Europeans was of great interest for my Master's thesis, and needed to be presented. But there was, in addition to this, a need for a deeper analysis of passages that used key terms that might influence the reader towards either a positive or negative impression of "the others". Another aspect of text analysis is to look into how metaphors contribute to meaning (Aase & Fossåskaret 2007, p. 146-148). Presenting Europe by referring to the Tanzanian correlative was an example central to my thesis.

Observation is another main method of qualitative research, and was an important method in my data collection. John Creswell describes observation as the process of gathering open-ended, firsthand information by observing people and places at a research site (Creswell 2008, p. 221-223). In order to collect data on the Perceived level,

I mainly took the role of a nonparticipating observer. By doing this, I was able to observe how teachers taught without being an active part of the activities that happen during classes. But the fact that I also taught during my stay in Tanzania, made my observation role difficult to classify as strictly nonparticipant. The students eventually became familiar with me in different roles, sometimes as a teacher and sometimes as an observer or assistant teacher. It can therefore be argued that I had a changing observational role during my field stay (Creswell, 2008, p. 223).

As mentioned, observation often plays a major role in qualitative research. Participating observation, however, is a type of observation that almost exclusively occurs in this type of research. Participating observation is often described as observation where the researcher´s presence likely will affect the data that is produced. However, this degree of "participation" is not sufficient in order for the observation to be labeled participating observation. In order to be a participant observer, the researcher needs to be an active part of the interaction that is under observation. When I was observing Mr. Franklin, as described later in this chapter, my presence most likely had an effect on the observations I made, but I was still conducting non-participation observation. When teaching in Science 2, my active participation in the situation I observed made this participant observation. The two concomitant roles of the researcher, both participant and observer, provide the essence of the term participating observation. The researcher will always have the researcher status in the field, but can, by using participating observation, obtain a local status. In this way the researcher can achieve a "behind-the-scenes" access to the field, and this is often the ideal position during fieldwork (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 32-33).

4.6.a   Formal Curricula

To identify how the Formal curriculum presents Europe in Tanzanian secondary education, I looked into two different types of sources. The first type is a text source, consisting of the syllabus and textbooks from the subjects included in the study, Geography, Civics, and General Studies. All incidents where Europe was mentioned in the syllabus and textbooks were categorized and systemized in a register. Each incident was first categorized as either Europe as a continent or a more specific part, and then by topic, followed by a short description. Finally, the incidents were categorized as positive,

neutral, or negative, based on the way Europe was presented. This register provides an overview of how the different components of the Formal curricula present Europe, at the same time telling something about in which topics Europe is presented in Tanzanian secondary education.

Table 4.2: *An example from the textbook and syllabus register*

Subject	Form	Europe or Part of	Topic	Description	Presentation
Geography	2	Continent	Agriculture Ranching	Europe as an example, successful ranching areas	Positive: "Well developed"

When categorizing the incidents as negative, neutral or positive, I had to be cautious with my decisions. As mentioned in chapter 3.6, the researcher must strive to put away his or her cultural filter when analyzing data (Wadel, 1991, p. 82). To categorize presentations of Europe and the European, categories I am very much a part of, was a task that I needed to take on with Wadel's warning fresh in mind. In order to make my analysis as close to an objective analysis as possible, and not just my own reading, I set the bar high in order for an incident to be categorized as either negative or positive. The incident had to express in a direct way, either through language or structure, that the passage put Europe or Europeans in a negative or positive light. Examples of how language placed Europe in a negative way are words like *unemployment*, *retrenchment*, *bankrupt,* and *uneven distribution*, with *loyalty*, *harmony*, *less authoritarian*, *good example,* and *help* being positive examples. Structurally, comparisons often made the presentations of Europe clearly positive or negative.

The selection of books used in my study was based on two criteria. The first, and most important, was that the textbooks I chose were approved by EMAC (Educational Materials Approval Committee) under the MoEVT (2014). This approval is what allows labeling the textbook content Formal curricula, and was therefore crucial, given the role the register has in my study. Secondly I wanted, if possible, to use the same textbooks as the school where I was going to spend most of my time during my fieldwork. In order for this to be possible, the books had to be common and acknowledged within Tanzanian secondary education, something that proved to be true in this case. This second criterion

was key due to the limited amount of time I had during my stay in Tanzania. Being able to combine working with the textbook register and getting to know the textbook I was going to teach from and discuss in future interviews and field conversations, was crucial for the quality of both the register and my fieldwork.

The second source of data from the Formal level of curricula consists of interviews and field conversations with staff from Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE). Besides being respected as the top teacher education institution in Tanzania, DUCE has a partnership with Bergen University College. It was therefore an obvious choice when I was looking for an academic perspective on the Formal curricula of Tanzanian secondary education. At DUCE I interviewed two different members of the Geography Department, Mr. Kabaka and Mr. Msunga, presented in Chapter 4.5.b. These two interviews both gave me information about teaching on Europe, but with different perspectives. Besides talking about *what* is taught, the first interview mainly focused on *how* they teach about Europe, and the methods used. The second had the additional focus on *when,* or in connection with which topics, they teach about Europe. These two complementary interviews represent the second source of data for the Formal level of curricula.

Both teachers interviewed at DUCE belonged to the Geography Department, while my study looks into how Europe is presented in both Geography, Civics, and General Studies. The reason why Civics and General Studies were not directly represented by the interview objects, is because these subjects do not have their own courses within higher education at this point in Tanzania. Today's Civics and General Studies teachers usually have a degree with components from Geography, Politics, Economy, Development Studies, or Philosophy. Besides the two Geography teachers that I interviewed during my stay at DUCE, I also tried to interview a member of the Development Studies Department. This interview was planned and scheduled, but was not possible to conduct because the teacher was absent due to the death of a close relative in upcountry Tanzania. However, given the data provided in the two interviews, together with Geography being a common background for both Civics and General Studies teachers, it can be argued that the data is valid also for the two subjects.

The two interviews at DUCE were conducted in a similar fashion. Both lecturers were given an information sheet about my project at least one day in advance, together with a simplified interview guide and a letter of recommendation from Bergen University College. This was done so that the teachers should be able to prepare if they felt that was necessary. The first interview was with Mr. Kabaka, and was a combined interview for my thesis and another Master's project conducted by a fellow student from Bergen University College. Because of this, the interview was divided into three parts: one joint introduction part, one part concerning my project, and a final part on the project of my fellow student. Mr. Kabaka allowed the interview to be recorded. Also, the exempt given by NSD made it legal to record the interview digitally. This was done to ease the transcribing process and secure the best possible sound quality. The interview was conducted in my temporary office, where Mr. Kabaka also had his desk, with the two other teachers with whom we also shared the office, also present. The second interview was done at Mr. Msunga's office with his wife present. This interview was on Mr. Msunga's request not recorded, and therefore documented by notes taken during and immediately after the interview.

4.6.b   Perceived Curricula

Data for the Perceived level of curricula was constructed during my stay at TSS. I was assigned a teacher, Mr. Franklin, by the head of school who was responsible for providing for my needs during my stay. In three of the six classes he was teaching, I took responsibility for all Geography teaching during my stay. The three other classes were taught by Mr. Franklin, in order to have classes where I could observe his teaching. My plan for constructing data for the Perceived level was to interview Mr. Franklin and another teacher at the school who taught Civics and General Studies, together with observing them while teaching. However, establishing a good relationship with the teachers was crucial for the quality of the interviews and the data they would provide me. The teacher role was in many ways an ideal position for me to be in. This is a role the other teachers were familiar with, placing myself at the same level as my colleagues in terms of status.

The first days at TSS were spent getting introduced to all the teachers and the staff, and to get to know Mr. Franklin. The feeling of being an alien in the break room was very

much present at first, and affected the behavior of myself as well as the other teachers. A turning point came the second week, when the mid-term exams were to be held. I volunteered to supervise the exams, like all the other teachers had to. This choice changed the way the teachers treated me, and by the end of the week I felt like being part of the staff. This was much likely due to the amount of time I had been present up till then, but probably also a result of my deliberate choice of taking my share of the teacher duties that week. I continued to use participant observation during my time at TSS by actively taking part in various activities that were not especially relevant for my project. Being in a challenging position given location and nature of my project, this was a conscious choice I found necessary in order to blend in and become part of the school.

Given that Mr. Franklin was teaching Form 4 with their national exam just weeks away at the time I was at TSS, it was not possible to observe Mr. Franklin teach about Europe. This was not critical for my project since the level of Operational curricula was not included. However, being able to observe him teach in general was important. First of all, this gave us the opportunity to discuss teaching together. This was important for Mr. Franklin's perception of my role as the teacher role instead of the one of a Master's student or researcher. Secondly, it gave me insight into how Mr. Franklin taught in general. This was important due to teaching methodology being a crucial point in our upcoming interview. Finally, by spending time observing Mr. Franklin, I showed sincere interest in him as a teacher and in his teaching. This was important for the mutual trust and respect that were established between the two of us, and a contributing factor to a reduction in status difference.

I interviewed Mr. Franklin four weeks into my stay at TSS. He was orally informed about the main topics of the interview, and also received an information sheet together with a letter of recommendation from Bergen University College. The interview was conducted in his office at TSS, and was recorded digitally. Having spent much time with Mr. Franklin, we had got to know each other and established a mutual respect both at the personal and professional level. I could recognize a point when spending time with me was a not any more a choice Mr. Franklin made because he had to for professional reasons, but when it was something we both enjoyed also on a personal level. Reaching

the point at which Mr. Franklin gave me the same teacher role as himself, with an equal status on the professional level, was a major reason for my time at TSS being productive.

Mrs. Mianda was interviewed a week later than Mr. Franklin, during my last days at TSS, and under much different circumstances. She insisted on doing the interview at her home while having lunch. When we got there, it turned out her 9 months old son was there together with the maid. This setting influenced the interview in several ways. Having Mrs. Mianda's son around, it was no point recording the interview because of all the noise. Also, the informal setting made the interview feel more like a talk between friends. This affected the structure of the interview, and the interview guide was not followed as strictly as planned. However, being in Mrs. Mianda's own house made her feel comfortable and in control. This was important because of the limited time I had spent with her before the interview. In many ways, her interest in conducting the interview was more about having me, as a Mzungu, visiting her house and neighborhood than an actual interest in helping me with my project. To me, this seemed to change as the interview went along, as she answered in an enthusiastic fashion and showed great interest in the purpose of my stay at TSS.

4.6.c   Experienced Curricula

The Experienced level of curricula was the third and last level I looked into. Here the attention was turned to the students and their perceptions of Europe and Europeans. The data construction was done during my stay at TSS, where I in addition to observing also taught classes. I was initially given the responsibility to teach Geography in three Form 4 classes: Commerce 1, Science 2, and Art. This was done concomitantly with my observation concerning the Perceived curricula. The purpose for my teaching was to identify and prepare a class for a drawing and writing assignment that I had prepared. The results of the assignment would hopefully provide an insight into the students' perceptions of Europe and the European.

In the beginning of my stay, I taught all three classes in order to get to know the classes and students, but also to establish myself as a teacher at the school. The first three weeks I was told to teach the topics of Map Reading and Photography, which do not directly relate to my studies. However, these lessons were valuable to me in a

methodological perspective. The students were accustomed to a very limited number of teaching methods, with most of them being closely related to the lecturing method. Based on the strictly limited number of students having textbooks available, most teachers chose different lecturing methods to ensure each student got the opportunity to write down key parts of the textbook from the blackboard. This lack of experience with more student-active teaching methods presented a challenge for the future assignment I planned on giving the students. Therefore, being able to teach the students over time was a key factor for the assignment to be successful.

Another challenge for my assignment was the gap between teachers and students at the school, meaning the distance in the relationship between the two groups. There were many factors that contributed to this gap, two of them being the school dress code for both teachers and students, and physical punishment of students. Both the roles of the students and the teachers were clearly defined and strictly followed. Also, the teacher role had a considerably higher status than that of the students. In order to have the students honestly answer my assignment on their thoughts about Europe and the European, I needed to gain their trust and reduce this gap that already was established between me, being a teacher, and the students. At the same time, I had to develop and maintain the relationship to the teachers. This was a combination of challenges that at times could be contradicting. In order to get closer to the students, I had to challenge the common pattern of behavior for a teacher at TSS. This could again have a negative effect on my relationship with the teachers. The solution became to try to find a spot between the teachers and students where I could maintain a good relationship with the teachers and still be treated as part of the staff, and at the same time come as close as possible to the students in order to gain their trust.

Enforcing the school rules with the result of conducting physical punishment was never an option for me, a stand well respected by both the head of school and the other teachers. The first lesson I had with each of my three classes was, among other things, used to introduce my style of teaching. It took some time for the students to understand that oral activity was appreciated more than total silence, and that it was impossible to both earn and receive physical punishment during Geography classes the next 5 weeks. However, with the ability to teach the students for a longer period of time and show

them through actions that my words were true, the gap between the students and me was reduced so that mutual trust and understanding could be established.

After three weeks of teaching, my teaching responsibility was limited down to the Science 2 class. This class was chosen because of their natural ability to adapt to more student-active teaching methods combined with their English level. Science 2 was a big class, with 76 students between 16 and 20 years of age. Because of their lack of discipline, this class was not a favorite among the other teachers at TSS. For me, this "misbehavior" was a positive thing, because of the natural oral activity during lessons. This was not found in the other classes, where most students were very cautious to speak up. One reason was the practice of physical punishment for providing wrong answers in class. It was important for me that the students understood that my lessons were different in many ways, with the appreciation of oral contributions as one of them. My classes were mainly based upon student-active methods, where the students' own opinions and thoughts were looked upon as the "right" answer.

In one lesson I used the principle of teaching through learning stations. The topic of the lesson was Photography, which is one of the major topics in Geography and always part of the national examination after Form 4. However, my main objective was to prepare the students for the upcoming assignment. The class was divided into 10 groups of 7-8 students. I had prepared five different stations, four that were located in the classroom and one located outside. All stations inside were set up so that two groups could work simultaneously, while two groups had to cooperate at the outside station. All the stations challenged the students to use their imagination and creativity, and provide answers based on their thoughts and impressions. Station 1 was outside, and asked for three different types of photos: vertical, oblique, and horizontal. The challenge was to include all members of the two groups in all the pictures, a task that demanded creativity. At the second station, the students were shown a slide show with different pictures. Each picture should be given a title based on what the students associated with the picture. The next station was built around a magazine, in which the students should find a good and a bad photograph, and give reasons for their statements. At station 4 the students wrote a story based on a picture, using their imagination. At the last station, the task was to find a picture in a newspaper, and explain why they thought the picture was

suited to the news item or not. The lesson was a success in the way that the students really seemed to understand that their own answer was the best answer. This discovery was a major achievement in the process of preparing the students for the drawing and writing assignment later on.

One English lesson in Science 2 was used to talk with the students about how words can be perceived as positive, neutral, or negative, and often are ranked according to pairing words. The word pairs that I used were related to Europe and Africa, with tea and coffee, black and white, ugali and pizza, east and west, north and south, up and down, and Europe, Africa, and America as examples. A scale from negative to positive, with neutral in the middle, was drawn on the blackboard. The class agreed on where to place the different words. The class was well synchronized and had few problems placing the words. After placing each word pair or triplet, we discussed in class if the placement would have been the same all over the world, or if it was typically Tanzanian or East African, and looked at how the words representing Europe and Africa were related to each other. The term "Down in Africa" was touched upon, and the students agreed on both the existence of the term and the negative feelings related to the word "Down". This led to a discussion among the students on how Africa and Europe are ranked according to each other, and about how they thought Africans and Europeans view each other differently. The students were challenged to think about not only how they view Europe and Europeans, but also on their view of themselves.
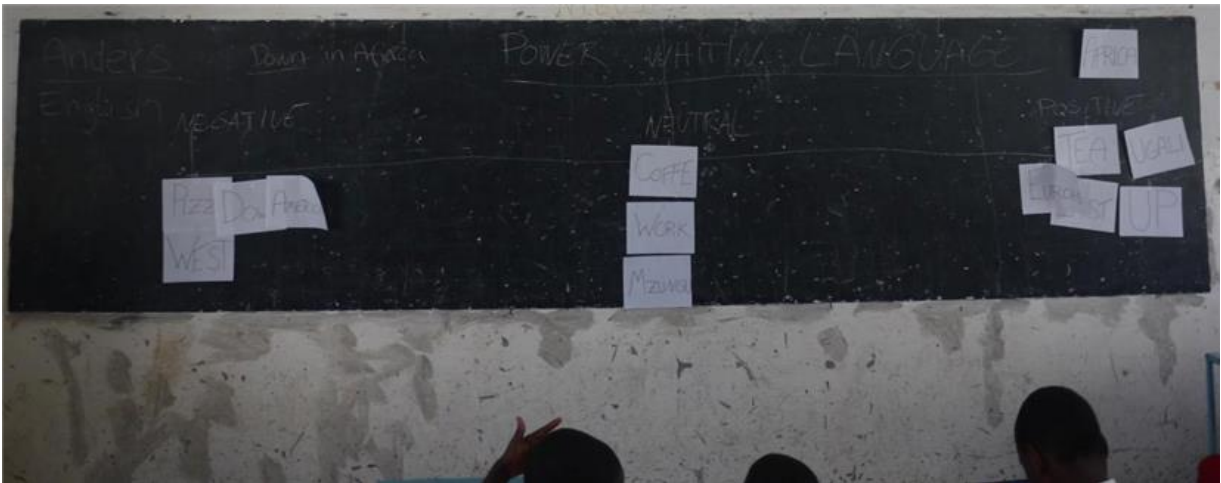
Figure 4.1: *The blackboard during the English lesson, showing the students' placement of different words on a scale from negative (left) to positive (right), with the middle of the scale indicating neutral.*

As the end of my stay at TSS was approaching, an important part of my project was yet to be done before I left for Dar es Salaam and DUCE. All my periods in Science 2 were conducted with a purpose besides the objective of each lesson: to prepare the students for a drawing and writing assignment. This assignment would ultimately be an important data source for the Experienced level, and it consisted of four different tasks:

1   *"Picture it!"*
    a) *When you hear the word "EUROPE", what comes to mind? Draw it!*

    b) *If you were born and lived in Europe, how would you look? Draw yourself as a European.*

2   *"The photo tells me..."*
    Look at the photograph, and write a short text about the person YOU see based on YOUR impression and thoughts. Let the reader get to know the person on the picture through your text!

3   *"Life in Europe"*
    Maria and her brother David, both 17 years old, live in Europe. Imagine what a Thursday like today would be like for them, from they wake up till they go to bed. Write a story about their day.

With the students being informed at the end of the Geography class on the Tuesday of my last week at TSS, the assignment was given on the upcoming Thursday right after tea break. The classroom was during the break arranged with 15 tables seating 5 students each, with answer sheets and coloring pencils provided at every table. I explained the assignment orally in class before they got started. The assignment was also written on the blackboard during the whole class. Then I stopped by each table to take questions and at the same time show the picture used in task 2, "The photo tells me...". The students were allowed to talk quietly at their table while working, and were given the whole double period to work on the assignment. Most of the students used the 80 minutes they had to spend, and 56 answer sheets were collected by the end of the

period. The answer sheets where numbered and then registered in order to get an overview of the answers provided.

Table 4.3: *An example from the answer sheet register*

Number	Task 1.a	Task 1.b	Task 2	Task 3	Boy/Girl
1	X	X		X	Boy

The register shows which of the tasks each student had answered (marked with an X) and if the student was a boy or a girl. In addition to what is shown in table 4.3, the register has a commentary field behind each task. For the drawing tasks, a brief description of each drawing was written here, while the commentary field for tasks 2 and 3 include a short summary of the text and a brief evaluation of how it presents Europe and Europeans. The register was made as a tool for the use of the text in my thesis, giving me an overview that showed different trends in the data material, and at the same time, which texts were of greater interest and needed a closer look. When analyzing the texts, I focused on how the students defined their categories *Europe* and *Europeans*, with their use of metaphors and dichotomies as important factors. Looking at *how* Europe and Europeans were defined by the students could give an insight into how they perceived Europe and the European in relation to Tanzania and themselves as Tanzanians. Chapter 8 accounts for the main trends found in the material, but also presents singular incidents of magnitude from different texts in order to reflect the width and variety of the material.

4.7 Methodological Challenges

4.7.a Time

Methodologically, I encountered many challenges during my fieldwork. The one that stands out the most is the issue of time. To conduct a fieldwork in Tanzania, with all the necessary communication and appointments, was at times extremely challenging. Having a limited amount of time in the field, progress and efficiency were crucial for the success of my trip. While some days went as planned, some days went by with nothing happening. Most of the time absent teachers or students was the issue. At TSS, most of the teachers usually showed up in class 15 to 20 minutes late, with the students arriving

a couple of minutes earlier. Arriving on time for my first period at TSS seemed like a waste of time, as I found the classroom empty. However, by showing up on time every day, the students eventually got my message. After four weeks, they were at their desks upon my arrival. This gave me two weeks were I could teach full periods, and four weeks with my periods being more or less amputated in terms of time. Also appointments with teachers and lecturers proved to be an issue. Several interviews had to be scheduled more than once, while some interviews had to be cancelled for good. Figure 4.2 shows an extract from a text message conversation between a lecturer from the Development Studies department at DUCE and me. He was a potential informant for my project, and I was eager to include him, as he represented a different field than the two other informants at DUCE. However, like many times during my stay, things got in the way, and our appointment had to be cancelled.
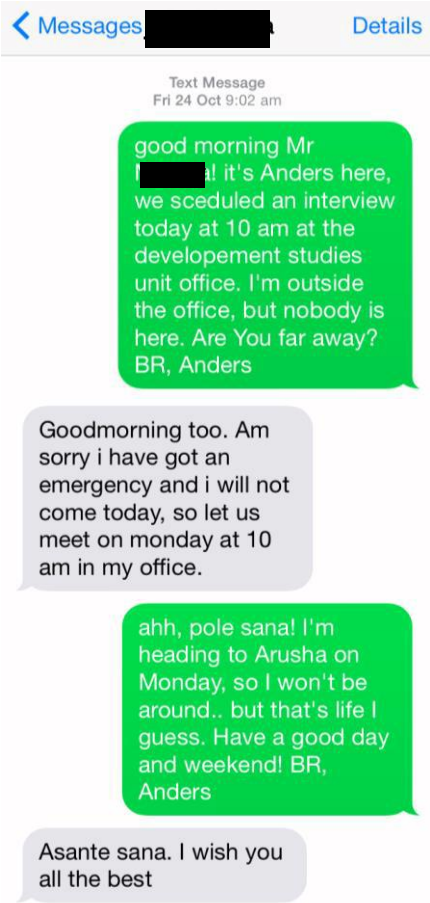
Figure 4.2: *A text message conversation between a potential informant at DUCE and me.*

Time was also a challenge in Dar es Salaam in relation to transportation. During my stay at DUCE, I lived in Mikocheni, which is one of the safer and quieter areas of the city. DUCE is located in the Chang'ombe area, which is about 15 kilometers away. With no traffic this drive is about 25 minutes. However, in reality the drive took between one and four hours depending on the traffic. With a limited amount of time at DUCE, each day was important. The drive to DUCE in the morning was not too problematic – the earlier the departure, the quicker the drive. This resulted in very early arrivals and a comfortable ride due to the lower morning temperatures. But with most of the staff not present before 9:00 am, arriving at 7:00 am was not too useful. The return to Mikocheni was more problematic. If I departed from DUCE before 2:30 pm, I missed valuable time on campus. At the same time, this would secure me a somewhat quicker transport and the afternoon at home. If staying till 5:00 pm when activities at DUCE ended, the drive home was guaranteed to be long. In addition to this, I would not be home before dark, with the security aspect that brought along. It came down to a choice between quality and quantity in terms of working time. If time in general was needed, I often left early so that I had time to work when I got back to Mikocheni. But if I needed time at DUCE, I would have to accept a much longer drive home.

4.8   Ethical Challenges

Looking at how Europe and Europeans, a group that includes myself, are presented in Tanzanian secondary education causes some ethical challenges. Different perceptions of me as a Norwegian and European, with all the associated expectations and prejudices, were present during my fieldwork. Since these perceptions cannot be removed or erased for a period of time, it is a crucial necessity to be aware of them and take them into account while constructing and analyzing data. These circumstances were an important factor when I decided to use the majority of my time in Tanzania staying at just one school. This gave me the opportunity to spend time with my informants, and establish relationships with them where I was not first and foremost a Mzungu or European, but just as much a teacher and colleague. By taking part in the everyday life at TSS, I had the possibility to change the informants' perception of me and my status by establishing a familiar type of relationship with them.

As pointed out, myself being part of the object of research did cause ethical challenges. However, my identity in connection with the location of the project raises the dilemmas to yet another level. The fact that I as a European traveled to Africa and Tanzania with the intention to conduct research on how their secondary education presents Europe and the European, brought up ethical issues with roots from the colonial time. The colonists quickly claimed the power to define while doing research at the African continent. The indigenous world was fitted into the scientific disciplines and through them *re*presented to the West. This positional superiority has since then been maintained in different ways, one of them being the hegemonic development paradigm, which Vincent Tucker describes as "the process whereby other peoples are dominated and their destinies are shaped according to an essentially Western way of conceiving and perceiving the world"" (1999, p. 1). Another contributing factor is the Western localization of most elite global educational institutions (Smith, 1999, p. 58-59). Therefore, one of the most important matters in my encounters with different informants was to establish a common understanding among us that the power to define lay with the informant. My project aimed to find how the *Tanzanians* define Europe and Europeans, and what *they* believe is the best way to represent this continent to their students. My intention was in many ways to learn from them, a situation that surprised many of my informants and seemed odd to them. As described in Chapter 8, Tanzanians in many ways look to Europe and Europeans to learn. Turning this relationship upside-down was a necessary, but time consuming process. The intention of my stay being to learn, and not to teach, as most people expected in my many encounters, was something that needed to be explained over and over again.

To use students as informants, many of them being under the age of 18, was a decision that was not unproblematic. If my project had been conducted in Norway, each student would have needed permission from his or her parents to be eligible informants. This issue was discussed with the principal at TSS, and together we agreed that it was possible to use the students in my study as long as they were well informed in advance and did not have any objections themselves. There were many factors that contributed to this decision. First of all, some parents were not within reach, as a considerable amount of the students at TSS reside at the dormitory on campus with the remainder of

the family resident in other parts of Tanzania. Some students had no parents, as they were passed away. A third obstacle was the language barrier, with a limited number of the parents knowing English sufficiently to answer a participation request. Being aware of the importance of a clear and precise presentation of my project, and by making sure that the students comprehended the fact that they had a real choice not to participate, I tried my best to provide the students with a foundation on which to base their decision.

5   The Mzungu: Experiences From the Field

As mentioned in Chapter 4.3, the term Mzungu became a cornerstone in my project and thesis. First of all, a good understanding of the word was crucial in order to succeed. Later, this understanding was necessary to analyze the data. Is there a coherence between the word Mzungu and its content, and the images of Europe and the European presented in Tanzanian secondary education? Also, can the collective understanding of Europe and the European through the word Mzungu be a possible explanation for the images that are presented? In this chapter, the word Mzungu is presented through my data.

While the skin color and being a traveller are the sole *"formal"* characteristics of a Mzungu, most Tanzanians seem to have a collective understanding of the word that goes well beyond this. First of all, a Mzungu is well off economically. During one of my interviews, the Geography methodology lecturer at DUCE explained:

> ***Mr. Kabaka:*** […] And our common understanding, or our common perception, assume that you European people, they know a lot. I mean, they are rich… So the Africans they are always there to learn how […]

Mr. Kabaka is here linking the words *know* and *rich*, making them metaphors for each other and characteristics of the Mzungu category*.* In other words, he is expressing a belief in education being a tool to achieve wealth and development, a belief that is often called the Educational Gospel (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006).

I came across another example of the perception of the Wasungu being rich in a Tanzanain movie at the express bus from Arusha to Dar es Salaam. A girl meets with a friend of her, and the conversation between them goes like this:

> ***Friend:***   You like money?

> ***Girl:***   Yes, you know I like it!

> **Friend:** Then I can help! You have to come with me, because my friend just came from Europe.

The girl and the European become a couple, and in the next scene the girl meets her friends. With her hands full of money, she laughs to her friends: *"Guess who´s got a boyfriend from Europe?"* The movie scene draws a conclusion that not only defines the Mzungu as rich, but also that proximity to a Mzungu can give access to wealth.

Later on, Mr. Kabaka touched upon why this wealth can be relevant for Tanzanians:

> **Mr. Kabaka:** And also we assume that they [Wazungu] can be sponsor.

> **Me:** They can be a sponsor?

> **Mr. Kabaka:** Yeah, they can be sponsor. So I don't know, if you have time to stay more in Tanzania, if you visit the villages, children will be coming to you saying "Mzungu, Mzungu, Mzungu!" *(yelling)*. Yeah, and they got this picture: So if you got some in your pocket, they expect you saying: "Take this, take this, take this". They also think: "That man…" Yeah, so they can ask you [for] something. As a Mzungu!"

By viewing Wazungu as potential sponsors, the informant is clearly under the impression that Wazungu have enough money for both themselves and others. But by categorizing the Mzungu as a sponsor, he at the same time labels himself as a potential receiver. The relationship between a giver and a receiver is in Western cultures of the asymmetrical kind, with the giver having the superior position. The perception of this kind of relationships might be different in the eyes of Tanzanians. However, given the difference in consequences in this case, where a relatively insignificant European gift potentially can be the difference in order for education to be available for the Tanzanian receiver, the relationship can with justice be described as asymmetrical. The citation also describes a Muzungu as a person not only able to help, but also as a person who is willing to do so. This signalizes a quite positive perception of the Mzungu.

The Mzungu is not only willing to help; he also always has a purpose. Many times this purpose is assumed to be exactly that of helping. Again are the roles of giver and receiver distributed:

> *Mr. Kabaka:* And also we think that the Mzungu must be here for a purpose (laughing). Must be here for a purpose, if he is here, there must be something that he is looking for or is doing. There is no point for a Mzungu just for mingling or just staying, yeah.

> *Me:* Ok. So he always has a purpose…?

> *Mr. Kabaka:* Yeah, he always has that. All he does has a purpose. You know, we see Anders here. He is not here just to visit us!

When the lecturer points out that Wazungu always have a purpose, he recognizes that Tanzanians often do not have this. So not only are Tanzanians given the role as receiver of help, but they are also indirectly described as purposeless, being the counterpart of the constantly purposeful Mzungu. This characteristic of Tanzanian everyday life scenery – the large amount of people just sitting around – really struck me during my first visit to Tanzania and sub-Saharan Africa. People, both kids, young adults, and elders, just sitting around in the middle of the day, is a rare sight in the Western world. In Tanzania, being around "just for mingling or just staying…" as Mr. Kabaka calls it, or in other words: not having a purpose, seems to be quite normal. This leads us to another cultural factor that might cause this perception of the Wazungu as always having a purpose: the matter of time. The phenomenon "African Time" is not given much attention in my thesis. However, taking into account how Europeans in the eyes of Tanzanians are ruled by the clock, the assumption of Wazungu always having a purpose has a likely explanation.

Another assumption I found to be common, was that a Mzungu comes from Europe. Mr. Kabaka confirmed my suspicion:

Mr. Kabaka: The characteristics of the white man to us… The Mzungu?

Me: Yeah! That's what I want!

Mr. Kabaka: Mzungu actually must be a white firstly, hehehe… Must be white! And then we assume he is from Europe.

Me: Yeah?

Mr. Kabaka: Mhm… That he is from Europe. Yeah!

This assumption I found to be pervasive. Most of the white people I met during my stay in Tanzania were Europeans, with the number of Americans being surprisingly low. Also, taking the historical context into account with Tanzania being a former European colony, the assumption does make sense.

Another characteristic of the Wazungu is their level of development, with a specific focus on technology:

Mr. Kabaka: The Mzungu also are advanced technologically, yeah.

Me: Kind of developed, yeah? Would you say that?

Mr. Kabaka: Yes, technologically.

He continued later on in the interview:

Mr. Kabaka: It´s true we use Europe as example for many different things, as you know that they are more advanced than… us, yes.

The General Studies teacher at TSS shared this perception, but she took it even further, clearly expressing a Tanzanian dependency on the Wazungu:

> **Mrs. Mianda:** When we a see a Mzungu, we see a developed man, and someone
> we need.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I met Godfrey, a Tanzanian journalist student, at a beach club in Dar es Salaam. He touched on this dependency. While lying at the poolside, we discussed the positive perceptions of Europeans among Tanzanians:

> **Godfrey:** So what have you found out [in your studies]?

> **Me:** Well, most Tanzanians seem to have a really positive image of
> Mzungus. Also in school, the teaching…

> **Godfrey:** Yeah, we worship you guys! And I think that is good, because as a
> developing country, we need all the help and support we can get.
> And would you like to help somebody that is not nice to you? Hell
> no! So that´s why it is real important to treat white people nice!
> Yeah, worship you guys!

This positive perception of Europe and Europeans tends to put the Tanzanian counterpart in a negative position, which seems to be a situation that Tanzanians have few problems with. I touch on this matter in Chapters 8.2.b and 9.

To most Tanzanians, the word Mzungu is merely a positive term, associated with positive characteristics that they themselves want to be associated with. The General Studies teacher at TSS put it in a good way:

> **Me:** Would you describe Mzungu as a positive or negative word, or
> maybe neutral?

> **Mrs. Mianda:** Mzungu is a positive word, yeah! It means so much more than just
> being white. You should be proud of being a Mzungu. […]
> Tanzanians want to be like Mzungus, eat like them, dress like them,
> look like them, talk like them.

The word Swahili stands in opposition to Mzungu. While Mzungu represents the sophisticated, civilized, and Western, the word Swahili is associated with noise, chaos, and the East African lifestyle. The understanding of these words is well established within the Tanzanian society, something that was made clear to me during a field conversation with a post-graduate student from the Mozambique-Tanzania Centre for Foreign Relations (CFR). She told me about Uzunguni and Uswahilini, two neighborhoods in Dar es Salaam. While Uzunguni is an upper class, safe, and peaceful part of the city, Uswahilini is known for its lively streets, noisy nights, and high crime rate.

Even though the reasons for calling a person Mzungu for the most part are either neutral or positive, the results can often be quite the opposite. This was something I experienced in several ways during my stay in Tanzania, especially economically. Only at the public transport known as dala-dala and at the high-end stores with fixed prices I paid the same price as the locals. Everywhere else, Mzungu price was the only option, often several times the amount a local would be charged. At times, I was expected to pay just for being Mzungu. On my way to DUCE from my resident in Dar es Salaam, the police stopped me multiple times almost every day with the color of my skin as the only criterion for choosing to stop my taxi. A trip that already took too long was frequently further delayed. They always found a reason for me to give them some shillings, but the illusion of the Mzungu being a sponsor was shattered for many officers during my weeks in Dar es Salaam.

6 The Formal Level

The Formal level of curriculum represents in many ways what the Tanzanian secondary education *wants* their students to learn. In this chapter I present how I find government approved syllabuses and textbooks for Geography (Mzezele & Kibuuka, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b) (Zisti, 2010, 2012) (MoEVT, 2010a, 2010c), Civics (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c) (MoEVT, 2010b), and General Studies (Mbalase, 2011a, 2011b) (MoEVT, 2010d) to portray Europe and Europeans. In addition to this, data from two interviews with lecturers at Dar es Salaam University College of Education are presented together with field conversations and observations from my stay at the University College.

Table 6.1: *Method map for the Formal level, with green and red indicating if the method has been used (green) or not (red)*

Level	Conversation-based methods		Observation		Text analysis	
	Interview	Field conversation	Participant observation	Teaching	Class assignments	Text and image
Formal	2 (DUCE)					

6.1 Syllabuses

The syllabuses for Geography, Civics, and General Studies are in many ways very detailed documents, with a comprehensive description of each period (MoEVT, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2010d). The teacher is provided with specific objectives, teaching methods, and suggestions for teaching materials. However, looking for presentations of Europe and the European, the syllabuses proved not to be of much use. The words Europe and European are not found in the syllabuses, and the documents never touch specifically on the continent or its inhabitants. Therefore, I quickly came to realize that the textbooks would be the most important written data source at this level of curriculum. Given the approval from the MoEVT, textbooks represent a concretization of the curriculum reflecting the ideas and content of the syllabuses.

6.2 Textbooks

6.2.a Geography

Europe is mentioned quite frequently in Geography textbooks throughout the Tanzanian secondary education, although it varies from year to year (Mzezele & Kibuuka, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b) (Zisti, 2010, 2012). Form 6 stands out with 18 incidents, while Form 1-4 all have between 8 and 13 incidents. All these Forms include topics within Physical Geography, which is where Europe most often is mentioned. This impression is backed up by the fact that in Form 5, which is the only year exclusively teaching Practical Geography, Europe occurs one single time in the textbook, in a Guiding Question concerning Photography. However, this is the only incident in all of the textbooks in which Europe is not mentioned as an example.

Table 6.2: *Volume and distribution of incidents where Europe or the European are mentioned in Geography textbooks from Tanzanian secondary education*

Geography					
Number of Incidents, total: 60					
Example: 59			Review Question: 1		
Europe: 5			Parts of Europe: 55		
Positive: 13		Neutral: 47		Negative: 0	
Form 1: 13	Form 2: 8	Form 3: 12	Form 4: 8	Form 5: 1	Form 6: 18

For the most part, the textbooks do a good job in distinguishing the different parts of Europe from each other. 55 of the 60 times Europe is mentioned, concern specific parts of Europe. The 5 times Europe is treated as one unit, the books are either talking about Europe as a continent, or looking at natural or agricultural phenomena that can be found all across Europe.

When looking at how the textbooks present Europe, I find that most of the times it is done neither in a positive nor a negative way. In the majority of the incidents where Europe is brought up in Geography, it is used to give an example of a natural phenomenon. These examples are for the most part neutral, but can be positive if the phenomenon has a positive effect on the region. The textbooks try primarily to give examples from Tanzania or the East African region, but in some cases they bring in

European examples. If the phenomenon does not exist in Africa or in places other than Europe, a European example is natural. The river Rhone is given as an example for rivers with a glacier source, a type of river that is not found in Africa. Also, if the phenomenon differs greatly in Africa and in Europe, we often find examples from both continents. Agriculture is a topic of this kind, where both local and European examples are given:

> It [dairy farming] is well developed in countries such as Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. In Tanzania and the rest of East Africa, it is practiced on a relatively small scale (Mzezele & Kibuuka, 2009 b, p. 28)

Finally, if the phenomenon is widely associated with a specific place or region, this example is provided. An example for this is how the mountain Matterhorn in Switzerland is used to illustrate pyramidal peaks.

The textbooks I have looked at in my project are, as mentioned in Chapter 4.6.a, the same that were used at TSS. They tend to follow a certain structural pattern in their presentation of different topics:

Table 6.3: *The main pattern of structure within Tanzanian textbooks*

Stage	Description
1. Description	*Definition, characteristics, types*
2. Examples	*Local, regional, global*
3. Evaluation	*Advantages, disadvantages*
4. Effects	*Consequences, challenges*

One example of this structure is found in Chapter 9 of the Form 2 textbook in Geography. By looking at the headlines of the chapter, the different stages can easily be identified:

Figure 6.1: *Content overview for chapter 9,*

found in Geography textbook for Form 2

(Mzezele & Kibuuka, 2009b)

Stage 1 is found under the title *Transport*, with the book briefly defining what transport

is:

Transport

Transport can be defined as the movement of goods and people from one place to another. It provides a link between different parts of the world.

People move from one place to another to carry out different activities, such as production and distribution of goods. As such, transport enables the growth of different sectors of the economy.
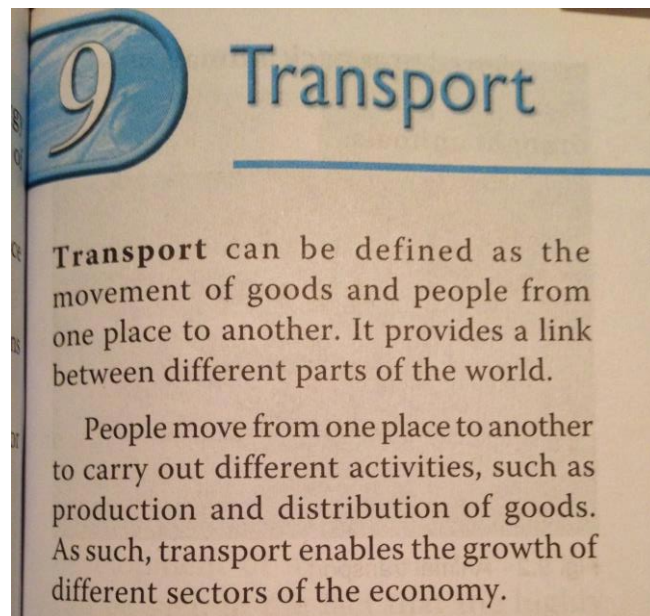
Figure 6.2: *Chapter introduction about*

transport found in Geography textbook for

Form 2 (Mzezele & Kibuuka, 2009b)

This definition is followed by stage 2, where different types of transportation are presented. In stage 3, transportation is evaluated under the title *Importance of the transport industry in East Africa* before the rest of the chapter looks at stage 4 and effects of transport. Another chapter where the same structure is clearly found is Chapter 7 of the same book, about manufacturing industries. Here, the different examples from around the world make up a central part of the chapter:

Figure 6.3: *Content overview for Chapter 7, found in Geography textbook for Form 2 (Mzezele & Kibuuka, 2009b)*

In the structure presented above, comparison is an important tool, with differences and contrasts being the focal points. This is especially obvious during stages 2 and 3, where different examples are presented and later evaluated in light of each other. It can be argued that this structure and how European examples are used in teaching, often as a comparison to local examples, contribute to Tanzanians' perceptions of Europe. When Europe is constantly being presented as something different from Tanzania and Africa, it is likely that Tanzanian students get an exotic perception of the continent. Using differences and comparisons, contributes in many ways to the same process as found by Said in the Occident's presentations of the Orient: "othering". Also, with the many comparisons between Europe and Tanzania where the Europan example is presented as

the better one, the students are presented a reality where Europe represents what Africa should strive to become.

Throughout the Geography textbooks, I could not find one incident presenting Europe in a negative way. On the other hand, there were 13 occasions where Europe and Europeans were put in a clearly positive light. Three of them were based on natural benefits, while the remaining 10 concerned agriculture, tourism, and other economical activities, in addition to environmental issues. Often, the books emphasize the higher level of technological development in Europe. Examples can be found under the topics tourism, various types of farming, ranching, and commercial and mechanical production. Most often, a local example is given together with the positive European example, and the textbooks are clear about which of the two they prefer. Chapter 7 in the Form 2 textbook is about tourism, and presents a focal study on the tourism industry in Switzerland and Tanzania. In the presentation of Switzerland, the book is enthusiastic about the tourism industry, using titles like *Factors favouring the development of tourism in Switzerland* and *The significance of tourism in Switzerland*. When looking at the situation in Tanzania, the book has a much more negative approach. After a short presentation of Tanzania as a country with great potential for tourism with its nature, climate, and cultural diversity, the focus shifts dramatically as the problems facing the tourism industry and how to deal with these problems make up the major part of the presentation.

The A-level textbook in Practical Geography includes review questions made by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) in order to help the students prepare for the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (ACSEE). One of the questions concerning Photography gives another good example of how Tanzanians view their agriculture. The question is a part of a photograph interpretation task concerning the photograph below and goes like this: *"What makes the difference between crop cultivation shown in the photograph and cultivation done by Tanzanian peasants?"*
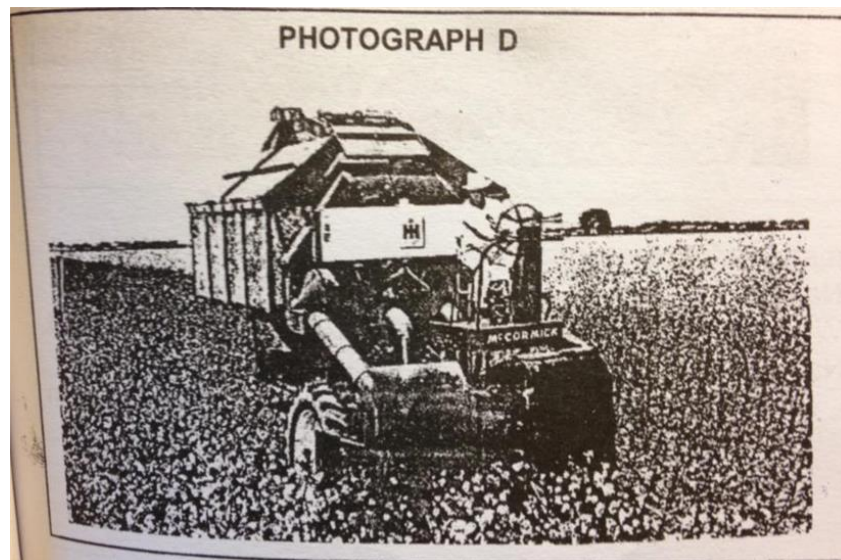
Figure 6.4: *Illustration used in review question about agriculture (Zisti, 2010)*

Some pages later the answer is provided: *"The photograph shows that the crop is grown in plantation and use machines."* Usage of both plantations and machines is described multiple places in this and other textbooks, as positive factors contributing to successful and profitable farming through European examples.

6.2.b   Civics and General Studies

There are similarities as well as differences between Civics and General Studies and Geography in their presentation of Europe and the European. The number of incidents where Europe is mentioned in Civics and General Studies is only 19, compared to 60 in Geography. However, 8 out of 19 are either positive or negative in their presentation of the continent, comprising a much bigger percentage than in Geography, with almost 80 percent of the incidents neutral towards Europe. So even if Geography mentions Europe more often, the examples in Civics and General Studies probably have a stronger influence on the collective images that Tanzanian secondary education presents of Europe and the European.

Table 6.4: *Volume and distribution of incidents where Europe or the European are mentioned in Civics and General Studies textbooks from Tanzanian secondary education*

Civics and General Studies					
Number of Incidents, total: 19					
Example: 19					
Europe: 6			Parts of Europe: 13		
Positive: 5		Neutral: 11		Negative: 3	
Form 1: 0	Form 2: 7	Form 3: 0	Form 4: 4	Form 5: 3	Form 6: 5

Another noticeable difference between Geography and the two other subjects is the negative presentations of Europe found in Civics and General Studies. Where Geography does not once put Europe or Europeans in a bad light, this happens once in Civics and twice in General Studies. Two of these incidents are in connection with globalization and the distribution of its benefits, while the last one concerns development and African dependency on European products through European reluctance towards investing in heavy industry in Africa:
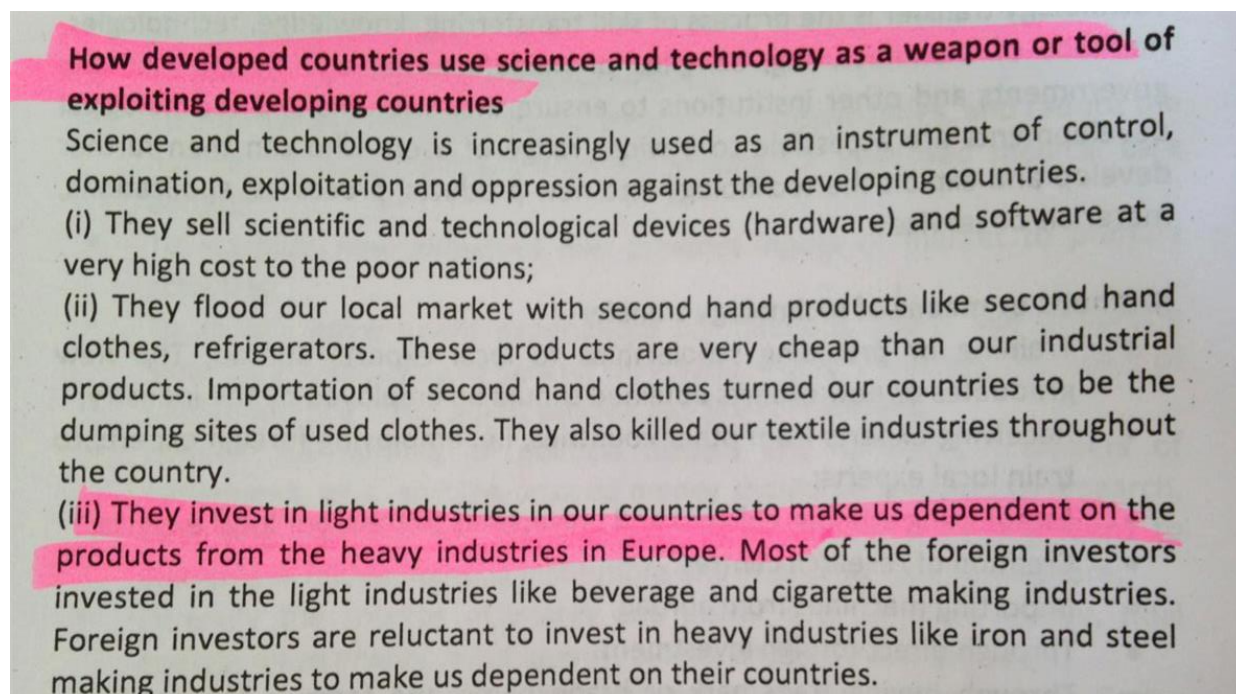
Figure 6.5: *A General Studies textbook from Form 6 explains how developed countries exploit developing countries by being selective in their investments (Mbalase, 2011b)*

However, where Geography lacks the negative presentations of Europe, the positive pictures found in Civics and General Studies are even clearer in their praise. One of the examples talks about financial aid:

> *"The most painful part is that; the foreign aids that Western countries send to Africa in the name of the poor people in Africa don't reach the poor people who need the aid the most. Western donors like America and UK pump billions of dollars to Africa to help better the living conditions of the poor people in Africa. [...] Instead those in higher positions spend the money on themselves buying big cars and mansions both home and abroad while the poor die form extreme poverty and hunger sometimes with nothing at all to eat"* (Mbalase, 2011b, p. 123).

This is an extract from a passage about the African Union and their challenges concerning bad governance from the From 6 General Studies textbook. Richard Mbalase explains the lacking results from foreign aid with bad governance and corruption in African countries, while the donors apparently do all in their power to improve the situation. This does not correlate with the explanations given in the donor countries, where the conduction of foreign aid has been heavily criticized. The main perceptions among Europeans are that the aid has failed because of mistakes made by both donors and receivers.

As in Geography, Europe and Europeans occur in Civics and General Studies through examples and not as a topic of their own. Democracy, Government, Globalization, Culture, and Development are the topics that use European examples. These topics are found in Forms 2, 4, 5, and 6. In Form 1 and 3, Europe is not mentioned once, which makes it interesting to take a closer look at the topics taught:

Table 6.5: *Topics that are taught in Civics in Form 1 and Form 3*

Form 1	Form 3
Our nation	Promotion of life skills
Life skills	Economic development
Human rights	Social development
Citizenship	Poverty
Work	
Family life	
Behavior and decision-making	
Road safety	

Many of the topics, with *Our nation*, *Family life*, *Life skills,* and *Behavior and decision-making* as examples, do not stand out as natural contexts for European examples. However, some of the topics, such as *Economic development* and *Social development,* represent good opportunities for European examples. Introducing all these topics in a local context is not a coincidence, but rather a conscious choice that can be found in all the social science subjects throughout Tanzanian secondary education.

Another example of this strong emphasis on using the local context as a basis for teaching can be found in the Pearson *Secondary Atlas* (2013) used in all four of the social science subjects: History, Geography, Civics, and General Studies. The 224-page atlas uses about 100 pages on the East African countries, and yet another 50 pages on the remainder of Africa. Where Tanzania alone is given 11 pages, Europe as a whole is briefly summarized in 8 pages. Also, the other continents are not much prioritized, with North America, South America, Asia, and Australia given 8, 4, 9, and 6 pages, respectively. The trend of highly prioritizing Tanzania and the local context as the primary point of reference in teaching, and Europe and other continents as supplements when needed, is confirmed in the structure and prioritizing found in the atlas.

6.3 Perspectives on the Formal Level

As lecturers at the prime educational institution for teachers in Tanzania, my two informants from DUCE contributed with an academic perspective to the Formal level. My data from the textbooks focused on the form of presentation, a topic that also concerned the lecturers. Europe is today not a topic in any of the three subjects, but Mr. Msunga told me this had not always been the case. Until around 1995, the Geography subject in secondary education was divided into three parts: Physical Geography, Practical Geography, and Regional Geography. The regional part was mainly (¾) about Western Europe, representing the prime example of development. After this changed, Mr. Msunga felt that the Tanzanian education did not include enough about Europe and the European, both at the secondary and college level, especially since many European countries are important contributors to Tanzanian development.

Mr. Msunga later mentioned how Europe has to be used as an example in some cases, because there are no African counterparts. The topic of population studies is one of these, and Europe is at a much later stage of population development than all African countries. Therefore, European countries have to be used as example in this area. Mr. Kabaka backs up this point in his interview:

> **Mr. Kabaka:** *It´s true we use Europe as example [...] And for our case, environment destruction is mainly made from cutting trees for charcoal and for burning maybe... yeah, that way. Or agriculture. But not the way that in? In Europe. So, we are comparing them positively in their prefer of advanced... maybe in industry, material, marketing, and other things. Yeah. But not in the... that your environment are more clean than ours, somehow we assume that we have big (ref. bigger) land than Europe. Yes. So for us to compare, we compare in that sense that that we are not advanced, that we can not keep the environment, meaning to good standards, like what they are doing in Europe. Yeah. And also on what I have said in regards to... to comparison, if you ask a student give example that... you know, most of literature if you survey the library, survey the internet sources, they are talking about Europe. Very few is written about Africa. And particularly to your country. So*

> *very few research have been done within our country. Yeah, most of*
> *the book have been written by... Europeans. Yes. So... I don't know,*
> *can I say even student them selves if you say they go and read*
> *something they will find their example from Europe. So even when*
> *they get examples, they will direct it from Europe where they have*
> *examples from the book, they have reference. So they can not provide*
> *examples for Tanzania or East Africa at all, or Africa.*

As the lecturer explains, bringing in European examples is sometimes necessary because the African example simply doesn't exist. This proves to be valid for both natural and social phenomena alike.

Like the textbooks, the two lecturers had a very positive perception of Europe and the European, just as the remainder of the staff at DUCE that I was in touch with. However, I was interested in their opinion concerning the topics where the textbooks put Europe in a bad light. The response I got from Mr. Msunga was not what I expected at first. The topic we talked about was pollution and environmental issues. He stressed that Europe does much good in order to protect our planet, but pointed at over-consuming and over-conserving as two areas where Europeans need to change their behavior. But then again he said that it is not their fault, because the Europeans are the frontrunners of development, and because of that they don't have anyone to look to or learn from in order to point out a direction for their development. Therefore it is only natural that some negative things occur every now and then, and he pointed out that Africans should appreciate not only the positive examples, but also the negative ones, since they provide learning lessons that can be useful in the future development of Africa. The lecturer pointed out that this was not only relevant for environmental errors done by Europe, but also the negative results of globalization and development talked about in the textbooks:

> ***Mr. Msunga:*** How can we not accept mistakes by the Europeans when nobody
> has been where they are before them?

Mr. Msunga then wrapped up our talk with this summary:

Mr. Msunga: Africans and Tanzanians look at Europe and Europeans in a very positive way, and this point of view also can be found in the way Europe is presented both in secondary schools and at the university and colleges.

6.4   The Formal level: Summary

My data for the Formal level shows that Europe and the European are presented through examples in Tanzanian secondary education, while Europe does not exist as a topic in any of the subjects included in my Master's project: Geography, Civics, and General Studies. The European example is mostly used when a local example from Tanzania or East Africa does not exist, or when the local example and the European one are significantly different, with the aim of comparing the two. This contributes to a presentation of Europe where the differences are emphasized. Also, where both the local and the European examples are used, the European one is often used to exemplify what Tanzanians should strive towards. If evaluated, Europe and the European are also most often presented in a positive way. This is especially significant when looking at the topics *Culture*, *Globalization*, *Government*, *Agriculture,* and *Tourism*. The few negative exemptions are found under the topics *Development* and *Globalization*, where the negativity is moderate and the guilt for the African underdevelopment assigned both to the Europeans and the Africans themselves.

7   The Perceived Level

The Perceived level represents the first human interpretation of the Formal level, as the teachers at this level make up their minds about how to put the Formal curriculum to life in the classroom. In this process, the written curriculum found in syllabuses and textbooks is processed through the cognitive filter of the teacher, with all his or her knowledge, perceptions, and opinions. This chapter presents the teachers' thoughts and impressions on how to conduct his or her teaching concerning Europe and the European. The data was constructed at TSS, and it consists of interviews, several field conversations, and class observations with two teachers, as well as experiences from my own teaching.

Table 7.1: *Method map for the Perceived level, with green and red indicating if the method has been used (green) or not (red)*

Level	Conversation-based methods		Observation		Text analysis	
	Interview	Field conversation	Participant observation	Teaching	Class assignments	Text and image
Perceived	2 (TSS)					

7.1   Observations and Experiences from the Field

By being in the field, and especially through my observation of teaching, I discovered that the Formal curriculum is very much the same as what is taught in the classrooms. There seems to be several reasons for this. First of all, many teachers in Tanzania do not have education for all the specific subjects they teach. Consequently, their teaching tends to lean heavily on the textbooks and the knowledge provided there. Secondly, the number of students having their own copys of the textbooks is strictly limited. Table 7.2 shows the textbook situation in Tanzanian classrooms according to statistics from the Tanzanian MoEVT. However, the statistics describe a much better situation than what I experienced at TSS. Reasonably, this should reduce the importance of textbooks and their impact on the teaching. Instead, the importance of bringing the information found in the textbooks to the students became the main objective during class. This forces even

65

the educated teachers to base their teaching on the textbooks. During my stay at TSS, I found that certain periods were used to provide extracts from the textbooks to the students. Then the teacher, or an assigned student, wrote the text on the blackboard for the students to copy in their notebooks.

Table 7.2: *Pupils Book Ratio (PBR) in governmental secondary schools, 2013 (*MoEVT*, 2014)*

	Geography	Civics / General Studies
Form 1	1:4	1:5
Form 2	1:5	1:5
Form 3	1:3	1:3
Form 4	1:4	1:4
Form 5	1:3	1:6
Form 6	1:2	1:5

A result of the Perceived curricula being so strongly influenced by the Formal one, is the methods used in class. As mentioned in Chapter 6.1.b, the textbooks tend to follow a certain pattern in their presentation of different topics. The teachers lean heavily on the textbooks in their teaching, letting this structure find its way to the classrooms. This again makes comparisons an important part of the teaching, just as at the Formal level. Even though I was not able to observe teaching specifically about Europe, my observations of other classes confirmed this structure being present in classes, an important similarity between the Formal and the Perceived level of curricula.

7.2   Perspectives from Tanzanian Teachers

Mr. Franklin, my supervisor at TSS, was familiar with the use of comparisons in teaching, and especially when teaching about Europe. When talking about why the European example was so important, he left no doubt:

> **Mr. Franklin:** Yeah for example to the level of development Europeans are advanced. Because they are more, they are more… they have more what? Science and technology. That's compared to Africa. Africans, they are in developing. […]So we as Africans we can learn what our friends [Europeans] do in their countries so that we can copy from them.

Later on, when talking about the topics where the textbooks tend to be slightly negative towards Europe, Mr. Franklin was more positive in his perception. When talking about globalization and environmental issues, he focused on the positive effort Europeans did to minimize damage:

> **Mr. Franklin:** Europe [has] more industries that produces that impact the degradation of the what? The Ozone layer and does what? Air pollution. That's why we use Europe as an example.

> **Me:** But then you… Would you say that, let's take the example of pollution, does it put Europe in a good light or a bad light?

> **Mr. Franklin:** In a good light?

> **Me:** In a good light?

> **Mr. Franklin:** In a good light because student themselves learning. Not only, even in Africa there is industries, now, is how to minimize what? Air pollution produced by what? Industries.

> **Me:** But do you think European industry… Are they doing a good job of reducing pollution?

> **Mr. Franklin:** Very, a nice one! Because sometimes they use the compressing systems and all the polluted materials are going trough the system

and the minimize the materials that destroy the lower level of the atmosphere.

Also the General Studies teacher at TSS stressed the importance of using Europe and European examples in teaching in order for the students to fully understand different topics:

> *Mrs. Mianda:* In order to understand Tanzanian matters who are mostly underdeveloped, you have to compare with the developed counterpart. This is often in Europe.

One of the examples she mentioned during our interview, was concerning government and multi-party systems:

> *Mrs. Mianda:* Another example is democratics, and multi party systems. Here in Tanzania the multi party system has caused only riots and chaos. In order for the students to realize that how multi party systems usually works, we need to present them with examples for Europe.

This was not something specific for this topic, or even the subject of General Studies:

> *Mrs. Mianda:* It is not enough to know how something is in Tanzania. You have to see the situation compared to other countries, so that the students know what we should work to become.

Mrs. Mianda later on expressed that European help is crucial in order for Tanzania to develop. The country's present situation does not allow development without external help:

> *Mrs Mianda:* The colonial time brought much positive things to Africa like civilization and education. Europeans opened our eyes. Today we have buildings that the colonials built that still stands. But we Tanzanians can´t build good buildings even today. Europe make

things that are real, authentic. It is not strange that people choose those things over African things, we need to learn!

Here, Mrs. Mianda defines the real and authentic to be the European made, described as developed and durable. This is sensational to hear for a European, who associates the real and authentic with characteristics like old, undeveloped, traditional, and local. At the end of my stay in Tanzania, my parents came to visit me and see the country. What they, and the majority of the tourists coming to Tanzania, wanted to see and experience during their stay, was what they will categorize as real or authentic. However, to them, this is not the colonial heritage found in Tanzania, but rather game in their natural surroundings, traditional tribal lifestyle, and Tanzanian culture. The launching of the Tanzanian Cultural Tourism Programme (TCTP) in 1996 is a good indicator of this trend (TCTP, 2015).

7.3 Summary of the Perceived Level

The images of Europe found at the Perceived level are much the same as those provided at the Formal level. The teachers depend quite heavily on the textbooks for several reasons, two of the most important ones being the generally low level of education among the teachers, and the wide tendency of assigning teachers to teaching subjects they are not specifically trained for. Also, the textbook shortage among students causes even the qualified teachers to use a significant amount of time on conveying textbook contents. This results in a teaching structured very much like the textbooks, a structure that is confirmed through my observations of teaching and in my interviews with the teachers. However, a significant difference between the Formal and the Perceived level is the addition of the teachers' perception of the word Mzungu, and the impact this has on the teaching, making neutral or even negative European examples more positive than at the Formal level.

8   The Experienced Level

The students and their perceptions form the basis for the Experienced level of curricula. However, when looking at Tanzanian youth and their perception of Europe and the European, there are likely more factors contributing to the final product. The media is likely to have a strong impact, with the movie mentioned in Chapter 5 as an example. Also, Europeans present in Tanzania will also be important for the students' images – a complex group consisting of tourists, diplomats and governmental workers, students, and volunteers. As this composition does not reflect the population of Europe in a representative way, this will also contribute to the students' somewhat abnormal perceptions. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find the specific contribution of each of the elements that together form the students' perception of Europe and the European, as these images are a result of complex mental processes over a long period of time. However, research shows that primary and secondary education is an important source of knowledge about other countries and cultures (Zevin, 2003). Therefore, the students' images of Europe and the European can provide an insight into the topics of my thesis, bearing in mind the complexity of and the numerous contributors to their perceptions.

As the students contributing to my project were about to obtain their CSEE, they were in a good position to be quality informants for my project, having soon completed the first four years of Tanzanian secondary education. This chapter presents my data from the Experienced level, structured after the student tasks presented in Chapter 4.6.c.

Table 8.1: *Method map for the experienced level, with green and red indicating if the method has been used (green) or not (red)*

	Conversation-based methods		Observation		Text analysis	
Level	Interview	Field conversation	Participant observation	Teaching	Class assignments	Text and image
Experienced	🟥	🟩	🟩	🟩	🟩	🟥

8.1   Impressions from the Classroom

When being in the classroom with the students, I quickly realized that they had very strong perceptions of Europe and the European, and the more time I spent with them, the more of their images were revealed.

In one of my periods described in Chapter 4.6.c, the students graded different words on the blackboard (see Figure 4.1). Looking at the blackboard, there were many interesting observations. First of all, the students proved their Tanzanian taste by grading the words *tea*, *ugali,* and *east* as positive, *pizza* and *west* as negative, and *coffee* as neutral. Also, *Africa* and *Europe* were both graded as positive words, with *Africa* being the more positive of the two, while the class was united in placing *America* at the negative left side of the blackboard. This shows that the students not only differentiate Europe and America, but also have opposite opinions about the continents. However, when grading the word *Mzungu*, this was placed in the middle, as neutral. When asking the students about the meaning of Mzungu, they all answered "European". Their reason for not grading the word as positive, was that being a Mzungu also has some negative consequences in Tanzania, exemplified by higher prices, a lower level of safety, and constant attention in public. Therefore, since the word brought both positive and negative associations, they found the word to be neutral.

Another case that made me wonder was the negative grading of the word *west*, which also is a potential metaphor for Europe. The explanation given was that the students perceived the word *west* not primarily as a reference to Europe and the Western world, but rather as the counterpart of *east*, a word they had a positive perception of based on their *East* African location and the Tanzanian membership in the East African Community (EAC).

8.2   Student Drawings and Texts

56 Form 4 students answered the drawing and writing assignment I had prepared, 23 girls and 33 boys.

The first half of the assignment given to the students at TSS, consisted of drawing tasks. The two tasks had a high answer rate, with 55 and 53 out of 56 students answering tasks 1a and 1b.

Europe: Students' Associations

In task 1a, the students were asked to draw the things that came to mind when hearing the word "Europe". The drawings differed within a few different themes.
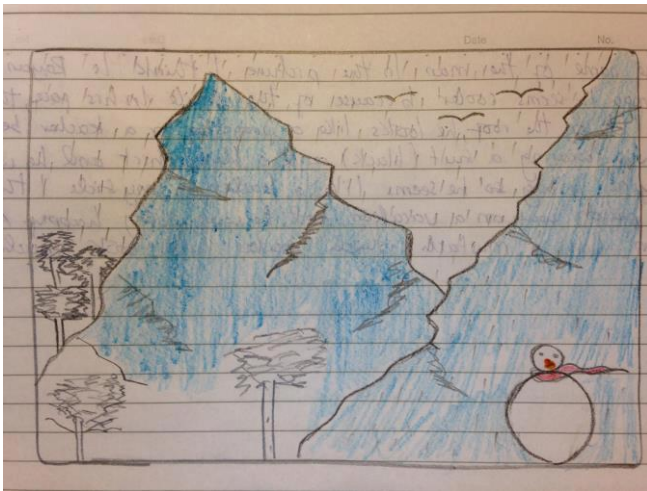
Figure 8.1: Drawing of the European
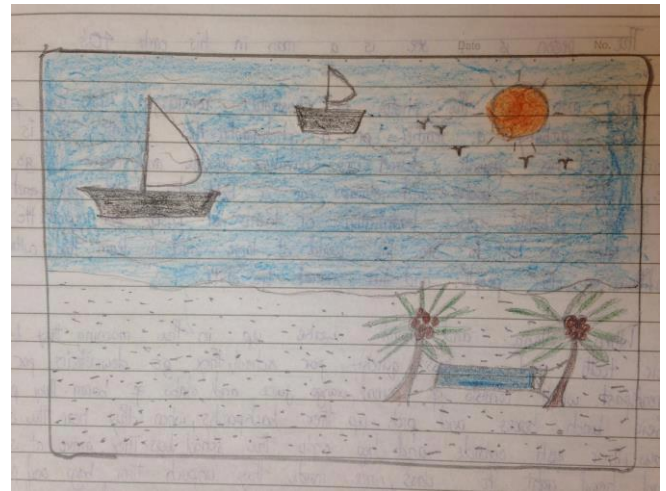
Figure 8.2: Drawing of the European

Nature was one of the themes that could be found in several drawings, with winter motives and the beach as two common associations (Figures 8.1 and 8.2). Especially winter motives represent a different reality than what is found in Tanzania and Africa in general, fitting with the presentations of Europe at the Formal and Perceived level, mainly focusing on differences. Beaches are also found at the coast of Tanzania, and this is a picture of Europe the students are more likely to get through media, especially TV and the Internet.

Figure 8.3: Drawing of the European

Figure 8.4: Drawing of the European

Another theme that was popular among the students, was cities and urban landscape (Figures 8.3 and 8.4). Tall buildings, traffic, and industrial activities were some of the elements that the students included. Also famous Western brands like BBC, Bugatti, Daily News, Chevrolet, Mövenpick, and AiG were featured in the drawings. One student drew what is easily recognized as London, featuring the Millennium Eye, St. Mary Axe, and the River Thames (Figure 8.5).
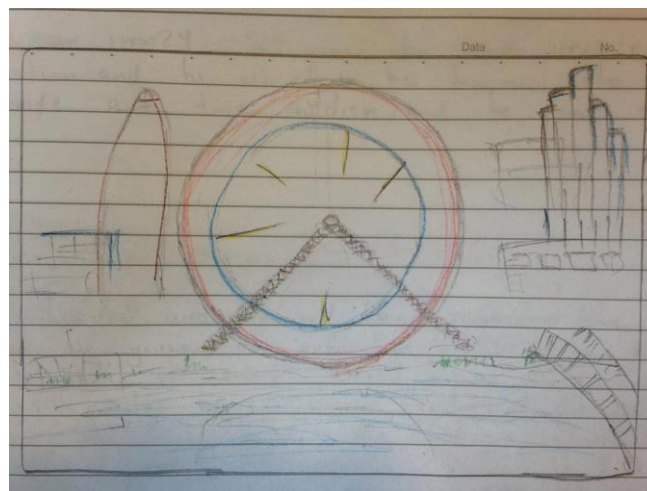
Figure 8.5: Drawing of the European

Urban areas are in many cases viewed as a result of development, as urbanization is a strong global trend that also has its impact on Tanzania (Knox & Marston, 2010, p. 391). But also development in other forms was found in many of the drawings, with an emphasis on technological development (Figures 8.6 and 8.7).

74

Figure 8.6: Drawing of the European

Figure 8.7: Drawing of the European

One last theme that was found in several of the drawings was football, and English football in particular (Figures 8.8 and 8.9).

Figure 8.8: Drawing of the European
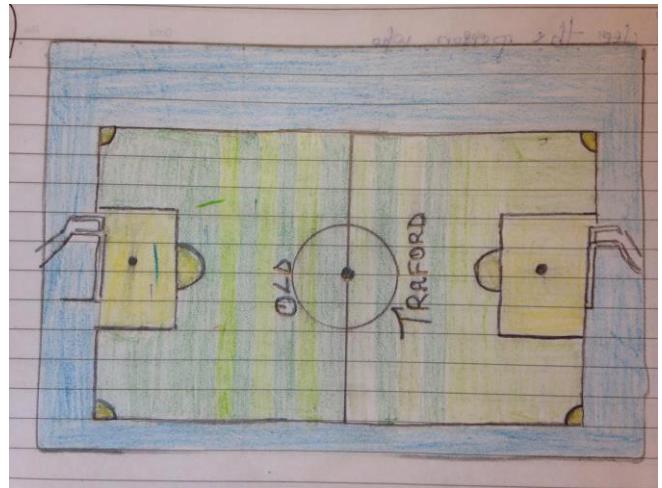
Figure 8.9: Drawing of the European

The Students as Europeans

Task 1b asked the students to make a drawing of themselves as Europeans. When looking through the answers, I immediately noticed that all the students had drawn themselves with white skin. With the paper being white, it is possible that some may be white because they forgot to color the skin. However, the students were well equipped with a broad variety of coloring pencils, so it is reasonable to say that this was a conscious choice for many of the students.

Figure 8.10: Student as European
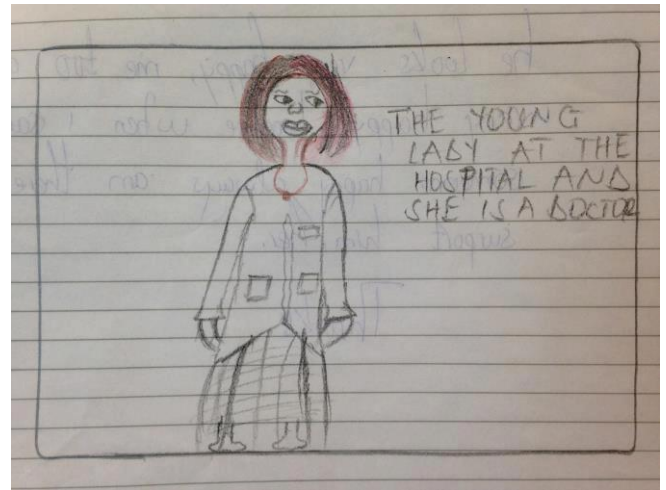
Figure 8.11: Student as European

Another factor that was present in many of the drawings, was education, with one girl making a drawing of a doctor (Figure 8.11), and another drawing herself as a student at a high school somewhere in the United Kingdom, carrying a pile of textbooks (Figure 8.10). Both pictures touch upon two familiar problems in Tanzanian education: the shortage of textbooks, and the highly restricted possibilities for higher education (MoEVT, 2014).

A third trend found in the drawings, was the prosperity displayed there. When looking at the drawings, it can be argued that a majority of the students had the impression that being European also means being well off, a conclusion that coincides with the understandings I have found of the word Mzungu. Examples of wealth in the drawings are expensive cars, fancy dresses, and fashionable clothing brands like Versace and Calvin Klein (Figures 8.12 and 8.13).

Figure 8.12: Student as European

Figure 8.13: Student as European

When looking at how the students dress themselves in the drawings, it seems that they have a clear impression of European fashion. The outfits differ greatly from what is seen in the streets of Tanzanian cities and in the countryside. The girls are dressed in either nice dresses as seen above (Figure 8.13), or in more bold outfits exemplified underneath (Figure 8.16). The boys, however, are likely to get much of their inspiration from the sports world and the music industry (Figures 8.14 and 8.15).
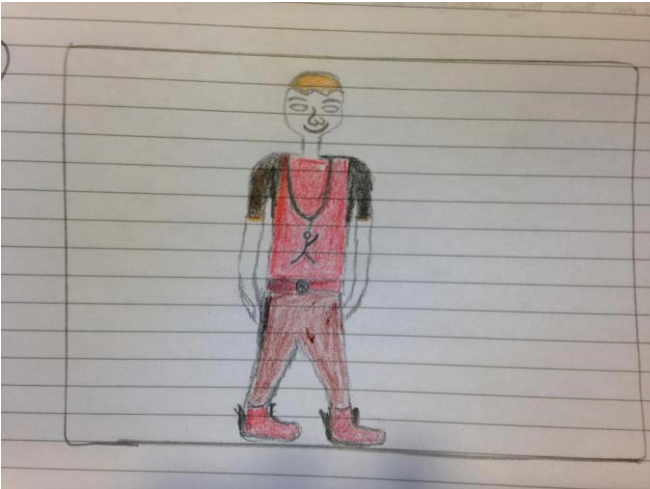
Figure 8.14: Student as European
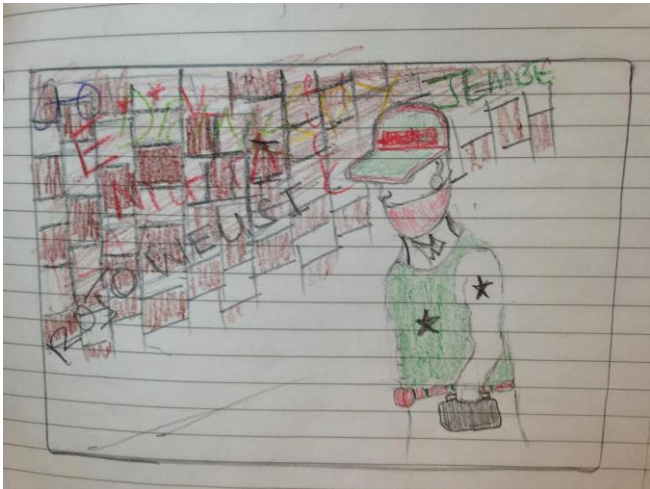
Figure 8.15: Student as European
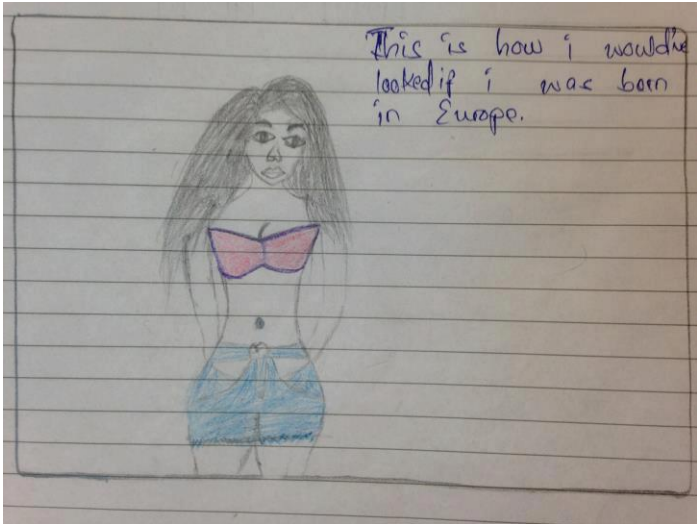
Figure 8.16: Student as European

One last, but important factor in many of the drawings, are the facial expressions of the students as European. A large majority of them are smiling, with one student making himself as clear as possible concerning his state of mind (Figure 8.17):
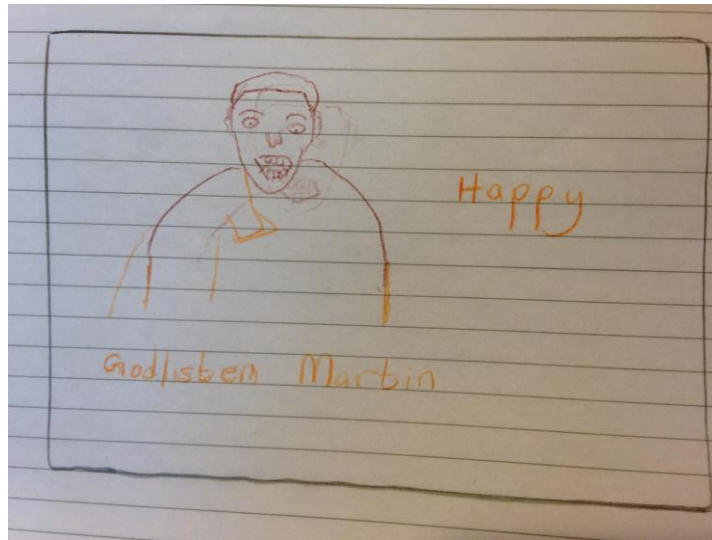
Figure 8.17: Student as a European

The assumption of being happy and smiling as a result of being European corresponds to the understanding of the term Mzungu, and the characteristics of Tanzanians' perceptions of this category.

8.2.b "The Photo Tells Me"

In the second task, the students were asked to give a presentation of a man they saw on a picture (Figure 8.18). As they were given no information about the man besides what they could see in the picture, they were dependent on using their imagination and sharing their perception of the man. The specific picture was consciously chosen. I wanted a picture of a European who was similar to the Europeans they were used to seeing, so that the descriptions from the students would reflect their perceptions, as this was ultimately what I wanted.

Figure 8.18: Photo used in Task 2

Compared with the drawings, many of the students had the same impressions of the man on the picture. First of all, everyone believed the man was European. As the whole assignment was about Europe and the European, this is a likely assumption for the students to make.

However, many of the texts provide reasons for their statement. *"I think he is from Europe because he is white and total surroundings there are like in Europe"* is a typical example, where being European and having white skin yet again are assumed to coincide.

Only one student provided a clearly negative description, claiming "*he is not happy though ~~she~~ he is laughing*". The remaining 44 students who answered the task were all positive in their presentation of the man. Characteristics like *smart*, *kind*, *educated,* and *handsome* are used in multiple texts. Also, many of the students have the impression that the man is a doctor, a teacher, or a businessman. In the majority of the texts, the man is described as a family man, with a wife and multiple children.

A description that is found in the majority of the texts, is that the man is in a good economical situation. The students use phrases like *well off*, *successful in business,* and *wealthy* in their description of the man. It can very well be argued that these descriptions are a direct result of the physical features shown in the photo in addition to the color of his skin, as he in many ways looks like a typical academic with his glasses and style of clothing. However, with almost all students making the same assumption, it is likely that the students' perception of the man as a European has played a role. When two of the main characteristics of the word Mzungu are being European and rich, the students' common descriptions can at least partially be explained by the term and its meaning to the students.

Besides the positive characteristics mentioned above, several of the answers put the man in the picture in an abnormally positive light, based on the limited amount of information the students were given. The students went even further when describing the personality and character of the man:

> *"There is a man called Mr. James, who is very good and simple man. He works as a professional doctor who is very intelligent and hard working. During holidays he always take his family to the beach. He loves his children very much, but the most is Mara. He also likes to eat food rich in carbohydrates. With all his kindness he also helps orphans who have ben left with no parents. In short he is a good man."*

"The photo I saw, it looks like a man who is a doctor and a person who takes care of children who cannot afford their basic needs and he is a good person. His life, as I can see is a normal life and has a family of four children, two of them are girls and also two of them are girls, and one wife. He likes playing volleyball, and he looks like when he was young he was somekind of a champion in volleyball. He likes eating stuffs like hot dog, pizza and other sweet things, he is against violence and bad things which can happen in the world. He likes eating fruits like strawberry, bananas, watermelon. He doesn't take alcohol, smoke weed and nothing bad. He is a person of age 45 and his wife is somekind of 42. His life looks amazing…"

Another of the students explained how the man keeps his promises:

"The man in the photo is called Dwain Johny. He's cute and so handsome. He's single but he has a son. His son's name is Edwin. He is an agriculturalist. He is a man of charms, joy, kind and mostly so generous. For real I love him a lot. He makes me feel very extra ordinary happy. He has two cars, a large house and a very nice. He is a man of his word, understanding and when he gives out a promise he fulfills it."

All these three text tell something about the man being helpful by his own good will. It is a likely assumption to believe the constellation of Europeans present in Tanzania plays a part in this characteristic being mentioned so frequently. In addition to this, through *Orientalism* (1978) and Said's ideas about defining according to own needs, the man might be described as helpful based on an experienced need for help among the students.

Finally, the consuming habits of the man are another factor worth paying attention to. The majority of the students describe a standard of living that is far from both their own reality and the one of the average European. Multiple cars, big houses, fancy vacations, and exotic activities are all part of the students' descriptions of the man in the picture. This reflects a perception of European life as a prosperous one, with a high materialistic standard.

The third and final task of the assignment asked the students to write about a normal day in the life of the two European 17-year old siblings Maria and David. This task was the one with the fewest answers, with 17 of the students not providing an answer. All the 39 texts that were collected were more or less similar, with several elements found in most of them. A majority of the students wrote about how school was an important part of the day for Maria and David, with many of them also describing doing of homework after the school day was over. In a few of the texts, school was exchanged with work, which is the reality for many 17-year old Tanzanians. Another element found in several of the answers, was the use of TV. Almost all of the students provided some time during the day for David and Maria to either watch TV, play video games, or watch movies.

The students seemed to have a collective understanding of life in Europe. The following text is in many ways a typical example from the set of texts, with the exception of being the only one with of the inclusion of an African:

> *Maria and her brother David wake up early every Thursday and They take a shower then brush teeth. then do every other thing concerning hygine. after that they take a cup of coffee and leave for school with their lunch boxes. In their school bus the driver is Mr. Omune who is a black man from Kenya and Straight to school then after school they play with their friends in the school field then they go back at home, then study, eat then watch TV and go to bed till the other morning.*

However, not all of the students follow the pattern exemplified above. One of the boys describes a much more entertaining day for the two siblings:

> *Maria and David. on thursday like this first thing, they woke up very late and then they took a bath. thirdly, they got some breakfast after that they go for a bike ride. Maria visits her boyfriend. they definitely make out sometimes while David visits his friends in the neighborhood. there they enjoy baseball and swimming in the deep pool.*

Maria and David both hate gossip. At 8 pm they go to restaurant to get some lunch. there after they go to football match hen after they go back home at 9 pm then that's the end of the day. they go to sleep or watch movies and that is their best thursday.

One last trend, which is exemplified in a good way in the text above, is the consuming habits of Maria and David. This is touched upon in Chapter 8.2.b, as the trend is even more evident in the task "The photo tells me…".

8.3   Summary of the Experienced Level

With the images of Europe and the European found at the Experienced level, the students at TSS draw a clear picture of both the continent and its inhabitants. Europe is presented as a place that is either really different from Tanzania, or as a place with elements that also are found in Tanzania, such as cities, beaches, and mountain landscapes, but in a more developed or refined version. As for the people, the students have a clear picture of European everyday life, where possibilities within education and spare time activities are given central roles. The European consuming habits are in many ways described as prosperous, like in the style of clothing, with many luxurious brands found in the drawings. Finally, the European character is described as kind, helpful, and trustworthy. Overall, the students present Europe and the European in a very positive way.

9 "Us" and "the Others", Tanzania and Europe

In light of the data material presented in Chapters 5 through 8, clear contours of the Tanzanian categories *Europe* and *the European* are revealed. How these categories are constructed, primarily based on contrasts and differences, is evident in the Tanzanian perceptions of the continent and the people living there. In this chapter, I will first establish the categories "us" and "the others", being the Tanzanians and Europeans, respectively, before a closer look at the nature of their relationship is provided, discussing its constructional process and potential contributing factors.

9.1 Dichotomies: Tanzania and Europe, Tanzanians and Europeans?

When asking Tanzanians about Europe, most of them have a clear impression of the continent that they are eager to share. First of all, Tanzanians, as far as my data material is concerned, find Europe different from Tanzania. Climatically, Europe is different with its four seasons. Snow is frequently brought up as a feature found in Europe, together with the costal landscape and beaches. Also, Europe's high level of development is often emphasized, with its high urban density, low unemployment rates, and good possibilities for education and public services. Finally, the technological development is given much attention with the resulting possibilities for industry, entertainment, and general standard of living. A common feature for the majority of these descriptions of Europe is that they more or less describe what is not Tanzanian.

Turning the attention to the European, this category is labeled "Mzungu" among the Tanzanians. According to Tanzanians, the Mzungu has white skin and comes from Europe. In addition to being wealthy, the Mzungu has a purpose wherever he or she goes. This purpose is often assumed as being to help, as Tanzanians perceive the Europeans as willing to help, and also as potential sponsors in light of their prosperity. This willingness to help is just one of several positive characteristics used to describe the Mzungu, with kind, trustworthy, and smart being other descriptions frequently found.

The categorization of Europe and the European through the word Mzungu is a process that to a large extent relates to Tanzanians' images of themselves. The word Swahili, which represents what is found to be Tanzanian, stands in contrast to the word Mzungu and its content. The relationship between the two, Swahili and Mzungu, is to Tanzanians very much the same as that between Tanzania and Europe. Where Tanzania is described as traditional, underdeveloped, and poor, Europe is found to be modern, developed, prosperous, and authentic. The same dichotomous relationship is found between the Tanzanians and Europeans. Where the European is the giver, the Tanzanian is the receiver. What the Europeans teach, the Tanzanians should learn. When Europeans are helping, Tanzanians are being helped. With a strong impact from the well-established word pair and dichotomy Swahili/Mzungu, Europe and the European are perceived by Tanzanians to stand in a dichotomous relation to both Tanzania and themselves as its inhabitants.

9.2   Dichotomies: How?

Despite the fact that Europe serves as an important example for the direction of the Tanzanian development, the continent and its inhabitants are at the same time both presented and perceived as a contrast to the Tanzanian. This is in many ways a paradox, as these two roles do not naturally combine. Having Europe as a major inspiration for its direction of development, Tanzania will automatically leave its position as a contrast to Europe, and become more and more similar as the development proceeds. So how is it possible that Europe, being an important point of reference in relation to development in Tanzania, also is viewed to stand in a dichotomous relation to the country?

As pointed out, the word *Mzungu* as a Tanzanian metaphor for *European* plays a central role. As explained in Chapter 1.1, the literary meaning of Mzungu is *"one who moves around"*, a word that originally described the European travellers in East Africa during the 18th century. However, Europeans found in Tanzania today also have an impact on the Tanzanian dichotomous perception of the European. With most Tanzanians never travelling to Europe, the Wazungu in Tanzania represent the only point of reference for the majority of the population when it comes to Europeans. Today's European population in Tanzania can mainly be divided into three groups. The first group is

tourists, visiting Tanzania for recreational purposes. The second group is diplomats and foreign workers, many of them involved in foreign aid. The last group consists of students and volunteers staying in Tanzania for a period of time. All these groups contribute to the category *Europeans* as a contrast to its Tanzanian counterpart. For the most part, all groups have a relatively good economical situation during their stay in Tanzania, strengthening Tanzanians' impression of Europeans being economically well off. Another factor that has been pointed out earlier is the element of purpose, with all groups being in Tanzania for a clearly defined reason. When it comes to Wazungu being helpful, the groups contribute in different ways. The governmental workers are often involved in different kinds of aid, while the tourists represent an important source of income. Finally, students and volunteers might be the strongest contributors of the three groups, often directly involved in various local educational, social, or health institutions or activities where their contributions are experienced close-up by Tanzanians.

Another important factor contributing to the construction of the dichotomy Europe and Tanzania is the media presentations of the Mzungu. The example given in Chapter 5 is one of many where the Tanzanian entertainment business not only contributes to maintaining the dichotomous relationship between the Wazunga and the Tanzanians, but also strengthens it. Also, the selective images of Europe and the Western world that are presented through the majority of Western movies, TV-series, and the Internet do not invalidate Tanzanian perceptions, but rather exactly the opposite.

Together with language and the local context, the dichotomous images of Tanzania and Europe found in the secondary education both coincide with and contribute to common Tanzanian perceptions. In light of the nature of dichotomies and how characteristics of one part always tell something about the other, the teaching about Europe would automatically impact Tanzanians' perception of themselves (Mac Naughton, 2005, p. 82). However, given the main structural pattern found in the presentation of topics, Tanzanian secondary education contributes greatly to the dichotomous relationship between the two. Europe is almost exclusively visible in examples when the continent is mentioned in Geography, Civics, and General Studies, brought in when a local example does not exist or is significantly different. This contributes to a presentation of Europe in which differences and contrasts are emphasized. With Europe not being a topic of its

own in any of the three subjects, a natural arena where the totality of Europe can be presented, with both its differences and similarities to Tanzania, is difficult to identify.

9.3   Dichotomies: Why?

Finding Tanzanian perceptions of the relationship between Europe and Tanzania to be dichotomous, the question "why" naturally comes to mind. As a European, I recognize major differences between Europe and the European, and Tanzania and the Tanzanian. However, I do not find the relation between the two dichotomous. Also, having the position of the European example in mind, a contrastive relationship seems paradoxical:

> **Mrs. Mianda:** […] Tanzanians want to be like Mzungus, eat like them, dress like them, look like them, talk like them.

So what can explain the common Tanzanian perception of the European and the Tanzanian as contrasts? One factor is the actual difference between the two, and the selective reality exposed to the majority of Tanzanians. As pointed out in Chapter 9.2, the European that is seen and experienced by common Tanzanians mostly represents the sunny side of Europe, and does not include the flaws, problems, and difficulties of the continent. On the contrary, the fact that more than $^4/_5$ of the population in Tanzania live on less than $1.25 per day is evident wherever you go (United Nations, 2010). Given these images of reality dominating the Tanzanian society, perceiving the European and Tanzanian as contrasts is all of a sudden more or less understandable. When only taking a selective portion of both Europe and Tanzania into consideration, the two create a natural dichotomy.

The images of Europe and the European found in Tanzania are in many ways a mirror of the representations of "the others" found in Europe and the North by Fanon (1968) and Said (1978), both finding Europe to be presented in a positive light compared to "the others". Thiong'o (1981) launched the concept of the colonized mind as his explanation. While under colonial rule, the former colonies became comfortable with their inferior position, and adopted European perceptions. Thiong'o calls for a decolonization of the

mind, as he believes that Europe and the global North still have a strong impact on the perceptions in the South.

Said (1978) argued that Europe and the Western world claimed the right to define, and purposely represented "the others" in a fashion that best suited themselves. Also, Fanon and his Manichaeism theory describe Europe-friendly definitions of "others", explaining the stigmatizing representations of the colonized "others" with the purpose of justifying the colonial rule (Fanon 1968). Looking at the Tanzanian images of Europe and the European identified in this thesis, is it possible that Tanzanians, similar to the Occident and colonial powers, have claimed the power to define, and constructed these images with a similar purpose? Based on my data material, it may be argued that Tanzanians view themselves as dependent on external help in order to develop in a proper way. Godfrey was clear in his opinion concerning Tanzania's situation and need for help:

> ***Godfrey:*** *Yeah, we worship you guys! And I think that is good, because as a developing country, we need all the help and support we can get. And would you like to help somebody that is not nice to you? Hell no! So that´s why it is real important to treat white people nice! Yeah, worship you guys!*

The images of Europe and the European that I have identified through my project, images of helping role figures, are in many ways what suits Tanzanians best, given their own perceptions of Tanzania: a developing country dependent on help on its way out of misery. To claim that the Tanzanian images of Europe and the European are purposely constructed to suit their own needs is a very bold statement. However, my data material is unambiguous in its description of images of Europe and the European that suit the discourse of a developing country very well.

9.4   Europe and Europeans: Prototypical Categories

As pointed out, Tanzanians have clear perceptions of the categories *Europe* and *Europeans*. The majority of these perceptions coincide with each other, much because of the word Mzungu and its well-established position in the Tanzanian society. The

European, labeled Mzungu by the common Tanzanian, is seen to have a dichotomous relation to the Tanzanian. This causes Europe and Europeans to be perceived as everything that Tanzania and the common Tanzanian are not. The categories Europe and European are primarily based on the European prototype conveyed through the word Mzungu, causing Tanzanians to be quite narrow in their understanding of the two. Therefore, a European who is poor or does not have white skin, does not fit into the Tanzanian category *European*.

For me to be categorized as European, given the prototypical understanding of the category, was very much an uncomfortable experience. As I gradually got a better understanding of the word Mzungu and its content, I found myself to be described as someone I did not want to be, based on the circumstances. It is true that many of the characteristics of a Mzungu actually describe me, as I have white skin, I come from Europe, and I am relatively well of economically compared to the majority of the Tanzanians I met. However, being perceived as a kind and helpful person only because of my white skin is not a situation I am comfortable with. A possible explanation for this perception is the limited capacity of categories, a limitation that is necessary in order to make categories possible to understand and relate to (Aase and Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 137). In this case, the Tanzanian category *European* did not reflect the spectrum of characteristics found among Europeans in real life. This causes a prototypical assumption to be made. I found this assumption to be unfair both towards the Tanzanians and myself. In addition to their perception of me being based on the color of my skin, the positive assumptions were based on the dichotomous relation to themselves, a reasoning causing the negative counterparts of their assumptions to be descriptions of themselves.

Even though the word Mzungu itself does not occur in the Formal curricula of Geography, Civics, and General Studies in secondary education, the content found both there and at the Perceived and Experienced levels in many ways reflects the content of the word. With teaching about Europe primarily focusing on differences and contrasts, the educational system contributes to the narrow Tanzanian understanding of Europe and the European. The same selective images found elsewhere in the Tanzanian society are repeated, maintaining categories with room for not much more than the prototypical

perceptions of Europe and the European. Instead, the educational system should contribute to a wider definition of the two categories by presenting more nuanced images of Europe. The introduction of Europe as a topic of its own would provide the secondary education a natural arena for these images, an arena that today is very hard to identify due to the structure used in teaching. By widening their understanding of Europe and the European, the Tanzanians' images of themselves would be more positive and optimistic, images that in a much better way represent the variety and attributes of Tanzania and the Tanzanian.

10 Conclusion

Through my Master´s project, I wanted to reveal which images of Europe and the European Tanzanian secondary education presents. I also wanted to identify collective perceptions of the white man among Tanzanians by looking at their understanding of the word Mzungu, and then see if the images that were presented in the secondary education reflected and coincided with these perceptions.

The images of Europe and the European that are presented in Tanzanian secondary education are positive images, focusing on the parts of the European that are different from the Tanzanian. This focus is mainly caused by a structural pattern within teaching, where the use of comparison is important. With Tanzania and the East African region being used as the main context in teaching, Europe is brought in as an example first of all when a local example does not exist, or when the local and European examples are significantly different. When both a local and a European example are provided, the European is presented as the better one in a vast majority of the incidents. This results not only in exotic images of Europe, being different from Tanzania, but also contributes to the presentations of Europe and the European most often being positive.

The word Mzungu represents common Tanzanian perceptions of Europe and the European. The word Mzungu stands in a dichotomous relation to the word Swahili, which represents the Tanzanian. A Mzungu, besides being European, has white skin, much money, and represents in many ways what many Tanzanians want to be. The reasons for being a Mzungu are merely positive, but the consequences can be both good and bad. In addition to this, the Mzungu is viewed to be kind and helpful, characteristics that combined with his or her wealth result in Wazungu being seen as potential sponsors. This prototypical understanding of the European, conveyed through the word Mzungu, causes the Tanzanian categories *Europe* and *European* to be quite narrow. The word Mzungu is not found in the Formal curricula of Geography, Civics, or General Studies at the secondary level, but the images of the European found in the subjects coincide for the most part with the content of the word. When looking at the Perceived and Experienced levels, the Mzungu term and its content become even more evident

through the teachers' teaching and students' learning, a result of the solid establishment of the word, both in the Tanzanian society and the Swahili language.

Carl Marx once wrote this concerning "the others": "They cannot present themselves; they must be represented" (Marx, 2008[1852]). As for the Tanzanians, being "others" in the eyes of Marx, they both present and represent themselves very effectively, with their perceptions of Europe and the European through the word Mzungu playing an important role. The issue is their dichotomous perception of the European and the Tanzanian, a dichotomy causing the positive presentations of Europe to contribute to negative descriptions of Tanzania. More nuanced images of Europe in the educational sector would not only contribute to a more realistic representation of Europe, but also potentially liquidate the unnatural dichotomous relationship between the European and the Tanzanian and the negative effects that might have on Tanzanians' perceptions of themselves.

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12 Appendices

Appendix 1   Information Text to Tanzania Secondary School

To the staff at ██████████ Secondary School

We, Anders Haugen and Øyvind Mellingen, are two teacher students from Bergen University College who are planning on writing our masters degree on topics concerning the subjects geography and civics in Tanzanian secondary education. During the fall of 2014, we will spend around two months in Tanzania doing field work and collecting data for our research. As our university college and Your school already cooperate in several different ways, we hope that.

Here is a short presentation of our projects and what we hope You can help us arrange at ██████ Secondary School during our stay in ██████:

Øyvind Mellingen´s research

I am researching how the geography syllabus are implemented on different schools. I would therefore like to observere and interview 1-2 geography teachers at the secondary level for a period of 3-4 weeks. I would also like to take part of the day to day life at the school and follow these two teachers when they teach geography and maybe be their teacher's assistant. I am also interested in teaching some classes myself. Preferbly the same classes as the geography teachers (but not teach in geography, mabye civics?). Could this be arranged?

Anders Haugen´s research

What Tanzanian secondary education teaches about "the others" is the topic of my Master's degree. A part of my work is to identify who "the others" are in Tanzania, but my main focus is to look at how Europe an Europeans are represented. If I could be able to teach for 2-3 weeks in a class (civics and geography), that would be great! Also, I would like to follow a Geography and Civics teacher in the same period of time, observe His or Her classes, and discuss different issues concerning "the others" in Geography and Civics.

We will arrive in ██████ in early September, and plan on doing the majority of our fieldwork in ██████ between September 15th and October 17th. If You have any questions, do not hesitate to contact us:

* Øyvind Mellingen: ████████████████

* Anders Haugen: ████████████████████

Asante sana!

Best regards,

Øyvind Mellingen and Anders Haugen

Bergen University College 2014

Bergen, Norway

Interview guide

1   Personal details
- Education (grade + college/university)
- Current position at the school
- Subjects they teach in what grades
- Earlier jobs / experience
- Other jobs as of now?
- Travel experience
- Languages

2   Europe in Tanzanian secondary education
> *Introduction: Short explanation of my project*

- Methods used
  - Examples from their own teaching
  - Possible usage of comparison, Africa/Europe?
- Topics where Europe occurs
  - positive/neutral/negative topics?
- What is important and relevant knowledge about Europe
  - What defines? Teacher, syllabus, textbooks, exams etc.
- The school as a source of knowledge for the pupils
  - How the pupils view Europe and Europeans, impression, opinion
  - What contributes to these impressions?

3   "Us" and "the Others" in Tanzania
- Who Tanzanian secondary education defines as "Us"
  - Does a genuine Tanzanian "us" exist, national identity
    - Tribal belonging the primary?
- *DUCE extra:*
  - *Education as a contributor to the building of the Tanzanian "Us"*
  - *A possible influence on the teaching about "the Others"*
    - *First priority: defining "Us" or teach about "the Others"*

4   Africa in Europe vs Europe in Africa
- Difference in teaching, methods and material
- Easier to grasp Africa from Europe than Europe from Africa?
- *DUCE extra:*
  - *Different stages in building national identity*
  - *Orientalism and positional challenges*

5   View on teaching and necessary qualification
- In general
- In social subjects, any different?

Appendix 3   Register Civics and General Studies Textbooks

O-Level

Civics, Form 1

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
-	-	-	-	-	-

Civics, Form 2

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
7	Government	Example	Parts of Europe (The United Kingdom)	The United Kingdom is given as example for a union.	Neutral
7	Government	Example	Parts of Europe (The United Kingdom, the Netherlands)	The two countries are given as examples for monarchies.	Neutral
7	Government	Example	Parts of Europe (Sweeden, The Netherlands)	The two countries are given as examples for constitutional monarchies.	Neutral
7	Government	Example	Parts of Europe (The Russian federation)	Russia is given as an example of federal governments.	Neutral
51	Democracy	Example	Parts of Europe (Switzerland)	Switzerland is given as an example for a state which practice direct democracy.	Neutral
53	Democracy	Example	Parts of Europe (The United Kingdom)	The UK is given as an example for a country run by parliamentary democracy.	Neutral
53	Democracy	Example	Parts of Europe (France)	France is given as an example for a state which practice combined parliamentary and presidental democracy.	Neutral

Civics, Form 3

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
-	-	-	-	-	-

Civics, Form 4

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
6	Culture	Example	Europe	European cultures is mentioned as cultures of harmony and loyalty	Positive
44	Globalization	Example	Europe	Many countries are adapting the European multi-party system, a system providing peace and stability.	Positive
49	Globalization	Example	Europe	The influx of foreigners, and especially Europeans, is presented as an example of a negative effect of SAPs	Negative
55	Globalization	Example	Europe	The increased spread of European languages is given as example for a positive effect of globalization	Positive

A-Level

General Studies, Form 5

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
107	Non Secular States	Example	Parts of Europe (Israel)	Israel is given as an example of a Jewish state	Neutral
107	Non Secular States	Example	Parts of Europe (The Vatican State)	The Vatican state is given as en example of a Christian state	Neutral
248	Development - North vs. South	Example	Europe	European investments are given as example of how Europe makes Africa dependent of their industry	Negative

General Studies, Form 6

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
3	Democracy	Example	Parts of Europe (The United Kingdom)	The United Kingdom is given as an example of one version of democracy	Neutral
40	Forms of government	Example	Parts of Europe (The UK, Norway, Denmark)	The countries are given as examples for constitutional monarchies	Neutral
44	Forms of government	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway)	Norway is mentioned as an example for a successful socialistic government, with good scocial services	Positive
123	The African Union	Example	Parts of Europe (The United Kingdom)	The donations made by countries like the UK, are wasted away because of bad governance within the AU	Positive
166 & 168	Globalization	Example	Europe	Europe is getting the better of globalization, much on the expence of African nations	Negative

O-Level

Geography Form 1

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
26	Continents	Example	Europe	Europe is mentioned as one of the worlds continents	Neutral
27	Major features of continents	Example	Parts of Europe (The Netherlands)	The Netherlands is given as example for flat countries	Neutral
28	Major features of continents	Example	Parts of Europe (The Alps)	The Alps are mentioned as a major mountain range	Neutral
30 & 31	Major features of continents	Example	Parts of Europe (Caspian Sea, North Sea)	European seas and lakes are given as examples	Neutral
33	Islands	Example	Parts of Europe (The British Isles)	The British Isles are given as example for Continental Islands	Neutral
62	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (The Mediterranean region)	The region given as example for where to find Warm temperate western margin climate	Neutral
64	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (North-West Europe)	The region given as example for where to find Cool temperate western margin climate	Neutral
65	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (interior Europe)	The region given as example for where to find Cool temperate continental climate	Neutral
65	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway, Sweeden)	The region are given as example for where to find Cold temperate western margin climate	Neutral
66	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (Northern Europe)	The region given as example for where to find Cold temperate continental climate	Neutral
67	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (Iceland)	The country given as example for where to find Polar climate	Neutral
67	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (Artic coast)	The area given as example for where to find Tundra climate	Neutral
67	Climate	Example	Parts of Europe (The Alps, the Balkans)	The areas are given as example for where to find Mountain climate	Neutral

Geography Form 2

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
8	Agriculture	Example	Europe	Europe is mentioned as a continent where Extensive mechanized grain cultivation takes place	Positive
22	Agriculture	Example	Parts of Europe (Italy, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia)	Examples of the worlds leading commercial producers of maize, comparing to Tanzania	Positive
22 &23	Agriculture	Example	Parts of Europe (various countries)	Various countries are listed in a table that shows leading commercial producers of differrent crops	Positive
28	Agriculture	Example	Europe	Europe is given as example for a region where ranching is well developed	Positive
28	Agriculture	Example	Parts of Europe (Britain, the Nedtherlands, Scandinavia	The countries are given as examples for good dairy farming areas.	Positive
58	Forest	Example	Parts of Europe (various countries)	Various countries are listed in a table that shows leading commercial producers of forest products	Positive
63 & 64	Mining	Example	Parts of Europe (The European Union)	The European Union is mentioned as a major coal producer	Neutral
76	Tourism	Example	Parts of Europe (Switzerland)	Switzerland is given as an example for an successful tourism industry	Positive

Geography Form 3

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
14	Forces causing earth movements	Example	Parts of Europe (Ireland, Spain, England)	The countries are given as examples for Ria type of coastline	Neutral
20	Folding	Example	Parts of Europe (The Alps)	The Alps are given as example for fold mountains	Neutral
27	Faulting	Example	Parts of Europe (The Rhine Rift Valley)	The Rhine Valley is given as example for a rift valley	Neutral
36	Vulcanos	Example	Parts of Europe (Italy)	Vesuvius and Stromboil given as examples for vulcanos	Neutral
91	Resultant features of river deposition	Example	Parts of Europe (The rivers Rhine, Vistula and Elbe)	The rivers are given as examples forwhere to find different types of river deltas	Neutral
119	Underground caves and caverns	Example	Parts of Europe (Croatia)	The Karst region in Croatia is given as example for where to find karst scenery	Neutral
123	Action of ice	Example	Parts of Europe (Iceland, Norway)	The countries are given as example for where to find permanent ice caps	Neutral
127	Pyramidal Peaks	Example	Parts of Europe (Matterhorn, Switzerland)	Matterhorn is presented as the most famous pyramide peak in the world	Neutral
128 & 173	Fjords	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway, Scotland)	The coasts of Norway and Scotland are given as example for where to find fjords	Neutral
136-137	Glaciated landscape	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway, Switzerland)	Norway and Switzerland are give as examples for countries that benefit from their glaciated landscape	Positive
147	Loess	Example	Parts of Europe (France, Belgium)	France and Belgium are given as examples for where to find loess dust	Neutral
181	Importance of costal features	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway)	The book points out how the port cities of Bergen and Narvik has occured because of the fjords	Positive

Appendix 5 Register Geography Textbooks, Forms 4-6

Geography Form 4

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
21	Climate and natural regions	Example	Parts of Europe (Southern Europe)	The region is given as an example for where to find warm temperate western margin climate	Neutral
23 & 39	Climate and natural regions	Example	Parts of Europe (Interior Europe)	The region is given as example for where to find cool temperate continental climate	Neutral
23 & 38	Climate and natural regions	Example	Parts of Europe (Great Britain, Scandinavia, western Europe)	The regions are given as example for where to find cool temerate western margin climate	Neutral
24	Climate and natural regions	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway, Sweeden)	The countries are given as example for where to find cold temperate western margin climate	Neutral
24	Climate and natural regions	Example	Parts of Europe (Finland, Russia)	The countries are given as example for where to find cold temperate continental climate	Neutral
26	Climate and natural regions	Example	Parts of Europe (The Alps, the Balkans of Europe)	The regions are given as example for where to find mountain climate	Neutral
99	Global climate change	Example	Parts of Europe (Iceland)	Iceland is given as example for places where resent vulcanic eruptions have taken place	Neutral
103	Environmental conservation	Example	Parts of Europe (EU, Norway, Russia, Romania, Czech Rep.)	Most of Europe is given as example for countries signing the Kyoto Accord, work against pollution	Positive

A-Level

Geography Form 5&6: Practical Geography

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
114	Photograph interpretation	Review question	Europe	The book asks why this photo is not from Tanzania. The answer is because of plantation and machines	Positive

Geography Form 5&6: Physical Geography

Page	Topic	Type of mentioning	Europe/Part of Europe	Description	Evaluation
61	Fold Mountains	Example	Parts of Europe (The Alps)	The Alps are given as example for where to find fold mountains	Neutral
105	River action and drainage patterns	Example	Parts of Europe (The river Thames, the river Rhone)	The river Thames is given as exmple for rivers with a spring source, and Rhone with a glacier source	Neutral
146	Uses of lakes	Example	Parts of Europe (Switzerland)	The country with its lakes is given as example for where lakes are used for tourism and river flow regulation	Positive
175-177	Glaciation	Example	Parts of Europe (England, Iceland)	The countries are given as exaple for where results of glaciations can be found	Neutral
182	Glaciated features	Example	Parts of Europe (Matterhorn, Switzerland)	The mountain is given as an example for pyramidal peaks	Neutral
184	Glaciated features	Example	Parts of Europe (France, Scotland)	The countries are given as examples of where to find glacial low land erotional features	Neutral
185	Glacial deposition	Example	Europe	The continent is given as example for where glacial deposition can be found	Neutral
185	Stratified features	Example	Parts of Europe (North Germany)	The are is given as example for where to find outwash plains	Neutral
189	Value of glaciation to man	Example	Parts of Europe (Various countries)	Different European countries are given as example for where to find positive results of glaciation	Positive
193	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Scotland)	The Isle of Arran in Western Scotland is given as example for where to find emerged highland coasts	Neutral
195	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Spain, Great Britain)	The countries are given as example for where to find ria coasts	Neutral
196	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Norway, Sweeden)	The countries are given as example for where to find fjord coasts	Neutral
196	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Yugoslavia)	The country is given as exmple for where to find longitudial coasts	Neutral
196	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Ireland, Germany)	The countries are given as example for where to find sumerged lowland coasts	Neutral
197	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Yugoslavia)	The country is given as example for where to find concordant coasts	Neutral
197	Types of Coasts	Example	Parts of Europe (Scandinavia)	The region is given as example for where to find discordant coasts	Neutral
219-220	Changes in sea level	Example	Parts of Europe (Scotland, England, Norway)	The countries are given as example for where to find evidence for a world wide change in sea level	Neutral
222-224	Limestone	Example	Parts of Europe (England)	Different regions in England is given as example for where to find different types of limestone and karst	Neutral