

Children's literature in African languages: Swahili books for children in Kenya and Tanzania

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Introduction

In the post-Independence period many African writers, having realised that the educational system and the books read by children were still those inherited from the colonial experience, recognised the challenge of producing children's books for African children which would be able to reverse cultural misconceptions and "preserve the landscape of their imagination".¹

Just as now, at that time the question of language was a crucial one (Khorana 1998: 2). On the one hand the majority of writers preferred to use the former colonial language for their creative writings and, as Chinua Achebe recommended, engaged in producing works relevant to African children, often through the adaption of the folktale tradition as a valid form of instruction and entertainment (Emenyonu 2002: 585). On the other hand, as was pioneered by Ngugi wa Thiong'o in his well known essay *Decolonising the minds*, some writers defended the employment of indigenous languages for adult and children's literature as a form of resistance against the paternalism and neo-colonialism of the new elites. His view inspired Henri Chakava, founder of the EAEP, who published a series of readers in Kenyan languages at the end of the 1970's.² After the initial titles, though, the publisher had to stop because sales were inadequate and he continued to sell educational and fictional titles which were mostly in English and to a lesser extent in Kiswahili. This experience makes it clear that, just as in many other African countries, children's books in African languages are very difficult to promote in Kenya where, generally speaking, language and instruction policies are still mostly orientated towards former colonial languages, thus affecting people's literacy in their own languages (Brock-Utne & Skattum, 2009: 16).

Within this general context, one of the few exceptions is that of Kiswahili, an indigenous language which, given its historical development as lingua franca and its enhanced status as national and interregional language³, plays a significant role in education in East Africa, especially in Kenya and Tanzania, thus leading to the production of children's educational readers, storybooks included. Yet a reading culture is still underdeveloped amongst children and their parents and this is for a number of reasons, for example poverty, the low quality of instruction, a lack of public libraries and bookshops, etc. (Odaga 1998: 17).

Another problem is that school education, as in most sub-Saharan Africa, is still predominantly textbook oriented, thus inhibiting reading for leisure ((Osazee Fayose 2004: 10)). This mentality has slowly been changing since the 1990's and children's books are increasingly seen as a valid support to the development of instrumental abilities, and, more in general, of quality education (Machet & Olen 1998: 236). Consequently, the Government and International donors in Kenya and Tanzania have started to promote the diffusion of children's readers in primary schools, with the aim of improving language teaching and, more in general, the reading habits of East African children.⁴ Hereafter, I will first outline the situation of primary education in Kenya and Tanzania, with

¹ Reference to a famous statement by Chinua Achebe (in an interview in 1981) about African children, "who must now be brought up on a common vocabulary for the heroic and the cowardly, the just and the unjust. Which means preserving and refurbishing the landscape of the imagination and the domain of stories" (quoted in Osa 1995: xi).

² Written in Gikuyu, Dholuo and Luhya by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, David Mailu, Asenath Odaga and Francis Imbuga (Chakava 1998: 42).

³ Native speakers of Kiswahili live along the East coast of Africa, but Kiswahili is widely used as a lingua franca by approximately 80.000.000 people in the interior regions. It is the national and/or official language in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and RDC. It is further spoken in Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Comoro Islands, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. Since 2005 it has been one of the official languages of the African Union (Ricard 2009: 12). It is also the official language of the East African Community, founded in 1999.

⁴ The recognition of the dialectical relationship between school education and children's literature, and its positive influence on the development of a reading culture in Africa, has emerged over the course of an increasing number of events, conferences and book fairs attended by educators, writers and publishers to debate the issue of children's books (Osa 1995: xvii). Examples of these are the first South African national symposium on children's literature "Towards understanding... Children's books for all South Africa's Children" (1987), resulting in the creation of a Children's Book Forum; the "Children and Literature in Africa" conference held at the University of Calabar, Nigeria in 1991; the 29th IBBY Congress, Cape Town, South Africa, 2004; the Zimbabwe International Book Fairs of 1987 and 1998 which were devoted to Children's literature in Africa.

particular attention to the different language instruction policies, which inevitably have repercussions upon the language of storybooks, and then I will focus on the publishing of Kiswahili children's literature in the two countries.

Primary education in Kenya and Tanzania since Independence

After independence the governments in Kenya and Tanzania engaged in the reform of the racial colonial schooling system and, from the early 1970's onward, initiated policies towards achieving universal primary education (UPE) (Sifuna 2007: 691).

In Kenya, primary school enrolment rose during the 1970's and 1980's, but, in many ways, the sector was not efficient, e.g. a lack of supply and teaching materials, high pupil-teacher ratio, and under-qualified teachers. In the late 1980's, in an effort to reduce the education budget, the government started implementing the World bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by introducing cost-sharing policies which called upon parents and communities to finance expenditure of education. This policy not only affected the quality of primary education seriously, but also led to a decline in Gross Enrolment Rate (from 95 % in 1989 to 78 % in 1995).

A similar trend occurred in Tanzania. The efforts made by the State over the 1970s were very successful and, in 1980, enrolment was almost universal, but, in the following decade, such high expenditure on education became unsustainable because of the dramatic economic crisis in the country and, in the mid-1980s, the education system was also detrimentally affected by SAPs, particularly the introduction of school fees. The proportion of children enrolled in school immediately began to decrease; the GER dropped to 71 per cent in 1988 before gradually rising again to 78 per cent in 1997 (Lema, Mbilinyi, Rajani 2004: xiv).

The present status of basic education in Kenya and Tanzania has improved considerably since 2000. In Kenya, the Government launched its UPE programme in 2003. In Tanzania, in 2001, the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) was launched. Both countries immediately abolished primary school fees. These programmes have made a significant difference in the lives of many of the communities in the two countries. Primary school enrolment has increased in Kenya (GER - male 113% in 2005-2009, GER - female 110 %) and Tanzania (GER male 111% in 2005-2009, GER female 109% in 2005-2009), and the two countries are approaching Millennium Development Goal 2 (MDG2), namely universal primary education by 2015.⁵ There has also been an improvement in infrastructure, especially in Tanzania, and also in the distribution of instructional materials. In spite of these achievements, though, the majority of pupils do not have access to good quality education, especially in rural areas. The public primary education sector still experiences under-funding problems which result in large classes, a shortage of teachers, over-aged pupils and insufficient learning materials with regards the number of pupils (Sifuna 2007: 697). Consequently, in the two countries, education for middle class and elite children is often provided by private schools, which, especially in Tanzania, are rapidly spreading (Lema, Mbilinyi, Rajani 2004: xv).

The language of instruction

The major difference between the schooling systems of Kenya and Tanzania concerns the language of instruction. Since independence the medium of instruction in primary, secondary and tertiary education in Kenya has been English, the official language of the country, which has meant continuity with the colonial language policy.⁶ This choice was made by practical reasons, given the difficulty of providing systematic literacy in Kenya's approximately 40 ethnic languages. Later indigenous languages, or Kiswahili in interethnic urban areas, were only used for the first three years. Children's right to learn in their mother tongue, as stated by the *Asmara Declaration on African languages and Literatures*, is far from being attained.⁷ The status of Kiswahili, the national

⁵ See <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/education.shtml>

⁶ The colonial schooling system progressively neglected local languages in favour of English and, when the Mau Mau rebellion broke out during the 1950s, it even punished pupils for using their mother tongue or the lingua franca Kiswahili (Ngugi 2009: 27).

⁷ The Against All Odds Conference on African Languages and Literatures into the 21st Century was held in Asmara, Eritrea, early January 2000. See Bellagio Publishing Network News Letter, November 2000, n. 26-27. <http://www.bellagiopublishingnetwork.com>.

language, instead, has been constantly improving since 1981, when it was declared a compulsory and examinable subject in all grades of school. This has consequently led to the increasing publication of reading materials in Kiswahili for primary and secondary schools (Ngugi 2009: 38).

In Tanzania, the independent Government, presided over by Nyerere, considered Kiswahili as the natural means of building Tanzanian national unity and a new decolonised, non-ethnic, modern, egalitarian society, and, therefore, the necessary medium of instruction in basic education and in the adult education programme (Blommaert 1999: 91). In Tanzania, as well as in Kenya, local tongues have been neglected in basic education, but 90% pre-school children are able to speak Kiswahili (see the UNESCO document “Improving the Quality of Mother Tongue-based Literacy and Learning”, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001777/177738e.pdf>).

The policy of Language of Instruction (LOI) has, though, remained ambivalent - Kiswahili in primary schools and English in secondary schools and university-, a situation that has resulted in the deterioration of both languages and in a reduction in access to quality education in secondary and tertiary studies (Qorro 2009: 58).

In private Tanzanian primary schools, on the other hand, the language of instruction is English, with the advantage of better preparing those pupils who will go on to secondary school (although rates of secondary enrolment in Tanzania are still extremely low in comparison to secondary enrolment rates in Kenya⁸). This, though, is, of course, to the detriment of Kiswahili literacy.

The publishing of children’s books in Kiswahili

Of course, the state of the publishing of Kiswahili children’s literature in Kenya and Tanzania cannot be divorced from a more general book publishing context. In Kenya, since the mid 1970s, the book publishing scene has changed considerably and overseas-based publishers, like Macmillan and Oxford University Press, are presently working side by side with indigenous publishing houses. These include the government-run Kenya Literature Bureau and Jomo Kenyatta Foundation and their private counterparts like East African Educational Publishers, Longhorn Kenya, Phoenix and many other small companies (Gromov 2009: 200).

The bulk of publishing in Kenya is made up of textbooks and the majority of educational books are in English, the medium of instruction. Swahili textbooks are provided only for the teaching of the Swahili language and literature, which is a mandatory subject (Ogechi & Bosire-Ogechi 2002: 173). Until the 1980s, few readers were published in Kenya for children, but, over the last few decades, publishing for this category has been growing fast. This has particularly been true since the launch of UPE in 2003, when the government took responsibility for providing textbooks and supplementary readers to all of the 18,901 public primary schools with the goal of having one text book for every three pupils and one storybook in each of the two official languages, English and Kiswahili, for every two pupils. With the financial support of the Government, and the cooperation of DFID, CODE and other non-governmental organisations (Chakava 1998: 45), publishing of textbooks and storybooks for children has grown tremendously. Moreover, in 2002, through the Kenya Institute of Education (K.I.E.), the Ministry of Education created a new syllabus in Kiswahili language which emphasised the integration of Kiswahili language and children’s literature from class one to class eight. The aim of this was to improve language skills, encourage children’s reading habits and promote a positive attitude towards Kiswahili as the national language, given that it is often associated with low education and social status (Ngugi 2009: 54).

These factors have increased the supply of storybooks in Kiswahili which, although numerically fewer than English readers, are steadily growing. For instance, the number of Kiswahili storybooks approved by the Approved List of Primary and Secondary Schools and Other Instructional

⁸ Kenya’s secondary school enrolment ratio 2005-2009*, gross, male, is 61; secondary school enrolment ratio 2005-2009*, gross, female, is 56. Tanzania’s secondary school enrolment ratio 2005-2009*, gross, male, is 7; Secondary school enrolment ratio 2005-2009*, gross, female, is 5. Data from www.unicef.org.

Materials⁹ increased from 101 to 270 between 2005 and 2007 (Ngugi 2009: 57). Many Kenyan publishing houses are increasing the availability of Swahili children's readers in their catalogues, in some cases acquiring titles by Tanzanian publishers.¹⁰ The catalogues of the biggest publishers are all available on line and the section for children's literature is well organised, presenting a number of series devoted to different age-groups in both English and Kiswahili. For instance, EAEP proposes *Paukwa pakawa* (picture books mostly featuring animal stories), *Visa na vituko* (picture books slightly more complex, mostly realistic stories), *Vitabu vya nyota* (intermediate readers), *Vitabu vya sayari* (intermediate readers for a slightly older audience), and *Vitabu vya mkuki* (advanced storybooks).

In Tanzania the educational publishing sector has been under government control for 30 years (Tanzania Publishing House), which has concentrated on producing textbooks for primary and post-primary education, and could not afford to fund books as further reading for pre-school and primary school children (Moshi, 1998:127). The small publishers could not afford to invest in children's publishing either and, consequently, there were not many children's books.¹¹

Children's textbooks are usually in Kiswahili, the language of basic education. In the 1990s, private publishers emerged in the area of educational publishing. These included some international companies like Macmillan and OUP, as well as local publishers like Mkuki na Nyota, whose active director, Walter Bgoya, previously worked in TPH, E&D limited, managed by the writer Elieshi Lema, and Heko Publishers, founded by the late Ben Mtobwa, publisher of popular literature since the 1980s.¹²

On the whole, the book trade in Tanzania is less dynamic, given that the secondary and tertiary cycles are poorly developed. Private publishers only manage to invest in children's literature, in practice, with the support of the Children's Book Project (*Mradi wa Vitabu vya Watoto*), launched in 1991, which was financed initially by CODE (Canadian Organisation for Development through Education) and later assisted by other institutions, such as SIDA, British Council, and the Aga Khan Foundation, etc. (Madumulla 2001:176).¹³ Another important project is TUSOME VITABU!, supported by CARE International¹⁴, which in some areas has funded the opening of new school libraries (440) and has improved quantity and quality of primary school readers (Sifuna 2007: 695). All these projects have had some good results, producing a large number of Kiswahili children's books (the CBP alone has printed 237 children's titles and distributed them to 3,642 primary schools across the country¹⁵), opening new school libraries, and promoting good quality publishing. Besides the Kiswahili readers which have been made available through primary school libraries, and mostly published with the support of the CBP, some Tanzanian publishers like *Mkuki na Nyota* and *E&D* are diversifying their supply, producing readers in English and bilingual English/Kiswahili too. This is being done in order to reach different audiences such as pupils of private schools, tourists, and Internet users. These children's books are in fact now available on the Internet at the site of the African Books Collective association, founded by Walter Bgoya

⁹ The Approved List of Primary and Secondary Schools and Other Instructional Materials, also known as "Orange Book", is a reference tool for school teachers who have to select storybooks (Ngugi 2009: 58). In Tanzania, storybooks have to be approved by the *Educational Materials Approval Committee* (EMAC). See <http://moe.go.tz/pdf/EMAC%20Katalogi%20%20ya%20Vitabu%20vya%20Wizara%20ya%20Elimu01111-%2004.pdf>

¹⁰ For instance OUP publishes 30 titles, EAEP 49, Longhorn 15 titles, Phoenix 59 titles, Kenya Literature Bureau 9 titles, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation 38. EAEP has acquired some titles by Mkuki na Nyota and Heko Publishers. See the publishers' web sites.

¹¹ Examples are the children's storybooks in English and Kiswahili by M. Mvungi, or E. Hussein, who translated into Kiswahili *The little black fish* by Behrangi.

¹² Since 2009, though, the Educational Material Approval Committee (EMAC) has, by government mandate, been working to select a single title for each subject (*kitabu kimoja kwa somo moja*), thus reducing the completion and the possibility of sales for many private publishers. See <http://kingkif.blogspot.com/2010/02/msimamo-wa-wachapishaji-vitabu-wa.html>.

¹³ The CBP immediately produced a great number of titles, but few schools received copies. For this reason the project had to develop a National Reading Campaign, which was launched in 1997 with three objectives: to increase the number of school libraries, to involve primary school teachers in the programme, and to improve the quality of the books through workshops with writers, illustrators and publishers (Moshi, 1998: 127).

¹⁴ "TVP is a readership project that aims at increasing readership to 774,687 primary school pupils and 12,737 teachers in 16 districts. Activities of the project include establishing school libraries establishing and training readership promotion and library management in participating schools and facilitating schools to procure books from the private sector." See the official site of the project, <http://www.care.org>.

¹⁵ See the official site of the project, <http://www.cbp.or.tz>.

(www.africanbookscollective.com). Apart from this site, Tanzanian publishers do not have a web page for their catalogues of Kiswahili and English titles.¹⁶

Kiswahili children's literature in Kenya and Tanzania

In this section I will briefly explore the main trends and motifs in Kiswahili children's literature in Kenya and Tanzania. The two productions are, from a sociological point of view, on the whole very homogenous, considering the producers and the audience of this literary output, and also from a literary perspective, looking at the genres employed and the main themes. In East Africa, professional writers of adult or children's fiction (particularly those writing in African languages) are very rare, given the paucity of the book sales. Generally speaking, writers in Kenya and Tanzania are usually educators, i.e. school teachers or University lecturers, professors and researchers (for example S.A. Mohamed, M.M. Mulokozi, N. Mpesha, P. Ngugi, K. W. Wamitila), publishers (W. Bgoya, E. Lema, B. Mtobwa), or journalists (R. Mahmoud, P. Shija, K. Walibora). As I already indicated, the target audience in both cases is mainly that of school pupils.

Whilst the first generations of African writers were principally making an effort, often in translation, to record and publish collections from oral literature (some East African examples are the works of P. Kola and M. Mvungi), contemporary writers are developing narrative fiction for children (Khorana 1998: 5-6) by creating a great variety of books which elaborate traditional or modern genres in order to reach a wide audience and different age groups. The same is happening with writers of children's books in Kiswahili, who generally prefer to create an original story¹⁷ and are particularly inspired by modern short stories and novels, two literary genres that have flourished in post-colonial Swahili literature (Bertoncini 2009: 130).

Many books, especially picture books, are strongly inspired by the oral, especially narrative, arts (*fasihi simulizi*),¹⁸ which were traditionally a didactic entertainment for children and young people and were often contained in, or built around, songs, poems and/or proverbs (Ohly : 466) .

The handling of oral themes in contemporary Kiswahili children's books is heterogeneous. Animal stories are very frequent, often in the form of etiological narratives or showing a clear moral message. Some examples from Tanzania are *Nyuki na vipepeo* (The bees and the butterflies) by E.L. Matemba, *Majivuno yamuua Samaki* (The vanity which killed the fish), *Mfalme chura* (The king Frog) by A.K. Shaali. Some examples from Kenya include *Kuku na mwewe* (The chicken and the hawk) by N. Mpesha, *Mazishi ya Popo* (The Bat's burial) by Erastus Getanguth, and *Twiga alivyokosa Ufalme* (How Giraffe missed Kingship) by A. Mdari, the two latter in bilingual editions. There are also some writers who have a more innovative approach to this oral genre and use animal characters to create an original story, for example W. Bgoya and his *Kinyonga mdogo ambaye hakuweza kubadilika rangi yake* (The chameleon who could not change his colour), or who centre on the relationship between animals and children, such as the Kenyan author J. Jefwa in *Matilda na Salama* (Matilda [a cat] and Salama). Another form of modernisation is to create "ecological stories" so as to make children more aware of environmental and animal issues. Some examples are *Nyani mvuvi* (The fisher baboon) by J. N. Machume, a condemnation of illegal fishing methods, or *Aleso na Tumbiri* (Aleso and the vervet monkey) by F. Atulo, where a little girl saves a monkey from a hunter's trap).

Some children's books draw materials from the Oriental oral tradition (like *Ali Baba na majangili arobaini* (Ali Baba and the forty thieves), *Masimulizi ya Alfu Lela u Lela* (A thousand and one nights) by Hassan Adam, and *Mazungumzo ya Alfu lela u lela* by Bren & Saidi).¹⁹ Oriental stories are very well known along the Swahili coast, and they have often been re-elaborated and

¹⁶ Only *Mkuki na nyota* used to have it, but it has been closed.

¹⁷ In the production of Swahili children's literature there is also a small number of translations of written stories from Europe or from other African countries, which will not be discussed here.

¹⁸ In the Swahili tradition classified as *ngano*, *hekaya*, *kisa*, *hadithi*. Hadithi is the most generic term. This is used in modern written literature to mean "short story". *Kisa* (pl. *visa*) is a more or less short moral tale. *Ngano*, *hekaya*, are used less often *masimulizi* for short tales involving animals, spirits, and/or human beings (Bertoncini et al. 2009: 12-13).

¹⁹ Oriental narratives were the only non-western stories published in colonial East Africa (Madumulla 2001: 173), probably because of their more "civilised" Arabic origins.

contaminated by African orality. One case of this is the human character of Abunuwas in Arabic literature, who has been the inspiration for a number of Swahili tales (Madumulla 2001: 173). Some of these tales have been recently re-elaborated in the storybook *Abunuwasi*, created by the cartoonist Gado (Sasa Sema Publishers).²⁰

The other important trend is that of stories set in a realistic context. School and family stories are very common, as is true in most African children's literature (Osazee Fayose 2004: 5-6). Examples of school stories are *Ndoto ya Upendo* and *Mwendo* by E. Lema and *Zuhura na redio ya ajabu* (Zuhura and the extraordinary radio) by Jackson Kalindimya, all defending the girl's right to education, or *Vipawa vya hasina* (The talents of Hasina) by S. A. Mohamed, which stresses the importance of school education to overcome social barriers. Home stories often concern a "proper" upbringing, - "*Paka*" *asiyependa maziwa* (The "cat" who did not like milk) by A. Mohamed, for instance, shows a clever way of discouraging laziness, - or family relationships, like *Mama kambo* (Step-mother) by C. Kisovi, which deals with the relationship between children and step-mothers. Modern stories for children are often presented in a realistic setting, but evolve into detective or adventure stories where children are the protagonists. Thriller and detective stories are the bulk of popular adult literature (*fasihi pendwa*), a genre that first flourished in Tanzania during the 1980s. In *Kachuma na Polisi wezi* (Kachuma and the policemen-thieves) by P. Ngugi and *Kipofu mwenye miwani myeusi* (The blind man in sunglasses), children brilliantly carry on investigations by themselves. *Safari ya Prospa* (Prospa's journey), by E. Lema, is set among street children living in Dar es Salaam. Following the idea that the writer should try to get as close as possible to children's experience and world view (Hanak 2001: 58), the author spent years learning about the social groups and contexts she was dealing with before writing this work (the same is true of *Mwendo*). Another example is *Ndoto ya Amerika* (The American dream) by K. Walibora, where two village boys, dreaming for America, end up in Nairobi and are exploited by a criminal. The didactic position in this case, as in many African narratives, is expressed through a proverb, *Asiyefunzwa na mamake hufunzwa na ulimwengu* (The person who is not well brought up by his/her mother is brought up by the world/experience).

Finally, there are a few historical books for junior readers. The series of historical novels written by M. Mulokozi, *Ngoma ya Mianzi* (The dance of bamboos), *Ngome ya Mianzi* (The fortress of bamboos), and *Moto ya Mianzi* (The fire of bamboos), is set during the years of *Wahehe* resistance to German rule, 1891-1898. The need for national heroes is typical of Africa post-colonial literature, but, in this case, the accent is placed upon the role of the communities, including the young people who are the main characters of these novels. Another interesting feature of Mulokozi's work is the use of cartoons combined with prose (precisely in *Ngome ya Mianzi*). One Kenyan work which should be mentioned is *Kaburi bila msalaba* (Graves without cross) by Peter Munihe Kareithi (first edition in 1969), a short novel highlighting the role of the Mau Mau fighters in the building of the Nation.

To summarise, Kenyan and Tanzanian writers are experimenting with the manipulation and contamination of literacy and orality, classical and popular literature, in an effort to create Kiswahili storybooks which can be attractive to children and, thus, help to enhance their literacy in Kiswahili; something which is a challenging matter both in Kenya, where English is the language of instruction and social prestige and where Kiswahili is associated with a low level of education, and in contemporary Tanzania, where good competence in Kiswahili is menaced by the ambivalent schooling system and by the diffusion of private, English-centred schools. With regards this, much has also been done by the publishers to improve the quality of illustrations and covers (Bgoya 2008: 92).

Conclusion

²⁰ This and other titles published by Sasa Sema Publications (which in 2007 was acquired by Longhorn) are available at the site <http://www.childrenslibrary.org>.

With the support of the Government and NGOs, the publishing of children's books in Kiswahili is increasing in Kenya and Tanzania and these books are being spread through primary school libraries and didactic activities, with the objective of improving pupils' abilities in Kiswahili and, more in general, encouraging their reading habits. This growing market is also enhancing interrelations between East African publishers. There are, though, many problems which hinder this literary production reaching out to school audiences and being effective. Besides the structural problems within the public schooling systems (namely large classes, over-aged pupils and underpaid teachers), many factors can be stressed, like the insufficient number of school libraries, especially in rural areas, or the absence of library facilities, an inadequate distribution of books, and the lack of specific teacher training with regards the use of children's literature in language lessons and the library service (Ngugi 2009:159).

To conclude, the synergy between literature and education, if enhanced within a general context of a qualification of the educational system, could be an effective tool for the development of a Kiswahili readership in Eastern Africa, to the benefit of the indigenous publishers who invest in this language and, as a consequence, without having to rely on pan-African or international audiences.

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