

https://dspace.org/

Foundation phase learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences with the Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts

Niyibizi, Epimaque

2015-08-13
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/18235

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

FOUNDATION PHASE LEARNERS' AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES WITH THE RWANDAN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY SHIFTS

by

EPIMAQUE NIYIBIZI

THESIS

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Applied Language and Literacy Education

Faculty of Humanities

School of Education

University of the Witwatersrand,

Johannesburg, South Africa

Supervisors: Dr Dominique Mwepu

Prof Leketi Makalela

December 2014

ABSTRACT

This study entitled "***Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences with the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts***" is a contribution to the field of language-in-education policy. It focuses on the Rwandan foundation phase (i.e. lower primary school) learners and teachers. It examines their attitudes and experiences towards the Rwandan unfamiliar consecutive language-in-education policy shifts whereby the former trilingual medium shifted to initial English medium (initial submersion) in 2008, and then switched to Kinyarwanda medium (sudden transfer) in 2011, in the Rwandan lower primary schools. While several language attitudes studies in the existing literature have mainly concentrated on attitudes to individual languages, there is dearth of attitudes research studies which uncover the true nature of attitudes towards different language types, such as exoglossic or endoglossic languages within the African context (Adegbija, 1994, p. 52) or attitudes to balanced bilingualism (Baker, 1992, p. 3). Thus, this study contributes to addressing these gaps by investigating the learners' attitudes and experiences towards initial submersion they started with English medium in grade 1, and then shifted to sudden transfer with Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3; within an African endoglossic and unicultural country. Drawing insights from the "Concurrent Embedded Strategy" of the mixed methods (Creswell, 2009, p. 210), qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis were used. This study was conducted among a sample of 324 informants which comprised 300 learners, 18 teachers and 6 principals, who were selected from 6 lower primary schools in Rwanda. The striking finding is that in addition to the universal preference for English medium, the Rwandan rural school learners and teachers showed more positive attitudes towards the shift to an African endoglossic language (Kinyarwanda), which debunks the folklore in the existing literature that exogenous languages are preferred over indigenous languages.

Key words

Language attitudes; experiences; language-in-education policy shifts; attitude planning; foundation phase learners and teachers; Rwanda.

DECLARATION

I, Epimaque Niyibizi, student number 577771, declare that this thesis entitled **"FOUNDATION PHASE LEARNERS' AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES WITH THE RWANDAN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY SHIFTS"** is my own work. All the sources that I have used or quoted have been duly acknowledged in the references. This thesis has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Signature



Date:

December, 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis involved the guidance, expertise, support and help from various people, and I thank them all.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Dominique Mwepu and Prof Leketi Makalela for having kindly accepted to supervise this work. Their invaluable guidance, insightful remarks, constructive suggestions and encouragement sustained me throughout this research journey and led to the completion of this thesis.

My special thanks go to the Government of Rwanda, which has financially supported my studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, as well as my fieldwork in Rwanda.

I owe so much to my wife, Jeanne and our daughters, Clémence, Emelyne and Albertine for their love, support, encouragement and patience during my absence from home.

I would like to thank principals, teachers and learners from Rwandan schools, who willingly participated in this study. This thesis could not have come to fruition without their contribution during the data collection process.

My special gratitude goes to a cohort of Rwandan PhD and Master's students studying at Wits; to colleagues and staff members in the Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures in Wits School of Education; and at the Humanities Graduate Centre.

Many deep thanks go to colleagues and staff members at the Wits School of Education Writing Centre, at the Main Campus Writing Centre and in the Postgraduate Mentorship Programme at the Humanities Graduate Centre, for their contribution in sharpening my writing skills.

To all of you who contributed to the completion of this thesis in one way or another, I say "Thank you".

Epimaque Niyibizi, University of the Witwatersrand, December 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract … …… ii
Declaration ……. iii
Acknowledgement …… iv
Table of contents …… v
List of tables …… xii
List of maps and diagrams ……. xiii
List of acronyms …….. xiii
List of appendices …… xiv

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION …….. 1
1.0 Preamble …… 1
1.1 The contextual background of the study …… 1
1.1.1 Geographical location of the study (Rwanda)…… 3
1.1.2 Linguistic perspectives of the research site (Rwanda)…… 4
1.1.3 The Rwandan language-in-education policy shift context .…… 13
1.1.3.1 Language-in-education policy shifts throughout the Rwandan history …… 13
1.1.3.1.1 Pre-colonial period …… 14
1.1.3.1.2 During the colonial period …… 15
1.1.3.1.3 By the independence period ……. 17
1.1.3.1.4 Post-independence period: phase 1 (1963-1994) …… 17
1.1.3.1.5 Post-independence period: Phase 2 (1994-2008) …… 19
1.1.3.1.6 Post-independence period: Phase 3: From 8th Oct 2008 to 11th Feb 2011 … 22
1.1.3.1.7 Post independence: Phase 4: From 11th February 2011 until today (2013) … 23
1.1.3.2 Motives for the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts…. 23
1.2 Rationale ……..……. 27
1.2.1 Motivations for carrying out the study…..…..… 27
1.2.2 Gaps identified in the existing literature …… 28
1.3 Research problem ……. 30
1.4 Aim and objectives of the study …….. 30
1.4.1 Aim of the study …… 30

1.4.2 Specific objectives of the study …… 30
1.5 Research questions …….. 31
1.5.1 Overall research question …… 31
1.5.2 Sub-questions …… 31
1.6 Delienation of the study …….. 32
1.7 Definition of key terms …… 33
1.8 Organization of the remaining chapters …….. 43
1.9 Conclusion …… 44

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW 45
2.0 Introduction …….. 45
2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK …… 45
2.1.1 The Mentalist approach ……. 45
2.1.2 Language Preference Model ……. …… 47
2.1.3 Typology of bilingual education …….. ……. 50
2.1.4 Visual representation of the theoretical framework …… 56
2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW …… 57
2.2.1 Overview on attitudinal studies …… 57
2.2.1.1 Learners' language attitudes and language preferences …… 57
2.2.1.2 Teachers' language attitudes in African endoglossic countries …… 59
2.2.1.3 Parental language attitudes and preferences ……. 60
2.2.1.4. Exceptions to English preference and its positive attitudes …… 62
2.2.1.5 Attitudes following language policy changes …… 62
2.2.2 Teachers' and learners' lived experiences …… 64
2.2.3 Impact of language-in-education policy shifts ……. 67
2.2.4 Language policy shifts in Africa ……..…….. 68
2.2.5 Successful language-in-education policy shifts ……. 70
2.2.6 Motivations for language-in-education policy shift …… 72
2.2.6.1 Ruiz's (1984) typology as a motivator for language-in-education policy shift 72
2.2.6.2 Language myths attributed to MT and L2 education as a contributor to language-in-education policy shift …… 74

2.2.6.3 Advantages and disadvantages attributed to MT and to L2 medium as a booster of language-in-education policy shift …… 74
2.2.7 Conclusion …… 76

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY ……. 77
3.0 Introduction ……..…….. 77
3.1 Research design …… 77
3.1.1 Mixed methods approach …… 77
3.1.2 Strategies used for mixed methods …….. 78
3.2 Research setting and research participants ……. 79
3.3 Sample size and sampling techniques ……. 80
3.3.1 Sample size …….. 80
3.3.2 Sampling techniques …… 80
3.4 Data collection instruments and procedures ……. 81
3.4.1 Piloting …… 81
3.4.2 Full scale data collection ……. 83
3.4.2.1 Quantitative data collection …….. 83
3.4.2.2 Qualitative data collection …… 84
3.5 Data analysis and data interpretation ……. 85
3.5.1 IPA as an analytical tool for qualitative data …….. 86
3.5.2 Analysis for quantitative data …….. 87
3.5.2.1 Descriptive statistics ……. 87
3.5.2.2 Inferential statistics …….. 88
3.5.3 Data interpretation …… 88
3.6 Ethical considerations……..…… 89
3.7 Reliability and validity …… 91
3.8 Conclusion ……. 93

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
PART I: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS ……. 95
4.0 Introduction …… 95
4.1 Analysis and interpretation of findings ……..…… 95
4.1.1 The organizing principles for data analysis and interpretation ……. 95
4.2 Teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts 97
4.2.1 Teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the 2008 shift: Shift from French or Kinyarwanda to English medium in 2009-2010 …… 97
4.2.1.1 Teachers' level of satisfaction with the shift from French or Kinyarwanda to English medium in 2009-2010 …… 97
4.2.1.2 Learners' level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium in grade 1 in 2010 …… 105
4.2.2 The teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the 2011 shift: Shift from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012 ……. 111
4.2.2.1 The teachers' level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 …… 111
4.2.2.2 The learners' level of satisfaction with the shift from English to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012 …… 121
4.2.3 The teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the two consecutive language policy shifts …… 129
4.2.3.1 Teachers' level of satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts 129
4.2.3.2 Learners' level of satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts 137
4.2.4 Teachers' and learners' appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive language policy shifts …..…… 141
4.2.4.1 Teachers' appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive language policy shifts …….. 141
4.2.4.2 Learners' appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive language policy shifts …… 146
4.3 Conclusion ……..…….. 152

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION:
PART II: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' LANGUAGE PREFERENCE
AFTER CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS ……. 155
5.0 Introduction …… 155
5.1 Teachers' and learners' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts …… 155
5.1.1 Teachers' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts …… 155
5.1.2 Learners' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts …… 162
5.2 Teachers' and learners' choice of MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts …… 165
5.2.1 Teachers' choice of MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts …… 165
5.2.2 Learners' choice of MoI between English and Kinyarwanda …… 167
5.3 Teachers' and learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda in class, at school playground and at home, after the two consecutive policy shifts …… 172
5.3.1 Teachers' preference between English and Kinyarwanda in class …… 172
5.3.2 Learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda in class …… 177
5.3.3 Teachers' preference between English and Kinyarwanda at the school playground 180
5.3.4 Learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda at the school playground 182
5.3.5 Teachers' preference between English and Kinyarwanda at home …… 185
5.3.6 Learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda at home …… 187
5.4 Conclusion …… 189

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION:
PART III: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' ACTUAL LANGUAGE USE IN CLASS, AT THE PLAYGROUND AND AT HOME AFTER POLICY SHIFTS …. …… 191
6.0 Introduction …… 191
6.1 Teachers' and learners' actual language use at school ……..... … 192
6.1.1 Languages adopted in respective school language policies …… 192

6.1.2 Teachers' actual language use in class, at school yard and at home …… 194
6.1.2.1 Frequency of teachers' language use in class, at school yard and at home …… 198
6.1.2.2 Teachers' use of code-switching and translanguaging …… 199
6.1.2.3 Predominance of Kinyarwanda use in all teachers' interactions …… 200
6.1.3 Learners' actual language use in class, at school yard and at home ……. 202
6.1.3.1 Predominant use of Kinyarwanda over other languages among learners …….. 205
6.2. Conclusion ……. 208

CHAPTER SEVEN: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION:
PART IV-V: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES WITHIN
THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS …… 210
7.0 Introduction …… 210
7.1. Organization of the chapter …… 210
7.2 PART IV: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES WITHIN
THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS ……. 212
7.2.1 Lived experiences with the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts …… 212
7.2.1.1 Teachers' preparedness and readiness for the 2008 shift …… 212
7.2.1.2. Learners' preparedness and readiness for the 2008 shift …… 216
7.2.1.3 Teachers' preparedness and readiness for the 2011 shift …… 217
7.2.1.4. Learners' preparedness and readiness for the 2011 shift …… 219
7.2.2 Navigating through their positive and negative experiences during
2008-2011 shifts …… 221
7.2.2.1 Positive experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 …… 221
7.2.2.2 Negative experiences with the shift to English in 2009-2010 ……. 225
7.2.2.3 Positive experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012 …… 229
7.2.2.4 Negative experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 … 234
7.2.3 Coping with changes dictated by the 2008-2011 consecutive shifts …… 237
7.2.3.1 Strategies and mechanisms for coping with the two shifts …..…… 238
7.2.3.1.1 Training and workshops ……. 238
7.2.3.1.2 Peer assistance …… 240
7.2.3.1.3 Group commitment and individual school efforts …… 241

7.2.3.1.4 Parental and community involvement with the shifts …… 242
7.3 PART V: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' PERCEPTIONS OF BENEFITS AND DISADVANTAGES FROM THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS …… 246
7.3.1 Perceived benefits from the 2008-2011 shifts for learners and teachers ……. 246
7.3.1.1 Excitement about active early sequential bilingualism ……. 247
7.3.1.2 Equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda …… 249
7.3.1.3 Short interval between the two consecutive shifts as advantageous …… 253
7.3.2 Perceived drawbacks on learners who experienced the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts …… 254
7.3.2.1 Learners' half-baked proficiency in languages prompted by consecutive shifts 254
7.3.2.2 Language mixing as a consequence of the consecutive shifts …… 256
7.3.2.3 Confusion as a consequence of consecutive policy shifts ……. 259
7.3.2.4 Expected difficulties in the learners' future …… 262
7.3.2.5 Teaching - learning instability which led to delays in completing academic programs …… 264
7.4 Conclusion …… 265

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS 267
8.1 Introduction …… ……. 267
8.2 Summary of chapters …… 267
8.3 Review of the main aim of the study …..…… 269
8.4 Summary of the main findings in the study …… 269
8.5 Significance of the findings and the contribution of the study …… 282
8.6 Recommendations from the study …… 284
8.7 The limitations of the study …… 285
8.8 Further research …… 286
8.9 Conclusion …… 287
Reference list …… 289
Appendices …… 311

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Distribution of Kinyarwanda speakers in the Great Lakes Region, as by 1984 10

Table 2: Proportions of language speakers among urban and rural dwellers, both males and females, in Rwanda …… 11

Table 3: Spolsky's Conditions of the Language Preference Model that are applicable to this study …… 49

Table 4.3: Level of satisfaction with the shift to English in 2009-2010 among urban and rural school teachers ..……. 100

Table 4.6: Level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium in 2010, among urban and rural school learners …… 107

Table 4.9: Level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 among urban and rural school teachers …….. 113

Table 4.12: Level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 among urban and rural school learners …… 124

Table 4.15: Level of satisfaction / dissatisfaction on two consecutive policy shifts among urban and rural school teachers …….. 131

Table 4.18: Level of satisfaction / dissatisfaction among urban and rural school learners with shift to English medium and to Kinyarwanda MoI ……. 138

Table 4.21: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers in terms of their level of appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts 143

Table 4.24: Learners' level of appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts ……. 149

Table 6.3: Comparison of teachers' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home among the whole group of participating teachers …… 195

Table 6.4 Comparison of teachers' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home, between urban and rural school teachers …… 196

Table 6.5: Comparison of learners' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home among the whole group of participating learners …….. 203

Table 6.6: Comparison of learners' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home, between urban and rural school learners …….. 204

LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

Map 1: The location of Rwanda on the African continent …… 3

Map 2: Different areas of Rwanda and the bordering countries …… 4

Map 3: Distribution of Kinyarwanda, its dialects and other African local languages on the Rwandan territory, as by 1984 …… 8

Diagram 1: Current Rwanda's linguistic situation (Kinyarwanda and its dialects, African local languages and international languages) ……. 12

Diagram 2: Visual representation of the theoretical framework ……. 56

LIST OF ACRONYMS

O.NA.PO: Office National de la Population [National Office for Family planning]

B.N.R: Banque Nationale de Rwanda [National Bank of Rwanda]

MINEPRISEC: Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire [Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education].

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education

MINECOFIN: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

MINICAAF: Ministry of Cabinet Affairs

MoI: Medium of instruction

MT: Mother tongue

NL: Native language

L1: First language

L2: Second language

AL: Additional language

FL: Foreign language

PL: Primary language

LoLT: Language of learning and teaching

ESL: English as a second language

SC UK: Save the Children United Kingdom

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Demographic information about the participants

Appendix 2: Ethics Clearance No 2012ECE146 granted by Wits School of Education

Appendix 3: Letter to the Rwandan Ministry of Education

Appendix 3.1: Permission No 4631/12.00/2012 granted by the Rwandan Ministry of Education

Appendix 4: Information sheet for the school principals

Appendix 5: Information sheet for teachers

Appendix 6: Information sheet for learners

Appendix 7: Information sheet for parents

Appendix 8: Informed consent form for participating in the study (learners, teachers, principals, parents)

Appendix 9: Informed consent form for audio-recording the interview with learners

Appendix 10: Informed consent form for audio-recording the interview with principals

Appendix 11: Informed consent form for audio-recording the interview with teachers

Appendix 12: Consent form for teachers questionnaire

Appendix 13: Consent form for learners questionnaire

Appendix 14: Consent form for teachers and principals interviews

Appendix 15: Consent form for learners interview

Appendix 16: Consent form for teachers observation

Appendix 17: Consent form for learners observation

Appendix 18: Survey questionnaire for learners

Appendix 19: Survey questionnaires for teachers

Appendix 20: Focus group interview schedule for the learners

Appendix 21: Focus group interview schedule for teachers

Appendix 22: Individual interview schedule for school principals

Appendix 23: Observation schedule in the classroom

Appendix 24: Observation schedule at the school playground

Appendix 25: Sample of outputs from statistical analysis: Crosstabulation, Mean, Standard deviation and T-tests.

CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Preamble

This study aims to investigate the attitudes and experiences of Rwandan foundation phase learners and teachers towards the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts between initial English medium (submersion) and Kinyarwanda medium (sudden transfer) in the Rwandan lower primary schools. It is a contribution to the field of language policy, more specifically in the domain of language-in-education policy. The issue of language policy is one of the current trends that have raised interests of a number of prominent scholars (Small and Cripps, 2009; Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Baker, 2006; Spolsky, 1986, 2004; Fishman 2006; Annamalai 2003; Ager, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 2001; Francis and Kamanda, 2001; Cummins, 1979, 1980, 2000a; Barkhuizen and Gough, 1996; Corson, 1990; Cooper, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, and many others), who tackled it from different angles. In this study, language policy is understood within the context of Small and Cripps's (2009) perspective on attitude planning in relation with other types of language planning, Baker's (2006) perspective on bilingual education and bilingualism, their typologies and issues affecting bilingual education and bilingual classrooms as well as Spolsky's (2004) understanding of how language-in-education policy is controlled and animated by political, economic and social motives. All these aspects are investigated within the context of language-in-education policy shifts, because the focus is on the Rwandan consecutive policy shifts, i.e. the shift to English medium at the beginning of 2009 academic year; and the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011, in the Rwandan lower primary schools.

1.1 The contextual background of the study

While Owhotu (2009, p.4) contends that language policy shifts and reforms on the African continent are said to be inconsistent in general, Ndoye (2003, p.4) indicates that those policy shifts in African countries have been characterized by three dominant trends, namely (i) countries that have opted to maintain the status quo, by maintaining the existing order, where the Western languages remain the media of instruction and the only official languages used in government institutions and in the public sector; (ii) countries which have undergone step-by-

step changes by taking policy measures to promote African languages, by using them in non-formal education or in adult literacy programmes or in formal education system, but without challenging the status of the Western languages; and (iii) countries which have embarked on radical policy changes by curtailing the use of Western languages and adoption of African indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in both formal and non-formal education to promote bilingualism and multilingualism. The Rwandan policy shifts, which are investigated in this study, fall under category (iii). As Ndoye (2003, p.4) goes on to explain, the evaluations of these three policies in some African countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria and Zambia, have led researchers to draw some conclusions. The first conclusion is that:

> A strategy of bilingualism produces better learning outcomes, and higher rates of internal efficiency in schools, when the first language of instruction is already understood by the learners, and the second (foreign) language is introduced earlier on as a subject to be taught and learnt, becoming the language of instruction in later years (Ndoye, 2003, p.4).

The 2008 Rwandan policy shift deviated from this perspective as it instructed to shift to English medium in all levels of Education, starting from grade 1. While the second conclusion from researchers recommends that "Pupils' skills in the first language should be consolidated for a lengthy period (at least three years of study)" (Ndoye, 2003, p.4), the Rwandan language policy shift from English to Kinyarwanda medium (the learners' first language) was effected not from grade 1, but from grade 2 up to grade 3 of foundation phase.

Therefore, the Rwandan teachers and learners under investigation experienced two consecutive shifts in their foundation phase: they shifted from the trilingual policy to English-only medium in 2009-2010, and then shifted from English-only medium to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. This study investigates those learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences within these consecutive language policy shifts. The investigation of their attitudes is of paramount importance because attitudes studies contribute in revealing the current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires about languages (Baker, 1992, p. 9; Bokhorst-Heng & Caleon, 2009); in determining the students' engagement in language learning at school and their expectations for success (Cummins, 1986), in revealing their beliefs in the successful implementation of the language policy (Lewis, 1981, p. 262; Baker, 1992, p. 9) and in showing

implications they may have in education (Adegbija, 1994). An investigation of their experiences is also important because they have "implications on the learners' interests and abilities" (Faizah, 2004, p. 24). The next section describes the contextual background of Rwanda, which is the research site for this study, specifically with regard to its geographical, linguistic and language policy shifts perspectives.

1.1.1 Geographical location of the study (Rwanda)

The study is conducted in Rwanda, a country located in the Great Lakes Region, in the heart of Africa, surrounded by Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The map below indicates the location of Rwanda (red point) on the map of Africa.

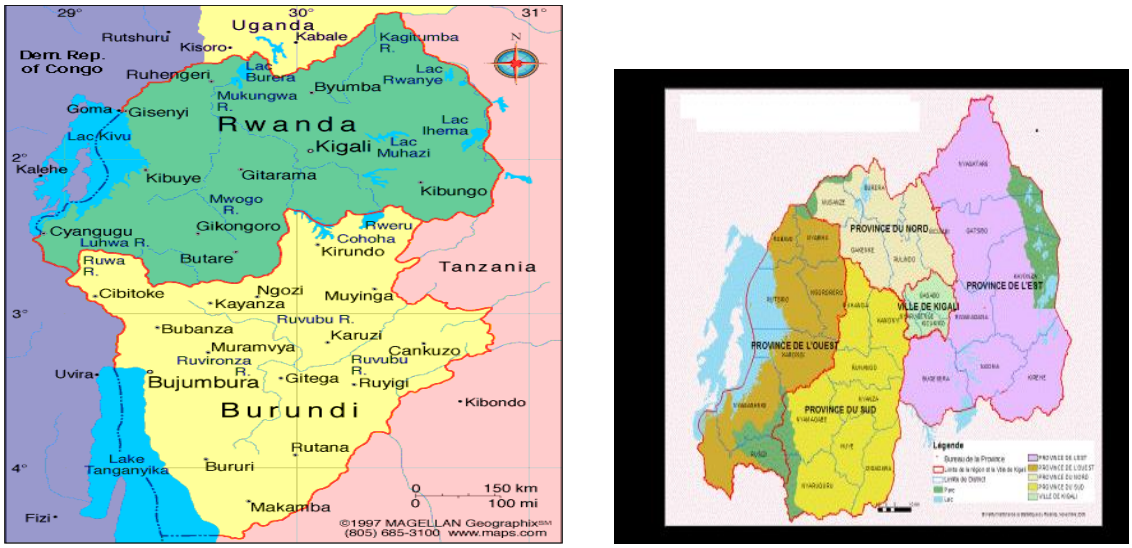


Map 1: The location of Rwanda on the African continent

Source: **http://minaloc.gov.rw**

Geographically, Rwanda is a small country, with an area of 26,338 km^2. It is a landlocked country located at 1,500 km East of the Atlantic Ocean, 1,800 km inland, west from the Indian Ocean, and 75 miles south of the equator in the tropic of Capricorn. Rwanda has steep mountains and deep valleys which cover most of the country, and that is why it is nicknamed "the country of one thousand hills". It has twenty-three lakes, several rivers and five volcanoes. Lake Kivu which is located in the Northwest of Rwanda at an altitude of 4,829 ft (1,472 m) is the highest lake in Africa. The Rwanda's highest point is the volcano Karisimbi (14,187 ft; 4,324 m), based in the Virunga Mountains, in the North of the country (www.infoplease.com).

The maps below indicate different parts of Rwanda and the bordering countries.



Map 2: Different areas of Rwanda and the bordering countries

Source: Rwanda Atlas, at **http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/rwanda.html** and **http://minaloc.gov.rw**

1.1.2 Linguistic perspectives of the research site (Rwanda)

Rwanda is a multilingual country, with 4 main languages (Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili) but it is also an outstanding endoglossic country, whereby Kinyarwanda is spoken by 99.4% of the population (Rwanda's 2002 National Population Census, MINECOFIN, 2005). As for the other three languages, the 2002 National Population Census indicates that English was spoken by 1.9% of the Rwandan population, French and Kiswahili were spoken by 3.9% and 3% respectively (MINECOFIN, 2005). Over 10 years, the number of speakers of those 4 languages have increased tremendously because the 2012 National Population Census has revealed that English is currently spoken by 14.7% of the Rwandan population aged 15 years and more, French is spoken by 11.4%, while other languages including Kiswahili are spoken by 3.7% of the population, with 7% of this population being bilinguals (i.e. literate in both Kinyarwanda and English) and 6% being trilinguals (i.e. literate in Kinyarwanda, English and French) (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.45-49).

Based on the above-mentioned statistics from the 2002 and 2012 National Population Census, a clear disproportion among language users in Rwanda can be observed, and it indicates that about 90% of the population do not know English, French and Kiswahili, they rather speak Kinyarwanda only (Munyankesha, 2004; LeClerc, 2008; Niyomugabo, 2008; Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). That is why Niyomugabo (2008, p. 4) describes the societal bilingualism in Rwanda using Van Overbeke's (1972) term of «bilinguisme restreint» (restricted bilingualism) [my translation] as it is fully used by less than 10% of the population. Using Fishman's (1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p. 70) categories of bilingualism, it is clear that Rwanda is a multilingual society characterized by diglossia or triglossia (also see Rosendal, 2009, p. 23).

In this study, the term diglossia is used to describe the use of two or more languages in a society or within a particular geographical area (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972, 1980; Hudson, 2001, cited in Baker, 2006, p. 69), while the term bilingualism is typically used to describe the two or more languages of an individual (Baker, 2006, p. 69). Diglossia is also used to describe the two varieties or dialects of the same language, one being a high language variety (H) or majority language, and the other being a low language variety (L) or minority language (Ferguson, 1959, cited in Baker, 2006, p. 69). To clearly portray language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist one with or without the other, Fishman (1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p.70) identified four situations, namely the language community containing both individual bilingualism and diglossia; diglossia without bilingualism; bilingualism without diglossia; and neither bilingualism nor diglossia.

Rwanda's bilingualism does not fit squarely into any of the four linguistic situations described by Fishman (1980, cited in Baker, 2006). It partly combines individual bilingualism and diglossia, and diglossia without bilingualism. That is why I have created the fifth language situation for Rwanda and coined it "diglossia with restricted bilingualism" to mean that several languages coexist in Rwanda but very few Rwandan citizens master more than one. Furthermore, diglossia in the Rwandan context can partly be viewed as defined by Fishman (1967, 1980, cited in Coulmas, 2005, p.133) as a phenomenon that exists in a social situation where two or more languages coexist in a stable state with different statuses according to their functions in specific domains. In this regard, Rosendal (2009, p. 23) is right to say that Rwanda's diglossia is not

always in a stable state, it is rather full of competition of linguistic functions based on sociopolitical and economic interests. Such a competition of linguistic functions in the Rwandan context can be viewed from Ricento's (2006, p. 6) perspective that the linguistic system of the state may undergo changes depending on rate of change in the economic, cultural, religious and political realms tied up with nationalist and pan-nationalist movements. This partly explains why several language policy shifts have occurred throughout the history of Rwanda, as highlighted in the historical background of the Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts described in the next section (see §1.1.3).

Based on the above-mentioned definitions of diglossia by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p.70), it is observed that the Rwanda's diglossia displays the characteristics of the two levels of diglossia described in those definitions. The first level of Rwanda's diglossia is between Kinyarwanda and other two official languages stated in the Rwandan Constitution, namely English and French. Before 2008 policy modifications, English and French were considered as "high varieties" while Kinyarwanda was considered as a "lower variety" (Niyomugabo, 2008, p. 4). As from 2009 onward, this level of diglossia tends to be predominantly between English (high variety) and Kinyarwanda (lower variety). French status, functions and prestige have dwindled since 2009 because it is no longer a medium of instruction (MoI) at all levels of education as it used to be in the pre-2008 language policy, but research needs to be done to confirm whether it is still high or whether it has become a low variety vis-à-vis Kinyarwanda.

The second level of Rwanda's diglossia is the endocentric diglossia, which involves standard Kinyarwanda and its regional varieties or regiolects and sociolects, which were analysed extensively in Munyakazi (1984). Regiolects and sociolects of Kinyarwanda include Kigoyi and Kirera, which are spoken in the Northern part of Rwanda (MINEPRISEC, 1984; Munyakazi, 1984; Nsanzabiga, 1988; Niyomugabo, 2008). In 1980s, there were other dialects of Kinyarwanda, which were dying out, with only old people speaking them. These included Kiyaka, which was spoken in Western Province, in the then Nyamyumba district, Gishyoshyo which was also spoken in Western Province, in the then Kanama district, and Gisozo, which was spoken in the then Bugarama and Karengera districts, in the Western Province (MINEPRISEC,

1984, p. 48). Munyakazi (1984) and Nsanzabiga (1985, 1988) added another dialect called Rushobyo, which was spoken in the then Kanama and Rubavu districts, in the Western Province. Research is needed to find out if there are still people who speak these Kinyarwanda dialects. Other varieties of Kinyarwanda are found beyond the Rwanda's borders, specifically in the Eastern Congo, Southern Uganda, and Western Tanzania (Nsanzabiga, 1988; Munyankesha, 2004; Samuelson and Freedman, 2010).

Besides Kinyarwanda and its regiolects and sociolects, there are other African indigenous languages of the Bantu family, which are spoken by a portion of the population in areas bordering with other countries. In 1984, the then Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education counted six African local languages which were and are still spoken in Rwanda today, namely:

a) "Oluciga - Igihima", which is spoken in areas bordering with Uganda in the Northern Province. The speakers of this language were estimated to 96,000 people in 1984;
b) "Igihavu - Amahavu", which is spoken along Kivu lake, in the Western Province, near the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo, specifically in the former Kamembe, Gisuma, Gafunzo, and Kagano districts, in the former Cyangugu province. The speakers of this language were estimated to 97,000 in 1984;
c) "Amashi", which is spoken in some areas bordering with the Democratic Republic of Congo, in the Western Province of Rwanda, specifically in the former Gishoma, Cyimbogo and Kamembe districts of the former Cyangugu Province. Its speakers were estimated to 35,000 in 1984;
d) "Ikirashi-Urunyambo", also called "Ikirasi or Ururasi" is spoken in areas bordering with Tanzania, in the Eastern Province of Rwanda, specifically in the former Rukira and Rusumo districts of the former Kibungo Province. The speakers of this language were estimated to 25,000 in 1984;
e) "Ikirundi", which is the language spoken in Burundi, is also spoken in Rwanda by people originating from Burundi, but living in Rwanda;
f) "Kiswahili", which is mainly spoken in trading areas and in some religions like Islam, adventists, pentecontists, etc. In 1984, the speakers of Kiswahili in Rwanda were estimated to 500,000 people.

(MINEPRISEC, 1984; Niyomugabo, 2008).

The map below indicates the distribution of Kinyarwanda, its regiolects and sociolects, as well as other African local languages on the Rwandan territory, as by 1984:

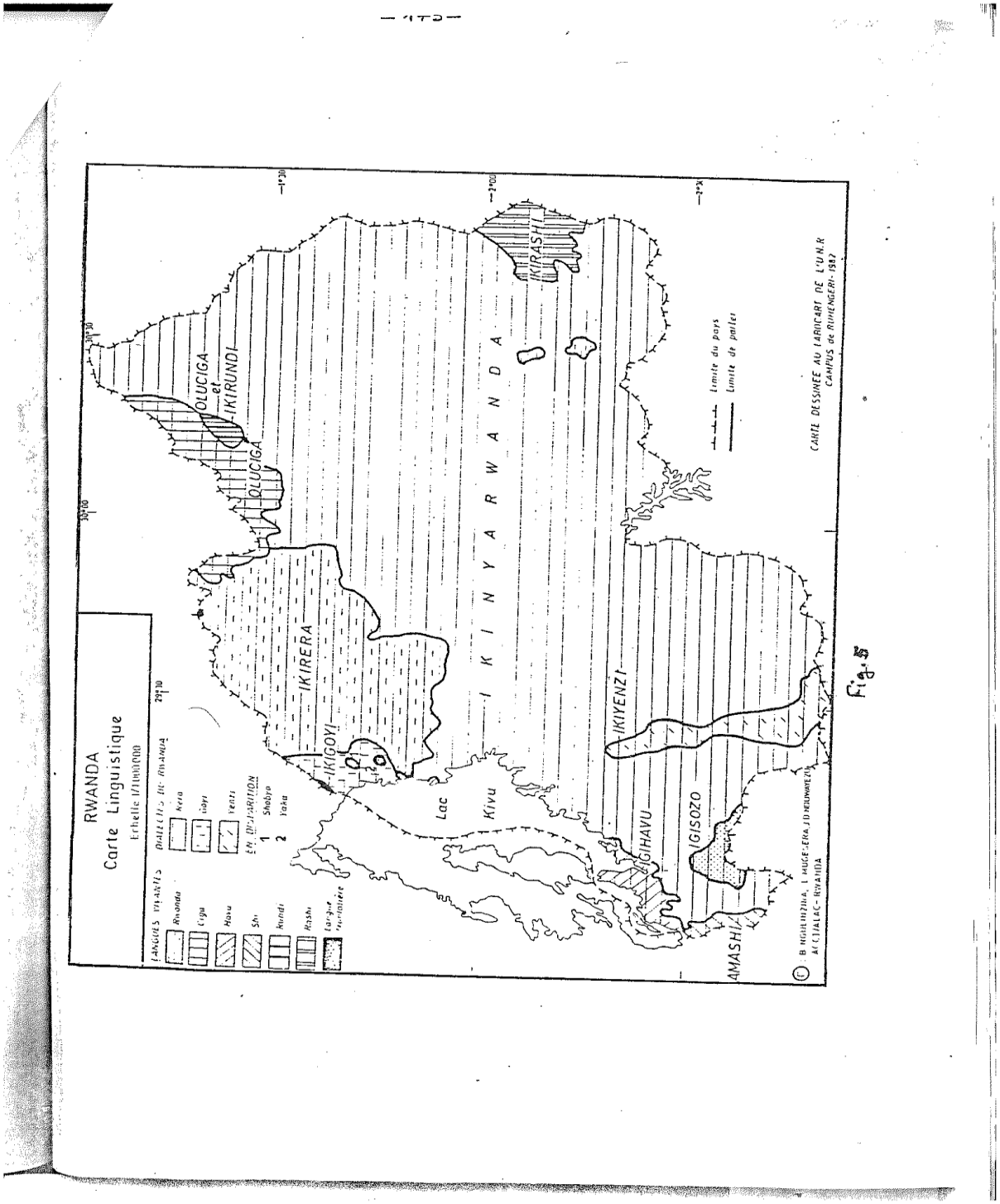


Fig 5

Map 3: Distribution of Kinyarwanda, its dialects and other African local languages on the Rwandan territory, as by 1984.

Source: Nsanzabiga (1988, p. 34)

As it can be observed on the map, sociolects and regiolects of Kinyarwanda, as well as African local languages are spoken by a small population, and they are specifically used at the regional and family levels, in local markets, cross-border trade exchange and local informal conversations (Munyakazi, 1984; Niyomugabo, 2008, p. 39). None of them are used in formal education or in official communications; rather, standard Kinyarwanda is the one used. It is to be emphasized that standard Kinyarwanda is spoken and understood by each and everybody in those areas using regiolects, sociolects and other African local languages. What is considered to be standard Kinyarwanda is the Kinyarwanda that was initially spoken at the Royal household and its surrounding, in the historical area called Nduga, which was located in the central part of Rwanda (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 48). It dominated other regional dialects and got formalized and standardized in the whole territory of Rwanda by political powers throughout successive systems of government (Niyomugabo, 2008, p. 39); then it became standard Kinyarwanda. That is why standard Kinyarwanda is considered the "higher variety" while its regiolects and sociolects are considered "lower variety" within the Rwandan endoglossic diglossia, as stressed by Niyomugabo (2008, p. 4) and Nsanzabiga (1988).

Concerning the endoglossic status of Kinyarwanda, it is to be explained that standard Kinyarwanda is considered as a unique language of Rwanda, excluding some small linguistic zones like the Oluciga-Igihima speaking area (Nsanzabiga, 1988, p. 35). Kinyarwanda is mutually intelligible with Kirundi, which is spoken in Burundi (Masagara, 2001), and this explains why the BBC Radio program called "Kinyarwanda/Kirundi" is followed by all speakers of those languages in the Great Lakes Region (Samuelson and Freedman, 2010, p. 193). Kinyarwanda is, therefore, a language of wider communication not only in Rwanda, but also in the neighbouring countries. The estimate of Kinyarwanda speakers in the Great Lakes region in 1984 was about 18 millions. These figures were produced by Munyakazi (1984, as cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p. 36) who updated the figures by Bryan (1961, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35), Alexandre (1967, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35), Ladefoged and Alii (1972, cited in

Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35), Bigirumwami (1975, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35), Kimenyi (1980, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.36), Polome and Hill (1980, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35), O.NA.PO (1981, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35), B.N.R (1982, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p. 35) and Ngulinzira (1983, cited in Nsanzabiga 1988, p.35). The table below indicates the distribution of Kinyarwanda speakers in the Great Lakes Region by 1984:

Country	**Speakers with full language proficiency**	**Speakers with partial language proficiency**	**Total**
Rwanda	6,000,000	60,000	**6,060,000**
Burundi	80,000	6,000,000	**6,080,000**
DRC	1,500,000	1,000,000	**2,500,000**
Tanzania	100,000	1,250,000	**1,350,000**
Uganda	600,000	800,000	**1,400,000**
Total	**8,280,000**	**9,110,000**	**17,390,000**

Table 1: Distribution of Kinyarwanda speakers in the Great Lakes Region, as by 1984.
Source: Nsanzabiga (1988, p. 36) [my translation into English]

Despite the fact that Gasana (1981, cited in Nsanzabiga, 1988, p. 36) warns that these figures might not be real due to shortcomings in identifying criteria for Kinyarwanda dialects or regiolects, they indicate how big the Kinyarwandophone area is. These 1980s figures have increased tremendously because the speakers of the Kinyarwanda language in the Great Lakes Region are estimated to 42 millions currently (The New Times, June 2012). Therefore, the adoption of Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in the Rwanda's 2011 language policy shift was not a game of chance.

In addition to the predominance of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda, one may wonder if the proportion and distribution of language users between the urban and rural areas, and between males and females are the same. Based on the statistics from the 2002 and the 2012 National Population Census about the speakers of Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili, the table on the next

page illustrates how the users of those languages are distributed in urban and rural areas of Rwanda, and between males and females:

The 2002 National Population Census (Speakers of each language)									
Area / **Language**	**Urban**			**Rural**			**Total**		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Kinyarwanda	98.2%	98.6%	***98.4%***	99.5%	99.6%	***99.6%***	99.3%	99.4%	**99.4**%
French	13.6%	10.9%	***12.2%***	2.8%	1.9%	***2.3%***	4.6%	3.2%	**3.9**%
English	7.2%	4.8%	***6.0%***	1.4%	0.9%	***1.1%***	2.4%	1.5%	**1.9**%
Kiswahili	14.6%	9.9%	***12.2%***	1.7%	0.8%	***1.3%***	3.9%	2.2%	**3.0**%
The 2012 National Population Census (People aged 15+ who are literate in each language)									
Kinyarwanda	80.9%	80.6%	***80.7%***	69.3%	60.8%	***64.7%***	71.7%	64.1%	**67.7%**
French	28.6%	25.9%	***27.3%***	9.3%	6.5%	***7.8%***	13.2%	9.7%	**11.4%**
English	31.7%	27.8%	***29.9%***	12.8%	10.0%	***11.3%***	16.6%	13.0%	**14.7%**
Others	16.5%	10.1%	***13.5%***	2.3%	0.9%	***1.6%***	5.2%	2.4%	**3.7%**
People non literate in any language	9.4%	15.5%	***12.3%***	27.9%	37.7%	***33.2%***	24.1%	34.1%	**29.4%**

Table 2: Proportions of language speakers among urban and rural dwellers, both males and females, in Rwanda

Source: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (2005): "Report on 2002 Third Population and Housing Census, 2005". Kigali, Rwanda, (p. 42).

Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (January 2014). Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda, 2012. Thematic Report: Education characteristics of the population. Kigali: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, (p.45).

Table 2 above shows that Kinyarwanda is spoken almost equally between urban and rural areas, while the other three languages (French, English and Kiswahili) are more predominantly in urban areas than in rural areas. Also, except Kinyarwanda, the other languages are spoken by more males than females. While the statistics from 2002 focus on the speakers of each language, the 2012 census emphasizes the number of people aged 15 and beyond who are literate in each

language; and it is to be clarified that even illiterate people in Rwanda speak Kinyarwanda. It is also observed that the total number of the speakers of the four languages is beyond 100, and this is due to the fact that a number of people speak more than one language in Rwanda.

It is also crucial to indicate that the year 1994 marks another turning point in the Rwanda's linguistic history. Apart from the above-mentioned languages, other languages were brought by the repatriation of Rwandan refugees from neigbouring countries and further afield. In this regard, languages like Lingala, Luganda, and some others were brought in and are now used by individual families, especially in urban areas. As a result, the current linguistic situation of Rwanda can be illustrated by adapting the linguistic diagram which was designed by Karangwa (1996) and adapted by Niyomugabo (2008):

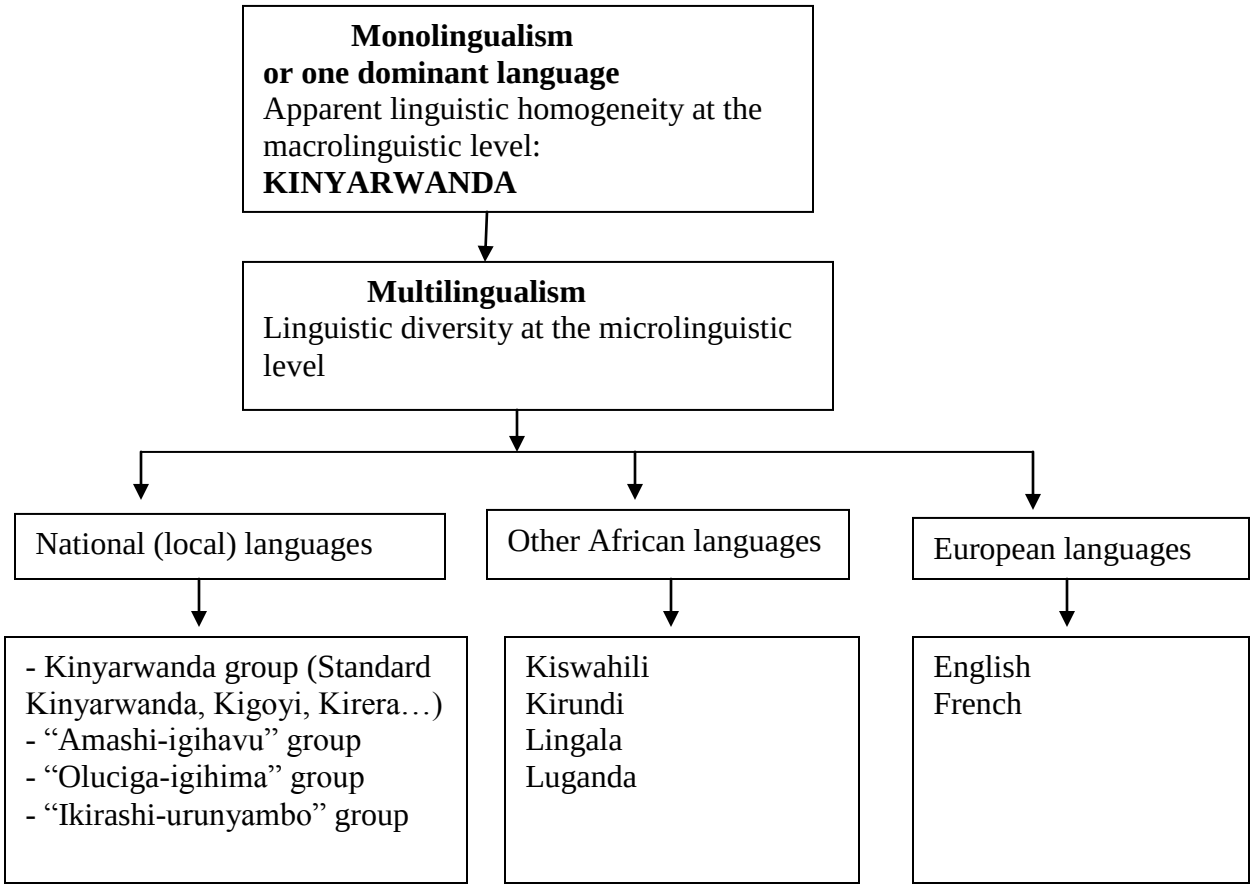


Diagram 1: Current Rwanda's linguistic situation (Kinyarwanda and its dialects, African local languages and international languages)

Source: Karangwa (1996), adapted by Niyomugabo (2008, p. 38), and then my adaptation and my translation

1.1.3 The Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts context

The Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts which are of interest to this study are the two consecutive policy modifications, which were effected in the Rwandan foundation phase education on 8th October 2008 and 11th February 2011 respectively (MINICAAF, Decisions of Cabinet Meeting held on 8th October 2008, and on 11th February 2011). Such kinds of consecutive language policy modifications sound unfamiliar in educational trends. However, to clearly portray how the two consecutive policy shifts were adopted, it is helpful to place them within the historical background of the Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts, from pre-colonial era until now (2013).

1.1.3.1 Language-in-education policy shifts throughout the Rwandan history

Although there are few documents that specifically describe the evolution of the language-in-education policy in Rwanda including the shifts that were made, it is anticipated that the Rwandan linguistic journey started with the founding of Rwanda. Rwanda is among the countries which can be classified as "one nation, one language and one culture". It is not like South Africa which is known as "one nation, many languages", as described by King and van den Berg (1992). But again, Rwanda is a multilingual country, and such a controversy between the Rwandan multilingualism and one-dominant linguistic homogeneity on ground makes Rwanda a typical linguistic environment. In fact, Rwanda has one predominant language, i.e. Kinyarwanda; it has one common culture, within one nation. Kinyarwanda is considered as an endoglossic language because it is the mother tongue for almost all Rwandans. Almost all Rwandan citizens, both literate and illiterate, speak and understand Kinyarwanda. This language is used throughout the country. However, as described in § 1.1, Kinyarwanda has regiolects and sociolects, like Kirera and Kigoyi, which are spoken in some areas by a small portion of the population. Other languages like English, French, Swahili, Lingala, Luganda, Oluciga-igihima, Amashi-igihavu,

Ikirashi-urunyambo are used as well, but with a small portion of the population, and for different functions.

Such a state of affairs arouses curiosity about the Rwandan linguistic evolution throughought the Rwandan history, especially its language-in-education policy shifts. However, the evolution of the Rwanda's language-in-education policy shifts which is described in this section concerns four dominant languages in Rwanda, and these are Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili. The development and shifts of these four languages from the pre-colonial period until 2013 has evolved as follows:

1.1.3.1.1 Pre-colonial period

From the founding of Rwanda up to the arrival of foreign colonizers (in 1898), Kinyarwanda was said to be the only language used for communication among Rwandans (Kabanza, 2003; Niyibizi, 2010, p.43), and Rwanda was linguistically homogeneous with Kinyarwanda as the sole medium of communication (Mutwarasibo, 2003, p. 25; Niyomugabo, 2008). As the written code was not yet introduced in Rwanda during that period, the Kinyarwanda language was maintained and developed through orality. In this regard, during the seminar on integration of national languages in educational system held on 14th to 16th December 2004, Kayisire (2004) describes three traditional institutions which were specialized in the conservation and enrichment of Kinyarwanda before the colonial period. Those institutions were the Memorialists, commonly known as 'les mémorialistes' in French or 'Abacurabwenge' in Kinyarwanda; the Poets, known as 'les rapsodes' in French or 'Abasizi' in Kinyarwanda; and the keepers of the exoteric code, commonly known as 'les détenteurs du code exotérique' in French or 'Abiru' in Kinyarwanda (Kayisire, 2004).

Oral texts were maintained and enriched through pastoral poetry, warrior poetry, exoteric dynastic code, myths, tales, fables and legends of ancient Rwanda (Kayisire, 2004). The written transcription of most of those oral texts was done later by Bishop Alexis KAGAME (1912-1981) and other linguists from IRSAC (Institut de Recherche Scientifique d'Afrique Centrale) created by Belgium in the Great Lakes Region in July 1947, which led to the creation of the current

IRST (Institut de Recherche Scientifique et Technologique) or the Rwandan Institute of Scientific and Technological Research, in March 1989 (Kayisire, 2004).

1.1.3.1.2 During the colonial period

Rwanda was colonized by Germany between 1898 and 1916, and then by Belgium between 1916 and 1962 (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 57-58). During this period, the Rwandan linguistic situation changed due to the presence of foreign languages brought in by colonizers and establishment of schools. That explains why Kabanza (2003) and Niyibizi (2010, p. 44) argue that formal bilingual education in Rwanda is likely to have started with the establishment of the first primary school in Nyanza, in the Southern Province, by German colonizers between 1907 and 1916. This school introduced two languages, i.e. Kiswahili, which was considered an official language for European administration in East African colonies and German, which was taught as a subject (Alexis Kagame, cited in Niyibizi 1980, p. 189). However, Kiswahili should have been introduced in Rwanda earlier, because Chimerah (2000, cited in Mulaudzi and Mbori 2008, p.19) indicates that Kiswahili, which originated along the East Coast of Africa, was already spoken in Rwanda during the German colonial period. In that same first school, Kinyarwanda was also allowed to be used in class, but reading was the only language aspect that was emphasized. As described by Erny (1975, cited in Kabanza 2003, p. 3), the main objective of this first primary school was to train translators who could be used to facilitate communication between the German colonial administration and the local population.

It is evident that the written forms of Kinyarwanda and other languages got introduced in Rwanda between 1898 and 1916, during the German colony (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 57). While German colonial masters preferred Kiswahili, which was the official colonial language of the East African colony, the written form of Kinyarwanda interested mainly the religious leaders for evangelism (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 57). That is why De Lacger (1959, cited in MINEPRISEC, 1984, p.57) emphasizes that the first written literature in Rwanda was purely religious; although the Kinyarwanda writing system was not stabilized yet, especially the phonological system (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 58).

In 1916, German colonizers were replaced by Belgium colonial masters in the Rwandan colony. Immediately, the *first shift* was observed because the new colonizers modified the language policy in place by bringing in French to replace Kiswahili in primary schools (Shyirambere, 1978, cited in Kabanza 2003, p.3). Kiswahili underwent a negative transformation under Belgian rule and was no longer regarded as an important language of communication in Rwanda (Mulaudzi and Mbori, 2008, p. 19). Instead, French became the official language of government, law, civil service, army, education and international relations (Mutwarasibo, 2003, p. 25), but Kinyarwanda continued to be taught, especially the writing and reading skills.

As for the evolution of the Kinyarwanda writing system, Bishop Classe played a significant role. As described in MINEPRISEC (1984), this Bishop circulated a letter in 1930 indicating how the Congregation of Brothers called "Frères de la Charité" wanted to adopt a new Kinyarwanda writing system. In 1935, the Rwanda-Burundi Government (which were under the same Belgium rule) responded to this initiative, with a will to unify the Kinyarwanda-Kirundi orthography. Then a Commission convened in Kabgayi (Rwanda) in 1936 to discuss the issue, and the new orthography resulting from the commission was published countrywide in December 1938 by Bishop Classe. The new spelling system started to be used in the then journal called "Kinyamateka" in January 1939 (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 58-59).

The *second shift* was observed in 1948, when interracial schools based on the European model were founded in Rwanda. In these schools, French was prominent, while Kinyarwanda could no longer be used at school by Rwandan students who were allowed in these schools. Rather, Dutch was introduced as a subject starting from primary grade 4 (Shyirambere, 1978, cited in Kabanza 2003, p.3). In other ordinary schools, Kinyarwanda was taught in lower primary (i.e. from primary grade 1 to grade 3), before switching to French from grade 4 to grade 6. In fact, Grosjean (1982, cited in Kabanza, 2001) comments that Belgian colonizers did not impose French only in their African colonies (including Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo), they generally accepted the use of local (indigenous) languages in primary schools, and this was due to the fact that there were linguistic conflicts in Belgium based on French and Flemish (Grosjean, 1982, cited in Kabanza, 2001). Similarly, Babault and Caitucoli (1997, cited in Mutwarasibo, 2003, p. 26) confirm that Kinyarwanda was used throughout primary schools,

especially in lower primary, while French was mainly used in upper primary to train few interpreters who facilitated communication between the colonial masters and the local population. French was the only official language during the Belgium colonial period.

1.1.3.1.3 By the independence period

Rwanda gained independence on the 1st of July 1962. By that time, the language policy described in § 1.1.3.1.2 above was still in effect. Both Kinyarwanda and French were used in ordinary primary schools, whose training ended at primary school grade 6 (i.e. 6 years training). There were very few secondary schools by that time and there were no universities or institutions of higher learning, because the first university was created after independence, specifically in 1963. Statistics from schools by the independence period in Rwanda, Duarte (1995, cited in Education Encyclopedia - StateUniversity.com (n.d.)) indicates that by 1957, fewer than three percent of children finished six years of primary school, there was no institute of higher education in Rwanda under Belgian rule, and only 100 natives had received postsecondary education abroad, by 1960.

With the Rwandan independence in 1962, the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, in its article 4, attributed the official status to French, besides Kinyarwanda which was given both the status of official language and national language. Therefore, the then Constitution stated that: «La langue nationale est le Kinyarwanda. Les langues officielles sont le Kinyarwanda et le Français» [The national language is Kinyarwanda. The official languages are Kinyarwanda and French] (Republic of Rwanda, 1962). This article was maintained in subsequent constitutions (i.e. the revised constitution of 1996 and 2003), but with amendments.

1.1.3.1.4 Post-independence period: phase 1 (1963-1994)

After independence, the *third shift* was observed at secondary school level, where English was introduced in secondary school in 1963, but it was taught only as a subject. English was given a lower status and was not taught at the primary school level (MINEDUC, 1996). At primary school, Kinyarwanda was mostly used to teach other subjects at the lower primary level, i.e.

from primary grade 1 up to grade 3. In upper primary school, i.e. from primary grade 4 to grade 6, French was the medium of instruction for most of the subjects. It was in fact a bilingual situation (Kinyarwanda-French) at primary school level.

The *fourth shift* was made in 1978 in what was called the '1978 education reform'. This reform reinforced and increased the use of Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction at primary school level. It also increased the training period at primary school level, because primary school could no longer end at grade 6 as it was in the past, but rather at grade 8. In fact, after the reform of 1978, which was followed by further adjustments in 1979 and 1981 (MINEDUC, 2003a), Kinyarwanda was used as a MoI not only in lower primary, but also for some courses in upper primary school (i.e. from primary grade 4 up to grade 8) but alongside French. This 1978 language policy reform and its subsequent adjustments in 1979 and 1981 were nicknamed the "Kinyarwandization" of primary school; and their implementation lasted between 1978 and 1994, but with another reform in 1991 which reduced again the end of primary school teaching from grade 8 to grade 6, as it was before 1978 (MINEDUC, 2004a). However, an evaluation of this teaching system carried out by the National University of Rwanda in 1988 (U.N.R, 1988, in Kabanza 2003, p.3) highly criticized the outcome of such Kinyarwandization system, specifically the learners' lack of full mastery of French, up to the level of comparing it with «former des perroquets et de prôner le psittacisme» [training the parrots and promoting learning through memorization and repetition but without thorough understanding][Translation is mine]. Similarly, MINEDUC's report (2004b) criticized the outcome from this 1978 reform, because a serious lack of proficiency in French was noticed among primary school leavers to the extent that some teachers at secondary school were bound to sometimes teach in Kinyarwanda because students were unable to follow lessons in French.

As for the evolution and standardization of Kinyarwanda orthography, MINEPRISEC (1984, p.59) indicates that the orthography adopted by the 1936 Commission led by Bishop Classe was still in effect until 1973, when a Ministerial order about the standardization of Kinyarwanda was issued. However, this order did not practically change the existing orthography, it simply emphasized the necessity of standardizing the orthography of Kinyarwanda used in schools and by the population, and disseminated it mainly in schools. In March 1978, the Ministry of

Education set up another commission for the standardization of Kinyarwanda orthography, but did not adopt its conclusions. Rather, another commission was set up in August 1983 and its recommendations were adopted (MINEPRISEC, 1984, p. 59). The recommendations made in 1983 are the ones governing Kinyarwanda orthography until now (2013), but there have been updates in-between.

As for Kiswahili, it gained strong support again in Rwanda towards the end of 1970s, specifically in 1979 when the Government of Rwanda signed a memorandum of understanding with the Government of Tanzania, supporting the development of Kiswahili in Rwanda (Mpiranya, 1990, cited in Mulaudzi and Mbori, 2008, p.19). However, Kiswahili was not taught at primary school level during the Rwanda's post-independence period, it was rather taught as a subject in some secondary schools and universities.

Therefore, a predominant bilingual policy (Kinyarwanda – French) was maintained during Rwanda's post-independence period, specifically between 1962 and 1994, not only in primary schools, but also in secondary schools and higher education. At secondary school level, French was the only medium of instruction and was an official language; while English was only taught as a subject in secondary schools and in specific specializations at university, but it was not an official language. Until 1994, Rwanda was classified among Francophone countries.

1.1.3.1.5 Post-independence period: Phase 2 (1994-2008)

In 1994, after the triumph of the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the end of genocide, the linguistic situation in Rwanda changed, especially when Rwandans who fled the country in 1959 and 1973 returned from neighbouring countries. As those expatriates who returned to Rwanda from different countries were speaking various languages, including English, they had to adjust to using Kinyarwanda and French. They concentrated first of all on learning Kinyarwanda, which is the language of wider communication among Rwandan citizens. Then, English gained impetus and was declared an official language in 1996, alongside Kinyarwanda and French, as stipulated in Article 5 of the Revised National Constitution of 1996, that "The national language is

Kinyarwanda. The official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English." (Republic of Rwanda, 1996).

The *fifth* language-in-education policy *shift* was observed during this period, because the trilingual policy (Kinyarwanda-English-French) was adopted and the three languages were used in schools as subjects and as media of instruction from nursery school up to university level. In this regard, the report from the first conference on the trilingual policy planning in Rwanda held on 24 - 27 April 1995 in Kigali indicated that Kinyarwanda was to be the language of instruction in primary schools, while French and English were to be introduced as subjects first, and then progressively became languages of instruction, in order to enable learners to master these two languages at a certain stage of their studies (MINEDUC, 1995, p. 26).

This conference did not determine the time frame for switching from Kinyarwanda as a MoI to English and French medium, but subsequent language policy documents highlighted how it was to be implemented. For instance MINEDUC (2002, p. 14) and MINEDUC (2003a, p. 14) provided details on the use of the three languages at primary school level, indicating that Kinyarwanda was to be used as a language of instruction from primary grade 1 up to grade 3, with the introduction of French and English as subjects; while English and French were scheduled to be used as MoI from primary grade 4 up to grade 6, with Kinyarwanda taught as a subject. The education sector policy described in both MINEDUC (2003a) and MINEDUC (2004b) outlined the strategic plan for implementing the trilingual policy in Rwanda, stating that the three languages were to be used up to tertiary education level.

However, these policy documents pointed to a number of challenges in teaching these three languages, especially at primary school level. For example, MINEDUC (2003a, p. 14) recognized that teachers who had been in the system for many years and who had been trained either in Kinyarwanda and French or in English were bound to teach in the three languages, including two international languages (French and English), while they were trained in only one of the two. They were expected to encounter language problems after the abrupt change to the trilingual policy in 1994. However, the teachers' language problem improved progressively,

especially with the high increase of the number of qualified teachers at primary schools, which rose up to 99% in 2008 (MINEDUC, 2008).

However, the evaluation of the implementation of the trilingual policy between 1994 and 2008 in some schools in Kigali City revealed that public, government-assisted and private nursery and primary schools had adopted different models within such trilingualism (Niyibizi, 2010, p. 126). For example, Public and government-assisted primary schools used Kinyarwanda as MoI from primary grade 1 to grade 3, with French and English as subjects; before change over to French or English as MoI from grade 4. Contrary to this, most private schools preferred French or English as MoI from grade 1, and left out Kinyarwanda or taught it minimally (Niyibizi, 2010, p. 126), suggesting that trilingualism was not adopted uniformly in all nursery and primary schools.

At secondary school level, either English or French was used as a medium of instruction, but with Kinyarwanda as a subject, while tertiary level students were to follow their classes either in French or in English (MINEDUC, 2003b, p. 23). However, some universities like the National University of Rwanda and some institutions of higher learning adopted a dual-medium language policy, i.e. using both English and French as media of instruction (Mutwarasibo, 2003, p. 2).

Within the period of the trilingual policy in the Rwandan education sytem from 1994 to 2008, Kinyarwanda continued to be a predominant language in terms of language users and language exposure. As for English-French bilingualism, Mutwarasibo (2003, p. iv) commented that "Rwanda is in a unique position as both English and French serve as languages of wider communication, spoken by the smallest number of the population, where no area of the country can claim their ownership". Therefore, Kinyarwanda continued to dominate this trilingual setting, which is actually a quadrilingual setting, because Kiswahili is also spoken by a number of Rwandans. However, because Kiswahili is not included in the Rwandan constitution, it is usually not mentioned as one of the dominant languages of Rwanda.

1.1.3.1.6 Post independence: Phase 3: From 8th October 2008 to 11th February 2011

The *sixth shift* in the Rwandan language-in-education policy was made on 8th October 2008, when the Rwandan Government modified the then trilingual policy (Kinyarwanda, English and French as media of instruction) which was in effect in all Rwandan schools, and replaced it with English as the sole MoI for all subjects at all levels of education, i.e. from Kindergarten up to university level (MINICAAF, 2008). This policy enforced the use Kinyarwanda and French as subjects at nursery, primary and secondary school levels, while they were used as MoI in the pre-2008 language policy.

The implementation of this language-in-education policy started with the 2009 academic year as scheduled (MINEDUC, 2008) but the change-over to English medium of instruction was scheduled to be implemented in phases, with the total shift to English medium for all subjects at all levels of education scheduled in 2011. Consequently, in January 2009, all the schools (from nursery to university) immediately embarked on English MoI, more specifically in all grades of nursery schools, in primary grade 1 which starts lower primary level, in primary grade 4 which starts upper primary level, in senior 1 which starts lower secondary level and senior 4 which starts upper secondary level, as well as in all first years of universities and institutions of higher learning. Other classes were still allowed to continue to use French and Kinyarwanda as media of instruction for some subjects until 2011 where total shift to English was scheduled for all subjects and at all levels of education (MINEDUC, 2009).

However, the findings from an investigation carried out in some nursery and primary schools in Kigali City (Niyibizi, 2010) revealed that in all the schools, almost all learners, teachers and parents were so highly motivated to learn and teach in English that they all embarked to English medium immediately in January 2009 and for all grades, without waiting for the progressive shift from French and Kinyarwanda MoI suggested by the Ministry of Education.

To equip the teachers with the required proficiency in English to implement the newly adopted policy, intensive training in English was organized for primary and secondary school teachers and was coordinated by the Teacher Service Commission of the Rwandan Ministry of Education (MINEDUC, 2009). Such training was mainly organized during holidays. They started in 2008

and continued all along 2009 and 2010, and the target was for all teachers to have reached the required proficiency in English by 2011 (MINEDUC, 2009). The teaching materials and teaching programs most of which were in French and Kinyarwanda in the pre-2008 policy were immediately made available in English. However, a certain number of teachers still had insufficient proficiency in English and were teaching with some difficulty (MINEDUC, 2009; Niyibizi, 2010), although the training in English was still underway. Despite this limited profiency observed among some teachers, it is to be mentioned that some schools did not encounter any difficulty in switching to English medium of instruction, especially those schools which were already using English medium of instruction in the pre-2008 policy (Niyibizi, 2010). The implementation of this policy at nursery and primary school levels lasted for two years only, i.e. 2009 and 2010, before it got modified again on 11th February 2011.

1.1.3.1.7 Post independence: Phase 4: From 11th February 2011 until today (2013)

The *seventh* and last language-in-education policy *shift* was made on the 11th of February 2011 when Kinyarwanda was adopted again as the medium of instruction for all subjects from nursery school up to primary grade 3 (MINICAAF, 2011). These two levels (nursery and lower primary) which constitute the foundation phase, are the ones which were affected by this policy shift, other levels from primary grade 4 upwards continued to use English as a medium of instruction as introduced in 2008 language-in-education policy. The implementation of this newly adopted language policy was with immediate effect, i.e. it started in 2011 academic year, immediately after its publication in the official gazette (MINEDUC, 2011). The next section provides details about the motivation behind the Rwandan Government's adoption of the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts, as described in official documents.

1.1.3.2 Motives for the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts

The 2008 policy shift adopted English as the sole medium of instruction from the onset of education while it used to be a mixture of trilingual medium (French, English and Kinyarwanda). As the motive for such a language policy modification, the decision from the Cabinet meeting held on 8th October 2008 stated in the national language, Kinyarwanda, reads as follows:

> In order to enable Rwanda to participate fully in the East African Community (EAC) in particular and in international communities in general, the Cabinet meeting requests the Minister of Education to set up a quick programme of teaching in English in all primary and secondary schools as well as universities, both public and Government-assisted; the Minister of Labour to set up programmes to assist all public servants to learn English, starting from the top leaders of the country.
>
> (MINICAAF, 2008) [My translation].

It is clear that the shift to English medium was adopted after Rwanda and Burundi joined the East African Community, which includes countries like Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, where English is used predominantly. This explains why *The Guardian* (October 2008) emphasized this motive by stating that "officially, the change is to reposition Rwanda as a member of the East African Community, an organisation made up mostly of English-speaking countries such as neighbours Uganda and Tanzania." Rwanda joined the East African Community on the 1st of July 2007. Rwanda also shifted to English medium in preparation for joining the Commonwealth in November 2009. The Commonwealth comprises countries which were mainly colonized by the Great Britain and these countries predominantly use English. Hence, Niyibizi (2010, p. 2) observed that "the economic factor stimulated by regional sociopolitical integration has probably motivated the Rwandan Government to modify the previous trilingual policy".

Another reason for the policy shift, which was emphasized by Government officials, is that it was costly for the country to run trilingual parallel programs, i.e. some schools teaching in French, others in English and others in Kinyarwanda, especially in nursery and lower primary schools (Niyibizi, 2010). This was emphasized by a Government official when he stated in an interview that "It is very difficult to use two languages [French and English] as media of instruction in one system, because it doubles the costs" (Niyibizi, 2010, p. 81). It therefore appears that the main motives for modifying the language policy in 2008 were mainly economic (based on its integration in the East African Community) and political (strengthening bilateral cooperation with neighbouring countries) (Niyibizi, 2010, p. 122). These were the main reasons that were given by Rwandan Government officials for the shift from the trilingual medium to English medium in 2008. However, the implementation of this policy encountered some challenges. The main challenge for the 2008 language-in-education policy shift was that most of

the teachers had insufficient proficiency in English, especially those who had been teaching in Francophone schools before the shift to English (Niyibizi, 2010). Also, a great number of teaching materials and teaching programs which were used in the pre-2008 policy were in French and Kinyarwanda, and this required a tremendous effort on the part of the Ministry of Education to make them available in English (Niyibizi, 2010).

The English-only medium policy was implemented for 2009 and 2010 academic years, before it got modified again on the 11th of February 2011, when the Cabinet meeting instructed to shift from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium in lower primary schools. This decision, which came from the Cabinet meeting and got published in the national language, Kinyarwanda, reads as follows: "The Cabinet Meeting has approved the programme of teaching in Kinyarwanda from nursery to lower primary schools" (MINICAAF, 2011) [My translation]. This 2011 language policy shift was actually drawing back to MINEDUC's (2003b) Law n° 29/2003 of 30/08/2003 establishing the functioning of nursery, primary and secondary schools in Rwanda. This Law supports the UNESCO's (2003) principle which indicates that it is advisable to use a child's mother tongue as a medium of instruction in lower primary schools; and that is why this Law dictates in its article 34 that

> the language of instruction in the first cycle of primary education is Kinyarwanda except for the lessons of foreign languages. The Minister having education in his or her portfolio may, through a Ministerial Order, authorise the use of French or English as the medium of instruction in the first cycle. The language of instruction in the second cycle is French or English, except for other language lessons. (MINEDUC, 2003b).

This statutory instrument was the basis for the 2011 language policy shift for lower primary schools in Rwanda.

With regard to the benefits of learning and teaching in the mother tongue from the onset of education in the Rwandan context, the Cabinet Paper which was prepared in Kinyarwanda by the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC, 2011) highlighted them, as emphasized in the recommendations of UNESCO (1953, p. 41) and UNICEF (*1999*, p. 41) which confirm that learners acquire reading, writing and other basic subjects quickly only when they start learning in their mother tongue from the onset of education (MINEDUC, 2011). According to MINEDUC (2011), the five salient advantages of teaching in Kinyarwanda in the Rwandan nursery and lower primary schools are the following:

1. It enables the achievement of lower primary schools' target, which is to teach children how to read, to write and count in their mother tongue. This reduces the number of illiterate people rather than increasing it;
2. It should increase the students' pass rate, which will reduce the retention and drop-out rates: a child who starts learning in his/her mother tongue from the onset of education is happy about the school as s/he understands what s/he learns, s/he studies smoothly and quickly, s/he can express his/her views and ask for explanations, and therefore becomes a participating and contributing learner rather than an observing learner;
3. It should enable Rwanda to safeguard the Rwandan culture as a good legacy from the ancestors: teaching a young child in Kinyarwanda boosts his/her vocabulary and their meaning, refines his/her fluency, makes him/her like Kinyarwanda and use it frequently, and this will enable him/her not to forget and not to codeswitch and codemix with other languages;
4. It will be in line with the pedagogical principle of teaching a child from the known to the unknown, from simple to complex, as this is the best way of learning;
5. It will faciliatate the teaching and learning of English because it would be based on what was taught or learnt in Kinyarwanda.

(MINEDUC, 2011) [My translation]

The shift to Kinyarwanda medium offered potential benefits. However, the historical challenge related to teaching in Kinyarwanda, as mentioned in MINEDUC (2011), is that Kinyarwanda may not have all technical terms for all subjects, which might lead to coinage of terms or borrowing from foreign languages. Experience with coinage was observed after the 1978-1979 policy shift when the language policy opted to use Kinyarwanda as a MoI for all subjects in all grades of primary schools, i.e. from grade 1 to grade 8. Some technical terms which did not exist in the Kinyarwanda language were coined from other languages, and this led to learning difficulties because learners struggled to master unfamiliar technical terms in various subjects that were taught at primary school level. This created learning challenges for the learners when they entered secondary schools and switched to the French medium (MINEDUC, 2011).

Clearly, the Rwandan 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts offered benefits though they were accompanied with some challenges, but the striking aspect is that the

two shifts were effected within a short period. While the literature on language policy shifts indicates that it normally takes 5 to 10 years and even more to change language-in-education policies, one may wonder why this has not been the case for Rwanda. A glimpse in reasons accounting for the multiple language policy shifts in such a short period of time is that Rwanda has undergone various socio-political and economic transformations after the 1994 genocide. Within these two consecutive policy shifts which are investigated in this study, the investigated learners undertook three programmes within their educational foundation phase. They started nursery school in French or Kinyarwanda or English in the pre-2008 language policy when trilingual policy (French, English and Kinyarwanda) was at stake; then they shifted to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010, when English was the MoI, and then switched again to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 in 2011, when Kinyarwanda was adopted as a MoI. They continued with Kinyarwanda medium in grade 3 in 2012, and switched again to English medium in grade 4 in 2013. Such consecutive shifts sound unique and unfamiliar in educational trends worldwide, and that is why the learners' and their teachers' experiences and attitudes towards the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 and towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, as well as towards the two consecutive policy shifts motivated this study.

1.2 RATIONALE

1.2.1 Motivations for carrying out the study

The need to fill knowledge gaps in the existing literature and to explore the implications of language policy shifts on education were the main motivations for carrying out this study. The first educational motive is based on the two consecutive policy shifts, which were experienced within the period of two years and half within the Rwandan education system, and which sound unfamiliar worldwide because the learners and teachers who experienced the shifts underwent various programmes in their foundation phase, as described in the previous section. Such an unfamiliar phenomenon aroused my curiosity to investigate their attitudes and experiences within those shifts.

The second educational motive, which is closely linked with the first one, is based on the benefits and implications that the insights from this study might have on the Rwandan education system in general, and on the primary beneficiaries of the policy shifts in particular, namely the learners and the teachers. In this regard, Baker (1992, p. 9) stresses on the importance of conducting language attitudes studies because they predict the current language community desires, thoughts, beliefs and preferences. Similarly, Cummins (1986) and Gardner (1985) indicate that studies on language attitudes held by key stakeholders in language-in-education policy such as learners and teachers are of great importance because they predict and determine how they engage in language learning and teaching at school and their expectations for success.

Such studies are crucial for the Rwandan education system because, as Adegbija (1994, p. 96) observes, "[t]he educational system is the power house of development in every nation" and "education is a master key for development". In addition, the learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the language-in-education policy shifts seem to constitute one of the padlocks for education success in particular and for development in general. Against this backdrop, this study seeks to shed light on the Rwandan learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the 2008 - 2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

The Rwandan learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the 2008 - 2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts have not yet been adequately described and accounted for in the body of the Rwandan literature. Thus, this study is a small but significant contribution towards filling this gap in knowledge.

1.2.2 Gaps identified in the existing literature

Five gaps have been identified in the existing literature, and it is one of the aims of this study to contribute towards addressing them. The first gap which was identified by Baker (1992, p. 1-3) with regard to language attitudes, is that those studies have concentrated almost solely on attitudes to individual languages, but with limited focus on attitudes to bilingualism, specifically what he termed 'attitude to balanced, organic or holistic bilingualism'. Even if subsequent studies (Adegbija, 1994; Baker, 1995, 2001, 2006; Bokhorst-Heng & Caleon 2009) tried to

respond to Baker's observation, this study also attempts to contribute to this discussion by investigating learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards initial submersion they started with in grade 1, and then towards the sudden transfer they switched to in grade 2 and 3. It is hoped that this attitude research which is based on unfamiliar consecutive policy shifts in the Rwandan language policy might bring new insights in the existing body of knowledge.

The second gap which was identified by Adegbija (1994) who explored language attitudes in Sub-saharan Africa is related to the dearth of attitudes research studies which uncover the true nature of attitudes towards different language types, including exoglossic, endoglossic and Pidgin within the African context (Adegbija, 1994, p. 52). This study contributes in filling this gap because it is conducted in an African endoglossic and unicultural country. It might generate new insights to the existing literature, because it is likely that most of the studies on language attitudes were conducted in diglossic, exoglossic and multicultural countries and areas. Here, it is to be reiterated that only 6 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are classified to have one endoglossic language (i.e. a language which is the mother tongue of the majority of the population), and those countries are Rwanda with Kinyarwanda, Burundi with Kirundi, Swaziland with siSwati, Somalia with Somali, Botswana with Setswana, and Lesotho with Sesotho (Abdulaziz, 1993, p. 80). It is important to conduct a language attitude research in such a typical area, because, as Warsame (2001, p. 359) has observed, "divergence occurs as local realities differ from country to country and also from community to community".

The third gap in existing literature is the dearth of empirical studies which investigated the teachers' and learners' experiences after language-in-education policy change.

The fourth gap is that few studies investigated both learners' and teachers' experiences and attitudes within one single study.

The fifth gap is that the endoglossic language-in-education policy shifts have not yet been accounted for in the African literature; it is rather well-known with shifts from endoglossic languages towards European languages, and not the other way round.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The learners and teachers under investigation have experienced two consecutive language policy shifts during their foundation phase education, and their experiences and attitudes towards such unfamiliar shifts are not yet adequately described and accounted for in the Rwandan language-in-education policy literature. The lack of empirical research on these learners' and teachers' attitudes as well as their lived experiences may leave the language-in-education policy-makers unaware of the situation on ground.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.4.1 Aim of the study

The overall aim of this study is to investigate the attitudes and experiences of Rwandan foundation phase learners and teachers towards the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

1.4.2 Specific objectives of the study

This study has five specific objectives, namely:

(1) To weigh up the learners' and teachers' level of satisfaction with shifting to English medium in grade 1 and then switching to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3;
(2) To identify the learners' and teachers' language preference as a MoI and as a subject (preferred versus actual), after consecutive language policy shifts;
(3) To establish the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after consecutive language policy shifts;
(4) To identify the learners' and teachers' experiences within the context of the Rwandan consecutive language-in-education policy shifts; and
(5) To identify the benefits or disadvantages they attribute to the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.5.1 Overall research question

The main question underpinning this study is the following:
What are the learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences within the context of the 2008 - 2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts in lower primary schools in Rwanda?
In order to adequantely address this research question, the following sub-questions were examined.

1.5.2 Sub-questions

(1) What are the learners' and teachers' level of satisfaction with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012?
(2) Which language do learners and teachers prefer as a MoI and as a subject between English and Kinyarwanda, after policy shifts?
(3) What are the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after policy shifts?
(4) What are the learners' and teachers' experiences within the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts?
(5) What benefits and disadvantages do the learners and teachers attribute to the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts?

Hypotheses that are in congruence with the five research questions mentioned above are also formulated to facilitate the investigation through quantitative analysis. These hypotheses inform the overall argument of the thesis, which states that "Teachers and learners perceive the shifts from trilingual MoI to English MoI in 2009 and then to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011 as a positive change within the Rwandan endoglossic setting". This argument is informed by five hypotheses, which are the following:

(1) Teachers and learners were satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012;

(2) After consecutive policy shifts, teachers' and learners' preference of MoI favours an endoglossic African language (Kinyarwanda) over an international language (English);
(3) After consecutive policy shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' preference and actual use of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home are still over-dominated by an African language over an international one;
(4) Teachers' and learners' experiences during the consecutive policy shifts have left them with expectations of balanced bilingualism attainment;
(5) After consecutive policy shifts, teachers and learners perceive that the benefits of shifting to an endoglossic African language overpower over the benefits of the shift to an international language.

1.6 DELIENATION OF THE STUDY

The investigation on the learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy shifts presented in this thesis spans the period between 8th October 2008 and December 2013. This period is characterized by two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts, which occurred on 8th October 2008 and 11th February 2011 respectively. The study was carried out in a sample of six primary schools. All the three categories of primary schools, namely, public, government-assisted or subsidized and private schools were selected from both rural and urban areas of Rwanda; with 324 learners and teachers who participated. The mixed methods approach was adopted to collect data, which were collected through attitudinal survey questionnaire, individual interviews, focus group discussions and observations in the classroom and at the school playground. Data analysis followed the "Concurrent Embedded Strategy" of the mixed methods (Creswell, 2009, p. 210), where quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed concurrently and integratively.

1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The key terms that need to be conceptualized in this study include language attitudes; experiences; Language-in-Education Policy shifts; attitudinal planning; foundation phase learners and teachers; bilingualism; Rwanda.

1.7.1 Language attitudes

Different scholars define the term 'language attitudes' differently. Ajzen (2005, p.3) defines it as 'a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event'; while Richards, Platt, Platt and Candlin (1992, p.199) define it as

> the attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each others' languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language.

Baker (1992, p.12) indicates that language attitudes have three main components, namely, the cognitive, affective and conative or readiness for action. The cognitive component refers to thoughts and beliefs, the affective component concerns feelings towards the language while the conative component or readiness for action refers to behavioural intention or plan of action. Baker (1992, p.21) also indicates that language attitudes are determinants for the flourishing or failure of language engineering; and attempting language shift through language planning and language policy can come to nothing if attitudes are not favourable to change. That explains why he emphasizes that language attitudes studies are predictors of the current language community desires, thoughts, beliefs and preferences (Baker, 1992, p. 9). St. Claire (1982, cited in Adegbija, 1994, p. 29) explains that language attitudes are created by historical, social and political forces that operate within the history of the nation and Adegbija (1994, p.30) has identified seven sociohistorical forces that have influenced language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa. These include (1) the imposition of European languages; (2) colonial and post-colonial language and educational policies; (3) colonial and post-colonial language-related constitutional and legal provision; (4) the introduction of a Western-type media for mass dissemination of information;

(5) the irresistible pressures of upward social mobility; (6) the idiosyncratic sociohistorical ecology of particular languages; and (7) the attempts at language standardization. In this study, the term language attitudes refers to the beliefs, feelings, desires and preferences that learners and teachers have towards the shifts to English medium and to Kinyarwanda medium.

1.7.2 Language Policy

The term 'language policy' has also received a number of definitions. Corson (1990, p.151) defines it as "a set of national agreed principles which enable decision makers to make choices about language issues in a rational, comprehensive and balanced way". Ager (2001, p.5) defines it as "official planning, carried out by those in political authority, and has similarities with any other form of public policy. As such, language policy represents the exercise of political power, and like any other policy, may be successful or not in achieving its aims". For Weinstein (2001) it is as ''government choices of language form and function'', a view which is shared by Weinstein, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, cited in Kamwendo 2005, p.144) who argues that it is usually a government-initiated or government-controlled activity, and that it is not uncommon to find language policies that are promulgated and implemented in a top-to-bottom manner.

From the definitions above, it can be observed that most of scholars who elaborated on language policy emphasized that it is a task which is often initiated and controlled by the government or the authority in power; using a top-down approach. That is why Francis and Kamanda (2001, p.225) conclude that language policy in many developing multilingual countries is generally top-down, where policy makers, i.e. politicians, manipulate different ethnolinguistic groups in order to gain and retain power and control all the patrimonial resources. Such a view is likely to be shared with Ager (2001, p.107) when he argues that the distinctions made by Ruiz (1984) between problems, rights and resources in language policy are fundamental to his distinction between inequality, inequity and injustice.

However, Baker (2006) orients language policy within the context of language protection. He indicates for instance that language policy-making comes as an intervention or solution to avoid language death and language decline as well as to promote language revitalization (Baker, 2006, p.48). This is due to the fact that some majority languages, like English, have expanded

considerably during the last century; while small minority languages are in danger of extinction and they therefore need extra care and protection (Baker, 2006, p.48; Cooper, 1989).

In the Rwandan context, the language policy cannot be viewed from Baker's (2006) orientation because there is no issue of language death or language decline among the four main languages used in Rwanda, it may rather be viewed from Weinstein's (2001) perspective as a "government choices of language form and function" for the betterment of its educational system and for its population; or from Bamgbose's (1991, p.111) perspective as a programme of action on the role or status of a language in a given society.

1.7.3 Language policy versus four types of language planning

The terms 'language planning' and 'language policy' are so interconnected that Cooper (1989, p.29) indicates that they sometimes appear as synonyms. However, he distinguishes them by stating that language policy often refers to the goals of language planning (Cooper, 1989, p.29). Weinstein (1990, p.6) indicates that both language policy and language planning refer to "deliberate decisions and choices of language form and/or language function made by institutions to solve language problems", but for him, language policy serves as a umbrella term to language planning. Weinstein's (1990) definition is not very different from the one given by Cooper's (1989), because it states that language planning refers to "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper, 1989, p.45). Ager (2001, p.5) made it more clearer when he defines language planning as "the ways in which the organized communities, united by religious, ethnic or political ties, consciously attempt to influence the language(s) their members use, the language used in education, or the ways in which Academies, publishers or journalists make the language change". Both Francis and Kamanda (2001) and Shohamy (2006) link it to political planning, but the former focuses on the process of socio-political and economic engineering, through the promulgation and implementation of government policies while the latter emphasizes government control that does not leave anything to the population to decide all along the process.

Within the Rwandan context, language planning might be viewed from Haugen's (1959) perspective, cited in Cooper (1989, p.30) which looks at it as a long-term conscious effort which is sustained and authorized by the government to change a language's functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems. Within the Rwandan context, these communication problems can be linked to economic opportunities, quality of education and regional integration which the Rwandan government is striving to achieve (MINEDUC, 2011).

With regard to the evolution of language planning and the types of language planning, Cooper (1989, p.29) indicates that the term language planning was used for the first time by Uriel Weinreich in 1957 but it was introduced to the literature by Haugen in 1959. As for the evolution of the four types of language planning, they evolved from status planning through corpus planning to acquisition planning as described in Cooper (1989); and then to attitude planning (Small and Cripps, 2009). The first two types of language planning, namely the status planning and the corpus planning were distinguished and coined by Heinz Kloss (1969), while the third one, namely the acquisition planning was introduced by Prator in 1986, almost 20 years later (Cooper, 1989, p.33). These types of language planning focus on the following aspects:

Status planning: According to Cooper (1989, p.32), it refers to the allocation of languages to various functions. He mentions 10 main functions of a language targeted by status planning as described by Stewart in 1968, including the official language, provincial or regional language, language of wider communication, international language, the language of the capital, the language of communication among a cultural or ethnic group, the medium of instruction in education, the language taught as a school subject, the language use for literary or scholarly purposes, and the use of a language for religion or rituals (Cooper, 1989, p.100-115). All functions described by subsequent scholars (Francis and Kamanda, 2001; Baker, 2006; Ricento, 2006; and many others) fall within the ten functions mentioned above, but presented from various perspectives. Ricento (2006, p.29), for example, presents a framework of status planning that includes officialisation, nationalisation, standardisation of status, proscription, revival, maintenance, spread and interlingual, international and intranational communication. Baker (2006, p.50) gives an example of raising the status of a language within a society across as many institutions as possible, as a typical example of status planning. Similarly, the 2008 adoption of

English as a sole medium of instruction in all Rwandan school was a typical example of status planning (Niyibizi, 2010).

Corpus planning: In her distinction between corpus planning and status planning, Shohamy (2006, p. 48) indicates that corpus planning refers to decisions concerning the structure of language itself while status planning deals with decisions relating to language use and choice. She indicates that corpus planning "sets out the approved forms of a language, such as official lists of approved spellings, terms or grammatical rules or a new lexicon". Similarly, Ricento (2006, p.28) describes it as "those efforts related to the adequacy of the form and structure of languages/literacies". Baker (2006, p.50) gives examples of corpus planning which include modernizing terminology, standardization of grammar and spelling. Such examples are part and parcel of Ricento's (2006, p.28) framework of corpus planning, which includes standardisation, graphisation, modernisation, renovation, codification, elaboration, etc. Coining new terms and modifying the old ones in both written and spoken forms are part and parcel of corpus planning (Cooper, 1989, p.31); as well as writing style for books and dictionaries (Fishman, 2004, cited in Ricento 2006, p.315).

Acquisition planning: Baker (2006, p.52) states that acquisition planning deals with language reproduction at the family level and language production at school. In the same vein, Cooper (1989, p.33) indicates that acquisition planning aims at increasing a language's users, that is, language spread. However, Cooper (1989, p.33) warns that there is often confusion between acquisition planning and status planning when it comes to the aspect of language spread. In this regard, when the planning is oriented towards increasing the number of users such as speakers, listeners, writers or readers, it falls under acquisition planning. However, when it is directed towards increasing a language's uses, it falls under status planning. To alleviate or minimize such confusion, scholars provided more description and more examples. For example, Baker (2006, p.50) provided a clarifying example and says that acquisition planning creates language spread by increasing the language speakers like through parents' interventions in language use, language learning in schools, in literacy programs and in adult language classes, etc. Ricento (2006, p.28) adds that the number of language users can be increased by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn the language. Acquisition planning includes

reaquisition, maintenance, shift, foreign language literacy and implementation, group, education or school, religion, mass media and work (Ricento 2006, p.28).

Attitude planning: Small and Cripps (2009, p.5) have placed attitude planning at the centre of the other three types of language planning, namely status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning, to indicate that it consciously or unconsciously has an impact on the three. Attitude planning can build on how governments engage in language planning to preserve the language and to use it as a resource in society (Cummins, 2005) and how governments engage in language planning to control the use of the language among the populations in the interests of maintaining national, societal, and linguistic cohesion (Small and Mason, 2008). This explains why Small and Cripps (2009, p.16) indicate that attitude planning must assume evolution, which may create a change that is totally transformative in educational context. This study fits well within the framework of attitude planning since it deals with language attitudes, but it is worth noting that literature on the implementation of attitude planning is still scarce.

As Ricento (2006, p.324) observed, all these types of language planning are like tools that can be used for good or for evil, either consciously or unconsciously. They have to correctly and meticulously respond to Cooper's (1989, p.89) accounting scheme: what *actors* attempt to influence *what behaviours* of which *people* for what *ends*, under what *conditions*, by what *means*, through what *decision-making process*, with what *effect*?

1.7.4 Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP)

Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP) is also known as language education policy; some authors refer to it as language policy, and Spolsky (2004, p.46) also terms it language acquisition policy. Beacco and Byram (2003, p.15) define language education policy as "a conscious official or militant action that seeks to intervene in languages of whatever type (national, regional, minority, foreign, etc) with respect to their forms (the writing system, for example), social functions (choice of language as official language) or their place in education." The scope of language policies includes language rights, courts, administration, public signs, media and language teaching from elementary school to higher and vocational education (Beacco and Byram, 2003, p.15). For Spolsky (2004, p.46), the first and foremost task of language education policy is the

decision on the language to be used as a medium of instruction in schools. Commenting on the language-in-education policy in Africa, a number of scholars (Alexandre, 1972, cited in Heugh, 2002; Moumouni, 1975; Ogbu, 1982; Phillipson et al., 1986, in Rubagumya, 1990; Ngugi, 1987; Tollefson, 1991; Phillipson, 1992; Adegbija, 1994; Bamgbose, 1996; Mazrui, 1997, cited in Heugh 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; and many others) have come to a common conclusion that the use of African indigenous languages as a medium of instruction is still largely restricted to lower grades of the primary schools.

1.7.5 Language-in-education policy shifts

Language-in-education policy shift or language policy shift is actually synonymous to language policy change or language policy modification. Baker (2006, p.48) notes that language shift occurs "through deliberate decisions that directly or indirectly affect languages and reflects economic, political, cultural, social and technological change". Bokamba and Tlou (1980, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.91) describe shift in educational language policy to refer to the adoption of European languages as MoI but with the neglect or of the teaching of African languages which, as Mateene (1980, p. vii, cited in Spolsky, 1986, p.91) notes, are more favoured now than they were before independence.

In this study, language policy shifts or the consecutive language-in-education policy shifts refer to the shift from the trilingual medium to the English-only medium, which was adopted by the Government of Rwanda on 8th October 2008; and the shift from English-only medium to Kinyarwanda medium, which was adopted on 11th February 2011.

1.7.6 Bilingualism and its types

One of the definitions of the term bilingualism is that it refers to "…the use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers, such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation" (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985, p.29). For Baker (2006, p. 69), the term bilingualism is typically used to describe the two languages of an individual; but when the focus is oriented to two languages in society, it is called diglossia, as it was defined by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1972, 1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p.69).

Baker (2006, p.2-10) enumerates some types of bilingualism which include individual bilingualism, societal bilingualism, elective bilingualism, early bilingualism, simultaneous or infant bilingualism, consecutive or sequential bilingualism, functional bilingualism, minimal and maximal bilingualism, incipient bilingualism, additive bilingualism, subtractive bilingualism, semilingualism, translingualism and balanced bilingualism or ambilingualism or equilingualism, etc.

As this study investigates the nature of bilingualism in Rwanda, specifically the shifts between English and Kinyarwanda, some of the types of bilingualism like additive, subtractive and balanced bilingualism or ambilingualism or equilingualism, will be utilized to capture the sociolinguistic context of this study.

The term 'additive bilingualism' was coined by Lambert (1974, 1980, cited in Baker 2006, p.74) and distinguished it from subtractive bilingualism. He described additive bilingual situation as a situation "where the addition of a second language and culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture" (Lambert, 1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p.74). He indicated that term additive bilingualism is in opposition with subtractive bilingualism, which occurs when the second language and culture are acquired with pressure to replace or demote the first language; and as a consequence leads to the loss of cultural or ethnic identity, alienation and marginalization, as well as a less positive self concept (Lambert, 1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p.74). Additive bilingualism also refers to positive cognitive outcomes of a bilingual individual while subtractive bilingualism refers to negative affective and cognitive effects of bilingualism, in which both languages are underdeveloped (Lambert, 1974, cited in Baker, 2006, p.74). Hence, Cummins (1981) describes subtractive bilingualism as 'limited bilingualism'. Within this context, Lambert (1984, cited in Collier, 1989, p.511) describes subtractive bilingualism as the lack of continuing cognitive development in the mother tongue during the second language acquisition, which may lead to lowered proficiency levels in the second language and in cognitive academic growth. When a language policy supports subtractive bilingualism, a second language is developed at the expense of the mother tongue or the first language (Luckett, 1993). As a result, one of the worst consequences of this situation is what Lemmer (1993) describes as semilingualism where neither the mother tongue nor the second language is mastered. As for

ambilingualism, Baker (2006, p.9) defines an ambilingual or an equilingual or a balanced bilingual as "someone who is approximately equally fluent in two languages across various context".

1.7.7 Mother tongue or L1 as a MoI versus Additional language or L2

The 'mother tongue' (MT), also known as the first language (L1), the native language (NL), or the primary language (PL) or the vernacular language is defined as "the language one learns from birth" or "a language the child understands and speaks well upon entering school" (Benson, 2003, p.2). Pattanayak (1981, cited in Spolsky, 1986, p.7) defines it as "the expression of primary identity of a human being. It is the language through which a person perceives the surrounding world and through which initial concept formation takes place". UNESCO (1953/1968, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2001, p.121) describes it as "the language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication". Brann (1981, p.3) observes that in the African context, it is an indigenous language or the 'language-of-the-soil' in reference to 'indigene' of a particular place or the frequent African expression of 'son-of-the-soil'.

A mother tongue can be at individual, regional or national levels. When the mother tongue is the native language of all or most of the population of a region or the country, as it is the case in Rwanda with Kinyarwanda or in Burundi with Kirundi, it is called an endoglossic language (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985, p.92). A person may have one mother tongue or many. For example Gupta (1997, p.500) indicates that many children in cities have several mother tongues due to intermarriage which creates families and homes in which more than one language are used.

With regard to the use of the mother tongue in schooling, any form of schooling which uses the mother tongue or L1 for teaching beginning literacy such as reading and writing, and basic concepts such as Mathematics, but at the same time teaching the L2 as a second or foreign language, using appropriate language teaching methods is described as mother tongue-based bilingual education (Benson, 2003, p.2).

When it comes to the preference of the mother tongue in education, Mackey's (1984, cited in Spolsky, 1986, p.16) assumption is that a person's mother tongue is an alienable possession; it is no more a tool of socialization only. That is why, according to the same assumption, it should not be given up freely, because it embeds the culture, and "each culture has the language it needs to function". However, a mother tongue can lose its vitality and change according to an individual's changing circumstances and needs (Mackey, 1984, in Spolsky, 1986, p.16).

In the African context, according to Mikes (1984, in Spolsky, 1986, p.16), there is a dileman on the issue of mother tongue education. This dilemma has its roots in the choice and preference of language of instruction in the process of decolonization and national emancipation of African countries. This has led to two contradictory tendencies: "one, towards technological and economic progress, encouraging use of international and developed language, and the other, towards the affirmation of the autochthonous values and cultural heritage of the people, encouraging the promotion of languages which bear these values." (Mikes, 1984, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.17).

Mackey (1984, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.17) identifies other several dilemmas related to mother tongue preference, but the two salient ones are the following: the one is between the preservation of local languages and the academic gains from international languages. In this regard, Mackey says that

> a child who is taught a language of minor functional value is at a disadvantage. The dilemma is whether to save the child or the language: It is true of course that some parents may opt for the language and are willing to pay the price. A few years of 'retardation' in their child's level of arithmetic may not be too high a price for patriotic parents to pay for the preservation of their ancestral tongue. (Mackey, 1984, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.16-17)

Another dilemma faced by many nations throughout the world is between economic development and lower language status. Hence, Mackey (1984, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.17) indicates that if countries promote their local languages on nationalistic or ethnic basis, they will diminish the potential of their people for economic and scientific development; and if they do not promote their national languages, they will remain secondary instruments of communication.

Besides these dilemmas on the preference of mother tongue instruction, human rights advocates and several authors indicate that mother tongue education is a child's rights. UNESCO (1953) for instance; Skutnabb-Kangas (1984, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.160); Pattanayak (1981, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.9); Spéze (1984, cited in Spolsky 1986, p.18) confirm that the right to use the child's mother tongue is a fundamental human right applying equally to all children.

The Medium of Instruction (MoI), also called a language of learning and teaching (LoLT) is the language used for teaching subjects other than languages. Benson (2003, p.27) defines it as "the language used in teaching and learning curricular content". In Rwanda, for example, Kinyarwanda has been the MoI in lower primary schools since 2011.
These are the main key terms that are used throughout the thesis.

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 identifies the context of the research study, the background of the problem to be addressed, the aim of the study, the rationale, the research questions, the definition of key terms and the organization of chapters.

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework which guides this study and provides a literature review on attitudinal studies as well as studies on learners' and teachers' lived experiences. It discusses the impact of language policy shifts on education system and the language policy shifts in the African context. It also discusses the successful language-in-education policy shifts as well as factors that motivate the language-in-education policy shifts.

In Chapter 3, the research methodology of the present study is outlined. The research design, methods and procedures that are used in the data collection process and data analysis are outlined. The sample size and the sampling techniques as well as the issue validity, reliability and ethical considerations are discussed.

Chapter 4 discusses and interprets the findings on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts; more specifically on their level of satisfaction with the two shifts.

Chapter 5 focuses on the discussion and interpretation of the findings on learners' and teachers' language preferences, after the two consecutive language policy shifts. It discusses their preference of the medium of instruction, as well as their language preference in the classroom, at the school playground and at home.

Chapter 6 discusses and interprets the findings on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards language use. It focuses on the actual use of language in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after the two consecutive language policy shifts.

Chapter 7 discusses and interprets the findings on learners' and teachers' experiences; more specifically on positive and negative experiences they encountered during the two consecutive policy shifts. It also discusses and interprets the findings on the benefits and disadvantages that the learners and teachers attributed to the 2008-2011consecutive policy shifts.

Chapter 8 provides the conclusion of the research and contains a summary of the findings, the contribution of the research, recommendations as well as suggestions for further research in the area of language-in-education policy shifts.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the context of the present study, the background of problems to be addressed in this study, the aim of the study, the rationale, the research questions, the definition of key terms and the organization of chapters. A thorough description of the Rwandan linguistic landscape, its historical language-in education policy shifts and the motives behind those shifts have set the scene for a thorough interpretation of the findings on learners and teachers' attitudes and experiences within the Rwandan 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework which underpins data analysis in this study and a review of related literature. For the theoretical framework, the inquiry on teachers' and learners' attitudes and experiences was guided by a combination of three theories, namely, the mentalist approach (Fasold, 1984), the language preference model (Spolsky, 1989) and the typology of bilingual education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Baker, 2006). The literature review has focused on attitudinal studies as well as on studies on lived experiences in the context of language planning. It focuses on the impact of language policy shifts on education system, language policy shifts in the African context, successful language-in-education policy shifts and factors that motivate language-in-education policy shifts.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As this study focuses on learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards language-in-education policy shifts, the following theories guided the inquiry:

2.1.1 The Mentalist approach

The mentalist approach is one of the two competing approaches, which have been used in analyzing language attitudes since the 1960s. These competing approaches are the mentalist approach and the behaviourist approach (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970; Fasold, 1984; Kelechukwu, 2006). Attitudes research has been conducted within these two approaches in general, but the mentalist approach has been the most widely used one (Baker, 1992; El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001; Kelechukwu, 2006; McKenzie, 2010). The mentalist approach views attitudes as an internal, mental state, which may give rise to some forms of behaviours (McKenzie, 2010, p.21). The mentalist approach can therefore serve as ''an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response'' (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 16; Fasold, 1984, p. 147; McKenzie, 2010, p. 21).

While attitudes have three components, namely the cognitive, the affective and the conative (Baker, 1992, p. 12) as described in 1.7.1 of Chapter 1, mentalists also consider attitudes to have three components, namely, cognitive (knowledge), affective (feelings) and conative (action) (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970; Fasold, 1984; McKenzie, 2010). In this regard, the mentalists' view to the cognitive component is that it encompasses an individual's beliefs about the world (McKenzie, 2010, p. 21) or about English and Kinyarwanda in the context of this study. Concerning the affective component of attitude, the mentalists' view is that it involves an emotional response to the attitudinal object, like love of English literature (McKenzie, 2010, p. 21) or love and satisfaction with the shift to English or Kinyarwanda medium policy in this study. The preference of the mentalist approach over the behaviourist approach in this study was dictated by a number of factors.

In this study, the mentalist approach is preferred because it extends the behaviourist approach, in which attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations (Fasold, 1984, p. 147) and which can easily be identified by observing, tabulating and analysing overt behaviours (Kelechukwu, 2006, p. 195). Fasold (1984, p. 147) believes that attitudes research based on the behaviourist view is easy to undertake because it does not require any self-reports or indirect inferences, it only focuses on observing overt behaviour and this cannot be used to predict other behaviours. But with the mentalist approach, those attitudes can mentalistically be used to predict other behaviours, which is not the case with behaviourist approach (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970, p. 138; Kelechukwu, 2006, p. 195). That is why McKenzie (2010, p. 21) criticised the behaviourist approach to attitudes for its view to attitudes as the only variable or the only determinant of the behaviour of an individual, leaving aside other factors like age, gender, provenance, group membership or the language background of the individual, which may influence behaviour (MacKenzie, 2010, p.21). Baker (1992, p.15-16) also pointed out that the observation of external behaviour, which is used in the behaviourist approach cannot be viewed as a reliable predictor of attitudes, because they can easily result in mis-categorization or wrongful explanation. In addition to the behaviourist view to language attitudes, the behaviourist view to language learning provided a very simplistic view of learning, where the stimulus (S) goes to response (R), while the mentalists or cognitivists' view indicated that there is something which mediates between the stimulus and the response, and this is the cognitive function

(Purwarno, 2005). The cognitive function of the mentalist approach makes the learner evaluate, coordinate and regulate different stimuli received or reject some, and controls the learning process; but the behaviourists' view is as if each bit of learning is considered as though it has no relationship with the previous learning (Purwarno, 2005). All the above-mentioned aspects make the mentalist approach more appropriate for this attitudinal study than the behaviourist approach. Although one of the limitations of the mentalist approach is that internal or mental states cannot be directly observed (Fasold, 1984), they were accessed in this study through self reported data from participants and inquiry on their attitudes and behaviours towards the 2008-2011 language policy shifts.

2.1.2 Language preference model

The language preference model is a theory of second language learning which was developed by Spolsky (1989). The theory describes necessary, typical and graded conditions that enable the achievement of various possible outcomes in second language learning (Spolsky, 1989, p.14). To be able to develop this theory, Spolsky (1989) based his observations on the "complexty of the circumstances under which second languages are learned, or failed to be learned (Spolsky, 1989, p.2), bearing in mind both the success and failures of several previous methods that had been used in language teaching in the world, including Krashen's Monitor Model, Schumann's Acculturation Model, the Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell, 1983), Berlitz Methods, Army Methods, Ollendorf Methods, Direct Methods and Series Methods, Stern's (1982, 1983) second language learning theory and Gardner's (1983, 1985) socio-educational model (Spolsky, 1989, p.1-5) to name but a few. He particularly built on Jackendoff's (1983) preference model in linguistics. Based on the success and failures of these theories, he developed this general theory called "Language Preference Model" as part of the "general theory of second language learning", which he distinguished from theories of formal classroom learning, theories on informal natural learning, and theories on learning parts of a language (Spolsky, 1989, p.2). Spolsky (1989, p.2) explained that he used "the term theory to mean a hypothesis or set of hypotheses that has been or can be verified empirically". He described the task of this theory on second language learning as "being to account both for the fact that people can learn more than one language, and for the generalizable individual differences that occur in such learning" (Spolsky, 1989, p.2). He

clarified that the focus of the theory was not to "establish a model of how language is learned, but rather to explore how to specify, as exactly as possible, the conditions under which learning takes place" (Spolsky, 1989, p.5). He indicated that this theory on second language learning is more related to theories on first language learning, and encompasses all kinds of second language learning, showing the differences suggested between second and foreign language learning and formal and informal learning (Spolsky, 1989, p.3). That is why he indicated that this theory accounted and responded to Joshua Fishman's (1971, 1972, cited in Spolsky, 1989, p.3) rhetoric question *"Who learns how much of what language under what conditions?"*

The innovation of Spolsky's (1989) model of second language learning is that it was presented in the form of a mathematic formula, which is applied to second language learning, and the formula is **Kf = Kp + A + M + O**. As Spolsky (1989, p.15) describes this formula, **K** stands for the knowledge and skills in the second language of the learner, **f** stands for future time and **Kf** stands for the learner's L2 knowledge and skills at some future time. **Kp** stands for the learner's knowledge and skills at the moment, including his/her knowledge of L1, L3 and any other languages and **A** stands for components of learner's ability including psychological, biological, intellectual and cognitive skills. **M** stands for learner's affective factors such as personality, attitudes, motivation, and anxiety while **O** stands for opportunity for learning the language, including the time for learning, formal or informal situations where the learner is exposed to the language. Spolsky (1989) says that this formula was based on John Carroll's model for instruction (Carroll, 1962, cited in Spolsky, 1989, p. 29). Spolsky (1989) claims that the originality of his general theory is based on the fact that all the components that constitute the formula interact to form the theory.

The Language Preference Model was found appropriate in guiding the inquiry on language attitudes in this study because attitude is one the affective factors represented by **M** in the formula, which contributes to the learning of the language. Also, this general theory focuses on the second language learning but Spolsky (1989, p.11) believes that the applied principles apply to the development of skills and knowledge in the mother tongue; and this study is about the shift to English, which is considered as the second language in the Rwandan context, and the shift to Kinyarwanda, which is the mother tongue of the participants in the study. As the two policy

shifts investigated in this study affected the conditions under which English and Kinyarwanda were to be used in teaching and learning in lower primary schools in Rwanda, this model was found appropriate for guiding the inquiry.

While this Spolsky's (1989) language preference model proposes about 74 conditions that are relevant to second language learning, this study selected pertinent conditions which represent the components that are relevant to this study. The table below highlights the selected conditions of the language preference model that are applicable to this study.

Table 3: Spolsky's conditions of the Language Preference Model that are applicable to this study

Spolsky's General theory to L2 Learning	**Spolsky's Language preference model**	**Selected conditions of the language preference model**	**Aspects of the learning involved**
Kf = Kp + A + M + O. **Kf**=Learner's L2 knowledge and skills at some future time; **Kp=** Learner's knowledge and skills at the moment (L1, L3); **A**= Learner's ability components (psychological, biological, intellectual and cognitive skills); **M=** Learner's affective factors (personality, ***attitudes***, motivation, anxiety); **O=** Opportunity for learning the language (time for learning, formal or informal exposure to the language, etc)	The preference model is made of 74 interrelated and interwoven conditions	Conditions 12, 15 and 40	Language use
		Conditions 42, 45, 47, 48 and 49	Social context for L2 learning
		Conditions 50, 52, 54, 56	Attitudes of L2 learner

As the table indicates, several conditions are interrelated but all contribute to the learners' (or teachers') language preference. The additive symbol in Spolsky's formula indicates the interaction and symbiosis of all components in facilitating the learning. If any of the components is absent, there can be no learning and the greater the components are, the greater the amount of learning (Spolsky, 1989, p. 15). This model is, therefore, an important component of the

theoretical framework that guides this study. It is supported by the typology of bilingual education, which is described in the next section.

2.1.3 Typology of bilingual education

The typology of bilingual education designed by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.579-626) and discussed in Baker (2006, p.215-216) consists of educational models that lead to different levels of bilingualism. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) categorized the typology into three groups, namely, 'non-forms', 'weak forms' and 'strong forms' of bilingual education for bilinguals. The three groups portray 10 types of bilingual education altogether, but each group includes a number of forms. The non-forms, which are also described as the monolingual forms of education for bilinguals include 3 types of bilingual education; the weak forms of bilingual education include 2 types, while the strong forms of bilingual education include 5 types (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) developed this typology based on earlier typologies, including the one designed by Mackey (1970) which had 90 varieties of bilingual education, as well as Garcia's (1997) typology which had 10 types. Then, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.580) synthesized them into 10 types of bilingual education as follows:

The 3 non-forms also known as monolingual forms of education for bilinguals, as they lead to virtual monolingualism, include, (1) 'Mainstream' monolingual programmes with foreign language teaching; (2) Submersion programmes (sink-or-swim); and (3) Segregation programmes.

The 2 weak forms, which lead to very strong dominance in one language include (4) Transitional early-exit programmes; (5) Transitional late-exit programmes.

The 5 strong forms of bilingual education, which lead to high levels of bilingualism or multilingualism, include (6) Language (/mother tongue) maintainance or language shelter programmes; (7) Immersion programmes; (8) Two-way bilingual (dual language) programmes; (9) Alternate days programmes; (10) European Union Schools (plural multilingual) model.

Each of Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000) 10 types of bilingual education for bilinguals can briefly be described as follows:

(1) ***'Mainstream' monolingual programmes with foreign language teaching***, also called 'Mainstream with foreign language teaching programme' is the programme where "The children are taught through the medium of their mother tongue and are taught foreign languages as subjects (by teachers who in most cases are native speakers of the same language as the students, i.e., bilingual)" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.581). She explains that such programmes are mainly found in most linguistic majority populations in countries where their mother tongue is an official language and that the goal of such programmes is "competence in foreign languages, not bilingualism…" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.581). This explains why Baker (2006, p.224) states that "Mainstream education rarely produces functionally bilingual children."

(2) ***Submersion programmes or sink-or-swim model*** is defined by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.582) as:

> A programme where linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through the medium of a foreign majority/official language with high status, in classes where some children are native speakers of the language of instruction, where the teacher does not understand the mother tongue of the minority children, and where the majority language constitutes a threat to the minority children's mother tongue (MT), which runs the risk of being displaced or replaced (MT is not being learned (at a high level); MT is 'forgotten'; MT does not develop because the children are forbidden to use it or are made to feel ashamed of it) - a subtractive language learning situation.

Submersion programmes are the most used worldwide for educating dominated group minority children; for most immigrant and refugee minority children; as well as for some national minority children in Western European countries and in Neo-Europes, in many African, Latin-American, Asian and Pacific countries (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.582-283).

(3) ***Segregation programmes:*** Baker (2006, p.220) explains that segregationist education "occurs where minority language speakers are denied access to those programmes or schools attended by majority language speakers. Such separation can be brought through

law (de jure) or practice (de facto)." Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.591) provides a detailed definition of a segregation model as:

> a programme where linguistic minority children with a low-status mother tongue are forced to accept instruction through the medium of their own mother tongue in classes with minority children (with the same mother tongue) only, where the teacher may be monolingual or bilingual but is often poorly trained, where the class/school has poorer facilities and fewer resources than classes/schools for dominant group children, and where the teaching of the dominant language as a second/foreign language is poor or non-existent.

As examples of degregation programmes, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.587) cites Namibian and South African programmes under apartheid as prototypes of segregation, as well as some mother tongue medium classes and schools of Turkish children in many German cities.

(4) ***Transitional early-exit programmes***: Baker (2006, p.213) describes 'Transitional programme' as a bilingual education programme whose aim is to shift from the home-minority language to the dominant-majority language; with social and cultural assimilation into the language majority as the underlying aim. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.593) classifies it in the weak forms of bilingual education and describes it as:

a programme where linguistic minority children with a lower-status mother tongue are initially instructed through the medium of their mother tongue for a few years and where their mother tongue is taught as though it has no intrinsic value, only an instrumental value. It is used only in order for the children to learn the majority language better.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.593) divides the transitional programme into early-exist programme and late-exit programme. In early-exist programme, "children are transferred to a majority language medium as soon as they can function to some extent in the majority language orally, in most cases after 1 or 2, at the most 3, years" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.593). As examples of where Transitional early-exist programmes are used, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.592) cites some programmes in Sweden, the Netherlands, USA, Australia, India, Anglophone Africa, and Latin America.

(5) ***Transitional late-exit programmes***: This is another category of transitional programme, where the children "may continue to have at least some of their education, sometimes up to half of it, in L1 up to the 5th or 6th grade, and sometimes the mother tongue may be taught as a subject even after that" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.593). She acknowledges

that Transitional late-exit programmes for migrant minorities are still very rare, but they are common for national minorities and some indigenous peoples (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.593).

(6) ***Language (/mother tongue) maintainance or language shelter programme***:

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.593) defines this programme as:

> a programme where linguistic minority children (often with a low-status mother tongue) voluntarily choose (among existing alternatives) to be instructed through the medium of their own mother tongue, in classes with minority children with the same mother tongue only, where the teacher is bilingual (almost always in the case of immigrant and refugee minorities and indigenous peoples; not always (but often) to the same extent in the case of national minorities) and where they get good teaching in the majority language as a second/foreign language, also given by a bilingual teacher.

Such a programme aims to ensure that language minority, immigrant minority or indigenous peoples' children continue to maintain and promote their mother tongue up to native level or near-native level, become biliterate and achieve academically (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.601). This programme is found in some European countries like Finland and Sweden and Canada; but some countries like Italy, France, Greece and Turkey were still contesting the principle of this programme for some minorities until 2000 while Australia did not have full maintenance programmes for minorities or indigenous peoples in the state-financed education system (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.601-610).

(7) ***Immersion programmes:*** Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.612) defines immersion programme as:

> A programme where linguistic minority children with a high-status mother tongue voluntarily choose (among existing alternatives) to be instructed through the medium of a foreign (minority) language, in classes with majority children with the same mother tongue only… where the teacher is bilingual so that the children can at the beginning use their own language, and where their mother tongue is in no danger of not developing or of being replaced by the language of instruction- an additive language learning situation.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.612) acknowledges that immersion programmes are "[T]he only educational programmes where bilingualism for minorities has been achieved on a really large scale"; and that Canada has been the pioneer of immersion programmes, which spread to other countries like the United States, Finland, Australia, Hungary, Holland, Germany and many others (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.614).

(8) ***Two-way bilingual (dual language) programmes***, also called ***dual immersion models*** are described as:

Models with approximately 50% majority students and 50% minority students (with the same mother tongue) who voluntarly choose to be instructed by a 'completely' bilingual teacher, initially mainly through the medium of a minority language (the 90% - 10% model) or through the medium of both languages (the 50% - 50% model), with the dominant language taught as a subject. Two-way models thus combine in one classroom a maintenance model for minorities (especially in the 90 – 10% model) and an immersion model for the majority while maximizing peer-group contact in the other language for both groups (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.618).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.617-618) indicates that most two-way bilingual programmes are found in USA and some variants of these programmes are found in some South African English-Afrikaans programmes and Indian programmes. Europe and Australia do not have proper two-way programmes (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.617).

(9) ***Alternate days programmes:*** According to Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000, p.619) definition:

> An alternate days model could be seen as a sub-category under two-ways programmes. There are both majority and minority students in a class with a bilingual teacher (or two bilingual teachers with different mother tongues). Both languages are used as media of instruction with both groups, with a strict separation of the main languages of teaching by weekday.

Few examples of alternate days programmes are found, and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.618-619) cites the example of Calistoga in California, where English and Spanish teachers were changing roles at different days of the week, as described by Curtis (1988, in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.618-619), who contributed by starting this programme in Calistoga. Another example of this programme is found in Philippines, with Tagalog and English, as described by Tucker et al. (1970, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.619).

(10) ***European Union Schools (plural multilingual) model***: As described by

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.619-622), this is a programme which is implemented in European Union schools, which have subsections for the 11 official languages of the 15 member states of the European Union. As the students attending those schools differ in nationality and language background, several languages are used as media of instruction, following a carefully planned progression, with the goal for all the students to become

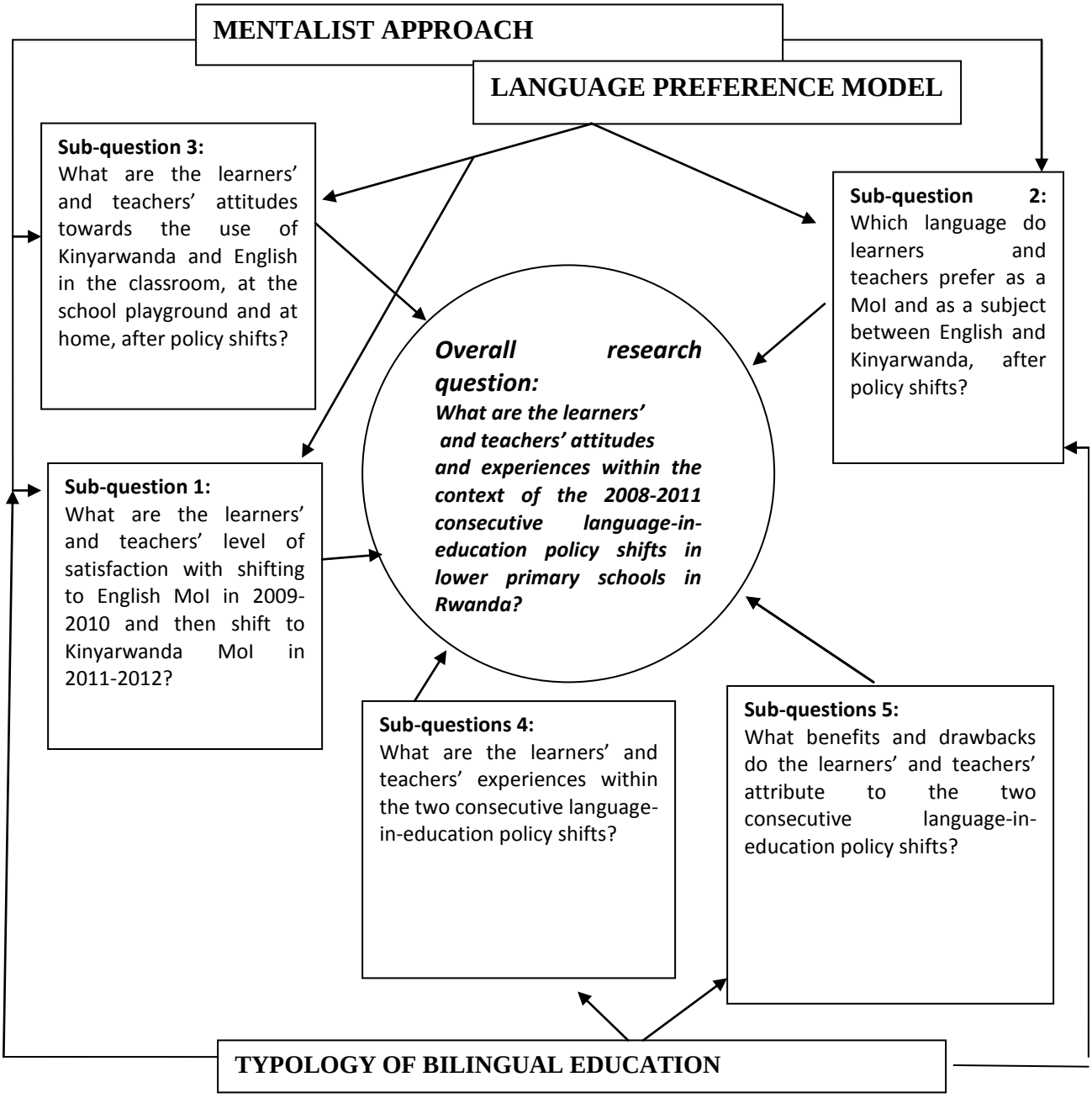
> not only bilingual but multilingual (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.619). In 1998, there were 10 European Union schools in 6 countries, with about 16,000 learners and 1,200 teachers; and those schools were controlled by the education authorities of the member states of the European Union (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.619). In those schools, all or most official languages of the European Union (i.e. Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish) are used as the principal medium of education, in every school where there are enough children for each language. The child's mother tongue, which is the language of the subsection is used to teach all cognitively and linguistically demanding subjects, at least up to grade 8. The second language (L2) starts in grade 1, between English, French and German. In grade 3, a couple of subjects are taught in mixed groups or in L2, until grade 8, where a third language (L3) is introduced as a subject; and L2 becomes the medium of instruction in one or two cognitively demanding subjects. In grade 9-10, physical education, geography and history are taught through L2; while other compulsory and elective courses are taught in L1. The fourth language (L4) is introduced in grade 9. In grade 11-12, only L1 and L2 are compulsory, while L3 and L4 are optional (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.622). As outcome from these schools, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.622) indicates that "[T]he results seem to show that the children learn at least two languages at a native level, both receptively and productively, both orally and in writing".

This typology of bilingual education for bilinguals described by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) was found to be an appropriate component of the theoretical framework for this study, because it helps in unpacking if the adopted language policy shifts reflected strong and weak forms of bilingualism in the Rwandan lower primary schools or if the shifts were tending to promote balanced bilingual students or not. Although one of the limitations of this typology and the previous ones is that not all real-life examples will fit easily into the classification (Baker, 2006, p.214); it is evident that the above-mentioned 10 types of bilingual education for bilinguals already accommodate quite a number of those real examples into their classification. The next section provides a visual representation of all the three theories that constitute the theoretical framework, namely the mentalist approach (Fasold, 1984), the language preference model (Spolsky, 1989) and the typology of bilingual education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Baker, 2006).

2.1.4 Visual representation of the theoretical framework

As the overall visual representation of the theoretical framework of this study, the mindmap below indicates the interaction between the three adopted theories or approaches and the research questions.

Diagram 2: Visual representation of the theoretical framework



Source: My own design

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2.1 Overview on attitudinal studies

Numerous studies have been conducted on attitudes towards L1 and L2 all over the world. The list of studies on language attitudes would be exhaustive if we attempt to enumerate from the 1960s and 1970s with Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) from whom excellent research tradition on language attitudes is said to stem (Baker, 1992, p. 3). Those studies tackled language attitudes from various angles and contexts, from learners to teachers and parents, from lower grades to higher levels of education as well as from various linguistic landscapes.

2.2.1.1 Learners' language attitudes and language preferences

A number of studies have investigated school learners' attitudes towards languages, including their mother tongues, English and other languages (Oliver and Purdie, 1998; Braam, Broeder, Extra, Mati, Pluddemann and Wababa, 2000; Matee, 2003; and Karahan, 2007). The findings in most of these studies indicate the outstanding preference of international languages and overwhelming positive attitudes towards English in almost all domains and contexts. Such positive attitudes and preference of English are found not only in countries and areas where English is predominant, but also in areas where it is not.

An attitudinal study by Oliver and Purdie (1998) examined bilingual primary school learners in western Australia, where English is a lingua franca, and indicates that those learners have positive attitudes towards English language use at school, in the playground and at home. Those learners aged between 9 and 12 also indicated that their teachers and parents had positive attitudes towards their use of English language at school, in the playground and at home, with an exception of parents who were perceived as wanting them to use their L1 at home. Such positive attitudes towards English can be linked to colonial history. Australia was colonized by Great Britain, and therefore those attitudes towards English can be symptomatic of the country's colonial language history.

Another attitudinal study which emphasized the preference and positive attitudes towards English rather than other languages was conducted by Braam, Broeder, Extra, Mati, Pluddemann and Wababa (2000) in South Africa. This study was conducted in the Greater Cape Town primary schools, in Western Cape, among primary school grade 1 and grade 7 learners. It was conducted in an area (Western Cape) where Afrikaans first language speakers are predominant when compared to English first language speakers. Despite the predominance of Afrikaans speakers in the investigated area, the results showed that the primary school grade 1 and grade 7 learners who participated in the study preferred English to Afrikaans. In this regard, 57% by grade 1 learners and 65% by grade 7 learners preferred English, while Afrikaans was preferred only by 30% of the students involved in the study (Braam et al., 2000).

Similarly, a language attitudes study by Matee (2003) in South Africa also showed positive attitudes towards English. This study was conducted among 40 black high school learners from two secondary schools located in Gauteng Province of South Africa. These schools are attended by black learners and black teachers only, and teach African languages and English. The findings revealed that those learners have positive attitudes towards English, since 73% feel that English is synonymous with education, 80% believe that the use of African languages in formal education is unrealistic and is likely to create problems. However, 75% agreed that African languages should be taught in schools. Thus, this study confirms the contention that English is the preferred language in postcolonial Africa.

Another study that was carried out by Karahan (2007) among 190 grade 8 students from a private primary school in Turkey, where English is intensively taught, revealed that those learners had mildly positive attitudes towards the English language and towards the use of English in a Turkish context when compared to their counterparts from public schools. In this study, the degree of attitudes of the Turkish students towards English as a musical, rich and beautiful language was generally mildly positive (3.7), but the same students stated that they do not find English as a language of culture and it is not so interesting to them. The study also revealed that the overall evaluation of attitudes indicated that students who started to learn English at pre-school had slightly more positive attitudes towards English than the ones who started to learn it at primary school. With regard to the link between language attitude and colonial history, Turkey

was not colonized by Great Britain, which indicates that there is no direct link, but still Turkish students have positive attitudes towards English.

2.2.1.2 Teachers' language attitudes in African endoglossic countries

With regard to teachers' language attitudes in African endoglossic countries, English preference is still the case. For example, Mordaunt's (1991) study on teachers' attitudes toward English in Swaziland found that they have positive attitudes toward English and English teaching methodology, despite the fact that 95% of the population speaks siSwati as a native language. Swaziland was also colonized by Great Britain, and the post colonial trajectory can still draw from colonial history when English was the language of preference.

Another attitudinal study which was conducted on teachers from an endoglossic country was carried out in Botswana (Arthur, 1997). This study was conducted in an endoglossic setting (Botswana), where Setswana is the politically predominant language. The findings revealed that primary school teachers surveyed overwhelmingly (80%) supported English as a medium of instruction from grade 1. However, despite the overall support for English among the teachers, the study reported that the opinions of older and younger teachers were not monolithic. In this regard, 96% of older teachers, i.e. teachers who have been in profession between 10 and 20 years favoured English while only 64.3% of younger teachers, i.e. teachers who have been in profession for less than 5 years, favoured English. Therefore, younger teachers appeared to be less in favour of English as a sole medium of instruction; they were rather open-minded to alternatives like a language-by-subject option, where some subjects should be taught in Setswana and others in English (Arthur, 1997). Speakers of minority languages apparently experienced a conflicting need for access through the education system to Setswana. However, the suggestion of using Setswana as a medium of instruction through primary school was rejected by all the teachers at almost 100%; and they believed that the use of Setswana medium has impoverished the mastery of English at primary school. The positive attitudes towards English can be linked to the colonial history. Botswana too was colonized by Great Britain, which indicates that there might be a link between the country's colonial history and the positive attitudes and preference

of English during the post-colonial period. Thus, English preference is still the case in this endoglossic country, despite the great number of Setswana speakers.

Similarly, the attitudinal studies in the Rwandan schools (Maniraho, 2013; Habyarimana, 2014) have revealed positive attitudes towards English. Maniraho's (2013) study examines attitudes and motivation towards the use of English as MoI among 625 Teacher Training college teachers and students in Rwanda. Though teachers and students were from both Anglophone and Francophone backgrounds; as they have experienced the shift from French and/or English as MoI to the sole use of English as medium of instruction, they all hold positive attitudes toward learning English language and using it as MoI. In this regard, 69.6% of teachers and 65.0% of students showed positive attitudes towards learning English and using it as MoI (Maniraho, 2013, p.98). The main reason for these positive attitudes is that the use of English as MoI offers an opportunity to learn the language (Maniraho, 2013).

Habyarimana's (2014) study was conducted among 215 primary grade 6 teachers, learners and principles to investigate their attitudes towards English as MoI. The findings revealed that educators and learners have positive attitudes towards English as MoI. Learners showed positive orientation towards learning English and learning through English, because it offers opportunity "to communicate with the outside world, get good jobs in and out of the country, and become respected people"; and such positive attitudes towards English motivate their preference to have it as a MoI (Habyarimana, 2014, p. 118). Thus, these two attitudinal studies in the Rwandan endoglossic setting still confirm the overwhelming preference of English as MoI. Overall, all the studies conducted in endoglossic countries showed positive attitudes towards English. The next section is about the parents' attitudes towards English and other languages.

2.2.1.3 Parental language attitudes and preferences

Studies have been carried out on attitudes held by parents towards English and other languages. In this regard, Mutasa (1999) investigated the perceptions and attitudes of 350 parents and other adult people, including government and non-governmental workers and adult students, towards the implementation of the South African new language policy, which recognizes the co-existence

of African languages with English. The participants in the study were either working or studying in Pretoria, the capital city of South Africa. The findings on attitudes towards English revealed that all the parents in the sample send their children to English medium schools. 99% of those parents want their children to be taught in English while only 1% preferred Afrikaans. As for the students, 99% preferred English medium while 1% preferred an African language. It is therefore clear that there is an outstanding preference of English over other languages, among the South African parents who participated in the study.

Similarly, De Klerk (2002) conducted an attitudinal study among parents of 194 isiXhosa-speaking children who had been sent to English-medium schools in Grahamstown, in South Africa. The findings indicated not only the learners' positive attitudes towards English but also the parents' preference as well. In this study, parents were actively and knowingly promoting the shift from isiXhosa to English in their children; and they expressed the wish that their children be assimilated into a unified national culture, which is likely to be promoted by English. They indicated that preference of the English language for their children is due to political, economic and educational reasons. These illustrative examples on parents' attitudes towards languages, including English, demonstrate that parents also hold positive attitudes towards English. Commenting on parents' positive attitudes towards English in the South African context, Hornberger and Vaish (2008, p.8) say:

> South African scholars have documented ideologies favoring English in Black African communities of South Africa. Zulu, Xhosa, or other Black African parental demands for English-medium instruction for their children are fueled by the perception and reality of English as a language of power; parents are simultaneously drawn to English by its hegemonic status and away from mother tongue education by a deep suspicion born of apartheid.

Commenting on the same subject, Alexander (2004) emphasizes that what parents are choosing is not English medium of instruction per se, but rather a superior resourcing and academic preparation that is provided by English-medium schools.

2.2.1.4. Exceptions to English preference and its positive attitudes

Despite all the above-mentioned positive attitudes towards English, there are exceptions observed in some studies, where attitudes towards English are not highly positive when compared to other languages. One of the exceptions is Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon's (2009) study on language attitudes among primary grade 5 bilingual children in multilingual Singapore. In this study, Chinese and Indian children's attitudes towards English on both attitudinal dimensions were found to be lower than their attitudes towards their mother tongue, while Malay children expressed no significant difference. The reason for such a reverse of the above-mentioned tendency, as Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon (2009, p. 248) explain, is that a great number of participants, especially Indians and Chinese, perceive that "they are being pulled away from their cultural identity, or from their in-group, by English". Even if Singapore was colonized by Great Britain, the attitudes towards English seem not to be symptomatic of the colonial language history. Apart from the Chinese children whose country was not colonized by Great Britain, the other two categories of learners investigated, namely the Indians and Malays originate from countries that were colonized by Great Britain. However, their attitudes towards English are not as high as reflected in other studies mentioned above. Maybe this is symptomatic of the decolonization of people's mindset, especially the younger generation. This is one of the exceptions in the existing literature on positive attitudes towards English.

2.2.1.5 Attitudes following language policy changes

Some studies were also conducted on language attitudes following language policy modifications. One of those studies is Marley's (2004) study which investigated high school students' and teachers' attitudes towards French, Arabic and bilingualism in Morocco, just after two years following changes in government language policy, which was effected in 2000. This investigation was conducted in 2002 in Khouribga, a town located in central Morocco. Before changes in language policy, Morocco has been pursuing a single language policy known as 'Arabization (based on Modern Standardized Arabic)' since independence in 1956, with the apparent aim of creating a united monolingual nation (Marley, 2002, cited in Marley, 2004, p.25). The new reform that came in 2000 recognized the value and necessity of other languages already present in Morocco, like French, Dialectal Arabic, Tamazight or Berber and English. The

new policy had three major goals: ‘‘the reinforcement and improvement of Arabic teaching, diversification of languages for teaching science and technology, and openness to Tamazight’’ (Marley, 2004, p. 31).

The study investigated the students’ and teachers’ attitudes towards the new changes. The findings revealed that both students and teachers were widely in favour of a return to Arabic–French bilingualism within the education system, which was in contrast with the modified language policy, whereby Modern Standardized Arabic (MSA) has been the only national language over 40 years. They also supported decisions to introduce foreign languages at an earlier stage in the curriculum, including French, English, Spanish and Italian, as it was implied in the new language policy.

Although Marley’s (2004) study does not primarily focus on English but more on French preference when compared to other local and indigenous languages in Morocco, the findings still show that learners’ and teachers’ attitudes are still less favourable towards their local languages. In this regard, the investigated students have grown up in an entirely Arabized school system, and have only ever known Modern Standardized Arabic as their national language, but they are less keen on learning MSA than French, and do not overwhelmingly agree that it represents their national identity. Their attitudes towards Tamazight and Arabic–Tamazight bilingualism were almost entirely negative (40% for and 48% against); and some teachers even believed that Arabization had led to poor expression in French. However, over 80% agreed that Arabic–French bilingualism offers advantages to Moroccan children. As for their attitudes towards English, a clear majority (67.9%) believed that English is more important internationally, and two thirds strongly agreed that in the long term, English would be more useful than French in Morocco. It is therefore clear that the preference and positive attitudes towards international languages, English included, are also observed in this study. This preference of international languages, especially French in Morocco can also be linked with its colonial history. Morocco was colonized by Spain and France (1840-1956); with France controlling almost all of Morocco and Spain controlling the small southwest portion, which became known as Spanish Sahara (infoplease.com, n.d.). French preference by Moroccans can exhibit their positive post-colonial attitudes towards French. Such attitudes can even be linked with the results of Bentahila’s (1983)

study on Moroccan Arabic and French code-switching, which indicated that code-switchers of Moroccan Arabic and French were perceived negatively as victims of colonisation, or as incompetent in both languages. This may imply that Moroccans expected people to use pure and correct forms of French developed from colonial era.

So far, previous studies seem to indicate that most studies which investigated learners' and teachers' attitudes towards English and other languages found an outstanding preference and overwhelming positive attitudes towards ex-colonial languages, including English and French. Only a few exceptions where attitudes towards English are not highly positive were found. The literature also indicates that those positive attitudes towards ex-colonial languages are traced in countries which were colonized by the speakers of those languages, which brings in a link between colonial history and ex-colonial language preference, with the exception of Singapore. Since Rwanda was not colonized by Great Britain or any other English-speaking country but by Belgium, which is a French-speaking country, French dominated in Rwanda before 1994. An attitude study on the status and use of English in such a historically French-speaking country might bring new insights.

2.2.2 Teachers' and learners' lived experiences

Research on lived experiences shows that there are a number of studies which were conducted on learners' and teachers' lived experiences in relation to language teaching, language learning, and challenges encountered in the implementation of language policies and language policy modifications which were encountered at different levels of education. Such studies include Clair (1995); Youngs and Youngs (2001); Echeverria *et al*. (2006); Batt (2008); Faizah (2010) and Ruiz (2011).

Clair's (1995) study focused on the mainstream classroom teachers' experiences with regard to their beliefs, practices and professional development needs to assist English as a Second Language (ESL) students in their classes, as well as their attitudes towards ESL. The study was conducted among grade 4, 5 and 10 teachers in three USA mainstream classrooms, in Massachusetts. The findings demonstrated the need for mainstream teachers to understand second language acquisition processes, to change their beliefs, values and attitudes to ESL and

ESL students. The mainstream teachers in Clair's (1995) study also suggested solutions for future in-service professional development regarding ESL, including their desires for quick fixes in terms of materials and curriculum and teacher study groups as an alternative to traditional short-term staff development workshops.

Likewise, Gunderson's (2000) study focused on concerns of discrimination and acculturation that may shape the experiences of the English Language Learners in the mainstream classroom in USA. The findings included the concerns about adopting new cultural norms and establishing the means for integration among peers attending English language classes.

Youngs and Youngs's (2001) study investigated the junior middle school mainstream teachers' educational and multicultural experiences, as well as their ESL training as predictors for their attitudes toward ESL and ESL students in the US mainstream classrooms. The study was conducted in the Great Plains region of the United States and the findings indicated that teachers who had received some type of ESL training were more positive about ESL and teaching ESL students than teachers who did not have any input.

Likewise, Echeverria et al. (2006) analyzed learners' experiences within the context of challenges which English Language Learners who enter US secondary schools encountered. The findings revealed that there has not been an increased amount of academic success for these English Language Learners; and those English Language Learners have been consistently underperforming on high stakes tests and failing to graduate from high school in higher rates than their English speaking counterparts (Echeverria et al., 2006).

Additionally, Batt's (2008) study sought to find out what English Language Learners educators in Idaho College (USA) perceived as the greatest challenges and needs for improvement of English Language Learners' education. It also sought to solicit solutions from participants in order to design professional development for short and long terms. The findings included the priorities for professional development and solutions to improve English Language Learners' education as identified by respondents. Such solutions included hiring more English as Second

Language (ESL) teachers, hiring qualified bilingual education teachers, creating a Sheltered English academy, changing the ESL curriculum and using a different education model.

Ruiz's (2011) study investigates the teachers' and learners' experiences within one mainstream US Government classroom located in the state of Georgia, in the United States. The study involved English Language Learners and one of their teachers who did not follow English Speakers of Other Languages Programme. It focused on the positive and negative experiences in regard with perceptions of mainstream teachers regarding the inclusion of English Language Learners, and the learners' experiences with learning English. For Ruiz (2011, p. 15), positive and negative experiences correspond not only to such positive and negative perceptions, but also to practices which are helpful to English Language Learners, like revisiting the past experiences relating to English language learning, and preparing the future of the learners. They also correspond to learners' success with their English language learning, like checking if all English Language learners were capable of achieving success through work, or whether the learners' success was directly linked to lessons learned from the past or through understanding and interaction with others as team players. Teachers' and learners' experiences in Ruiz's (2011) study also included supportive and collaborative school and English language classroom environment for both teachers and students, as well as the implementation of a relevant and up-to-date curriculum.

The findings from Ruiz's (2011) study were built on a detailed description of participants' background, including their lives, studies, family history, clothing style, and every other details, but with much emphasis on their language background. From this detailed description, the researcher managed to understand the participants' experiences. Therefore, her findings were grouped into three large categories. The first category was termed the 'Returning to the Past', which consisted of classroom events or decisions that were shaped directly by the past experiences of the participants, like avoiding the past challenges, recreating past successes, and establishing empathy for English language learning. The second category was 'Navigating the expectations of the Classroom', which included activities and decisions that the participants used to navigate the expectations of the class, like avoiding challenges, seeking success and making it

possible. The third category was ‘Preparing for the future’, which included experiences that are defined as preparing for the future, like graduation and life after school.

The above-mentioned studies constitute a sample of studies which investigated the teachers’ and learners’ lived experiences in regard with English language learning and the challenges encountered by English language learners and teachers, but mainly within the context of US mainstream classrooms. The predominance of studies on English language learning and teaching experiences in the literature is an indication of dearth of empirical studies which investigated the teachers’ and learners’ experiences after language-in-education policy changes, which is one component of the focus of this study. Few studies investigated both learners’ and teachers’ experiences and attitudes within one single study, as highlighted in the section on the gaps in the existing literature in this thesis. A study which combines attitudes and experiences within the context of language-in-education policy change is needed.

2.2.3 Impact of language-in-education policy shifts

With regard to the impact of language policy shifts on the education system as a whole, the literature indicates what happens when a system moves from one bilingual or tri-lingual model to the next or simply from one MoI to another. For example, while describing the impact of language policy shift in Hong Kong, Poon (2004, p. 56) indicates that such a shift of MoI posed immense pressure on students who shifted from Chinese to English in Secondary 1 as they suddenly had to cope with subjects delivered in English, while they were previously delivered in Chinese. Poon (2004, p. 57) also describes the measures which were taken for successful implementation of such a shift, including revising Chinese and English syllabuses, increasing library funds to avail books in both languages, trying out the expatriate English teachers, recruiting expatriate lecturers; and setting up language programmes and language centres. Gonzalez (1998) describes how the percentage of Filipinos who claimed to be able to speak English dropped from 65% in 1980 to 56% in 1990 as a result of switching the MoI of some subjects from English to the national language in Philippines. A similar case of English decline after language policy shift was reported in Malaysia, where the standards of English and the number of English speakers have reduced considerably 12 years after the 1996 MoI shift from

English to Malay (Ozog, 1993). These findings predict that the two consecutive policy shifts in the Rwandan lower primary school could have caused pressure or impacted on learners in Rwanda.

2.2.4 Language policy shifts in Africa

During the 20th century, according to Heugh (2002, p.453), there has been a shift in policy statements, from the principle of segregation through assimilation and integration to multiculturalism. Such a shift of mindset in Africa is influenced by several factors, both internal and external, which affect the language policy implementation. For example, the factors emanating from the funding agencies and free-market economy have contributed in thwarting the implementation of language policies in some countries. In this regard, King (1993, cited in Heugh, 2002, p.453) indicates that the World Bank agenda has set specific criteria to be met by the Third World countries in order to benefit from aid from this institution for the implementation of the language-in-education policy, which most of the time lead to language shifts. Similarly, Mazrui (1997, cited in Heugh, 2002, p.453) observes that, despite the World Bank's support for local languages in education, it continues to advise African governments to cut educational expenditures on local languages, in favour of international languages. Therefore, as Mazrui views it, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund intervention is deepening the socio-economic division on the African continent, by promoting the international languages which benefit the children of the ruling class, at the disadvantages of the remainder of the society. Similarly, Tollefson (1991), Phillipson (1992) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) have criticized how the Western world, especially USA and Britain has been promoting English as an instrument for maintaining an undereducated class for cheap labour. All the above-mentioned external factors led Mazrui (1997, cited in Heugh, 2002, p. 454) to argue that all recommendations to use African languages in education alongside international languages have been entrenched.

In addition to the influence of external factors imposed specifically by the funding agencies, internal factors based on people's mindset also contribute in language policy shifts in Africa. Within this context, Heugh (2002, p. 454) gives an example of African language planners and educators. He indicates that

> Prominent educators and language planners on the continent have reiterated their conviction that educational failure on the continent is linked to the system where the home languages of the learners are seldom maintained beyond the early years of school if they are used at all.

Bamgbose (1996, p. 13) is of the same view, and indicates that the African continent is experiencing high rates of primary school drop-outs, where more than 50% of school-age children are not at school due to the use of languages that are not familiar with young children. Zambia is a typical example of a country where English was preferred as the primary language of education over local languages, which led to massive drop-outs, decreasing level of proficiency in English, and widening the gap between those who are proficient in English and those who are not (Tripathi, 1990).

Despite such an alarm bell, Phillipson et al. (1986, cited in Rubagumya 1990) makes an instructive observation that while "most African countries favour European languages as the languages of instruction in schools; Tanzania is an exception to this development in Sub-Saharan Africa, as is Somalia", with their effort in making Swahili an Inter-African National Language. This shows that only two countries on the whole continent support the African language instruction. Such a state of affair insinuates that language shifts can take different directions in the African context, with many shifting towards international languages, and with few shifting towards African languages.

The same overwhelming preference of international languages over the local ones applies to African parents as well. Hence, Alexandre (1972, cited in Heugh, 2002, p. 454) claims that parents in Sub-Saharan Africa use languages other than English, French and Portuguese, but yet they insist that their children study through the medium of international languages, even if it may be at the expense of their home languages. Even if such a claim was made forty years ago, one may wonder if such a belief has changed among African parents, including the Rwandan ones, because some Rwandan parents do not prefer Kinyarwanda as a MoI from the onset of formal schooling, under the pretext that it does not lead to better job for their children at the completion of studies (Niyibizi, 2010). Apart from the Rwandan parents, Rosendal’s (2009) study found that Kinyarwanda is not always the most preferred language in all areas. In her study on language use

in advertisements in newspapers, on billboards and on shop signs in Rwanda, she found the following preference at the national levels: 48.2% of newspaper advertisements were in French, 28.1% were in English and only 23.7% were in Kinyarwanda. For billboards, 40.3% were in English, 39.6% were in French, and 19.1% in Kinyarwanda. Shop signs occurred in French in 44% of the cases, in English in 26.6% of the cases and in Kinyarwanda in 28.9% of the cases (Rosendal 2009, p. 35). In other areas, like media, Kinyarwanda is still a preference. For example, Radio and television broadcasts in Rwanda are predominantly done in Kinyarwanda, but also with English, French and Swahili. Newspapers are produced in the four languages as well, but with predominance of Kinyarwanda.

The same situation of non-preference of African languages is also observed in South Africa, which explains why Msimang (1993, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2000, p. 129) claims that "most black people have come to hate their own languages and consider them irrelevant in the education process". Hence, Kamwangamalu (2000, p. 129) observes that black people in South Africa have adopted the attitude that mother-tongue education is not important because it does not pay off in terms of economic viability, unlike English and Afrikaans. All these aspects promote language policy shifts on the African continent.

2.2.5 Successful language-in-education policy shifts

Sharing Ager's (2001, p. 5) observation, a language-in-education policy can be successful or fail to achieve its aims, due to a number of factors. Spolsky (2004, p. 223) states that students of language policy fall into two groups: the optimists who believe that language management is possible and pessimists who think that a language cannot be controlled. Among the two opposing views, Spolsky's (2004, p. 223) observation indicates that the records tend to back the pessimists side because there are few cases where the language policy attained the intended results, there were rather striking failures.

From such a state of affairs, several suggestions were made for a language-in-education policy to be successful and effective (Makoni, 1993, in Meyer 1995; Barkhuizen and Gough, 1996; Alexander, 1992; Jernudd, 1975; Bamgbose, 1999). In this regard, Makoni (1993, cited in

Meyer 1995, p. 244) suggests that the most likely successful language-in-education policy is the one that follows both top-down and bottom-up processes, during the policy formulation and during implementation, by involving all the stakeholders, including students, teachers and parents. This viewpoint is supported by Barkhuizen and Gough (1996, p. 461) who adds that for the language policy implementation to be effective, it has to take into account the syllabus, the teacher education, the teaching practice and attitudes, the school administration, the testing process as well as the resources involved. Bamgbose (1999, p. 26) also supports it by indicating that "grassroots involvement and private initiatives in language development must be encouraged"; and Alexander (1992, p. 145) suggests the participation of the whole population by quoting Jernudd's (1975, p. 296) viewpoint that

> In order for an official language decision to be of benefit to a nation, people would have to feel uniform solidarity with such a decision. This means that only the government (if representative) would have the rights to enforce or would act to reap all benefits of such a decision…

However, though various viewpoints support the involvement of all stakeholders using both the top-down and bottom-up approaches, the de facto practice indicates that the top-down approach is the most adopted by policy planners. It is a common practice that teachers for example, who are the real implementers of the language-in-education policy in the classroom are never consulted all along the policy formulation, it is rather given to them "as faits accomplis for translation into action within their own settings" (Corson, 1990, p. 57).

As for the implementation of language-in-education policy shifts, Bamgbose (1987, in Alexander, 1992, p. 145) criticizes the practice in developing countries, where decisions and decrees on language policy are supposed to be "with immediate effect". The same criticism is hammered by Alexander (1999) who focuses on the very short period given to African languages medium before shifting to foreign languages; and he illustrates this by stating that

> The disastrous fact that in most African countries, after two or three years of mother tongue or home language medium, there is an automatic switch to one or other foreign language as the main medium of primary-school education is the single most destructive datum on the continent of Africa (Alexander, 1999, p. 6).

It is to be acknowledged that effecting a language-in-education policy shift is a very difficult task. Some challenges are encountered when elaborating, working out and implementing such a language-in-education policy shift. For example, Kamwangamalu (2000, p. 119) indicates that it is a complex task, which involves complex decision making, assessing and committing valuable resources. Brann (1981, p. 18) shows that it requires a coordinating body which monitors the corpus planning, the training of language teaching personnel and the production of teaching materials. Wardhaugh (1987, cited in Kamwangamalu 2000, p. 120) warns that it involves complex human and materials resources. Bourdieu (1991, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2000, p. 120) indicates that it involves regulating the power relationship between languages and their users on the linguistic market place while Makoni (1993, cited in Meyer 1995, p. 244) indicates that such a complex task is due to the fact that language policy formulation, implementation and evaluation constitute a cyclical process, which requires thorough planning. All these viewpoints emphasize that implementing a language-in-education policy shift is not an easy task.

2.2.6 Motivation for language-in-education policy shift

My reflection on elements that motivate language-in-education policy shifts draws inspiration from three typologies. The first one is Ruiz's (1984, cited in Heugh, 2002, p. 451) typology, which views language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource in various societies. The second one is based on Language myths attributed to MT and L2 education (Benson, 2003). The third one builds on advantages and disadvantages attributed to mother tongue versus international language education (Spolsky, 1986; Benson, 2003; Baker, 2000; Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000a, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 2000).

2.2.6.1 Ruiz's (1984) typology as a motivator for language-in-education policy shift

As mentioned above, this typology put forward by Ruiz (1984) indicates how language is viewed differently by various societies, some viewing it as a problem others as a right while others view it as a resource.

Based on Ruiz's (1984) description as developed by Heugh (2002), language is seen as a problem in societies where the ruling ideology is segregation, in which the language of the ruling class is elevated, leading therefore to artificial inequality among languages, widening the gap between the dominant languages and others, rendering some languages inferior in status and bolstering the power of the ruling class (Heugh, 2002, p. 451). It is also seen as a problem in societies where the dominant ideology is assimilation, in which assimilationists tend to eliminate the issue of language diversity by bringing all outsiders and newcomers into the dominant group which is often privileged to enjoy political and economic privileges. Such a policy is also oriented towards monolingualism and language of the ruling class on detriment of other languages (Heugh, 2002, p.451). This contributes directly or indirectly to language shift.

On the other hand, some societies view language as a right and these are the ones which give value to the principle of social integration (Heugh, 2002, p. 452). However, Heugh (2002, p. 452) warns that it is difficult to implement a language policy based only on the concept of right, because the implementation continues to rely on unequal relationship between the language of the ruling class or economic elite and the language of those who do not enjoy the political or economic power. Therefore, the implementation tendency continues to be dominated by the monolingualism of the ruling class, which views other languages as a problem or a threat (Heugh 2002, p.452). This leads again to language shift.

Another scenario is when language is viewed as a resource. This is found in societies where the principle of interdependence of languages is at stake, and where different languages coexist in an interdependent manner (Heugh, 2002, p. 453). Such societies are described by Kelman (1975, cited in Heugh, 2002, p. 453) as societies where each language is validated and where linguistic rights of communities are protected as part of the national assets. This also leads to language shift but within such a perspective of language interdependence.

If we link this typology to the language policy shift in the Rwandan context, the motives described in Chapter one (see § 1.1.3) for the 2008 – 2011 language policy shifts clearly indicates that language in Rwanda is viewed as a resource, but based on economic, intellectual and integration opportunities. Therefore, the findings from this attitudinal study will provide

more revelations if the Rwandan lower primary school teachers, learners and principles view English and Kinyarwanda as a resource for the Rwandan community, a problem, or a right.

2.2.6.2 Language myths attributed to MT and L2 education as a contributor to language-in-education policy shift

The 8 ‘‘widely believed myths’’ put forward by Benson (2003, p. 7) sometimes contribute in language-in-education policy shift, even if most of those beliefs are just fallacy. Those myths are the following:

Myth 1: Having one official language promotes unity
Myth 2: Local language cannot express modern concepts
Myth 3: Too many languages cause confusion
Myth 4: School time should be spent learning the second language
Myth 5: I want my child to learn the L2 in school
Myth 6: Students need to start schooling in the L2 as quickly as possible
Myth 7: We need the L2 because it is an international language
Myth 8: We need the L2 to get a good job

(Benson, 2003, p. 7)

These myths and beliefs directly or indirectly contribute in language-in-education policy shift, since they influence people’s mindset and attitudes towards languages, including the language policy planners. However, it can be debatable whether these myths are really myths.

2.2.6.3 Advantages and disadvantages attributed to MT and to L2 medium as boosters of language-in-education policy shift

Proponents and opponents of MT or L2 medium seem to contribute much in language-in-education policy shift. The advantages attributed to MT are likely to influence decision-makers to shift to some languages, while the disadvantages lead to the dropping of others. For example, there are plenty of advantages attributed to mother tongue education (Spolsky, 1986; Benson, 2003; Baker, 2001, 2006; Cummins, 2000a, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 2000; to name but a few). These scholars and many others identified a number of advantages for MT instruction,

which Spolsky (1986, p. 12) summarizes into five main points, by indicating that mother tongue education:

- offers equal opportunity to a great majority of people to participate in national reconstructions;
- gives greater access to education and personal development to a great number of people;
- frees knowledge from the preserves of limited elites and enables greater number of people to interact with science, including foundation of appropriate technology;
- demands decentralization of information and ensures free media as opposed to the controlled ones;
- provides greater opportunity for the political involvement of greater number of groups and therefore leads to a greater defense of democracy.

Similarly, Benson (2003) adds cognitive/pedagogical and socio-cultural advantages, while Baker (2001, 2006), Cummins (2000, 2003), Dutcher (2001), Williams and Cooke (2002) Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and many others provide pedagogical and psycholinguistic advantages attributed to MT instruction**.**

As for disadvantages, some African scholars like Ngugi (1987), Ogbu (1982), Moumouni (1975) indicated long time ago that L2 submersion inhibits the child's linguistic and cultural values, experience, personality and self-esteem. Within the same context, the opponents of MT education raise serious problems like high costs, waste of resources, management of linguistically mixed classes, and multilingual environments with several mother tongues as described in Benson (2003), who indicates how the long-term advantages of mother tongue-based bilingual education outweigh all those concerns raised by opponents. Furthermore, Skutnabb-Kangas (1984, cited in Spolsky, 1986, p.155) draws a table comparing views from the proponents of minority mother tongue instruction and its opponents, where she indicates how the opponents to mother tongue education accuse the proponents of an extreme mother tongue ideology, with character of political agitation, but without scientific grounded evidence.

It is noteworthy that advantages and disadvantages contribute in language-in-education policy shift, since they are in most cases the ones put forward by decision-makers or language planners whenever there is a language-in-education policy shift.

2.2.7 Conclusion

The review of literature presented above has indicated that positive attitudes towards English and the preference of English language tend to be universal. Almost all the reviewed studies (Karahan, 2007; Marley, 2004; Matee, 2003; De Klerk, 2002; Braam et al., 2000; Mutasa, 1999; Oliver and Purdie, 1998; Arthur, 1997; Mordaunt, 1991) have indicated that English is preferred in African continent and beyond, with the exception in Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon's (2009) study. In addition to literature on teachers' and learners' attitudes and experiences with languages and language policy changes, studies that have examined motivations for the language policy shifts, as well as the impact of language-in-education policy shifts were also reviewed. The next chapter outlines the methodology which was adopted in this study.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approach that was adopted in this study. It justifies the mixed methods design which was adopted. It presents a brief discussion of the the sample population, sampling techniques, data collection instruments and data analysis tools used in this study.

3.1 Research design

3.1.1 Mixed Methods approach

This study quantitatively and qualitatively investigates two separate but complementary components, namely, attitudes and experiences. It has therefore adopted the mixed methods approach. Mixed Methods research is defined as "research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of enquiry" (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007, p. 4). The mixed methods approach is appropriate for this study because of its strengths in "converging and triangulating different quantitative and qualitative data sources" (Jick, 1979, in Creswell, 2009, p. 204). The strengths of mixed methods are acknowledged by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p.48) who underscore the fact that "mixed research involves combining complementary strengths and nonoverlapping weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research, assessing the validity of findings is particularly complex". Such complementary strengths, which include all of the strengths of qualitative and quantitative imply putting together different approaches, methods, and strategies in multiple and creative ways (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006, p.52) in such a way that the overall strengths of the mixed methods is greater that either qualitative or quantitative research alone (Cresswell and Plano Clark, 2007, in Cresswell, 2009, p. 4).

The main strength of the mixed method approach is that it enables researchers to obtain 'broad and deep understanding' of the research problem under investigation (Johnson et al., 2007). This study investigates an unfamiliar phenomenon of two consecutive policy shifts, which requires a

deep understanding of how teachers and learners experienced those shifts and the attitides they had towards the shifts.

The ‘deep understanding’ offered by the mixed methods is not limited to the problem under investigation only, because Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) indicate that deep understanding lead to the attainment of stronger and quality inferences. In this study, every attitudinal orientation which was exhibited by teachers and learners, as obtained from quantitative data, was justified by explanations from qualitative data and this led to stronger inferences in the study. Hence, McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p.28) state that the “advantage of mixed-method studies is that they can show the result (quantitative) and explain why it was obtained (qualitative)”.

3.1.2 Strategies used for mixed methods

There exist several types of mixed methods strategies in the literature, two of which are singled out here for description, viz, Cresswell and Plano Clark’s (2007) 12-criteria multidisciplinary classification systems and Cresswell’s (2009) 4-criteria classification. While Cresswell and Plano Clark (2007) identified 12 classification systems drawn from the field of evaluation, public health, nursing, education policy, education research and social and behavioural research, Cresswell (2009, p.206-208) focuses on six types, based on the four important aspects, namely (i) the timing of the qualitative and quantitative data collection, either concurrently or sequentially; (ii) the weight or priority given to quantitative or qualitative research; (iii) the mixing of qualitative and quantitative data, either at the stage of data collection, or data analysis or data interpretation or at all the three stages; and (vi) the theorizing or transforming perspectives, which is based on either explicit or implicit theories and frameworks that guide the researchers’ inquiries. The six types of mixed methods strategies, as elaborated by Cresswell (2009) include (1) sequential explanatory strategy; (2) sequential exploratory strategy; (3) sequential transformative strategy; (4) concurrent triangulation strategy; (5) concurrent embedded strategy; and (6) concurrent transformative strategy.

Among the six types of strategies mentioned above, this study has adopted “Concurrent Embedded Strategy”: “QUAN” and “QUAL” (Creswell, 2009, p. 210). This strategy is

characterized by its use of one data collection phase, during which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously (Cresswell, 2009, p.214). The capitalization of QUAN and QUAL indicates that both quantitive and qualitative data are equally emphasized or given equal priority. In this study, the embedding reflects what Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998, in Cresswell, 2009, p.2014) describe as both quantitative and qualitative methods address different questions or seek information at different levels. In this regard, while quantitative methods elicited the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the policy shifts; the qualitative methods investigated the 'why' of these attitudes as well as their experiences within the policy shifts. Therefore, the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods in this study was for integration, triangulation and corroboration (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006).

The use of the concurrent embedded strategy in this study matched with Morse's (1991, in Cresswell, 2009, p.215) observation that qualitative data could be used to enrich or describe quantitative data. The use of concurrent embedded strategy was advantageous for this study, because, as described by Cresswell (2009, p.215) "[a] researcher is able to collect the two types of data simultaneously, during a single data collection phase" and "a researcher can gain perspectives from the different types of data or from different levels within the study".

The limitations of the concurrent embedded strategy or the mixed methods in general is that it requires great effort and expertise to analyse a phenomenon using two different methods; it can be difficult to compare the results from analysis that has used two different forms and a researcher might be unclear how to solve discrepancies that may occur while comparing two databases (Cresswell, 2009, p.214).

3.2 Research setting and research participants

The research setting for this study comprises six lower primary schools, which were selected from both urban and rural settings of Rwanda. The selection of schools was done from all the five provinces of Rwanda; it was based on the location of the school, i.e. urban versus rural schools; and the categories of schools, i.e. public, subsidized and private schools. Three schools were selected from the urban areas and three schools from rural areas. The three schools which

were selected in each location included one public school, one subsidized school and one private school. This means that each category of school was selected in both urban and rural settings.

The participants in the study were primary grade three learners who experienced the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts, the teachers from lower primary schools who taught those learners in primary grade one, grade two and grade three and the principals or heads of those schools, who monitored both the learners and the teachers during those two consecutive policy shifts.

3.3 Sample size and sampling techniques

3.3.1 Sample size

As mentioned above, six primary schools were selected countrywide from public, subsidized and private schools located in both urban and rural areas. Learners from primary grade three (aged between 8 and 11) were selected as they are the ones who experienced both shifts. One class of 50 learners was selected from each of the six schools, totaling 300 learners from six schools. Here, the estimated average ratio of 50 learners per class was dictated by the fact that the average ratio of students per teacher in Rwandan primary schools varied between 48 learners per teacher in Kigali City and 69 learners per teacher in the Eastern Province (MINEDUC, 2003a), but with a target of 45 learners per teacher by 2015 (MINEDUC's Education Sector Strategic Plan 2008-2012). Each of the six selected classes had more than 50 learners, from which 50 were selected. As for teachers, three were selected from each of the six schools, totalling 18 teachers; and six principals of those six schools. The total number of participants is 324. Among the 324 informants, half were selected from urban schools, i.e. 150 learners, 9 teachers and 3 principals; while another half (same numbers) were selected from rural schools.

3.3.2 Sampling techniques

Combined probability and non-probability sampling methods were used. In this regard, the study used the Multistage sampling of clusters (Singleton, Straits and Straits, 1993, p. 163) also called Multiple-stage sampling (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p. 123; Chilisa and Preece, 2005, p.105), where the sample population is broken into groups of cases or clusters, which are

selected at different stages (Singleton *et al.*, 1993, p. 154). This sampling technique was used to select schools countrywide, whereby clusters of public, subsidized and private schools were identified, based on the number of schools in urban and rural provinces. It was also used to select the sample of rural and urban schools among the above-mentioned three categories of schools; as well as to select the sample of classes at each school. Indeed, this technique of Multistage sampling of clusters was an important tool in this study as it enabled the researcher to select six schools among the five provinces constituting Rwanda, including three urban and three rural schools, as well as to select one class for investigation at each school.

3.4 Data collection instruments and procedures

The researcher went to schools, classrooms, playgrounds, and offices to collect data, using four research instruments, namely the survey questionnaires, individual interview guide, focus group discussions and observation schedules. The instruments were written in both English and Kinyarwanda, especially for learners, to avoid any language limitations. French was only used when necessary. The piloting of the research instruments was done first, before the full scale data collection.

3.4.1 Piloting

It is always advisable to pilot the research instruments before using them for full scale data collection. McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 202) advise researchers to pilot their research instruments to a sample of subjects that have similar characteristics to the respondents who will be used in the study. Piloting informs the researcher on a number of aspects, especially about the time it will take the respondents to answer a questionnaire as well as the clarity of the items and directions of the questions. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 202), piloting may help estimate reliability and may give an indication whether there is sufficient variability in the answers. With regard to the sample size for the pilot study, the suggested number is between 10 and 30 individuals (Isaac and Michael, 1995; Hill, 1998; van Belle, 2002; Julious, 2005, in Johanson and Brooks, 2009, p. 2) or 10 out of 100 respondents, which is equivalent to 10% of the sampled population (Treece and Treece, 1982, in Johanson and Brooks, 2009, p. 2; McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p. 202) for quantitative data.

In this research, survey questionnaires and individual and focus group interview schedules were piloted twice, firstly on professional teacher experts at the University of the Witwatersrand and secondly at one primary school in Rwanda, to check their reliability before the full scale data collection. These two phases of piloting correspond with the two steps that are suggested by McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 202) for getting feedback on the questionnaire before it is used in the study. These two steps are "an informal critique of individual items as they are prepared and a pilot test of the full questionnaire" (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p.202). In this study, the first step, which is a critique of individual items in the research instruments was ensured as the researcher administered his instruments to a group of experts at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) for critique and comments. This group of experts who can be considered as "pseudo participants" was made up of seven postgraduate students who were doing Honours and Masters studies at the Wits School of Education, and one lecturer. These experts were part of the Research methods course, which was also attended by the researcher. All these pseudo participants in the pilot test were teachers by profession in various South African schools and have expertise in research methods, which they were sharpening in the course. The piloting was administered on 7 August 2012, between 4.00 and 6.00 p.m., in the School of Education, at the University of the Witwatersrand. The pseudo participants did not answer the questions in the research instruments; they rather read through and commented on the whole set of instruments, including the survey questionnaires, the interviews and observation schedules, the letters and consent forms. The researcher received constructive feedback which helped him rephrase some questions for simplicity and clarity, fixing double-barrel questions, putting important items at the beginning, correcting some spelling errors, and improving the layout of the documents, to name but a few. This first step of the piloting phase was fruitful for this study as it contributed to the improvement of the research tools before they were administered for full scale data collection.

The second step of the piloting phase was conducted to a small sample of subjects who had fairly similar characteristics to the respondents in the study. In this regard, the researcher visited one primary school in Rwanda to pilot the research instruments on a small sample of teachers, learners and principals. The school that was picked for the piloting was located in a rural area, 30 learners from a grade 3 class filled in the learners' questionnaire and 6 of them participated in the

focus group discussion. Then the pilot continued with 3 teachers who experienced the two consecutive shifts; they filled in the teachers' questionnaire and participated in the focus group discussion. Thereafter, the piloting of individual interview was conducted with the school principal. The piloting phase which was conducted among the sample of learners and teachers who shared the characteristics with the actual research informants was very fruitful because it informed the researcher about the exact time for the questionnaires and interviews, about clarity and conciseness of questions in the questionnaires and interview schedule. The participants in this pilot study did not form part of respondents in the full scale data collection to avoid "data pollution" and the information they provided was not included in the thesis.

3.4.2 Full scale data collection

After the piloting phase, full scale data collection was done, using survey questionnaires, interview schedule and observations schedule. The researcher joined the principals, teachers and learners in their respective schools and classes, with permission from the Rwandan Ministry of Education. On arrival at each school, the principal helped the researcher to access the teachers and to select those who had experienced the two shifts, as well as to access the learners. After selecting 50 learners at each school using either random sampling or systematic sampling, signing the consent forms and setting the day and time for filling in the questionnaires and for interviews; the learners took the consent forms to their parents for permission for their participation in the study. Once all the consent forms were signed, the full scale data collection started. Both quantitative and qualitative instruments were used to collect data.

3.4.2.1 Quantitative data collection

Two survey questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data, one for learners and one for teachers. The learners' questionnaire included close-ended questions only, while the one for teachers included both close-ended and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions were formulated following the attitude scales, rating scales, Likert-type scales and multiple choice questions or checklists, in which the respondent had to choose or to rate the options provided. The total number of survey questionnaires which were filled in by informants was 318 in total. Three hundred were filled in by learners, including 150 from urban schools and 150 from rural schools; while 18 were filled in by teachers, including 9 from urban schools and 9 from rural

schools. Principals were not given questionnaires. Thus, quantitative data were based on 300 learners (n=300) and 18 teachers (n=18).

As procedures for filling in the questionnaires, the researcher joined the learners in their respective classes and distributed the survey questionnaires among the learners. The learners filled in the questionnaire systematically, helped by the researcher and his research assistant. The researcher read out each statement on the survey questionnaire in both English and Kinyarwanda to the whole class; each learner ticked the case of his/her choice; the researcher and the research assistants checked if every learner had ticked or answered, before going to the next statement. When all the items on the questionnaires were completed, the researcher collected them. Filling in the learners' questionnaires took 1 hour. As for the teachers' questionnaires, they were completeted in the staff room; teachers filled in the questionnaire which took 50 minutes, and this was followed by interviews.

3.4.2.2 Qualitative data collection

Qualitative data were collected using interviews guide and observations schedule. For interviews, the researcher used individual face-to-face semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Individual face-to-face interviews were held with six primary school principals, who were joined in their offices. The individual interview schedule mainly included open-ended questions on their views and experiences about the 2008 - 2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts and it lasted 20 minutes. As for focus group interviews, 12 focus group discussions were organized, including six with teachers (one group discussion at each school) and six with learners (one at each school). Each group of teachers was made by the same three teachers who filled in the questionnaire at each school. The focus group discussions with teachers lasted 40 minutes. As for the learners, each group was made up of 6 learners, who were selected through systematic sampling, among the 50 learners who filled in the questionnaires at each school. The gender balance was considered in the selection of learners for focus group discussions. Both English and Kinyarwanda were used during the discussions, but Kinyarwanda was mainly used with learners, while French was only used when necessary. For interviews on their lived experiences, learners were asked simple questions to describe how they

felt during those consecutive language-in-education policy shifts. They answered in a language they felt comfortable with, either Kinyarwanda or English. Their choice of language for answering the questions could be a covert indication of their language preference and attitude, but this was a practical matter which emerged during the interpretation of the data. The focus group discussion with learners lasted 45 minutes.

With regard to observations, 12 observations were organized to triangulate the information provided in the interviews and survey questionnaires. One classroom observation was conducted in each of the six classes involved in the study as well as at each playground of the six schools. It was a non-participant observation because the researcher did not take part in the activities being observed. These observations helped the researcher to gain an understanding of language use and preference in the classroom and on the playground, because he not only heard what participants were saying, but also saw, smelled and touched some of them (Chilisa and Preece, 2005, p. 155). The researcher sat at the back of the class, where he could observe all the interactions in the class; then he took notes, guided by the observation schedule. Observation in each class lasted 40 minutes, which corresponded with one lesson period. As for observation at the school playground, it was done during break time. The researcher followed the learners who had been observed in the classroom at the playground, where they were playing. The researcher moved among the playing learners to overhear the language they were using. As the learners had signed the consent form to be recorded, the researcher moved among the playing learners with a mini-recorder in hand.

3.5 Data analysis and interpretation

As the study used mixed methods (Creswell, 2009), both quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed concurrently, through integration (Creswell, 2009, p. 218) using "Concurrent Embedded Strategy": "QUAN" and "QUAL" (Creswell, 2009, p. 210). Data on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the consecutive language-in-education policy shifts were analysed quantitatively, while data on learners' and teachers' lived experiences within those language-in-education policy shifts were analysed qualitatively, using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith et al., 2009).

3.5.1 IPA as an analytical tool for qualitative data

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a qualitative approach, which sits in the philosophical movement of phenomenology (Kilbride, 2003, p. 24) because "it is concerned with exploring experience in its own terms" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 1). It seeks to explore an individual's personal perception or account of an event or state rather than attempting to produce an objective record of the event or state itself (Smith et al., 2009). It therefore supports the phenomenologists' view of going 'back to the things themselves' as urged by the Philosopher Edmund Husserl (Smith et al., 2009, p. 1), with the central assumption that individuals' perceptions of their self worlds are based on their own hidden assumptions that phenomenologists attempt to understand (Willig, 2001). In fact, phenomenology believes that ''truth lies within the human experience and is therefore multiple; it is time, space and context bound'' (Chilisa and Preece, 2005, p. 28). That is why phenomenologists or interpretivists use human thinking, perceiving and other mental or physiological acts to describe and understand human experience. They believe that research should produce individualized and personal conceptions and assertions on social phenomena (Chilisa and Preece, 2005, p. 28), and their main concern is "understanding human behavior from the perspectives of the people involved" (Welman and Kruger, 2001, p. 8).

IPA was found to be an appropriate approach for analyzing the qualitative data in this study because it is concerned with trying to understand the lived experiences and with how participants themselves make sense of their experiences. It makes research participants reflect their underlying feelings and thoughts, and the researcher attempts to get close to the participants' personal world to uncover what they think and believe about the topic (Kilbride, 2003, p. 25). With this analytical tool, the researcher managed to explore and understand the issue under investigation by interacting with informants in their social settings and by interpreting their worldviews, based on their reported lived experiences within the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts in Rwanda.

Thus, the analysis of qualitative data, which were collected through individual face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions and observations, followed the IPA analytical process with

its considerable details, its thick description and its analytic focus (Smith *et al*., 2009, p. 79). The analysis through IPA also followed the thematic analysis (Creswell, 2009, p. 218), whereby the lived experiences reported by learners, teachers and heads of schools, as well as the reasons for their attitudes, were grouped into themes and categories.

3.5.2 Analysis of quantitative data

Data collected from survey questionnaires on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts were analyzed quantitatively. Two software packages, namely IBM SPSS statistics 14 and STATA 12, were used to run the analysis. The analysis used descriptive statistics and inferential statistics.

3.5.2.1 Descriptive statistics

The descriptive statistics used both univariate and bivariate analysis to analyze the learners' and teachers' responses on the attitude scales, rating scales, Likert scaling and other multiple choice questions provided in the survey questionnaires. The univariate analysis, which serves to describe and summarize data on a single characteristic or a single dependent variable (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p.152), was used to analyse the frequency distribution of each attitudinal item (satisfaction or appreciation of the consecutive policy shifts, language preference, language choice and language use) among the whole group of teachers and among the whole group of learners. The independent variable was each of the attitudinal items mentioned above, while the dependent variable was either the whole group of learners or the whole group of teachers.

The bivariate analysis, which is applied when two variables are used for crosstabulation or when two or more categories are used for comparison (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p.153), was used to compare each attitudinal item among two groups, either urban versus rural learners or urban versus rural teachers. The two locations or places of residence namely, urban and rural, served as the dependent variables, while the independent variable was each of the attitudinal items (satisfaction or appreciation of the consecutive policy shifts, language preference, language choice and language use). Two or three point Likert scales (e.g. agree - disagree or happy – neither happy nor unhappy – unhappy) were used. The Mean (M) was used as the measure of

central tendency. The mean for each attitudinal item was generated for urban and rural groups; it was aggregated for both groups and then compared with the bench mark mean (hypothetical mean). Standard Deviation (SD) was computed to describe the homogeneity of the groups. They were computed using IBM SPPS statistics 14, and a sample of key outputs from the analysis summarized in Appendix 25.

3.5.2.2 Inferential statistics

Inferential statistics were used to estimate the level of satisfaction among urban and rural learners and among urban and rural teachers. A t-test was used to compares the means from the two groups of learners and two groups of teachers. The t-test was more appropriate than chi-square test because it is "the most common statistical procedure for determining the level of significance when two means are compared" (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p. 297). P-values from t-test were generated to determine the levels of significance between the mean scores of the two groups. It was set at an alpha value of 0.05, meaning that $p<0.05$ indicates that the difference between the mean scores of the two groups is statistically significant, while $p>0.05$ indicates that the difference is not statistically significant. The t-tests and p-values were computed using STATA 12 and some of the outputs from the t-tests are summarized in Appendix 25.

3.5.3 Data interpretation

Throughout all the data analysis chapters, quantitative and qualitative findings are analyzed and interpreted concurrently and integratively. Such an integrative analysis collates the quantitative data from learners' and teachers' questionnaires and the qualitative data from individual interviews, focus group discussions and observations. It combines Oppenheim's (1999, p. 63) model of analysis which seeks to produce a detailed question-by-question report on the findings of the study, together with Creswell's (2009, p. 218) thematic analysis, whereby every research question or hypothesis is analysed through salient themes and patterns, backed up with an IPA thick description, which is reflected through extracts from qualitative data. Such an analysis through mixed methods was done through 'abduction' (Barnes, 2012, p.466), which combines

both quantitative deduction and qualitative induction. It has adopted the abductive reasoning "where the researcher moves between the quantitative and qualitative data" (Barnes, 2012, p.466), but integrating the whole within the three theoretical frameworks guiding this study, namely the mentalist approach, the language preference model and the typology for bilingual education. The abductive reasoning is applied to every theme and every category, following the pattern of presentation – analysis – interpretation, where quantitative finding is presented and justified with extracts or vignettes from qualitative findings; then it is analysed in terms of meaning making; and then it is interpreted by comparing it with the literature. This is the pattern which is adopted throughout all the analysis chapters.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Smith *et al.* (2009, p. 53) note that "[e]thical research practice is a dynamic process which needs to be monitored throughout data collection and analysis." Research ethical requirements were adhered to in this study. In fact, this study lies within the context of language-in-education policy, involving both the mother tongue and English as a Second Language (ESL), for which Hafernik, Messerschmitt and Vandrick (2002, p. 5) described ethical issues by stating that they place "explorations of ethics in ESL in a context of seeking social justice for students and for all participants in the educational process".

Ethical considerations in this research study can also be compared to doing social justice to all informants involved in the study. That is why ethical principles such as avoiding doing any harm to participants by talking about sensitive issues; explaining clearly the purpose of the research to participants and getting them sign the informed consent form; anonymity; confidentiality and offering participants the right to withdraw at any time (Smith *et al.*, 2009, p. 53) were observed in this study.

Furthermore, for research studies whose settings are in schools, as it is the case for this study, Scott and Morrison (2006, p. 88) warn that careful attention needs to be paid to various levels of power within the school, in order to gain access to the setting itself and to stakeholders. This

requires negotiations with head-teachers, the school governing body, teachers, students and sometimes parents.

Some of the participants in this study are young learners who are vulnerable because they are under 18. The researcher sought permission from these learners and their teachers, which was granted by signing an informed consent forms. Learners took the signed informed consent forms to their parents for approval of their participation in the research. As for physical and psychological protection of those young learners during data collection, the researcher joined them in their respective schools and classes, which is a safe place.

Participation of learners, teachers and principals was voluntary; they signed informed consent forms as a confirmation of voluntary participation and they could withdraw from participating any time and at stage of the study. One research assistant who helped when the learners were filling in the survey questionnaire also joined on voluntary basis. There was no need for training this research assistant because the only needed assistance was to assist the researcher in checking if the learners were ticking every statement that the researcher was reading out on the survey questionnaire.

To ensure that the anonymity of participants and sample schools is maintained, no name of participants or schools appears in the thesis. Teachers were identified as T1, T2, T3 etc.; learners were identified as L1, L2, L3 etc.; school principals or Headmasters/Headmistresses were identified as HM1, HM2, HM3, etc.; while schools were identified as S1, S2, S3, etc. Informants from different schools were identified as S1T1, S6L2, S5HM5, etc.

All the above-mentioned ethical principles were checked against Wits ethical considerations. Hence, ethics clearance from the Wits School of Education's Ethics Committee was obtained (protocol number: 2012ECE146) before any data collection. A permission letter from the Rwandan Ministry of Education was obtained (see Appendix 1 and 2) and participants' informed consent for participation was obtained before any data collection.

3.7 Reliability and validity

Reliability refers to the extent to which "a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, yields the same results each time" (Babbie, 2010, p. 157) or "the consistency of measurement – the extent to which the results are similar over different forms of the same instrument or occasions of data collection" (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p.183). Cresswell (2009, p.190) indicates that reliability presupposes stability or consistency of responses while Gibbs (2007) states that it shows that the researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and different research projects. Gibbs (2007) suggests a number of procedures for ensuring realibility of findings including checking if transcripts do not contain obvious mistakes stemming from transcription, cross-checking codes developed by different researchers, making sure there is no shift in the meaning of those codes, coordinating communication among coders and sharing analysis in case it is a team research.

In this study, reliability was ensured by piloting the research instruments in two phases, firstly to a group of experts at the University of the Witwatersrand for critique, and secondly to a small sample of subjects who had quite similar characteristics to the respondents in the study. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 202), piloting ensures reliability.

As for validity, Cresswell and Miller (2000) indicate that it refers to trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility. Validity is based on "determining that the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the readers of an account" (Cresswell and Miller, 2000, in Cresswell, 2009, p.191). Cresswell (2009, p.191) suggests using any of the following eight strategies to test validity: triangulation of different data sources, using member checking to determine the accuracy of information, using rich and thick description of the findings, clarifying the bias the researcher brings to the study, spending prolonged time in the field, presenting negative or discrepant information which runs counter to the themes, using peer debriefing to enhance accuracy and using an external auditor to review the whole research project.

In this study, we used triangulation to ensure the validity of findings. Johnson (1992, cited in Mackey and Gass 2005, p. 181) states that "[T]he value of triangulation is that it reduces

observer or interviewer bias and enhances the validity and reliability (accuracy) of information". Mackey and Gass (2005, p. 181) indicates that different types of triangulation have been identified, including "methodological triangulation", i.e. using different measures or research methods to investigate a particular phenomenon; "investigator triangulation", i.e. using several observers or interviewers; and "theoretical triangulation", i.e. using multiple perspectives to analyse and interpret the same set of data, after data collection. In this study, methodological triangulation and theoretical triangulation have ensured the validity of information. Furthermore, rich and thick description of the findings was provided, with sufficient verbatim quotations from the informants.

This study involved young learners who were in grade 3, aged between 8 and 11 and one may wonder if the information provided by grade 3 learners is reliable, since some criticisms seem to warn that conclusions from information provided by young children have to be drawn with caution. In this regard, even if the Save the Children United Kingdom report (SC UK) (2000) seem to mention that young children participating in a research project might not provide sufficient information due to limited understanding of the world around them, especially if they are asked to draw conclusions from policy research, Khan (1999, cited in SC UK, 2000) confirms that "children are capable of expressing their views and perceptions"; and Parry-Williams (1998, cited in SC UK, 2000) cites a Tajik proverb which states that "If you want to know the secrets of the house, ask a child" to confirm their ability to contribute in any research project with more details. This confirmation is supplemented by the study that was conducted by the Department of Psychology at Claremont Graduate University and published in a 2005 issue of "Law and Human Behavior", which indicates that "a child telling the truth will know the various details of a story easily" (Blandon-Gitlin, Pezdek, Rogers and Brodie, 2005).

Another aspect showing that information provided by those young learners is reliable is that this study drew from experiences of other studies which successfully managed to investigate language attitudes among children aged between 10 and 12, even if they were in different grades. Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon (2009), for example, investigated language attitudes among primary grade 5 learners whose age was around 10 years. They used Language Attitudes Questionnaires (LAQ) where each statement in the LAQ was read to the learners, and then their responses were

recorded by a research assistant. Those learners also responded to the rating scale statements used in LAQ, and again their responses were recorded by the research assistant. However, the LAQ in Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon's (2009) study was developed based on the matched-guise test. Similarly, Jardine (2008) examined the language attitudes among the primary school children aged 10 to 11 in the Western Cape in South Africa. She sought and obtained permission from all the parents of the children, their class teacher, as well as the children themselves before administering a questionnaire in class.

My research whose informants include grade 3 learners aged between 8 and 11 drew on some of the strategies adopted in the above-mentioned studies. Learners gathered in their respective classes, the researcher read out each statement on the survey questionnaire in both English and Kinyarwanda to the whole class, then each learner ticked the box of his/her choice at the end of each statement, while the research assistant checked if every learner had responded to the statement, before the researcher moved to the next statement. In focus group discussions, learners were asked simple questions where they described how they felt during those consecutive language-in-education policy shifts. All these aspects indicate that the concern raised by the Save the Children United Kingdom report (SC UK) (2000) above that young children participating in a research project might not provide sufficient information if they are asked a difficult question, was not the case in this attitudinal study.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter three has elaborated on the methodological approach that was adopted in this study. It described the mixed methods design and strategies which were adopted, provided details of the 324 sample population and how they were selected through multistage sampling of clusters. It highlighted all the phases of data collection, from piloting to full scale data collection, how the findings were analyzed and interpreted and how ethical, reliability and validity issues were taken into consideration. The limitations which can be observed in the methodology chapter are the imbalance of the sample size between the learners (n=300) and teachers (n=18) for quantitative data analysis. Clearly, the sample for teachers is too small, and therefore the results need to be interpreted within its inherent limitation of a small sample of the teacher participants. Not only

the imbalance in the teachers – learners sample, but also in quantitative – qualitative samples. The quantitative sample is large (300 learners and 18 teachers), but the qualitative sample is small for learners, i.e. six groups of six learners each, who participated in the focus group discussions. One of the limitations of a sample study is what Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p.56) describe as 'sample integration legitimation' which refers to "the extent to which the relationship between the quantitative and qualitative sampling designs yields quality meta-inferences" (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006, p.57). It can therefore be problematic to make meta-inferences or statistical generalizations by pulling together the inferences from the qualitative and quantitative phases, especially when individuals or groups involved in both the qualitative and quantitative components of a study are not exactly the same (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006, p.57).

However, these limitations were mitigated in this study through what Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) described as 'weakness minimization legitimation' which refers to "The extent to which the weakness from one approach is compensated by the strengths from the other approach" (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006, p.57). In this study, quantitative and qualitative approaches are carefully combined in such a way that the weakness from one approach was compensated by the strengths from the other approach; which led to high quality meta-inferences or conclusions from the mixed methods.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
PART I: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS

4.0 Introduction

In this Chapter 4, the analysis and interpretation follow the mixed methods approach, using specifically Creswell's (2009, p. 210) "Concurrent Embedded Strategy": "QUAN" and "QUAL", whereby quantitative and qualitative data are not analyzed sequentially, but rather integratively, as described in § 3.5 of Chapter 3. Such an analysis through mixed methods has adopted the abductive reasoning "where the researcher moves between the quantitative and qualitative data" (Barnes, 2012, p.466), but integrating the whole within the three theoretical frameworks guiding this study, as described in Chapter 3, namely the mentalist approach, the language preference model and the the typology for bilingual education. Due to the large amount of both quantitative and qualitative data, the analysis and interpretation of results on each of the five hypotheses are presented in one chapter. This means that Chapter 4 includes the analysis of hypothesis (1), which is introduced by the description of the organizing principles for data analysis; the hypothesis (2) is analysed in Chapter 5; Chapter 6 includes the analysis of hypothesis (3); while hypothesis (4) and hypothesis (5) are analysed in Chapter 7. This chapter analyzes specifically the level of satisfaction with the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts among urban and rural school teachers and learners.

4.1 Analysis and interpretation of findings

4.1.1 The organizing principles for data analysis and interpretation

The analysis and interpretation of the findings are guided by the overall argument of the thesis, which is "teachers and learners perceive the shifts from trilingual MoI to English MoI in 2009 and then to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011 as a positive change within the Rwandan endoglossic setting". The overall argument is informed by the five hypotheses that summarize the gap identified in the existing literature, as described in § 1.2.2 of Chapter 1. The five hypotheses are also in congruence with the five research questions that guide this study, as described in § 1.5.1 and § 1.5.2 of Chapter 1, but are worth reminding here for the analysis chapters. Those hypotheses are the following:

(1) Teachers and learners are satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012.
(2) After consecutive shifts, teachers' and learners' preference of MoI favours an endoglossic African language (Kinyarwanda) over an international language (English).
(3) After consecutive shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' actual use of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home is still over-dominated by an African language over an international one.
(4) Teachers' and learners' experiences during the consecutive policy shifts have left them with expectations of balanced bilingualism attainment.
(5) After consecutive policy shifts, teachers and learners perceive that the benefits of shifting to an endoglossic African language outweigh the benefits of the shift to an international language.

As all these 5 hypotheses cannot be analyzed in one chapter, they are distributed in four chapters, which means that each hypothesis was analysed in one chapter, as described in § 4.0 above, except hypothesis 4 and 5 which are both analyzed in Chapter 7. Such distribution allows for a balanced size of chapters and to connect the findings on each hypothesis to each of the three theoretical frameworks guiding this study.

The analysis and interpretation adopts a comparative account. In this regard, the analysis of the findings on each hypothesis presents the attitudes and experiences of the whole group of investigated teachers, and then compares the urban and the rural school teachers. Afterwards, the attitudes and experiences of the whole group of learners are presented, followed by the comparison between urban and rural school learners, together with what influenced those attitudes. The comparison between the teachers and the learners is provided as well at every level of analysis, to highlight any mismatch between the two groups in terms of attitudes and experiences towards the language policy shift. This arrangement of analysis and interpretation is applied to Chapter 4, 5, 6 and 7; while the concluding chapter (i.e. Chapter 8) summarizes the main findings from all the chapters.

4.2 TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS

In this chapter, the analysis and interpretation of the findings on the teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts are arranged according to the chronological order of the two policy shifts. They are analysed and verified at four levels, namely the teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the shift from French or Kinyarwanda to English medium in 2009-2010, the teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the shift from English to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, the teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts and the teachers' and learners' level of appreciation for any Government continuous implementation of the consecutive policy shifts.

4.2.1 Teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the 2008 shift: Shift from French or Kinyarwanda to English medium in 2009-2010

4.2.1.1 Teachers' level of satisfaction with the shift from French or Kinyarwanda to English medium in 2009-2010

The teachers' satisfaction with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 was investigated by asking about their preference and enjoyment with teaching in English in 2009-2010. As the teachers' satisfaction was analysed at three levels, both univariate and bivariate for descriptive statistics were used to analyse the frequency distribution of satisfaction among the whole group and to compare the two groups (urban versus rural), while inferential statistics was used to estimate the level of satisfaction among the two groups of teachers investigated. Figure 4.1 and 4.2 on the next page illustrate the frequency distribution of the teachers' satisfaction as a whole group and among urban and rural school teachers, respectively and Table 4.3 illustrates their level of satisfaction towards the shift to English medium.

Teachers' satisfaction with the shift to English in 2009-2010 (whole group)

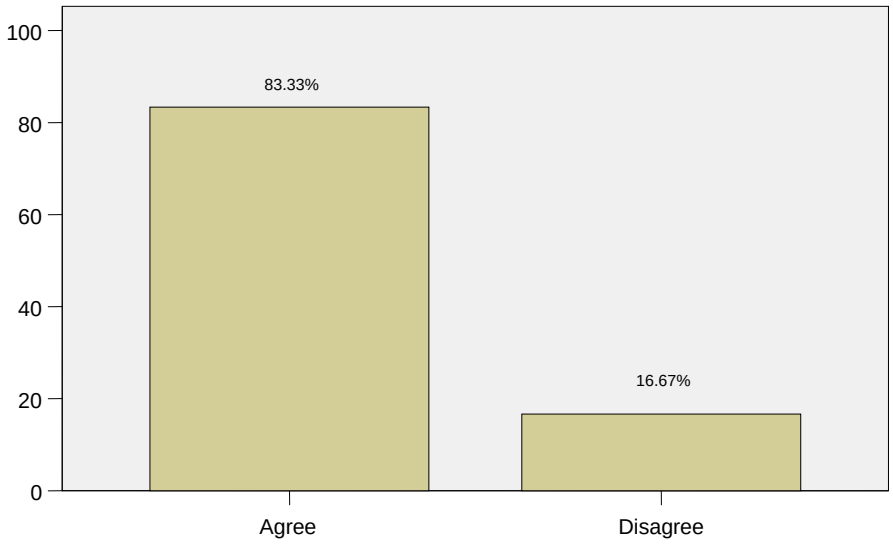


Figure 4.1: Teachers' satisfaction with the shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

Figure 4.1 above shows that for the whole group of the investigated teachers, almost all of them (83.33%) overwhelmingly confirmed that they were satisfied and enjoyed the shift to English MoI in 2009-2010. Only 16.67% are the ones who did not enjoy such a shift to English MoI in 2009-2010.

As for the comparison between urban and rural school teachers, Figure 4.2 on the next page illustrates the frequency distribution of satisfaction among them, through a bivariate analysis for descriptive statistics.

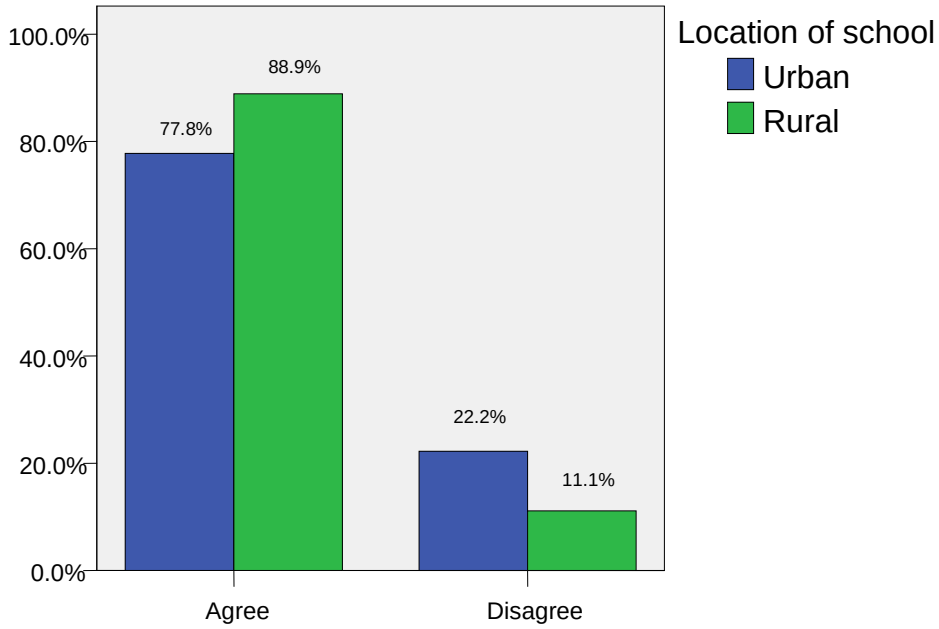


Figure 4.2: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers in terms of their satisfaction with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010

The comparison between urban and rural school teachers illustrated in Figure 4.2 above reveals that both groups overwhelmingly confirmed that they were satisfied with the shift to English MoI in 2009-2010, with 77.8% among urban and 88.9% among rural school teachers. Only 22.2% of urban and 11.1% of rural school teachers investigated did not enjoy the shift to English MoI in 2009-2010. It is evident from these statistics that the majority of teachers, in both urban and rural areas, enjoyed the shift to English medium in 2009-2010.

To find out their level of satisfaction, the central tendency was obtained by computing the Mean (M) for each group and by comparing it with the hypothetical mean or the bench mark mean. The Standard Deviation (SD) was generated as well and then a t-test was used to determine the significance level between the mean scores of the two groups. Table 4.3 on the next page shows a distribution of the teachers' levels of satisfaction across rural and urban contexts:

Null hypothesis (H01)	**Teachers' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Teachers (and learners) did not enjoy the shift to English medium in 2009-2010.	Urban	9	1.22	1.50	0.441	
	Rural	9	1.11	1.50	0.333	
	Whole group	18	1.17	1.50	0.383	0.555

Table 4.3: Level of satisfaction with the shift to English in 2009-2010 among urban and rural school teachers

Table 4.3 above shows urban teachers have a satisfaction level of 1.22 (M=1.22, SD=0.441) while rural teachers had a satisfaction level of 1.11 (M=1.11, SD=0.333), which are below the benchmark mean set at 1.50. When aggregated, the whole group mean is 1.17 (M=1.17) and a standard deviation (SD) of 0.383, which reveals homogeneity of the teachers' level of satisfaction with regard to teaching through the medium of English 2009-2010. Compared to a hypothetical mean of 1.50 for the whole group, the group mean (M=1.17) is far too low and suggestive of high levels of satisfaction among the teachers. This hypothetical mean of 1.50 stems from the two-point Likert scale: 1+2=3:2=1.50 (1 stands for agree or satisfied and 2 stands for disagree or not satisfied). This benchmark mean indicates that scores that are below 1.50 reveal teachers' high level of satisfaction, while scores above 1.50 reveal their lower level of satisfaction. In fact, this research is designed in such a way that the lower the mean, the higher the level of satisfaction and enjoyment. Although there is a slight variance between the mean scores for rural (M=1.11) and urban (M=1.22) teachers' responses, with more satisfaction scored in the rural settings, the t-test result shows that such a difference is not statistically significant (p = 0.555; df=16; p>0.05). Based on this finding, we reject our null hypothesis which predicted lack of satisfaction among the teachers.

In relation to the research question, the quantitative analysis above indicates that the shift towards English medium in 2009-2010 has revealed more positive appraisals among the

teachers, but the rural school teachers showed a higher level of satisfaction than urban school teachers. Then, what can explain such an overwhelming appraisal towards the shift to English medium, among the investigated teachers? Individual interviews with headmasters and focus groups discussions with teachers provided four reasons or justifications for such a high degree of satisfaction, namely English medium is a valued language in Rwanda due to its status in the East African region; both teachers and learners were highly motivated to use English medium; prior experience with French led teachers to prefer English medium; and the Rwandan endoglossic setting as a booster for English preference.

Reason 1: English medium is a valued language in Rwanda due to its status in the East African region

The quantitative findings have revealed a high level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium among teachers. In this regard, teachers and heads of schools explicitly indicated in the interviews that they appraised and welcomed the shift to English in 2009-2010 with open arms. The set of extracts below from the interviews with teachers and principals express how they were enthusiastic with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 due to the value they attribute to English language in the region:

> *We need to teach but at the same time looking at the vision; we have joined the East African Community, where English is predominant*. [Extract 1: S2T5]

> *"They [teachers] were extremely happy, due to the fact that English is the language which is mostly used in daily life, in the East African region, in applying for jobs; they were really excited about it, and now I have the feeling that they are teaching it quite well.* [Extract 2: S1HM1]

> *Teachers were happy about shifting to English, when I compare with their reactions after shifting to Kinyarwanda medium; and the children were highly motivated to study in English.* [Extract 3: S3HM3]

These extracts indicate the reasons why teachers were enthusiastic about the shift to English medium. Such enthusiasm is motivated by the sociolinguistic status of English not only in the East African Community but also worldwide. The motivation for this move was also boosted by the Government of Rwanda, which, in the Cabinet meeting, encouraged all teachers, learners, public servants and even top leaders of the country to learn English so as to enable Rwanda to participate fully in the East African Community and in international communities (MINICAAF, 2008). The enthusiasm with the shift to English also stemed from the dwindling of French status in the Rwanda's diglossia since 2009. Before the 2008 language policy modifications, English and French were considered as "high variety" while Kinyarwanda was considered as a "lower variety" among the three official languages which were stated in the Rwandan Constitution (Niyomugabo, 2008, p.4), if we use the characteristics of the two levels of diglossia as defined by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1980, cited in Baker, 2006, p.70). However, from 2009 onward, this level of diglossia tends to be predominantly between English (high variety) and Kinyarwanda (lower variety), when French status, functions and prestige dwindled as it was no longer used as a medium of instruction in public primary schools.

Reason 2: Both teachers and learners were highly motivated to use English medium

Teachers appraised the shift to English because the learners loved and were motivated to learn through English. The following extracts show how teachers and learners were excited about the shift to English medium:

> *We were extremely happy about shifting to English, even the learners were excited about it because it made us increase English vocabulary; but we were not happy when we shifted to Kinyarwanda*. [Extract 4: S3T7]

> *Teaching in English was exciting on the side of the learners, they were happy about it; but when we shifted to Kinyarwanda, it was difficult for them and they were not happy about it*. [Extract 5: S3T9]

These extracts indicate how the learners' preference and enjoyment with English medium also influenced and boosted the teachers' level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010. It can be observed that the teachers' enthusiasm with teaching in English was influenced by educational reasons, which are in line with the reasons given by South African parents in De Klerk's (2002) study, who preferred to send their children to English schools and not to Xhosa teaching schools for educational and economic reasons. The same reasons are presented in Hornberger and Vaish (2008) and Alexander (2004) who demonstrate how South African parents are highly motivated to choose English as a medium of instruction for their children because they believe that superior resources and academic preparation for their children are provided by English-medium schools. The motivation and excitement towards English, as expressed by teachers in the extracts above, is in alignment with the motivations expressed by South African parents in the above-mentioned studies.

Reason 3: Prior experience with French led teachers to prefer English medium

During the interviews, teachers indicated that they liked the shift to English medium because it is easier to teach in it than in French, as revealed in the following extracts:

> *I liked to teach in English mainly because students liked it and it is very simple to teach in English if we compare with French*. [Extract 6: S2T6]

> *On the learners' side, they were excited about shifting to English, especially because French seemed to be difficult for them*. [Extract 7: S2HM2]

Here, teachers were comparing the medium of two languages in the Rwandan context, namely English and French. However, further research needs to be carried out to find out the underlying difficulties between French and English medium in Rwandan schools, because the interviewed teachers and heads of schools were in three categories in terms of language background. Those categories include teachers and heads of schools who were trained through French only, those who were trained through English only, and those who were trained through both English and French but almost all of them still stated that French seemed to be difficult for learners.

Reason 4: The Rwandan endoglossic setting as a booster for English preference

The interviewed teachers expressed an overwhelming preference of English. However, the observations during the interviews revealed that the majority of teachers, especially those from rural schools, tended to side themselves with S1T1 viewpoint, which stated that:

> *Even if I enjoy teaching in Kinyarwanda … it does not mean that I appreciate it. I want the learners to encounter the challenge of learning in another language … Kinyarwanda is their mother tongue, they know it already, they cannot forget it.*
>
> [Extract 8: S1T1]

This extract shows that despite the fact that the Rwandan endoglossic setting predominantly uses Kinyarwanda, with 99.6% in the rural area against 98.4% in urban area, as drawn from the 2002 national census of Rwanda (MINECOFIN, 2005), the investigated teachers still prefer English. This brings a serious contradiction because only a small proportion of the Rwandan population, that is 14.7% of the Rwandan population aged 15 are literate in English, including 29.9% who are found in urban areas and 11.3% who live in rural areas (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.45). Despite such predominant use of Kinyarwanda among the Rwandan population, the teachers who participated in this study still prefer English medium. These observations motivated us to compare the Rwandan teachers' views with those of teachers from other African endoglossic countries (i.e. countries that have a language which is the mother tongue of the majority of the population), with regard to their attitudes towards English.

It is to be reiterated that Africa has 6 endoglossic countries, namely Burundi with Kirundi, Swaziland with siSwati, Somalia with Somali, Botswana with Setswana, Lesotho with Sesotho and Rwanda with Kinyarwanda (Abdulaziz, 1993, p.80), but the comparison was done between the teachers from three countries, i.e. Botswana, Swaziland and Rwanda. Teachers' attitudes towards English were revealed to be highly positive in Swaziland (Mordaunt, 1991), in Botswana (Arthur, 1997), and now in Rwanda. Swaziland and Botswana were colonized by Great Britain, which indicates that there might be a link between the country's colonial history

and the positive attitudes towards English during the post-colonial period. However, Rwanda was not colonized by Great Britain or another English speaking country, but rather by Germany and Belgium, which are French speaking countries and still, the investigated Rwandan teachers and learners showed an overwhelming preference of English. This insinuates that the positive attitudes towards English, from an African perspective, are not necessarily linked with colonial history; it can rather be linked with the African endoglossic setting, which can be interpreted within Landry et al.'s (1991, cited in Baker, 2006) description of subtractive bilingualism through negative attitudes to the first and second language. But in this case, it tends to be a negative attitude towards a predominant first language, leading to positive attitudes towards English. That is why the medium of African endoglossic languages is less preferred in three endoglossic countries mentioned above.

Thus, these justifications clarify why the majority of teachers indicated that they enjoyed the shift to English medium in 2009-2010. Let us now see if the learners enjoyed the shift to English medium with the same motives as their teachers.

4.2.1.2 Learners' level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium in grade 1 in 2010

With regard to the learners' satisfaction with the shift to English medium in grade 1 in 2010, Figure 4.4 and 4.5 on the following pages illustrate the proportions among the whole group of learners, and between the urban and the rural school learners.

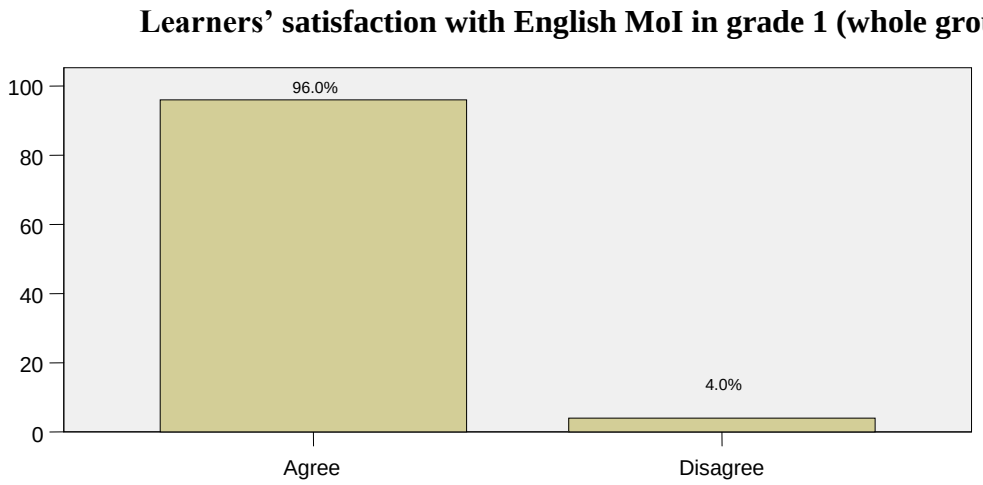


Figure 4.4: Learners' satisfaction with the shift to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010

Figure 4.4 above illustrates the degree of satisfaction among the whole group of learners. It indicates that 96% of 300 learners investigated agreed that they were satisfied with the shift to English medium in grade 1, with only 4% who disagreed. The comparison between urban and rural school learners is illustrated in Figure 4.5 on the next page, with the frequency distribution of rural and urban learners who reported to have enjoyed the shift to English medium.

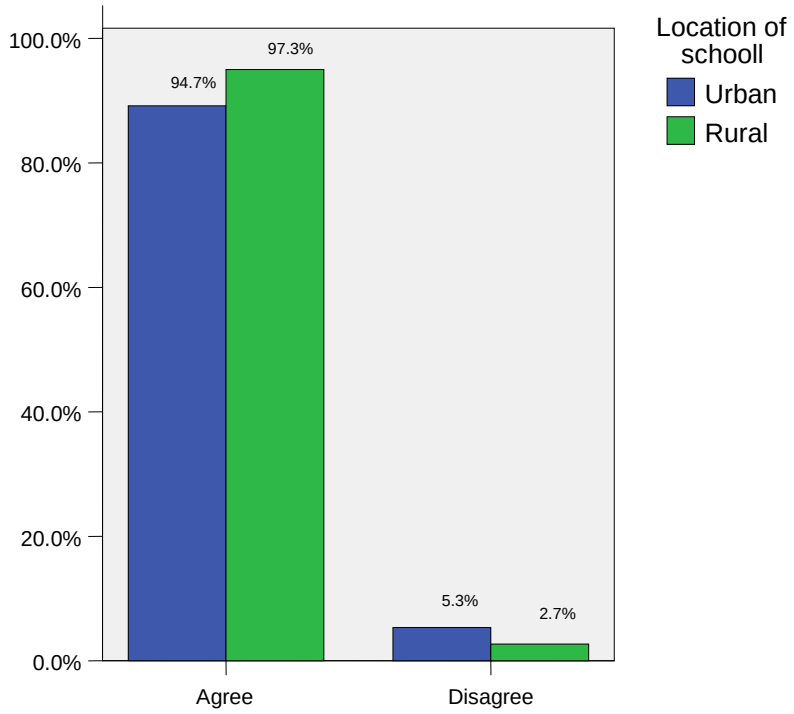


Figure 4.5: Urban and rural school learners' satisfaction with the shift to English medium in grade 1 in 2010

Figure 4.5 above shows that the majority of the learners in rural and urban areas enjoyed the shift towards English as the medium of instruction. The rural learners are slightly ahead of the urban learners with 97.3 % and 94.7%, respectively, of the learners in favour of the language of instruction changes they went through. Overall, the majority of the learners were in favour of the shift towards English.

Regarding their degree of satisfaction, Table 4.6 below provides a summary of the results:

Null hypothesis (H01)	**Learners' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Learners did not enjoy the shift to English medium in 2009-2010.	Urban	150	1.05	1.50	0.225	
	Rural	150	1.03	1.50	0.162	
	Whole	300	1.04	1.50	0.196	0.240

	group					

Table 4.6: Level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium in 2010, among urban and rural school learners

Table 4.6 above shows that urban learners have a satisfaction level of 1.05 (M=1.05, SD=0.225) while rural learners had a satisfaction level of 1.03 (M=1.03, SD=0.162), which are below the hypothetical mean. When aggregated, both groups share a mean of 1.04 (M=1.04; SD=0.196), which is far below the hypothetical mean that was set at 1.50 suggesting that learners have high positive appraisal towards the shift to English medium and their low standard deviation (SD=0.196) suggests that they are a homogenous group. This finding is confirmed by t-test computation that showed that there is no statistically significant difference between the rural and urban learners' levels of satisfaction (p=0.240; df=298; p>0.05). Again, here we are able to reject the null hypothesis which predicted lack of satisfaction from the primary school learners.

It is evident that urban and rural school learners showed an overwhelming positive appraisal towards the shift to English medium, though the rural school learners' level of satisfaction was slightly higher than the one for urban school learners. The reasons that were expressed in the focus group discussions with the learners include the learners' instrumental and integrative motivation which boosted their English preference, learners attribute more value to English than African languages and Rwandan endoglossic setting motivates learners to feel eager for English.

Reason 1: Learners' instrumental and integrative motivation boosted their preference for English medium

During focus group discussions with learners, it could be observed that their overwhelming positive attitudes towards English were boosted by their motivation. The following extracts clarify their motivational orientation in regard with positive attitudes towards English:

> *I want to know English for better future, so that if I become a business investor, I manage to communicate with my clients and other businessmen from other countries*.
> [Extract 9: S6L35]

> *I was happy because I want to know English, so as to be able to communicate with other English language speakers*. [Extract 10: S4L24]

The salient motive which is expressed by learners in the extracts above is mainly to be able to communicate with English language speakers. Such a motive reveals that the learners' satisfaction with English medium was mainly boosted by the prospective utility they attribute to English, which is known as instrumental motivation (Baker, 2006, p.132).

However, the motivation expressed in the extract below shows another type of motivation:

> *English is a very good language. If you learn English, you can go to other English speaking countries and communicate with people*.
> [Extract 11: S5L26]

The learner who expressed this viewpoint seemed to be motivated by prospective integration within the English speaking community, which Baker (2006, p.132) describes as integrative motivation and which, according to Gardner (1985), motivates the learner to learn a language in order to meet, to communicate with and to learn more about the language community. These motivational factors boosted the learners' satisfaction with the shift to English medium in grade 1 in 2010.

Reason 2: Learners attribute more value to English than African languages

In their comparison between their experiences with English and Kinyarwanda medium, the majority of learners interviewed attached more value to English, as revealed in the extracts below.

> *The challenge was that they were bringing back things that we studied in English but I was unable to do them in Kinyarwanda*. [Extract 12: S3L13]

> *I was happy because it helps us to understand lessons in different subjects which are taught in English*. [Extract 13: S5L27]

These extracts confirm that learners felt that they performed or studied better when they were studying in English than when they were studying in Kinyarwanda. Again, the reality is that Kinyarwanda is their mother tongue, which they understand better; English is the foreign language which they hardly understand, but they are so attracted by English that they felt that learning through Kinyarwanda was not helping them master the subject content. That is why they attributed more value to English medium than to their mother tongue. The fact that they started with English medium in grade 1 in 2010 seem to have attracted them so much to the extent that they do not see any disadvantage attributed to starting in L2 submersion, which, as some African scholars like Ngugi (1987), Ogbu (1982), Moumouni (1975) have indicated, inhibits the child's linguistic and cultural values, experience, personality and self-esteem. It is evident that the great value they attributed to English prompted their overwhelming positive attitudes towards the shift to English medium.

Reason 3: Rwandan endoglossic setting motivates learners to feel eager for English

The majority of learners interviewed confirmed that they constantly use Kinyarwanda almost everywhere, and they feel as if they only want to learn through English. The extract below illustrates such a feeling:

> *We were born with Kinyarwanda around us, we only need to learn English so as to know it better*. [Extract 14: S6L34]

This extract describes at the same time the learners' strong desire to learn English and the Rwandan endoglossic setting they live in. In such a Rwandan endoglossic setting, 99.6% of the population in rural areas speak Kinyarwanda but only 11.3% are literate in English; while 98.4% of urban dwellers speak Kinyarwanda and 29.9% are literate in English (MINECOFIN, 2002, 2014). Within such a setting where Kinyarwanda is predominantly used, it sounds as if the more the learners use their endoglossic language; the more they are eager to learn through English. That is why rural school learners exhibited more appraisal towards the shift to English than the urban school learners. However, they all showed an overwhelming positive appraisal towards the

use of English in grade 1 in 2010; which indicated that Ruiz's (1984) typology on language is viewed by Rwandan learners as a resource, and not as a problem or as a right, as it is the case in various societies. Rwandan learners have more eagerness to study through an international language they rarely use in their daily social life; they seem to share the views with the opponents of the UNESCO 1953/1968 recommendations to the mother tongue, who objected it by saying " ...it is useless to teach a mother tongue, since a child already knows it" (Fasold, 1984, p.294). Some of the learners still have such a misconception, to which the UNESCO 1953/1968 committee replied by saying that "children know their mother tongue well enough to serve a child's purposes, but their facility in it needs to be increased" (Fasold, 1984, p.294).

Overall, like their teachers, the participating learners highly confirmed that they enjoyed shifting to English medium in grade 1 in 2010. The next section is about their attitudes towards the shift to their mother tongue (Kinyarwanda).

4.2.2 The teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the 2011 shift: Shift from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012

The following analysis is aimed at eliciting responses on whether the teachers and learners enjoyed a shift from English to Kinyarwanda. I start with the teachers' levels of satisfaction and then report on the learners' responses.

4.2.2.1 The teachers' level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012

The frequency distribution for the teachers' satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 is illustrated in Figure 4.7 on the next page for the whole group and in Figure 4.8 for the comparison between urban and rural school teachers.

Teachers' satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012 (whole group)

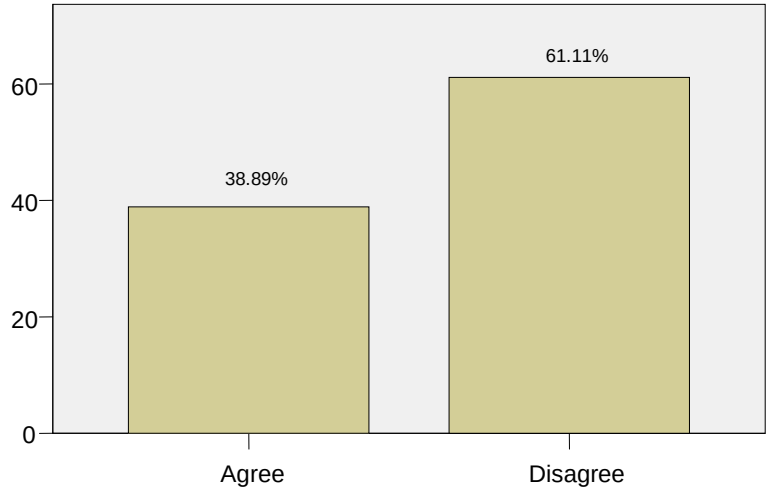


Figure 4.7: Teachers' satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012

From the whole group perspective (Figure 4.7), it is evident that more teachers (i.e. 61.1%) disagreed that they enjoyed the shift to Kinyarwanda medium from English; with only 38.9% who enjoyed the shift. However, the comparison between urban and rural school teachers revealed that the teachers' satisfaction with the shift from English to Kinyarwanda medium varied according to their geographical settings. Figure 4.8 on the next page shows high levels of variation about the teachers.

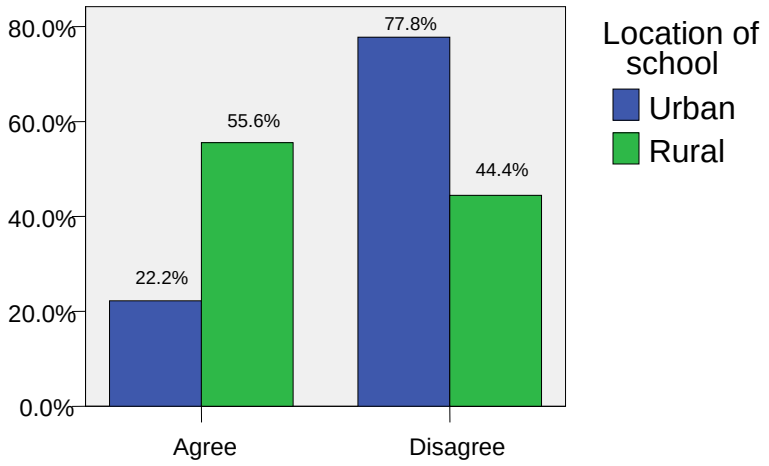


Figure 4.8: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers on their satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012

Figure 4.8 above shows that 77.8% of the urban teachers did not enjoy the shift from English to Kinyarwanda, with only 22.2% showing that they enjoyed the shift. Rural teachers, on the other hand, revealed an opposite trend with about 55.6%, revealing that they enjoyed the shift to Kinyarwanda while 44.4% did not enjoy the shift.

As for their level of satisfaction, there seems to be a direct correlation between the degree of satisfaction and the number of teachers on the satisfaction scale. Table 4.9 below provides a statistical distribution of levels of satisfaction for the shift from English to Kinyarwanda.

Null hypothesis (H02)	**Teachers' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Teachers did not enjoy the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012	Urban	9	1.78	1.50	0.441	
	Rural	9	1.44	1.50	0.527	
	Whole group	18	1.61	1.50	0.502	0.165

Table 4.9: Level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 among urban and rural school teachers

At face value, there is a differential level of satisfaction between urban and rural teachers as shown in the mean scores of 1.78 and 1.44, respectively, in Table 4.9. The mean scores of 1.78 for urban teachers is beyond the calculated hypothetical mean of 1.50, revealing lower level of satisfaction or negative appraisal to the shift; while the score mean of 1.44 for rural teachers is below that hypothetical mean of 1.50, showing a higher level of satisfaction or positive appraisal for the shift to Kinyarwanda. When combined, the aggregated mean score (M=1.61; SD=0.502) is still beyond the benchmark mean of 1.50, showing that the teachers in both rural and urban areas did not enjoy this shift from English to Kinyarwanda. With such a low standard deviation, it is evident that both groups of teachers are a homogenous group. The differences between the mean scores for the two groups of teachers were tested further for significance through t-test. The results show that the differences in the levels of satisfaction between the two groups of teachers are not statistically significant (p=0.165; df=16; p>0.05). Overall, teachers were not satisfied with the shift to Kinyarwanda, which accepts the null hypothesis which predicted lack of satisfaction among the teachers. Compared to the previous shift, the teachers' satisfaction is very low.

The interviews with teachers and heads of schools provided the main reasons for lower level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda among the whole group of teachers. Six reasons were identified, namely, less importance attributed to Kinyarwanda medium, the belief that Kinyarwanda medium tends to inhibit teachers' exposure to English, teachers were not ready to replace English medium with Kinyarwanda medium, teachers seemed unconvinced about the motives behind the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, the Rwandan endoglossic setting resulted in rural teachers valuing Kinyarwanda more than urban school teachers and urban and rural teachers held opposing views about mother tongue versus foreign language myth.

Reason 1: Less importance attributed to Kinyarwanda medium

The participating teachers and headmasters tended to view Kinyarwanda as less important than English in terms of their instrumental motivation, as confirmed in the extracts below:

> *I cannot say that I enjoyed the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, because I feel that teaching in English is the most important.* [Extract 15: S4T11]

> *I didn't like it at all! We need to teach but at the same time looking at the vision; we have joined the East African Community, where English is predominant.*
>
> [Extract 16: S2T5]

These extracts show that teachers were more attracted to English medium than Kinyarwanda, due to high importance they attributed to English. Such importance attributed to English medium has influenced teachers to the extent of not complying with the UNESCO (2003) principle which indicates that it is advisable to use a child's mother tongue as a medium of instruction in lower primary schools, with all the benefits attributed to such an option and Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000) principles for educational models that respect linguistic human rights, including studying through the mother tongue for the first 8 years. It sounds as if the interviewed teachers did not adhere to one of the advantages that pushed the Government of Rwanda to shift back to Kinyarwanda medium, an advantage that states that "It will faciliatate the teaching and learning of English because it would be based on what was taught or learnt in Kinyarwanda" (MINEDUC, 2011) [My translation from Kinyarwanda].

Reason 2: Belief that Kinyarwanda medium tends to inhibit teachers' exposure to English

Convinced that they have sufficient proficiency in their mother tongue, the participating teachers and heads of schools feel that Kinyarwanda medium will limit their exposure and their proficiency in English. The extract below confirms this:

> *What I noticed is that teachers did not enjoy teaching in Kinyarwanda; they only wanted to continue in English, so as to become proficient in it, as they were already proficient in Kinyarwanda, which is an easy language for them.*
>
> [Extract 17: S2HM2]

This extract shows how teachers consider their mother tongue to be familiar, easy and already mastered, which led them to have more desire for English, not only for their learners but also for their own proficiency as well. In fact, the attitude expressed by teachers in the extract above

sounds as if teachers were more attracted by their own proficiency in English than the one for learners; with more desire for English than their mother tongue. They seem to believe that their English proficiency will only be promoted by teaching through the medium of English and tend to accuse the Kinyarwanda predominant milieu that surrounds them of limiting their proficiency in English; and yet recent studies, including Cummins (2000a, 2000b); Baker (2006) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, in Cummins, 2003), convincingly indicate that the level of development of children's mother tongue is a strong predictor of their second language development and that learners who come to school with a solid foundation in their mother tongue develop stronger literacy abilities in the school language. The Rwandan teachers interviewed for this study seem to still hold to the common belief that children who start learning an additional language at an early age are more successful in acquiring that additional language (Asher and Garcia, 1969; Oyama, 1978; Krashen, 1979 and Patkowski, 1980, cited in Singleton, 1989, p.117). This explains why these teachers think that their proficiency in Kinyarwanda could not contribute in improving their proficiency in English.

Reason 3: Teachers were not ready to replace English medium with Kinyarwanda medium

Teachers' lack of readiness for Kinyarwanda medium and eagerness to continue with English medium could be felt in most of their responses, as summarized in the extract below:

> *I was not ready to teach in Kinyarwanda, I was already teaching in English and I wanted to continue with English.* [Extract 18: S2T6]

This extract reveals how teachers were reluctant to replace English medium with Kinyarwanda medium. Here, it is to be clarified that teachers were aware of article 34 of MINEDUC's (2003b) Law n° 29/2003 of 30/08/2003 regulating the functioning of nursery, primary and secondary schools in Rwanda, because they implemented it in the pre-2008 policy. This article states that the language of instruction for lower primary education is Kinyarwanda except for the lessons of foreign languages; but the Ministerial Order could authorise the use of French or English as the medium of instruction at that level of education. The teachers under investigation experienced this policy, and they were informed after the 2011 shift that they were shifting back to the pre-2008 language policy. However, they were so overwhelmed by English medium that they were

not ready to go back to Kinyarwanda. This indicates the power and value that are attributed to English, which Shohamy (2006, p.81) describes as "the world's lingua franca in commerce, academia and technology" and which Baker (2006, p.86) describes as "a global language". It is therefore not surprising that the Rwandan teachers felt reluctant to replace such a valuable language with an African language, like Kinyarwanda.

Reason 4: Teachers seemed unconvinced about the motives behind the shift to Kinyarwanda medium

Most of the interviewed teachers and headmasters were not fully convinced by the justification provided by the Government of Rwanda for the shift from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium. They indicated that they were eager to continue with English and reluctant to shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011; and such eagerness for English was projected to their learners. The extracts below illustrate how teachers were clinging to the English medium:

> *I didn't have any problem with Kinyarwanda because I had been teaching in Kinyarwanda; the problem was to understand how the Government instructed to teach in English and then instruct to change again after one year. Our mind was already set that we were going to master English and then it was taken away again; that was a big challenge.* [Extract 19: S1T2]

> *For learners, it could be noticed that they did not enjoy learning in Kinyarwanda, and it was really hard to convince them.* [Extract 20: S3T8]

In these extracts, it can be observed that teachers are still reluctant to welcome the shift to Kinyarwanda medium. While the Cabinet Paper explained the advantages and benefits of shifting to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011 by quoting UNESCO (1953/1968, p.41) and UNICEF (1999, p.41) recommendations which confirm that learners acquire reading, writing and other basic subjects quickly and efficiently only when they start learning in their mother tongue from the onset of education (MINEDUC, 2011), teachers were still unconvinced about the motives behind such a shift to their mother tongue medium. This still shows their eagerness for English medium.

Reason 5: The Rwandan endoglossic setting resulted in rural teachers valuing Kinyarwanda more than urban school teachers

The interviewed rural school teachers confirmed that they predominantly use Kinyarwanda in all spheres of their lives, while urban school teachers indicated that there are instances where they use other languages. This is likely to be the reason why 55.6% rural teachers were positive towards Kinyarwanda, while 77.8% urban school teachers were negative. The extracts below illustrate the opposing views between rural and urban teachers:

> *I liked the shift to Kinyarwanda medium because I started teaching in the language I master and use most of the time, which made it easy for me to teach children.*
>
> [Extract 21: S4T11 from a rural school]
>
> *I never liked to teach in Kinyarwanda, except teaching it as a subject; otherwise I am pleased by teaching all other lessons in English.*
>
> [Extract 22: S1T1 from an urban school]

These extracts indicate that rural school teachers have more preference for Kinyarwanda medium than urban school teachers. Also, when asked about the language they use most at home during interactions with relatives and when watching television or listening to radio, rural school teachers said that they almost exclusively use Kinyarwanda, while urban school teachers indicated that they often use English, French and Swahili.

These findings show that rural school teachers prefer to use Kinyarwanda more than urban teachers, and such imbalance in language use and preference can be interpreted within the context of slight imbalance in number of speakers of Kinyarwanda and English between urban and rural dwellers. According to the 2002 population sensus, 98.4% and 6.0% of urban dwellers speak Kinyarwanda and English respectively, while 99.6% and 1.1% of rural dwellers speak Kinyarwanda and English respectively (MINECOFIN, 2005, p.42). Even though the 2012

population census notices an increase of Rwandans who are literate in two or three languages, with 7% in both Kinyarwanda and English and about 6% in Kinyarwanda, English and French, the imbalance is still observed, with 4% in rural areas against 13% of people who are literate in Kinyarwanda, English and French in urban areas (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.44). It was also revealed that potentially bilingual people, who speak several other languages like Swahili, Lingala, Luganda, and some others, are mainly found in the Rwandan urban areas (Niyomugabo, 2008; Niyibizi, 2010). The fact that more rural school teachers were more satisfied by the shift to Kinyarwanda than urban school teachers reveals that they were pleased to shift to the language they use most of the time, as indicated in the statistics above.

Niyomugabo (2008) reports non-preference of Kinyarwanda among university students from Kigali Institute of Education in Rwanda, who were urban dwellers. These students seemed to downplay the importance of Kinyarwanda, saying that Kinyarwanda is spoken by almost everybody and everywhere in Rwanda, which tends to be an impediment for the learning and mastery of international languages. They ranked the importance of Kinyarwanda at 4.20%; while other languages like English, French and Kiswahili were ranked at 57.14%, 45.37% and 18.48% respectively (Niyomugabo, 2008). Thus, like these university students, urban school teachers were not pleased with the shift to their mother tongue medium, even if they are from an endoglossic setting.

The above-mentioned examples show that urban dwellers in Rwanda tend to prefer other languages to Kinyarwanda. The findings of this study show that only 22.2% of urban school teachers were pleased by the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, while it is spoken by 98.4% of those urban dwellers (MINECOFIN, 2005). We can interpret their negative attitudes towards their mother within Bamgbose's (1996) and Alexandre's (1972, cited in Heugh, 2002) perspectives. In this regard, we can draw an inference that the Rwandan urban school teachers seem not to pay attention to the concern raised by Bamgbose (1996) to warn about African language policies which neglect the medium of African languages in favour of European languages, including English. This concern is stressed by Alexandre (1972, cited in Heugh, 2002), Phillipson et al. (1986, cited in Rubagumya 1990), Mazrui (1997, cited in Heugh 2002), Tollefson (1991), Phillipson (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and many others. The findings of this study corroborate the view of these scholars because we observed negative attitudes towards

Kinyarwanda among urban teachers. Hence, Alexandre (1972, cited in Heugh, 2002) claims that people in Sub-Saharan Africa use languages other than English, French and Portuguese, but yet they insist that their children study through the medium of international languages, even if it may be at the expense of their home languages. However, the Rwandan rural teachers' positive attitudes towards their mother tongue seem to support Bamgbose's (1996) advocacy for not neglecting African languages in favour of European languages. That is why rural school teachers held positive attitudes towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, while urban school teachers tended to have negative attitudes towards this move.

Reason 6: Urban and rural teachers held opposing views about mother tongue versus foreign language myth

During individual interviews and focus group discussions with teachers and heads of schools, the controversial debate on mother tongue (MT) versus foreign language (FL) education in lower grades ensued. Most rural school teachers and headmasters tended to support Kinyarwanda medium at lower primary level, while most of urban school teachers and headmasters tended to support English. The extracts below highlight these observations:

> *...It could be better for learners to start with Kinyarwanda medium so as to enable them to know it better, especially reading and writing Kinyarwanda.*
>
> [Extract 23: S2T6 from a rural school]

> *The shift to Kinyarwanda medium prevented learners to become more proficient in English; while Kinyarwanda is their native language*.
>
> [Extract 24: S1T2 from an urban school]

The viewpoints expressed in these extracts indicate how urban and rural school teachers tend to have different orientation in terms of mother tongue and foreign language preference. Their viewpoints sound as if urban school teachers believe much in one of Benson's (2003, p.7) 'widely believed myths', which state that students need to start schooling in the L2 as quickly as possible; while most of rural teachers and headmasters seemed to be in congruence with several pedagogical, psycholinguistic, cognitive and socio-cultural advantages attributed to mother

tongue instruction, as supported by Baker (2001, 2006), Cummins (2000a, 2003), Dutcher (2001), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), and Benson (2003). The majority of rural school teachers also seemed to be in agreement with the advantages highlighted in the cabinet paper that motivated the Rwandan Government to shift back to Kinyarwanda including the fact that it facilitates the teaching and learning of English because it would be based on what was taught or learnt in Kinyarwanda; and enabling the achievement of lower primary schools' target, which is to teach children how to read, to write and count in their mother tongue; which will reduce the number of illiterate people rather than increasing it (MINEDUC, 2011). Rural school teachers tended to support these views, while urban school teachers tended to be in opposite direction, supporting to start L2 as fast as possible.

Therefore, the reasons provided above explain why the majority of urban schools teachers confirmed that they were not satisfied with shifting to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, while more rural schools teachers confirmed that they were satisfied by such a shift. The next section is about the learners' attitudes towards the shift to mother tongue medium.

4.2.2.2 Learners' level of satisfaction with the shift from English to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012

The learners' satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012 showed an opposing trend of enjoyment with the shift, as illustrated in Figure 4.10 for the whole group of participating learners and in Figure 4.11 for the comparison between urban and rural school learners:

Learners' satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in grade 2-3 (whole group)

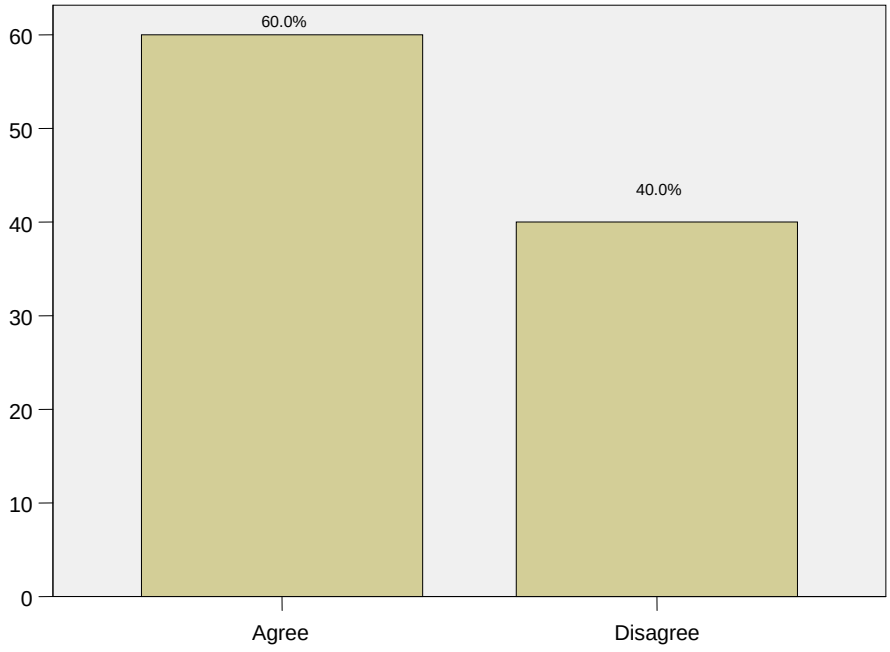


Figure 4.10: The participating learners' satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

The frequency distribution illustrated in Figure 4.10 above revealed that 60% of 300 learners investigated agreed that they enjoyed shifting to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3; while 40% disagreed. Thus, more participating learners reported to have enjoyed with studying in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012.

Similarly, the comparison between urban and rural school learners with regard to their satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in grade 2-3, indicates the same trend of satisfaction as illustrated in Figure 4.11 on the next page:

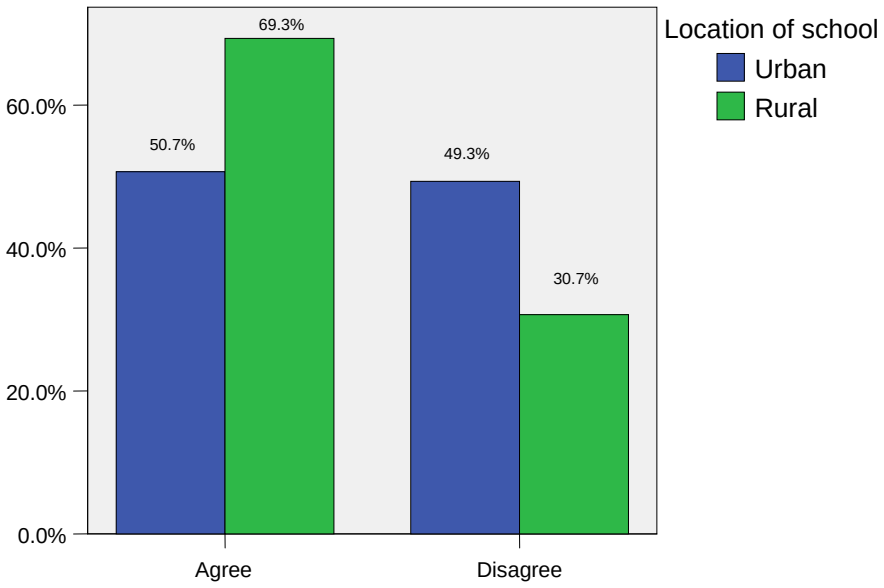


Figure 4.11: Comparison between urban and rural school learners in terms of their satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2-3 in 2011-2012

The frequency distribution in Figure 4.11 above indicates that more learners in both urban and rural schools have enjoyed the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2-3 in 2011-2012, with 50.7% and 69.3%, respectively supporting the shift. Here we observe that rural school learners outnumber the urban school learners in enjoying the shift to Kinyarwanda medium while urban learners are divided on whether they enjoyed the shift or not (i.e. 50.7% against 49.3%). These percentages indicate that more rural school learners have positive appraisal towards Kinyarwanda medium than urban school learners.

Even their level of satisfaction calculated through inferential statistics confirms the findings from frequency distribution above. Table 4.12 on the next page illustrates degrees of satisfaction:

Null hypothesis (H02)	**Learners' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Learners did not enjoy the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012	Urban	150	1.49	1.50	0.502	
	Rural	150	1.31	1.50	0.463	
	Whole group	300	1.40	1.50	0.491	0.001

Table 4.12: Level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 among urban and rural school learners

This table shows that urban learners have a lower level of satisfaction (M=1.49; SD=0.509) compared to their rural counter parts (M=1.31; SD=0.463). Also, the rural learners show less variation within themselves (SD=0.463) compared to the urban learners (SD=0.502). The aggregate mean for both groups show high levels of satisfaction (M=1.40) measured against the hypothetical mean of 1.50. A t-test reveals that the differences between levels of satisfaction between rural and urban learners is statistically significant (p=0.001; df=298; p<0.05). This means that both urban and rural learners enjoyed the shift, but rural learners appraised it more than urban learners. The positive appraisals in both groups reject the null hypothesis which predicted lack of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda; which confirms that both urban and rural learners were satisfied with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium. However, the fact that there is more appraisal of Kinyarwanda in the rural areas seems to contrast more studies on attitudes towards African languages, which are rated negatively, irrespective of rural-urban divide (e.g. Baker, 2006).

A qualitative analysis of data, specifically data from focus group discussions with the learners, revealed the reasons behind such a high positive appraisal towards the shift to Kinyarwanda among rural school learners, and a moderate positive appraisal among urban school learners. The reasons include the following: learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium as it came after their exposure to English medium, rural and urban school learners held opposing views

about their levels of proficiency in Kinyarwanda, rural school learners felt more comfortable with Kinyarwanda medium than the urban ones and qualified teachers in terms of Kinyarwanda or English proficiency seemed to influence the learners' level of satisfaction.

Reason 1: Learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium as it came after their exposure to English medium

When asked about the advantage they attributed to the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2-3 after studying through English medium in grade 1, almost all interviewed learners indicated that they enjoyed it because it came after English, which helped them to know both English and Kinyarwanda. The extracts below express this viewpoint:

> *I was satisfied a lot because I managed to know how to speak and write both English and Kinyarwanda*. [Extract 25: S1L3]

> *I was satisfied a lot because I now know both English and Kinyarwanda; I can differentiate them*. [Extract 26: S1L6]

These extracts above show that learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda as it came after their experience with English medium, which gave them an opportunity to be proficient in both English and Kinyarwanda. This viewpoint implies that learners under investigation in this study have high aspirations for balanced bilingualism or ambilingualism or equilingualism (Baker, 2006, p.9) between English and Kinyarwanda. Their aspirations are founded because "research findings largely suggest that bilinguals are superior to monolinguals on divergent thinking tests" (Baker, 2006, p.153). Similarly, Cummins (1977, cited in Baker, 2006, p.154) says that "once children have obtained a certain level of competence in their second language, positive cognitive consequences can result". The participating learners' positive attitudes towards the alternation of English and Kinyarwanda medium were as if they were aware of those advantages offered by bilingualism.

Reason 2: Rural and urban school learners held opposing views about their levels of proficiency in Kinyarwanda

When they were asked whether they understood better when learning in English or in Kinyarwanda, the participating learners expressed different views. The majority of urban learners indicated that they understood better in English while most rural school learners indicated that they understood better in Kinyarwanda, as expressed in the extracts below:

> *I could understand perfectly what the teacher was saying in Kinyarwanda*.
> [Extract 27: S2L12] from a rural school.

> *We could hardly understand the subjects in Kinyarwanda*.
> [Extract 28: the whole group of S5] from an urban school.

As the extracts indicate, while rural school learners could understand the content taught in their mother tongue, it was not the case among their counter-parts in urban schools. Like their teachers, rural school learners tended to over-value Kinyarwanda which they claimed to understand better while urban school learners tended to value it moderately. Thus, rural school learners tend to align with Spolsky's (1986, p.12) positive attribute of mother tongue education, which confirms that it gives greater access to education and personal development. They also tend to agree with MINEDUC's (2011) support of Kinyarwanda, which states that teaching lower graders in their mother tongue facilitates the teaching and learning of English because it would be based on what was taught or learnt in Kinyarwanda. However, urban school learners, almost like their teachers, tended to believe in what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.575) refers to as key fallacies in education, which state that "the earlier English is introduced, the better the results" or "the more English is taught, the better the results". We can say that the rural school learners' positive attitudes towards their mother tongue tend to support the criticism put forward by Heugh (2002, p.454) that "prominent educators and language planners on the continent have reiterated their conviction that educational failure on the continent is linked to the system where the home languages of the learners are seldom maintained beyond the early years of school if

they are used at all", but urban school learners' attitudes tend not to support it. This explains why rural school learners enjoyed the shift to Kinyarwanda more than urban school learners.

Reason 3: Rural school learners felt more comfortable with Kinyarwanda medium than the urban ones

When they were asked to say if it was easy for them to study in Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012 after using English medium in 2010, more rural school learners indicated that they found it easy with Kinyarwanda medium, while more urban school learners indicated that they found it difficult with Kinyarwanda medium. The extracts below indicate these opposing views:

> *I could not understand subjects taught in Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 29: S1L5 from an urban school]

> *I found it difficult to study in Kinyarwanda because I was already acquainted with studying in English*. [Extract 30: S4L24 from another urban school]

> *I could understand perfectly what we were taught in Kinyarwanda and I was happy about it.* [Extract 31: S2L8 from a rural school]

As expressed in the extracts above, rural schools learners could easily understand lessons taught through Kinyarwanda medium after the 2011 shift, which was not the case with urban learners. Clearly, there is a close link between the urban school learners' difficulties in coping with the Kinyarwanda medium and Benson's (2003, p.7) ''widely believed myth'' that "local language cannot express modern concepts". Perhaps they believed that the content and concepts that they learnt in English in grade 1 could not be expressed clearly in Kinyarwanda medium, which made it difficult for them to understand subjects taught in Kinyarwanda.

Reason 4: The Rwandan endoglossic setting caused rural learners to respond more positively to Kinyarwanda than urban school learners

It was observed that a more positive response towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium among rural school learners was in line with their teachers', while more negative responses were

expressed by urban school learners and their teachers. Again, the nature of the Rwandan endoglossic setting is likely to be among the reasons, as the percentage of speakers of Kinyarwanda in rural areas slightly outnumbers the percentage of speakers of Kinyarwanda in urban areas, with 99.6% against 98.4% (MINECOFIN, 2005). Similarly, the fact that urban dwellers outnumber rural dwellers in being bilinguals or trilinguals can be the reason why urban school learners had a negative response towards Kinyarwanda medium. Perhaps some of those urban learners identified themselves with some other languages rather than Kinyarwanda, because the 2012 census shows that trilingual people who are literate in Kinyarwanda, English and French are 13% in urban areas, while they are 4% in rural areas (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.44).

Reason 5: Qualified teachers in terms of Kinyarwanda or English proficiency seemed to influence the learners' level of satisfaction

Even if all the interviewed teachers had the required qualifications, classroom observations revealed that they are at different levels in terms of proficiency in English and Kinyarwanda. It was observed that the majority of rural school teachers were struggling with English, and frequently code-switched to Kinyarwanda; which was not common among urban school teachers. Although the Rwandan Ministry of Education announced a large increase of the number of qualified teachers at primary school level, where it rose to 99% in 2008 (MINEDUC, 2008), the same Ministry acknowledged that some teachers had not reached the required proficiency in English (MINEDUC, 2009). It is estimated that the greater number of those teachers who are not proficient in English are found in rural areas, but they have a good command of Kinyarwanda. They may therefore influence the learners towards a positive appraisal of Kinyarwanda; and this is what Ndabaga's (2004, p.111) findings on Kinyarwanda preference among learners confirmed when he stated that "children imitate their teachers in the process of learning. So the correct and professional use of L1 would help the children imitate the right way of speaking the language and consequently improve their personality".

Thus, unlike the teachers, a great number of rural school learners confirmed that they were satisfied with shifting to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, while more than half of urban school learners confirmed that they were satisfied with such a shift. The next section focuses on the teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the two consecutive language policy shifts.

4.2.3 The teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the two consecutive language policy shifts

The following section reports on attitudes towards the two consecutive shifts, beginning with the teachers and followed by the learners.

4.2.3.1 Teachers' level of satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts

The teachers had to rate if they were satisfied with the shift in policies. Frequency distribution of the number of teachers who were either satisfied or dissatisfied with the two consecutive policy shifts is illustrated in Figure 4.13 for the whole group of teachers, and in Figure 4.14 for the comparison between rural and urban school teachers. Their satisfaction was rated on the scale of happy, unhappy, and neither happy nor unhappy as shown below:

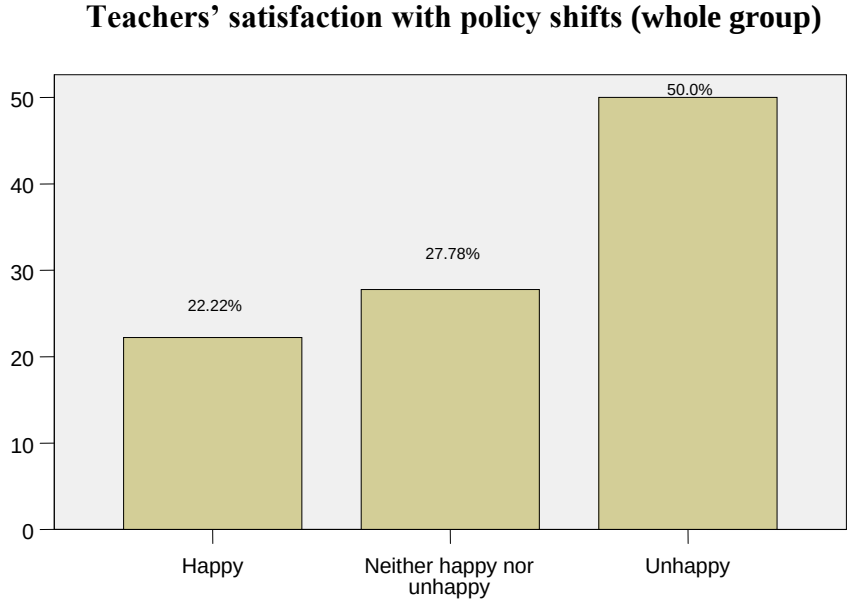


Figure 4.13: The participating teachers' satisfaction with the two consecutive policy shifts

The frequency distribution in Figure 4.13 for the whole group of teachers investigated, indicates that half of the teachers (50%) were dissatisfied with the consecutive policy shifts, with another big number of teachers (i.e. 27.78%) who chose a neutral side by indicating that they were neither happy nor unhappy about the policy shifts. Only 22.22% of teachers investigated were happy with the consecutive policy shifts. These statistics indicate that half of the Rwandan lower

primary school teachers investigated were dissatisfied with the consecutive language policy shifts which were effected in the Rwandan language-in-education policy in 2008 and in 2011.

Similarly, the comparison between urban and rural schools teachers in Figure 4.14 below highlights the same trend:

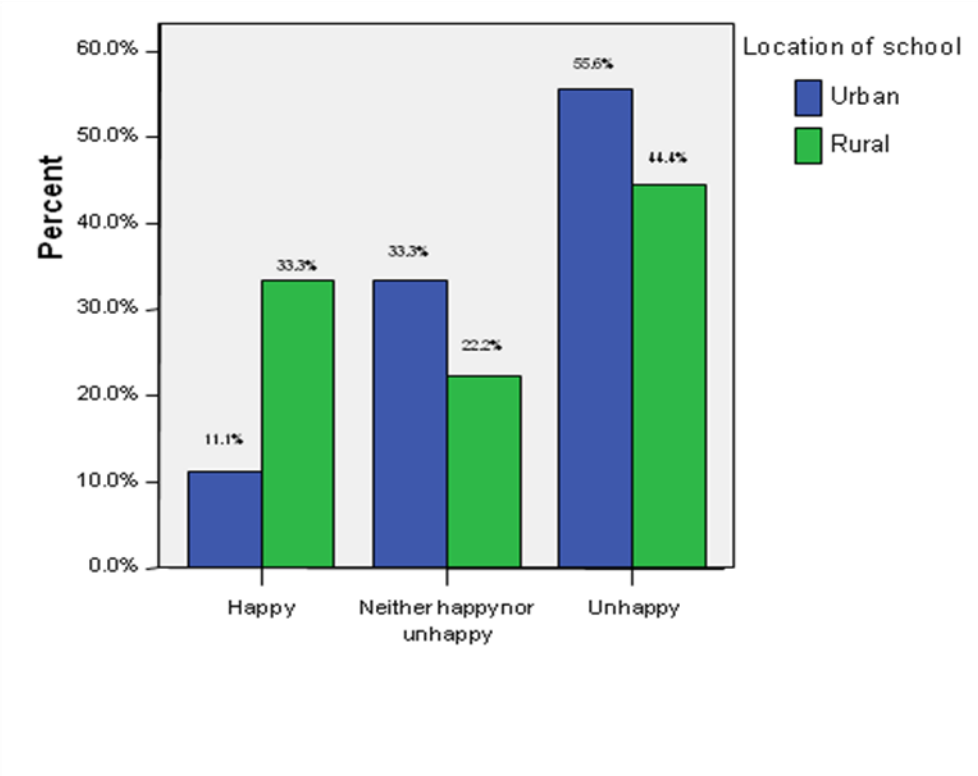


Figure 4.14: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers in terms of their satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts

The majority of unhappy teachers are from the urban areas with 56.6%, followed by the rural teachers totalling 44.4%. Only about 33.3% of rural teachers and 11.1% teachers recorded happiness. Teachers who were neither happy nor unhappy about the policy shifts were 33.3% in urban schools and 22.2% in rural schools. Altogether, it appears that the majority of the teachers were unhappy with the two consecutive language policy shifts.

As for the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction among the urban and rural school teachers, Table 4.15 on the next page summarizes the central tendencies and significance levels. Here, the calculated hypothetical mean is 2 (M=2), stemming from a three point Likert scale: happy (1) – neither happy nor unhappy (2) – unhappy (3). Thus 1+2+3=6:3=2 (M=2).

Null hypothesis (H03)	**Teachers' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Teachers were not satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012	Urban	9	2.44	2	0.726	
	Rural	9	2.11	2	0.928	
	Whole group	18	2.28	2	0.826	0.409

Table 4.15: Level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction on two consecutive policy shifts among urban and rural school teachers

Table 4.15 shows that the level of satisfaction for the urban teachers is far too low (M=2.44, SD=0.726) compared to the rural teachers (M=2.11; SD=0.928). On aggregated level, the mean for the two groups of teachers is still relatively low (M=2.28; SD=0.826). Because all these means fall way above the bench mark mean of 2, the level of satisfaction is very low among all the teachers. As for variation within each group, both groups appear to be homogeneous in their responses. A further test of statistical difference between the two groups through t-test reveals that the differences between rural and urban teachers is not statistically significant at an alpha value of 0.05 ($p = 0.409$; df=16; $p > 0.05$). Therefore, the teachers' levels of satisfaction between both groups are very low, which accept the null hypothesis that predicts that teachers were not satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012.

Then, what are the reasons for such dissatisfaction or negative attitudes towards the two consecutive policy shifts among teachers? Information collected from focus group discussions with the teachers, the individual interviews with the heads of schools, and classroom observations provided five possible reasons, namely, abrupt shift from French MoI to English

MoI and then to Kinyarwanda MoI, short interval between the two consecutive shifts, the speed in the implementation of the two consecutive policy shifts, irregularity in consulting the actual language policy implementers and disguised resistance to adopting the second shift.

Reason 1: Abrupt shift from French MoI to English MoI and then to Kinyarwanda MoI

The interviewed teachers expressed dissatisfaction towards the two consecutive language policy shifts in general, and this was particularly the case for those who were from francophone schools. Extracts below explain such abrupt shifts:

> *The language policy change which occurred in 2009 came abruptly; all the teachers who did not know English, that is, those who came from the Francophone system had to abide to the law. We, as teachers, accepted to follow it, and with commitment and good will, we progressively got used to it, but it was very hard. Then when we switched to Kinyarwanda in 2011, we found that learners were already acquainted with English.*
>
> [Extract 32: S1T1]
>
> W*hen we started teaching in English in 2009, it came as an impromptu programme; I personally have undergone training in French and Kinyarwanda; I did not have any proficiency in English; which means that I had nothing worth to teach to the children due to lack of proficiency in English. But when we shifted to Kinyarwanda again, it was helpful for me because Kinyarwanda is the language I master*.
>
> [Extract 33: S4T10]

These extracts show that teachers with a French background perceived the shifts as impromptu programmes, which were effected while some were proficient in the adopted languages while others were not. In fact, the teachers were acquainted with the trilingual medium before 2008, whereby every school chose either Kinyarwanda medium or English or French or a combination of two MoI; and most of the teachers were trained mainly in French at secondary and university levels (MINICAAF, 2008). That is why the shift to "English-only medium" on 8th October 2008, and the shift again to Kinyarwanda medium on 11th February 2011 seem to have created frustration in some teachers, leading to dissatisfaction for some.

Reason 2: Short interval between the two consecutive shifts

The interviewed teachers and heads of schools were of the view that the two shifts were effected within a very short period of time. This is shown in the extracts below:

> *In 2009, the change came abruptly; teachers strived to adapt to the new situation; then when they were already acquainted with the situation, it changed again. That was a problem, and my wish was to continue with English at all levels, without switching to Kinyarwanda medium*.
>
> [Extract 34: S1T2]

> *On the side of teachers, a number of problems were encountered in relation with the teachings aids, all the textbooks we were using were translated from Kinyarwanda into English; and most of us did not study in English. We were therefore unable to express ourselves in English fluently, even if we understood it. You understand that a teacher who was not proficient in English had to undergo training. Then after one year, the same teacher was told to go back to Kinyarwanda. As the textbooks were already in English, the teacher was mixed up with the two languages, which made it difficult for him/her to help the young learners distinguish the content from the two languages*.
>
> [Extract 35: S1HM1]

The extracts above describe how the two shifts were implemented within a short period, creating a number of challenges for teachers. While literature on language policy shifts indicates that it normally takes 5 to 10 years and even more to change language-in-education policies, the two shifts which were effected in Rwanda were done within a period of 2 and a half years (8th October 2008 and 11th February 2011). The Rwandan Government provided good and convincing motives for such shifts, like regional and international economic and socio-political integration (MINICAAF, 2008; Niyibizi, 2010) as well as emphasizing the recommendations of UNESCO (1953/1968) and UNICEF (1999, cited in MINEDUC, 2011). However, the two consecutive shifts in the Rwandan language-in-education policy still sound unique and unfamiliar, or one of the shortest consecutive shifts in educational trends worldwide.

Reason 3: The speed in the implementation of the two consecutive policy shifts

Teachers and headmasters expressed a concern that they were not given enough time to prepare for the shifts, as illustrated in the extracts below:

> *When our school got informed to shift from English to Kinyarwanda, we were already at the end of the first term. Therefore, convincing the teachers to start teaching in Kinyarwanda with the second term, it was a problem; they did not welcome the idea at first, but after receiving explanations from the Government, they welcomed the decision.* [Extract 36: S3HM3]

In this extract, teachers seem to complain that enough preparations were not done before the shifts. However, despite the views expressed by the Rwandan teachers that the 2008 policy shift was implemented abruptly, MINEDUC (2008) explained that it was to be implemented in phases, allowing schools to progressively shift from trilingual medium to English only. Such a progressive shift was scheduled to be implemented from 2009 up to 2011 where the teachers were expected to be proficient enough in English. As for the 2011 language policy shift, it was adopted with immediate effect, i.e. immediately after its publication in the official gazette (MINEDUC, 2011). Such an immediate implementation for the 2011 policy shift can apply to criticisms that were made by a number of scholars, including Jernudd (1975), Bamgbose (1999), Alexander (1992, 1999) and others who criticize the practice in developing countries, where decisions and decrees on language policy are in most cases implemented "with immediate effect". Such a speed in policy changes can therefore be among the causes of dissatisfaction among teachers; but it seemed as if the Government of Rwanda found it unnecessary to implement the 2011 shift in phases as it was the case for the 2008 shift, because it was drawing back to MINEDUC's (2003b) Law n° 29/2003 of 30/08/2003 establishing the functioning of nursery, primary and secondary schools in Rwanda, which happened to be implemented in the Rwandan education system before 2008.

Reason 4: Irregularity in consulting the actual language policy implementers

The teachers who participated in the study seemed to be unaware of any prior consultation with the teachers before the adoption of the 2011 policy shift. Such a viewpoint is insinuated in the extract below:

> *... The Government thinks and plans for us, we do not think for the Government; and it did not call upon the experienced teachers who have been teaching for a long time to come and help in setting up the programme.*
>
> [Extract 37: S1T1]

This extract shows that teachers trust the policy planning done by the Government, but at the same time raise a concern of not consulting teachers with long experience in the career. If this is the case, it might have contributed to their dissatisfaction within such consecutive shifts, because it aligns with Corson's (1990, p.57) criticism that the teachers, who are the real implementers of the language-in-education policy, are most of the time not consulted during policy formulation. They are rather presented with decisions "as faits accomplis for translation into action within their own settings" (Corson, 1990, p.57). The Rwandan teachers were consulted during the 2008 policy shift, as confirmed in the interviews with officials (Niyibizi, 2010), but it seemed not to be the case for the 2011 shift, as indicated by the participating teachers and the motive is likely to be the one mentioned in reason 3 where the Government of Rwanda found it unnecessary to consult the teachers again, because it was returning to the law that was in force in the pre-2008 language policy. Such lack of consultation may compromise the advice by Bamgbose (1999, p. 26) for an effective implementation of language policy, which states that "grassroots involvement and private initiatives in language development must be encouraged". It may also compromise with Jernudd's (1975, p. 296) suggestion, emphasized by Alexander (1992, p. 145), stating that "in order for an official language decision to be of benefit to a nation, people would have to feel uniform solidarity with such a decision. This means that only the government (if representative) would have the rights to enforce or would act to reap all benefits of such a decision…" All these suggestions encourage the participation of the whole population in the whole process of any language policy modification.

Reason 5: Disguised resistance to adopt the second shift

Interviews with heads of schools and teachers revealed that some schools, especially the private schools, did not opt for the second shift, i.e. the shift to Kinyarwanda medium. This was explained by the headmaster of one private school (S6HM6), who described that his school was already implementing the 'English-only medium' policy so well that there was resistance from parents, teachers and the school administration when the shift to Kinyarwanda was announced in 2011. He indicated that parents threatened him in the school meeting, saying:

> *If your school also shifts to Kinyarwanda medium, we are going to take our children out of this school and send them to other schools*.
>
> [Extract 38: S6HM6]

This extract describes a threat made by parents as an indirect resistance to the 2011 policy, showing that they did not want their children to be taught in their mother tongue. Such negative attitudes held by Rwandan parents towards their mother tongue is not far different from the South African parents as reported in Mutasa (1999), De Klerk (2002) and Alexander (2004) where South African parents prefer English as a medium of instruction for their children to African languages. In addition, the fact that some schools resisted to implement the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011, like the above-mentioned private school, indicates that the Government suggested the shift to Kinyarwanda but did not impose it in all schools, as they still have options in its implementation. This shows that the Government of Rwanda views languages as resource, but not as a threat or as a problem, according to Ruiz's (1984) typology, because it lets schools with the freedom to adopt the suggested policy or to keep their own school language policy.

Thus, all these five reasons contribute to explaining why half of the investigated teachers (i.e. 50%) were dissatisfied by the two consecutive policy shifts. The next section describes the learners' satisfaction with these two consecutive policy shifts.

4.2.3.2 Learners' level of satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts

Unlike teachers, the learners investigated revealed satisfaction with the consecutive shifts to English and to Kinyarwanda medium. The frequency distribution of the number of learners who were happy, unhappy and neither happy nor unhappy is in Figure 4.16 for the whole group of learners, and in Figure 4.17 for both urban and rural school learners.

Learners' satisfaction with the shift to English and to Kinyarwanda MoI (whole group)

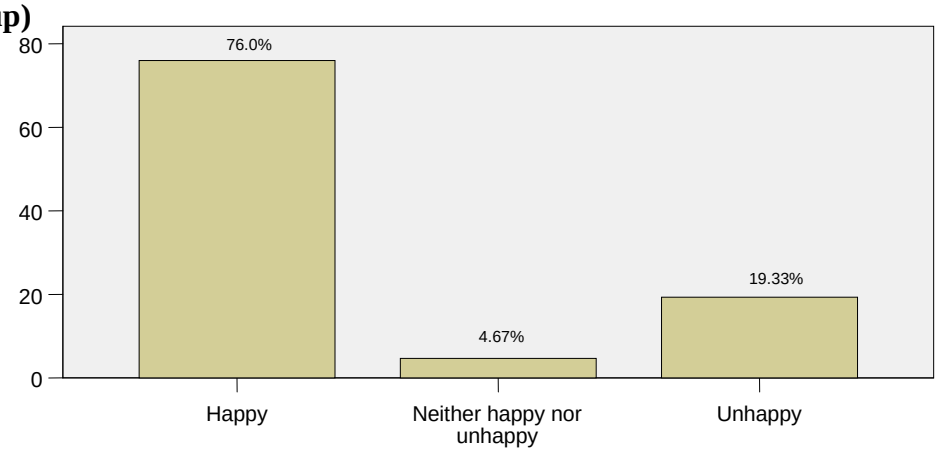


Figure 4.16: Learners' satisfaction with the two consecutive policy shifts

Taken as a whole group in Figure 4.16 above, 76% of the 300 learners investigated rated their satisfaction as happy, only 19.33% were unhappy or dissatisfied while 4.67% were neutral. These percentages show that a high proportion of learners were satisfied by the two consecutive policy shifts.

Similarly, the comparison between urban and rural schools learners in Figure 4.17 on the next page still confirms high proportion of satisfaction among the two groups:

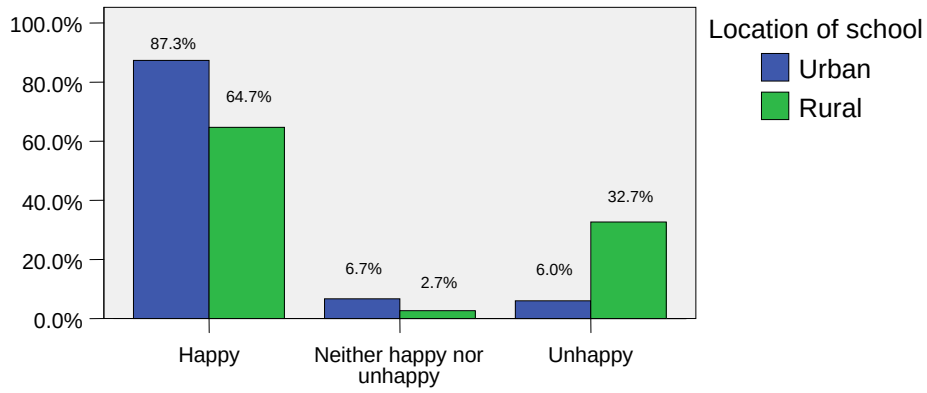


Figure 4.17: Comparison between urban and rural school learners in terms of their satisfaction with the two consecutive language policy shifts

As illustrated in Figure 4.17 above, a high proportion of the learners show that the majority of the learners were satisfied with the two consecutive policy shifts. There is 87.3% and 64.7% of the learners, respectively, in the category of happy and only 6% urban against 32.7% rural in the category of unhappy. Those who were unsure make up only 6.7% and 2.7%, respectively. Unlike the teachers as reported above, it is evident that a great number of learners were satisfied with the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium of instruction policies.

As for the learners' level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction, the inferential statistics highlights it in Table 4.18 below, by comparing the mean and the standard deviation among the two groups:

Null hypothesis (H03)	**Learners' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Learners were not satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2010 and shift again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012	Urban	150	1.19	2	0.523	
	Rural	150	1.68	2	0.936	
	Whole group	300	1.43	2	0.796	0.001

Table 4.18: Level of satisfaction / dissatisfaction among urban and rural school learners with shift to English medium (2010) and to Kinyarwanda MoI (2011-2012)

The comparison of the mean indicates that the level of satisfaction for urban school learners was higher than the one for rural school learners (M=1.19 versus M=1.68). The aggregated mean of both groups still shows a high level of satisfaction when measured against the hypothetical mean of 2 (M=2). Equally, variation within each of the two groups of learners shows that they are relatively homogenous groups. A further t-test analysis confirmed that there are statistical significant differences between the rural and urban learners when it comes to their levels of satisfaction (p=0.001; df=298; p<0.05). Because both groups met a minimum threshold of satisfaction, we reject the null hypothesis which predicted lack of satisfaction. Overall, the learners are highly satisfied with the two consecutive shifts irrespective of their contexts of experiencing the shifts.

From this high level of satisfaction or positive attitudes on the part of the learners, two reasons were drawn from the focus group discussion with them, and these are the learners' optimism towards the success of the shifts, and the absence of pressure imposed on learners by the consecutive policy shifts.

Reason 1: Learners' optimism towards the success of the two shifts

In the focus group discussions, the learners expressed optimism towards the two consecutive shifts by emphasizing the benefits they attribute to the successive exposure to English and Kinyarwanda medium. The extracts below highlight the optimism and perceived benefits:

> *It facilitated to know both languages, English and Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 39: S1L1]

> *I managed to understand everything in the two languages*.
>
> [Extract 40: S1L4]

> W*e like to know both English and Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 41: Almost all the 36 learners interviewed expressed this benefit]

These extracts show that learners perceived the two consecutive policy shifts to be advantageous because they contributed in improving their proficiency in both English and Kinyarwanda, which they considered as the success of the shifts. In this regard, while Ager (2001, p.5) and Spolsky (2004, p.223) distribute students' views on language policy into the optimists who believe that language management is possible and pessimists who think that a language cannot be controlled; such optimism can be linked with students' satisfaction while pessimism can be linked with their dissatisfaction in this study. Even if Spolsky (2004, p.223) indicates that most of the records tend to support the pessimists side due to several striking failures rather than attainment of the intended results in the language policy implementation in various countries, the Rwandan children investigated are on the optimistic side. Therefore, unlike their teachers, learners were enthusiastic about the consecutive exposure to English and Kinyarwanda.

Reason 2: No pressure imposed on learners by the consecutive policy shifts

During the focus group discussions, the majority of learners continued to highlight the advantages they attributed to the two consecutive policy shifts and made it clear that they could not see any disadvantage related to consecutive exposure to English and Kinyarwanda. Only a few urban school learners indicated that they encountered difficulties when they shifted to Kinyarwanda medium. But many others explained how the shifts facilitated their learning, as expressed in the extracts below:

It was easy to learn all subjects in English in grade 1.

[Extract 42: S1L3]

I could understand perfectly what the teacher was saying in Kinyarwanda.

[Extract 43: S2L7]

These extracts indicate that the Rwandan learners did not feel any immense pressure from the shift from French to English in 2009-2010, and from English to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012, as they could easily understand the content that was provided in the adopted language after the language policy shifts. Such an experience among the Rwandan learners is different from what the Hong Kong students experienced after language policy shift (Poon, 2004, p.56). Even if Poon's (2004) investigation was done among adult students (Secondary 1), they indicated that the shift from Chinese medium, which they experienced, posed immense pressure on students

when they suddenly had to cope with subjects delivered in English, while they had previously been delivered in Chinese. Despite the difference of age for both learners who participated in Poon's (2004) study and those who participated in this study, it is clear that the pressure which was imposed by the language policy shift was different. In this study, the observations done at school also indicated that learners were so much attracted by bilingualism that they were code-switching sporadically in the classroom and in the school playground. That is likely to be the reason why they did not feel any pressure when they started with English medium in grade 1 in 2010 and then shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 in 2011-2012.

Thus, the learners' exhibition of positive attitudes towards such consecutive policy shifts confirms that they were satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. The next section describes if they could appreciate and support the Government if ever it decides to bring back any consecutive policy shifts.

4.2.4 Teachers' and learners' appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts

To cross-check the teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the two consecutive language policy shifts, they were asked to indicate whether they will support the Government if it brings back the two consecutive language policy shifts again. Both the teachers and learners indicated their level of appreciation.

4.2.4.1 Teachers' appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts

The teachers' level of appreciation for the statement that Government should continue those consecutive policy shifts is illustrated in Figure 4.19 on the next page for the whole group and in Figure 4.20 for the comparison between urban and rural school teachers:

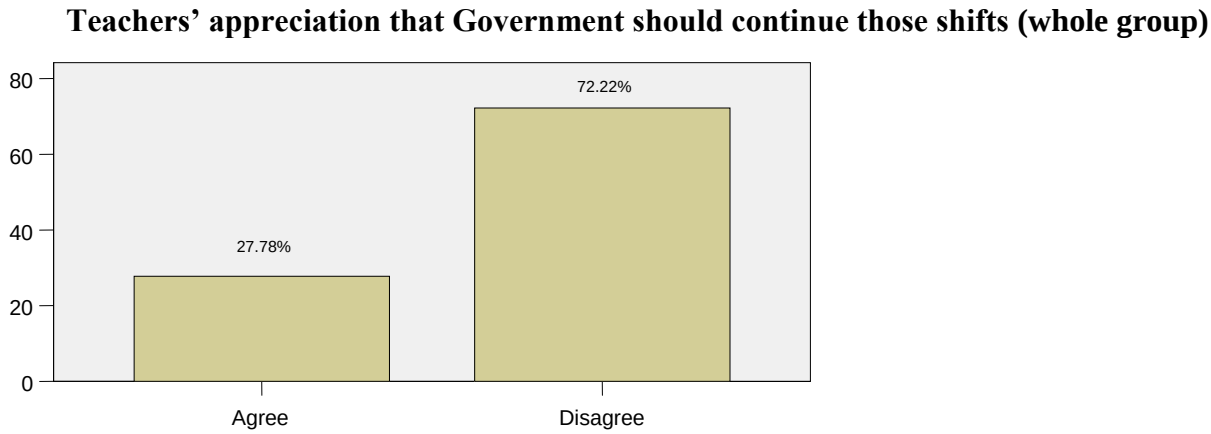


Figure 4.19: The participating teachers' appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts

The frequency distribution for the whole group of participating teachers (Figure 4.19 above) clearly indicates that more teachers (i.e. 72.22%) disagreed with the statement that they would support the Government if it decides to bring back a continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts. Only 27.78% agreed that they would appreciate such a move.

Similarly, Figure 4.20 below indicates the same trend among urban and rural school teachers:

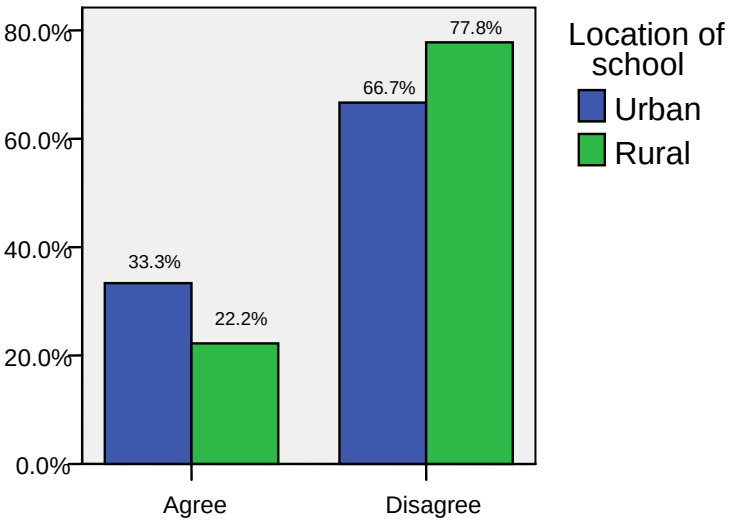


Figure 4.20: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers on their appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts

As illustrated in Figure 4.20 on the previous page, the majority of urban and rural school teachers ranged themselves on the negative side of the statement, where 77.8% rural against 66.7% urban teachers disagreed that they would support the government if ever it decides to bring back the consecutive policy shifts. Only 33.3% urban school teachers and 22.2% rural school teachers arranged themselves on the positive side of the statement. Therefore, weak appreciation was observed among urban and rural school teachers, with regard to their appreciation on bringing back the consecutive shifts. However, the urban teachers manifested more negative appreciation than the rural school teachers investigated.

As for the teachers' level of appreciation, Table 4.21 below summarizes the results:

Null hypothesis (H04)	**Teachers' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Teachers would not support the Government if it brings back the two consecutive language policy shifts	Urban	9	1.67	1.50	0.500	
	Rural	9	1.78	1.50	0.441	
	Whole group	18	1.72	1.50	0.461	0.624

Table 4.21: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers in terms of their level of appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts

The comparison in Table 4.21 shows that the level of appreciation for the rural school teachers is far too low (M=1.78; SD=0.441) when compared to the urban school teachers (M=1.67; SD=0.500). Even on aggregated level, the mean for the two groups of teachers is still low (M=1.72; SD=0.461), because it is still beyond the hypothetical mean of 1.50. This demonstrates that both urban and rural school teachers had higher level of negative appreciation for any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts. As for variation within each group, both

groups appear to be homogeneous in their responses. Then, a further test of statistical difference between the two groups through t-test reveals that the differences between rural and urban teachers is not statistically significant at an alpha value of 0.05 (p=0.624; df=16; p>0.05). Teachers' levels of appreciation between both groups are low, which accept the null hypothesis that predicts that teachers would not support the Government if ever it decides to bring back the two consecutive language policy shifts. Thus, a weak level of appreciation was observed among the whole group of teachers and among both urban and rural school teachers.

The reasons for such weak appreciation were expressed through the qualitative data, more specifically in the individual interviews with heads of schools and focus group discussions with teachers. The thematic analysis identified two main reasons namely the teachers' willingness for a stable language policy, and teachers' belief that inconsistent policy change disrupts the smooth running of educational system.

Reason 1: Teachers' willingness for a stable language policy

Almost all the teachers and heads of schools interviewed indicated that they would not support the Government if ever it decides to bring back the consecutive policy shifts; and they gave various reasons and advice. Extracts below indicate some of those reasons:

> *I would advise them not to change the education system. If you continue changing the education system, education cannot be up-to-date; it rather goes back and people will say that education system is not clear. So, they have to choose one thing and be stable with that; that is when education will improve like other countries. I therefore suggest that they should continue with English from grade 1.* [Extract 44: S5T14]

> *I would not support it; in fact, it would be confusing the pupils, as there would be no clear-cut program. I would advise them to start with Kinyarwanda medium in grade 1 up to grade 3, and then start English medium in upper grades. Or if they choose English, they should start with it and continue with it throughout.*

[Extract 45: S5HM5]

With these few examples illustrated in the extracts above, it is evident that teachers do not wish to experience abrupt change of language policy again. Even if the two consecutive language policy shifts might have marked a positive change and transformative steps within the Rwandan educational system, as indicated in official documents ordering those language policy changes (cfr § 1.1.3 of Chapter 1), it is still clear that some teachers still support the view that a language policy should not be changed over a short period of time, it should rather take not less than 5 to 10 years, as described in previous sections (cfr § 4.2.3.1 above).

Reason 2: Teachers' belief that inconsistent policy change disrupts the smooth running of educational system

Some of the interviewed teachers and heads of schools held views that unsystematic change of language policy might have a negative impact on the educational system, especially on the learners, who are among the end beneficiaries of the policy. These extracts clarify on such negative impact:

> *I would not support it. You see, the young child starts school before s/he speaks fluently. Imagine now the teacher teaches him/her in Kinyarwanda, then the teacher changes to English before the child masters Kinyarwanda; it would be difficult for the child to distinguish terminologies from the two languages. I would advise them to start with Kinyarwanda in grade 1 and introduce another language in grade 2*. [Extract 46: S2T4]

> *You know, we always say that learning is a process, therefore we have to continue the process. We started by switching to English and then back to Kinyarwanda, of which we are destructing pupils' mind. Now it is no longer a process because they are cutting everything short. For me, they have to start a process and continue with it*. [Extract 47: S5T13]

From the viewpoints expressed in the extracts above, teachers express concerns that changing policies may hamper the normal sequences and processes of learning. Such concerns explain that some of teachers and heads of schools would not advise the Government to bring back the two consecutive policy shifts they have experienced, which insinuates that they did not appreciate it much. However, the observation of the researcher during the interviews as well the alternative medium they wanted to be adopted during the shifts seemed to indicate that their weak appreciation was not mainly influenced by the policy shifts or policy changes per se, but rather by the languages which were involved in those changes. That is why some of them were recommending to start schooling with Kinyarwanda medium, others recommending English, and others suggesting both English and Kinyarwanda in parallel. These language preferences are tackled in the next chapters and they will better clarify this issue of appreciation of consecutive language policy shifts.

What is observed at this point is the fact that more teachers and heads of schools did not appreciate the consecutive shifts, which insinuates that they were not satisfied by those consecutive policy shifts. This finding indicates that hypothesis (1), which states that teachers were satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 was not fully confirmed among the whole group of participating teachers; and was highly not confirmed by rural school teachers. The next section is about the learners' level of appreciation if the Government decides to bring back the consecutive policy shifts.

4.2.4.2 Learners' appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts

The learners expressed their attitudes towards any continuous implementation of consecutive succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium by agreeing or disagreeing with the statement that Government should continue those consecutive shifts. Figure 4.22 on the next page indicates such a degree of appreciation among the whole group of participating learners; while Figure 4.23 compares the urban and rural school learners.

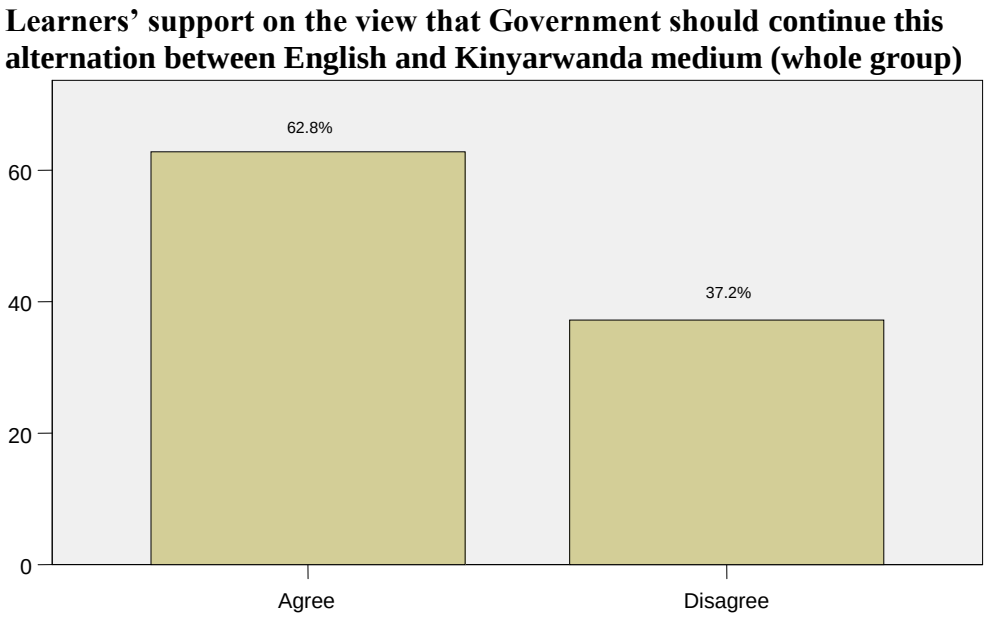


Figure 4.22: Learners' appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive shifts between English and Kinyarwanda medium

The frequency distribution in Figure 4.22 above clearly shows that the majority of learners, i.e. 62.8% of the whole group of participating learners agreed that they would support the Government if it decides to continue the consecutive shifts between English and Kinyarwanda medium, which confirms that they appreciated it. Only 37.2% indicated that they would not support or appreciate such a continuation.

Similarly, Figure 4.23 on the next page draws a comparison between urban and rural school learners:

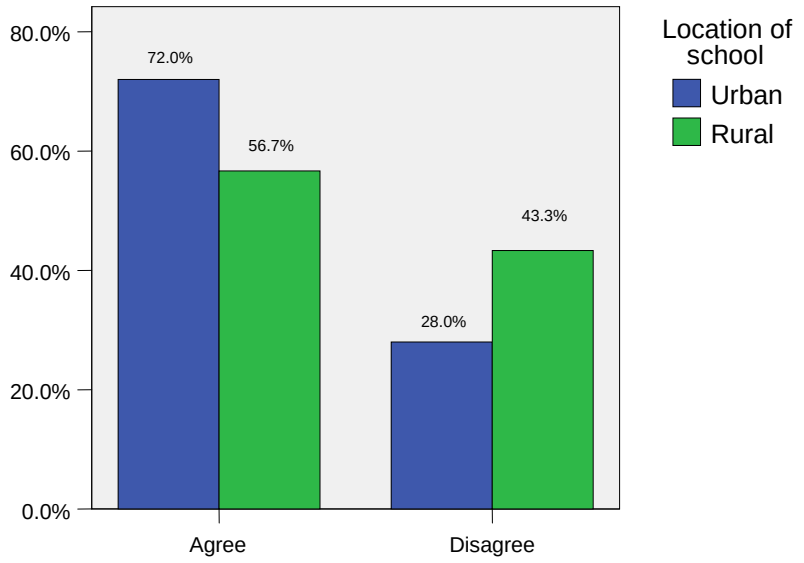


Figure 4.23: Comparison between urban and rural school learners on their appreciation of any Government implementation of continuous alternation between English and Kinyarwanda medium

It is evident that the majority of urban and rural school learners agreed that they would support the government if ever it decides to bring back the consecutive shifts between English and Kinyarwanda medium, with 72% and 56.7% respectively. Only 28% urban against 43.3% rural disagreed with the statement. Therefore, unlike the teachers, more learners demonstrated appreciation to any Government continuous implementation of the consecutive shifts between English and Kinyarwanda medium. As this statement comes to cross-check the learners' satisfaction with the shift to English medium in grade 1 and then the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2-3, it is evident that learners were satisfied and appreciated these two shifts.

Concerning the learners' level of appreciation, Table 4.24 below illustrates it among the whole group and among urban and rural school learners.

Null hypothesis (H04)	**Teachers' place of residence**	**Sample size (n)**	**Mean (M)**	**Hypothetical mean**	**SD**	***p* value (t-test)**
Learners would not support the Government if it brings back the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium	Urban	100	1.28	1.50	0.451	
	Rural	150	1.43	1.50	0.497	
	Whole group	300	1.37	1.50	0.484	0.014

Table 4.24: Learners' level of appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive policy shifts

Table 4.24 confirms that urban school learners exhibited slightly higher level of appreciation (M=1.28; SD=0.451) than rural school learners (M=1.43; SD=0.497). When aggregated for the two groups, it is still higher (M=1.37; SD=0.484) because it is below the bench mark which was set at 1.50. The variation within groups reveals that both groups are homogeneous in their responses; and a further test of statistical difference between the two groups, which used t-test revealed that the differences between rural and urban learners is statistically significant at an alpha value of 0.05 (p=0.014; df=248; p<0.05). Therefore, the learners' levels of appreciation between both groups are high, which rejects the null hypothesis that predicts that learners would not support the Government if ever it decides to bring back the two consecutive language policy shifts. This indicates that learners' level of appreciation of any Government continuation of consecutive shifts is slightly higher, implying a positive attitude and appraisal in this regard.

What are then the reasons or justification for the learners' high degree of appreciation? The focus groups with learners identified two main reasons, namely the learners' perception of the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium as more beneficial than disadvantageous, and the projected difficulties resulting from the consecutive shifts are not a serious threat to learners.

Reason 1: Learners' perception of the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium as more beneficial than disadvantageous

A great number of learners who participated in the focus group discussions perceived the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium as more advantageous than disadvantageous. The common advantage they pointed out is the opportunity offered by these policy changes for their exposure to both English and Kinyarwanda media. Almost all of them gave similar responses as the ones in the extracts below:

> *It was good because it enabled us to be proficient in the two languages*.
>
> [Extract 48: S6L35]

> *It facilitated to know both languages, that is English and Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 49: S1L1]

> *It helped me to know both English and Kinyarwanda and to improve my knowledge*. [Extract 50: S1L5]

These viewpoints expressed by learners in the extracts above confirm the advantages they attributed to the consecutive shifts, specifically the opportunity of learning both English and Kinyarwanda as offered by the two consecutive policy shifts. These viewpoints continue to confirm and manifest the learners' aspirations to achieve balanced bilingualism in both English and Kinyarwanda. Despite the circumstances, such aspirations seem to have boosted their motivation and positive attitudes towards the two languages up to the extent that they view them more positively than their teachers. While the linguists who recommended the UNESCO's (1953/1968) principles of providing the mother tongue education from lower grades, observed that "knowledge in several places proposes that a healthier way to launch a second language may be to teach it first as a subject, using the native language as an instructional media" (Fasold, 1984, p.294), the learners in this study experienced it differently, but still indicated its benefit. For these learners, the second language (English) was not introduced first as a subject as recommended by those linguists; they rather started with English MoI straight from grade 1, and then shifted to their mother tongue medium after one year, i.e. in grade 2-3. But still, they perceived such an experience as beneficial, which boosted their eagerness for ambilingualism.

Reason 2: Projected difficulties stemming from the consecutive shifts are not a serious threat to learners

During the focus group discussions with learners, the majority of them confirmed that they would support the Government if it decides to bring back the consecutive shifts they experienced. They showed this by disagreeing with some of the difficulties that were foreseen or anticipated by a small number of learners, as a result of the consecutive shifts they went through. The extracts below exposed some of projected difficulties:

> *It would be difficult for me, because when we will go to upper classes, the tests and exams will be set in English only*. [Extract 51: S6L34]

> *I was less satisfied because the two languages got mixed up*. [Extract 52: S1L1]

> *I would not support it because I was not satisfied. I studied in English in grade 1, I was born in a family which used English; but when we switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3, I failed Kinyarwanda and Mathematics because I was used to studying in English*. [Extract 53: S4L24]

However, almost all the rest of the interviewed learners disagreed with those difficulties by responding as follows:

> *It would enable us to know two languages.* [Extract 54: S6L32]

> *It would allow us to get explanations in the two languages*. [Extract 55: S6L33]

Again, such a disagreement with the projected difficulties still emphasizes their aspirations to balanced bilingualism which they believed would enable them to overcome any language difficulties.

Therefore, based on the evidence that the majority of learners appreciated both the use of English in grade 1 and the shift to Kinyarwanda in grade 2-3, we can deduce that hypothesis (1), which states that learners were satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 was confirmed among the whole group of participating learners; and was highly confirmed by both urban and rural school learners. Such an appreciation of both an international language and an African indigenous language continues to challenge the plethora in the existing literature, specifically on the African local indigenous languages, which are said to be less appreciated by Africans themselves as a medium of instruction in education.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed teachers' positive appraisals towards the shift to English and towards the shift to Kinyarwanda, but with negative appraisals towards the consecutive policy shifts and towards any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts. As for the learners, they have shown positive appraisals in all the four policy shift aspects investigated.

Such opposing attitudinal orientations between teachers and learners were accessed through the mentalist approach (Fasold, 1984), the language preference model (Spolsky, 1989) and the typology of bilingual education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) which were adopted in the theoretical framework. This theoretical framework enabled us to explore the internal mental state of participants and explore some forms of attitudinal behaviours like satisfaction, enjoyment and appreciation; and the main findings on such attitudes are the following:

- Both teachers and learners were highly satisfied, enjoyed and appreciated the 2008 shift from the trilingual medium (French, Kinyarwanda and English) to English-only medium. This is because English is "the world's lingua franca in commerce, academia and technology" (Shohamy, 2006, p.81) and "a global language" (Baker, 2006, p.86). Clearly, the positive attitude towards English is a universal norm;

- For the 2011 shift to Kinyarwanda medium, learners had positive attitudes towards the indigenous endoglossic language than their teachers, in all aspects investigated. While urban school teachers exhibited negative attitudes towards Kinyarwanda, rural teachers were more positive towards this African indigenous endoglossic language. Thus, rural teachers and all learners combined confirmed the positive attitudes towards an African indigenous endoglossic language among the participants in general;

- Positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda were shown by the majority of the participants and this debunks the folklore in the existing literature and still goes against the grain that exogenous languages are preferred over indigenous languages; and this is the new insight and new discovery from this study, adding to the exception found in Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon, 2009);

- Positive attitudes towards an African indigenous endoglossic language, as shown in this study, tend to reveal that the ideology of current language in use tends to dictate current attitudes; which tends to confirm that attitudes towards languages are context-dependent and ideologically constrained;

- The nature of shifts that were experienced in Rwanda and the languages involved constitute another new insight. While most of the cases cited in literature seem to indicate that it is not a common practice to shift from an internationally dominant language like English to a local language; but rather from an international language to another international language, like English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, etc or from local languages to a lingua franca (see Bamgbose, 1996; Makalela, 2009), the Rwandan policy shifts experienced both sides. It also added a reverse one from an international language to a local language. Such findings from a unique and unfamiliar Rwandan policy shift have contributed in highlighting attitudes from lived realities and not from imagined realities of language planning as many attitudes studies tend to do;

- Both teachers and learners show somewhat different attitudinal orientations and somewhat different justifications for their responses. That is why my concluding

argument is that teachers and learners have different attitudinal orientations due to the demands of their jobs and the length of exposure to the two languages involved in the shifts.

As a suggestion from these findings, the Government of Rwanda should have conducted attitudinal studies before the shifts, to predict whether learners and teachers were ready to engage in language learning and teaching at school and to determine their expectations for success, as stressed by Cummins (1986) and Gardner (1985). It should also have done attitudes planning to direct local planners as language speakers' attitudes are like prerequisites to the success of language policy shifts (López, 2007) and may create a transformative change in educational context (Small and Cripps, 2009).

Such a positive transformative change in the Rwandan language-in-education policy is likely to be the one that triggered the overall positive attitudes exhibited by both teachers and learners towards the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts in Rwanda, as indicated in this chapter. Thus, hypothesis 1 which states that "Teachers and learners were satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012" is confirmed in this chapter; and this confirmation partly supports the overall argument of this study, which states that "Rwandan lower primary school teachers and learners perceive the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts as a positive change within the Rwandan endoglossic setting".

CHAPTER FIVE
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
PART II: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' LANGUAGE PREFERENCE AFTER CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS

5.0 Introduction

Chapter 5 analyses and interprets the results yielded by the research question 2: *Which language do learners and teachers prefer as a MoI and as a subject between English and Kinyarwanda after consecutive policy shifts*? as well as part of research question 3: *What are the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home (preferred versus actual)*?. The analysis continues with a comparative account, where the preferences are compared between urban and rural school learners as well as between urban and rural school teachers. This account is guided by hypothesis 2, which states that "after consecutive shifts, teachers' and learners' preference of MoI favours an African endoglossic language (Kinyarwanda) over an international language (English)"; and hypothesis 3 which states that "after consecutive shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' preference of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home is still over-dominated by the preference of an African language over an international one". Conditions 42, 45, 48 and 49 of the Language Preference Model (Spolsky, 1989) guided the analysis of the teachers' and learners' preferred MoI between Kinyarwanda and English; their choice between Kinyarwanda and English MoI as well as their language preference in class, at the school playground and at home.

5.1 Teachers' and learners' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two shifts

5.1.1 Teachers' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two shifts

The frequency distribution of teachers' preferences, which was obtained through univariate and bivariate analyses, indicates high preference of English MoI among the whole group and among urban and rural school teachers. Figure 5.1 and 5.2 on the next page summarize the percentages of their respective preferences:

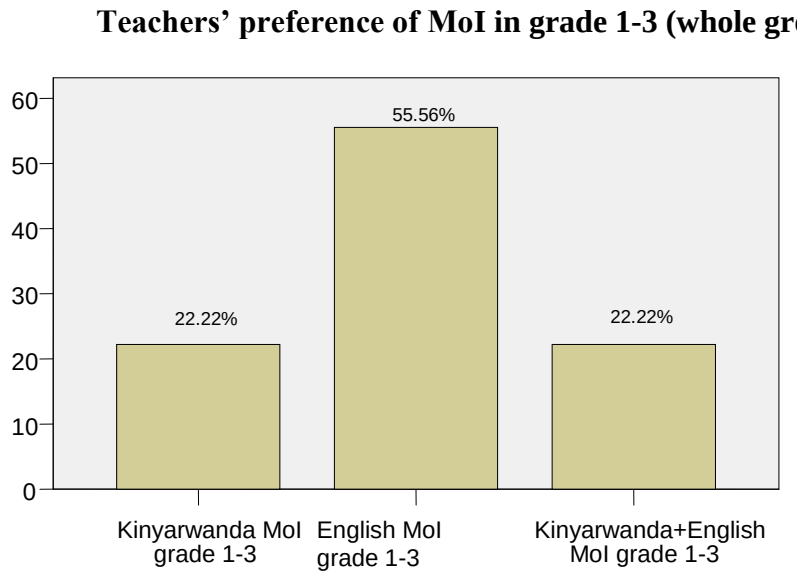


Figure 5.1: Teachers' preference of MoI after the two consecutive policy shifts

Figure 5.1 above shows that the majority of teachers in the whole group preferred English as a MoI, with 55.56% while their preference of Kinyarwanda equals their preference of Kinyarwanda and English combined, i.e. 22.22% in both preferences. It is evident that more teachers among the whole group preferred English MoI after the consecutive policy shifts. Similarly, the comparison between urban and rural school teachers, as illustrated in Figure 5.2 on the next page, demonstrated the same level of English MoI preference, with 55.6% respectively in both areas.

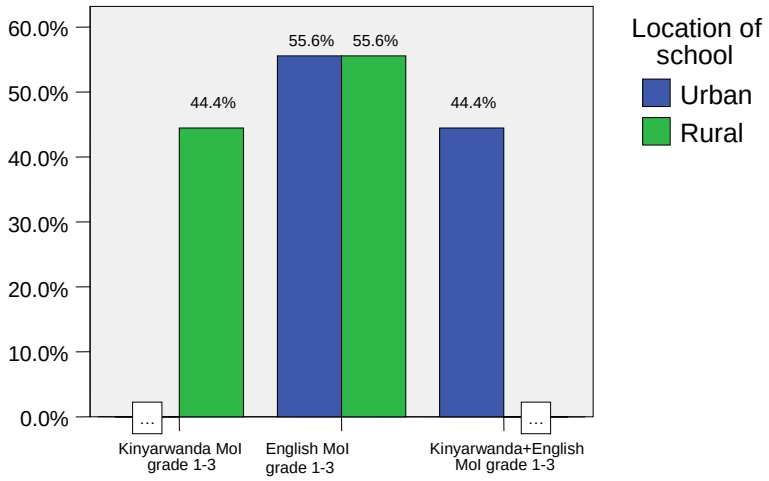


Figure 5.2: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers in terms of their preference of MoI after the two consecutive policy shifts

Figure 5.2 indicates that English MoI is preferred among urban and rural school teachers, with 55.6% respectively in both areas. However, urban and rural school teachers have different preferences with regard to Kinyarwanda medium and Kinyarwanda-English combined. In this regard, no single urban teacher opted for Kinyarwanda MoI, while 44.4% of rural school teachers preferred it. Likewise, no single rural school teacher preferred a combination of English and Kinyarwanda medium, while 44.4% of urban preferred such a combination.

One wonders why the majority of teachers preferred English MoI in grade 1-3, while they were teaching in Kinyarwanda during the time of data collection. Qualitative data from focus group discussions with teachers and individual interviews with heads of schools confirmed that they have a predominant preference of English language and an ambivalent preference of Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English medium combined.

Language preferences among the participating teachers and heads of schools were probed by asking them to compare if their learners should have studied better if they have been taught in Kinyarwanda only or in English only or in both English and Kinyarwanda combined, from grade 1 to grade 3. Extracts below express their language preferences:

> *Learners who studied better are the ones who studied through English medium only throughout because they are the ones who manifest a clear English language orientation, who do not mix the languages*. [Extract 56: S3T8]

> *I favour the international language, and that is why I confirm that those who studied better are the ones who studied in English from grade 1 to 3*. [Extract 57: S1T1]

> *I also favour those who studied through English, because they will continue studying through English in upper classes, it could therefore be better for them to start studying in English from grade 1*. [Extract 58: S1T2]

The extracts above clearly indicate that English language is preferred by teachers; they attributed most of the positive aspects to learners who should have studied through English but not through Kinyarwanda. The motives behind such high preference of English among Rwandan teachers, as illustrated in the extracts above, can be interpreted in two ways:

The first motive is that English is preferred not only in Rwanda but also in other parts of the world because it has outstanding status and value, like "English is still the passport to the good life, to status, to wealth" (Pattanayak, 1993); and "English is increasingly seen as a vehicle of globalization" (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006, p.244). These are few examples which describe the status of English on international scale, and which insinuate why several studies concluded that teachers prefer English to local languages in different parts of the world, like in Swaziland (Mordaunt, 1991); in Australia (Oliver and Purdie, 1998); in Botswana (Arthur, 1997) and in South Africa (De Klerk, 2002; Mutasa, 1999). The high status of English on international linguistic landscape is probably one of the reasons why 55.6% urban and 55.6% rural school teachers in this study preferred English MoI from grade 1 up to grade 3.

In addition, the outstanding preference of English by the participating teachers can be attributed to its current social status in Rwanda, as illustrated in this extract:

> *… English is the language which is mostly used in daily life, in applying for jobs…* [Extract 59: S1HM1]

The increasing use of English in Rwanda justifes the tremendous increase of English speakers in Rwanda during the period of 10 years. In this regard, the figures increased from 1.1% of rural dwellers and 6.0% of urban dwellers who could speak English in 2002, according to 2002 census (MINECOFIN, 2005) to 11.3% of rural dwellers and 29.9% of urban dwellers who were literate in English in 2012, according to the 2012 census (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.45). The preference of English among the teachers is stimulated by its widespread use and increasing number of users, which confirms condition 42 of Spolsky's (1989, p. 22) Language Preference Model, which states that "the number of people who speak a language as a first or second language influences the desire of others to learn it". The increase of English language speakers and users as well as the spread of English among the Rwandan community indicates that it has undergone acquisition planning and status planning, as described by Baker (2006, p.52); Ricento (2006, p.28) and Cooper (1989, p.33) in § 1.7.3 of Chapter 1.

The second motive, which is more related to their ambivalent preference of Kinyarwanda or Kinyarwanda-English medium combined, is that urban and rural school teachers seemed to hold ambivalent worries with regard to their learners' performance or their ultimate achievement in some language skills, both in Kinyarwanda and in English. This is illustrated in the extract below, which states:

> *In terms of expression and fluency, I can say that those who started with English medium from grade 1 to grade 3 developed more fluency, but when it comes to writing skills, those who start with Kinyarwanda medium will have more advantages, while those who start with English medium will be weak.*
>
> [Extract 60: S2T5]

In this extract, teachers recognize the advantages of starting with learners' mother tongue medium from lower grades, and this corroborates with the assumuptions of Cummins's (1979, 1980, 2000a) Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) model, which he later termed 'academic language proficiency'

and ‘conversational language proficiency’ (Cummins, 2000a, p.75). It indicates that some Rwandan teachers are aware that starting with the learners’ mother tongue or L1 (Kinyarwanda), may accelerate their CALP, which entails more highly cognitively demanding tasks like writing and reading (Cummins, 2000a, p.68). These teachers also recognize that starting with L2 medium (which is English in the Rwandan case) may accelerate their English speaking or oral skills, which are related to cognitively undemanding tasks of BICS (Cummins, 2000a, p.68).

Still on the second motive, the degree of language preference in Figure 5.2 shows that 44.4% of rural school teachers have ambivalent preference of Kinyarwanda medium while 44.4% of urban school teachers have ambivalent preference of English-Kinyarwanda medium combined. This preference can be interpreted in relation to the ‘Threshold Hypothesis’ and ‘Interdependence Hypothesis’ for both rural and urban teachers. These two hypotheses were introduced and refined by Cummins (1976, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1984, 2000a, 2000b). The Thresholds Hypothesis, which was first postulated by Cummins (1976) and by Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977), claims that a child must have a minimum level of competence in his first language in order to gain cognitive development in case he is exposed to a second language (Cummins, 2000a; Baker, 2006). According to this hypothesis, a high level of competence in the first language leads to a high level of competence in the second language; while lower level of competence in the first language leads to lower level of competence in the second language (Cummins, 1978, 2000a, 2000b). The rural school teachers’ preference of Kinyarwanda medium might have been motivated by this hypothesis, as they seemed to be aware that if their learners develop their competence in Kinyarwanda thoroughly before they embark on English medium, they will attain high academic achievement in both Kinyarwanda and English; and if it is the other way round, they may not attain such a high academic achievement.

As for urban school teachers, 44.4% of them did not prefer Kinyarwanda only as it was the case for rural school teachers, but they preferred English-Kinyarwanda medium combined. This preference seemed to be boosted by both the Thresholds Hypothesis and the Interdependence Hypothesis, plus the maximum hypothesis for English. The Interdependence Hypothesis, also called the Linguistic Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis or Language Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis, was an evolution of the Thresholds Hypothesis as refined by

Cummins (1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1984, 2000a, 2000b, cited in Baker, 2006, p.173). It states that a child's second language competence is partly dependent on the level of competence achieved in the first language. According to this hypothesis, "the more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language"; and "when the first language is at a low stage of evolution, it is more difficult to achieve bilingualism" (Cummins, 2000a, cited in Baker, 2006, p.173). Urban school teachers seemed to believe that the parallel medium between English and Kinyarwanda will enable learners to achieve balanced bilingualism due to the interdependence between the two languages. They also seemed to believe in the Maximum Hypothesis, which was developed by Porter (1990, cited in Cummins, 2000, p.174) and which states that "the more time spent learning a language, the better you do in it, all other factors being equal". Extracts 56, 57 and 58 above show that teachers wanted their learners to spend the maximum possible time for English medium.

In addition, extract 60 above shows how teachers were aware of the fact that starting with English medium from grade 1 would lead to BICS, which is more related to fluency; while starting with their mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) would lead to the development of CALP, which is related to high demanding academic tasks, like writing; and this is in line with Cummins's (2000a) description. However, it is to be mentioned that the above-mentioned hypotheses and CALP/BICS distinction in general were criticized that their influence "has been negative and prejudicial to the educational success of bilingual children" (e.g. Edelsky, 1990; Rossell and Baker, 1996, cited in Cummins, 2000a, p.174); or that they did not take into account several other influential factors, such as politics, power relationships, culture, context, social practices, motivation, school, home and community (Martin-Jones and romaine, 1986, cited in Baker, 2006, p.175). But still, Cummins (2000a, p.175) confirms that the two hypotheses are of "crucial importance in understanding the nature of bilingual students' academic development and in planning appropriate educational programs for students" while Baker (2006, p.175) indicates that CALP/BICS distinction has been influential and valuable for policy and practice. They are crucial in this study which implies a kind of bilingualism; because the two consecutive policy shifts under investigation maintained both English and Kinyarwanda, with the shifts based on the mutual exchange of those two languages for the medium for teaching all other subjects.

5.1.2 Learners' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two shifts

Among the learners, the frequency distribution highlighted in Figure 5.3 and 5.4 below indicates their different levels of preference between English and Kinyarwanda MoI for the whole group and among urban and rural school learners.

Learners' preference of MoI in grade 1-3 (whole group)

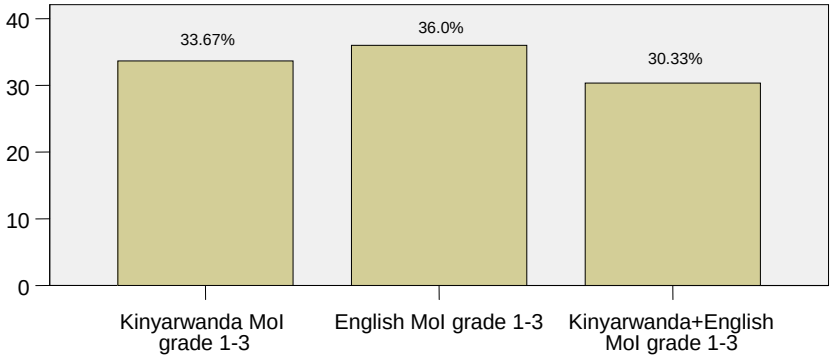


Figure 5.3: Learners' preference of MoI after the two consecutive policy shifts

Unlike their teachers, learners tend to prefer Kinyarwanda, English and the combination of Kinyarwanda-English MoI almost at the same level. However, English MoI from grade 1-3 is preferred, with 36% followed by Kinyarwanda MoI, with 33.67 while a combination of Kinyarwanda-English MoI counted for 30.33%. It is obvious that English is the most preferred language as a MoI in grade 1-3 among the whole group of learners.

The comparison between urban and rural school learners indicates the following preferences:

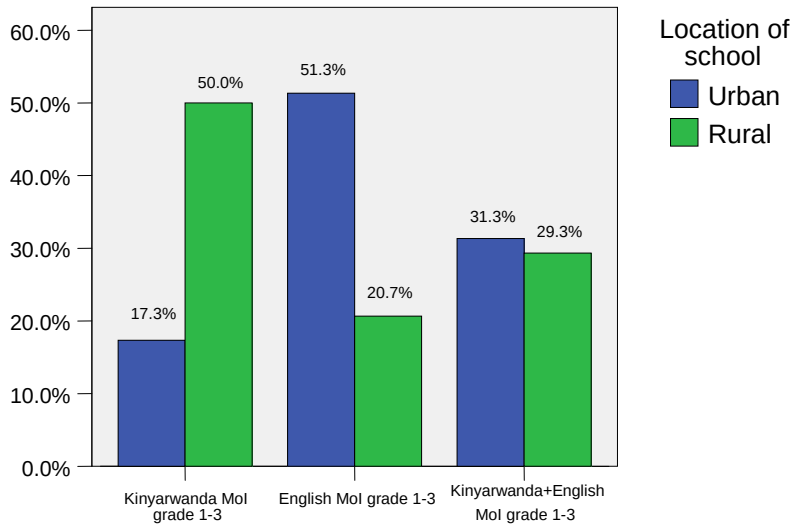


Figure 5.4: Comparison between urban and rural school learners in terms of their preference of MoI after the two consecutive policy shifts

As shown in Figure 5.4 above, different preferences are observed among urban and rural school learners, with more rural school learners (50%) preferring to learn through Kinyarwanda in grade 1-3; while more urban learners (51.3%) preferred English MoI. A sizeable number of learners (31.3% of urban and 29.3% of rural school learners) preferred to learn through English and Kinyarwanda combined; while only 17.3% of urban learners preferred Kinyarwanda MoI, and only 20.7% of rural school learners preferred English as a sole MoI in grade 1-3.

Therefore, the preference for more rural school learners is Kinyarwanda MoI, while the preference for more urban school learners is English MoI. Then, what are the motives behind such different preferences among the learners. The focus group discussions with learners stressed that English medium is the most preferred by the whole group of learners, as also confirmed in Chapter 4. Such predominant preference was confirmed when learners were asked if they enjoyed with starting with English medium from grade 1 and why; which was cross-checked by asking them to compare if those who studied better are the ones who studied through English only or Kinyarwanda only or those who mixed the two media of instruction through consecutive shifts. Extracts below explain why more urban school learners showed preference for English medium only:

I liked it because we started with studying in English.

[Extract 61: S2L11 and other learners]

It is good because it allowed us to know English from the start.

[Extract 62: S4L21 and other learners]

These extracts indicate how the participating urban learners were eager to start their schooling in an international language like English. Such learners' eagerness for English still confirms their adherence with Benson's (2003, p.7) myth 6 that states that "students need to start schooling in the L2 as quickly as possible". In addition, their preference for English confirms that Rwandan learners are not far different from other learners in different parts of the world, in regard with English preference. As highlighted in the literature review chapter, learners from different parts of the world, including Turkey (Karahan, 2007), Australia (Oliver and Purdie, 1998) and South Africa (Braam et al., 2000; Matee, 2003; and Mutasa, 1999), prefer to be taught in English. Exceptions are the Chinese, Indian and Malay grade 5 children who were studying in Singapore and preferred their mother tongues to English (Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon, 2009). A similar exception is observed among the Rwandan rural school learners in this study, who have shown more preference for their mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) medium than English, with 50% who preferred Kinyarwanda-only medium versus 20.7% who preferred English-only medium.

While the reason for higher positive attitudes towards mother tongues than English among Chinese and Indian children was that a great number of them perceived that "they are being pulled away from their cultural identity, or from their in-group, by English" (Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon, 2009, p. 248); the reason behind the Rwandan rural school learners preference of Kinyarwanda over English medium is the Rwandan endoglossic setting.

To confirm or cross-check the learners' and teachers' preference of MoI described above, they were asked about their choice between English and Kinyarwanda medium, and the combination of the two languages, after experiencing the two shifts. Their choices were as follows:

5.2 Teachers' and learners' choice of MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts

5.2.1 Teachers' choice of MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two policy shifts

The choice made by the whole group of teachers between English and Kinyarwanda MoI is highlighted in Figure 5.5 below:

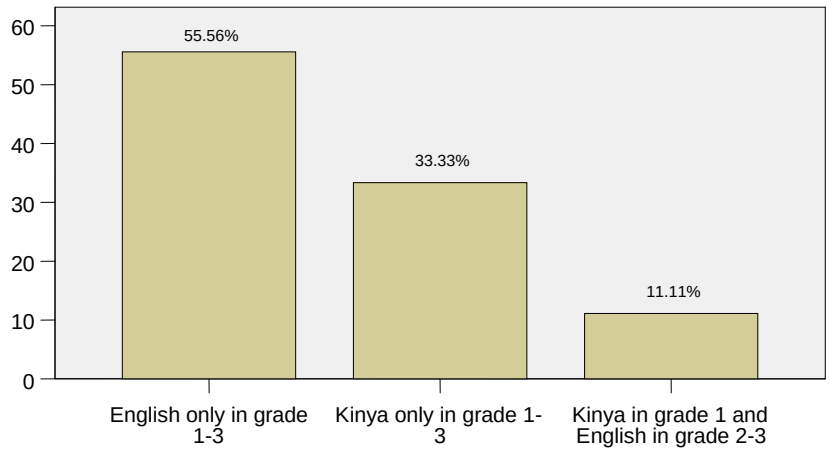


Figure 5.5: The teachers' choice of MoI between English, Kinyarwanda and the combination of the two languages medium.

Figure 5.5 clearly indicates that more teachers (55.56%) chose English medium; Kinyarwanda medium was chosen by 33.33% of the whole group of teachers; while Kinyarwanda MoI in grade 1 followed by English medium in grade 2-3 was chosen by 11.11% of the whole group of teachers. It is evident that the choice of English medium is predominant among the teachers as a whole group. Then, what is the situation when we compare the choice between urban and rural school teachers? Figure 5.6 on the next page provides the frequency distribution for this comparison.

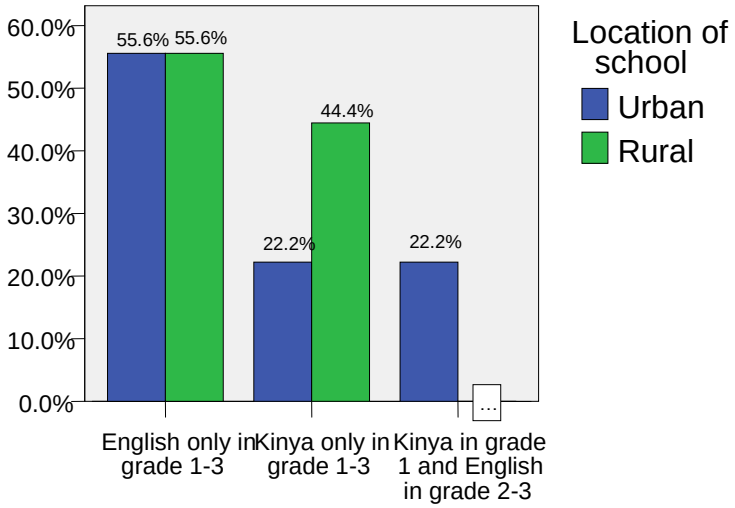


Figure 5.6: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers with regard to their choice between English and Kinyarwanda medium in grade 1-3

In Figure 5.6 above, it is evident that more teachers (55.6% in urban and 55.6% in rural schools) chose English medium in grade 1-3. Kinyarwanda medium was chosen by 44.4% of rural school teachers, but by only 22.2% of urban school teachers. As for the combined medium of English and Kinyarwanda, no single rural teacher opted for this choice, while 22.2% of urban school teachers chose such a combination. Let us now see if the teachers' choice of medium of instruction is in congruence with their language preference described in § 5.1.1 above.

It is evident that the teachers' language choice and their language preference are almost at the same rate among urban and rural school teachers, with 55.6% in urban and 55.6% in rural schools for the choice of English MoI (see Figure 5.6), and with 55.6% in urban and 55.6% in rural schools for the preference of English MoI (see Figure 5.2); which confirm congruence and consistency in their responses. The next section presents the learners' language choice.

5.2.2 Learners' choice of MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after policy shifts

Their choice as a whole group is illustrated in Figure 5.7 below:

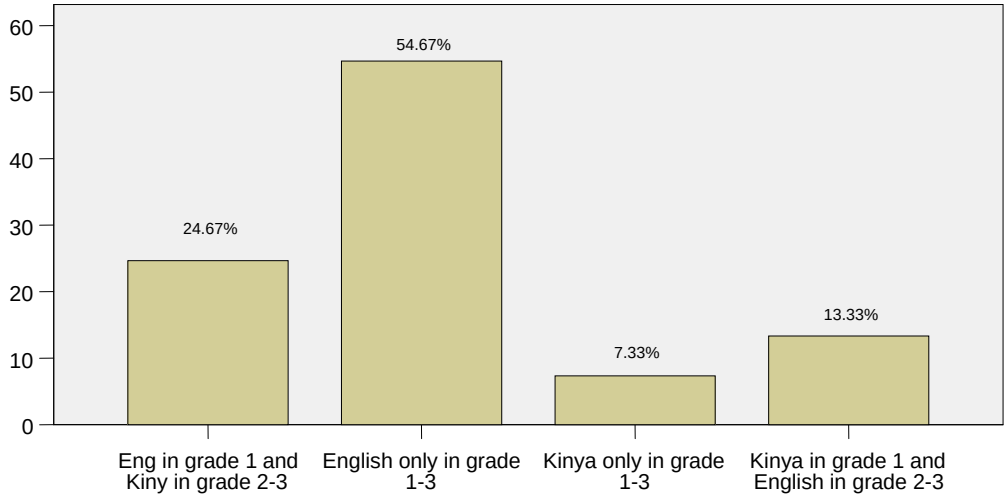


Figure 5.7: Learners' choice of MoI between English, Kinyarwanda and the combination of the two languages medium

As Figure 5.7 above highlights, only 24.67% of the whole group of learners investigated chose the combination they have experienced during the policy shifts, i.e. English medium in grade 1 and Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2-3. The majority of them (54.67%) chose English as a sole medium in grade 1-3; only 7.33% chose Kinyarwanda medium throughout; while 13.33% chose the combination of Kinyarwanda medium in grade 1 and English medium in grade 2-3. This hypothesis was testing their choice of appreciation among the mediums that were involved or could have been involved in the policy shifts they went through; and their salient choice is for English medium only, followed with the mediums they experienced during the consecutive language policy shifts. Let us now see the comparison between urban and rural school learners' choices, which is illustrated in Figure 5.8 on the next page:

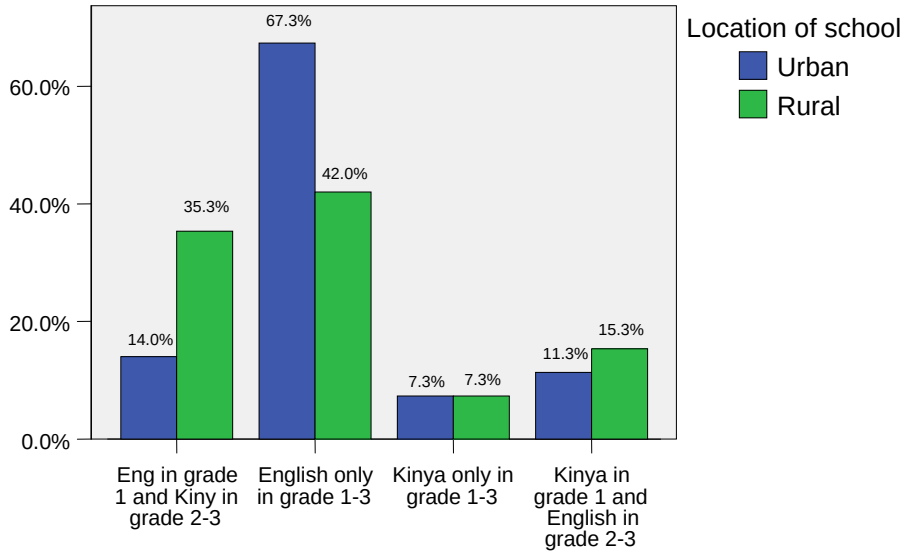


Figure 5.8: Comparison between urban and rural school learners with regard to their choice between English, Kinyarwanda and their combined Medium in grade 1-3

The comparison continues to show that English as a sole medium of instruction in grade 1-3 is the most chosen language by learners, mostly by urban school learners, i.e. 67.3% against 42.0% from rural schools. However, more rural school learners (35.3%) chose the succession of English and Kinyarwanda mediums than the urban ones (14%). Kinyarwanda as a sole MoI in grade 1-3 was the least chosen, with 7.3% in both groups; while the succession of Kinyarwanda and English medium was chosen by 11.3% urban and 15.3% rural school learners. It is therefore evident that their main choice is on English medium, followed by the consecutive shifts they experienced, i.e. English medium in grade 1 and Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2-3. Despite the consecutive shifts they went through, they still indicate that English medium is their best choice.

The cross-checking between the learners' language choice and their language preference for consistency in their responses revealed consistency with high level of preference for English medium among both urban and rural school learners. This is illustrated by 67.3% urban and 42.0% rural schools learners who chose English medium (Figure 5.8) and 51.3% urban and 20.7% of rural school learners (Figure 5.4) who preferred English as a sole MoI in grade 1-3. Although the combinations of languages are not exactly the same in the two figures, the

consistency is that urban school learners showed more appraisal towards English medium than rural school learners. As for explanations for such preference for English which was revealed to be higher among urban learners than rural learners, the extracts below from focus group discussions with learners provide some:

> *I wanted to continue studying all subjects in English*.
>
> [Extract 63: S1L3]

> *I was not happy about the switch to Kinyarwanda because I was already familiar with English*. [Extract 64: S4L24; when they were asked if they were happy about the shift from English to Kinyarwanda].

These reasons provided in extracts above, among others, confirm why more preference was consistently given to the English medium among the majority of urban school learners.

The choice and preference of English among the youth is not only observed among Rwandan young learners, it was also observed among adolescents in Brazil where many Brazilian adolescents showed more positive attitudes towards English as a solidarity language than Portuguese (El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001, p.72). Similar preference of English was observed in Tanzania (Senkoro, 2005). Even though almost 95% of the Tanzanian population speak and understand Kiswahili (Batibo, 1995, cited in Senkoro, 2005, p.8), with only 5% of Tanzanians who speak English as their second language (Schiemed, 1979 cited in Brock-Utne, 2000; Batibo, 1995, cited in Senkoro, 2005, p.9); the LOITASA's (2002, cited in Senkoro, 2005, p.13) survey revealed that the majority of Tanzanian students surveyed preferred English medium to Kiswahili medium, and the same preference was exhibited by Tanzanian teachers 50.9% of whom preferred teaching in English as opposed to 34% who preferred teaching in Kiswahili. It can therefore be said that the preference and choice of English is almost worldwide.

As for Kinyarwanda medium, the consistency is that rural school learners have outnumbered the urban ones in preferring Kinyarwanda medium, after English. An illustrating example is that

50% of rural against 17.3% of urban school learners preferred learning through Kinyarwanda MoI in grade 1-3 (Figure 5.4). However, the preference and choice over the combination of Kinyarwanda with English was ambivalent between urban and rural school learners. For instance while 31.3% of urban against 29.3% of rural school learners preferred to learn through the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium in grade 1-3 (Figure 5.4), 35.3% of rural against 14% of urban school learners chose the succession of English and Kinyarwanda media in grade 1-3 (Figure 5.8). The preference seems to be a function of the first language in the acquisition sequence. Consequently, urban school learners preferred to start with English before Kinyarwanda, while it was the other way round for rural school learners, as it was also confirmed in Chapter 4 (cf. § 4.2.3.2)

In addition to the reasons provided in Chapter 4 (cf. § 4.2.3.2), further explanations about more preference of Kinyarwanda by rural school learners than the urban ones, include mainly its facilitation in learners' understanding, as it was emphasized during the focus group discussions with learners. Extracts below illustrate those preferences, with opposing preference orientations between urban and rural school learners:

> *I was unhappy because when a learner starts grade 1, s/he is already acquainted with Kinyarwanda which is used at home; when the teaching is in English, it becomes difficult for him/her*.
>
> [Extract 65: S6L20 from a rural school]

> *I was unhappy because it is very difficult for grade 1 learners to write numbers like ten in English or to read English words; learners are not capable to understand that*. [Extract 66: S6L22 from a rural school]

However, such viewpoints seem to be in controversy with the ones held by urban school learners towards Kinyarwanda and its combination, as they said:

> *I used to succeed the exam or test set in English, but failed when it was set in Kinyarwanda*. [Extract 67: S5L16 from an urban school]

> *I also failed in Kinyarwanda, but succeeded when I was asked in English*.
>
> [Extract 68: S5L17 from an urban school]
>
> *I know things in English, but when they ask me to answer them in Kinyarwanda, it is hard for me.* [Extract 69: S5L18 from an urban school]

As shown in these extracts, opposing viewpoints between urban and rural school learners upon Kinyarwanda explain why rural school learners were in favour of Kinyarwanda medium, with the perception that English medium is difficult; while it was the other way round among urban school learners.

Thus, the fact that the preference and choice of Kinyarwanda medium are more observed among rural school learners and teachers than urban school learners and teachers adumbrates the consistency of their positive attitudes towards their mother tongue, as shown in Chapter 4 (cf. § 4.2.2.2). The preference of an African indigenous language, which goes against the grain of previous findings suggests that the Rwandan government effort to promote the national African endoglossic language in education is appreciated by the majority of rural stakeholders and beneficiaries, namely the learners and the teachers. Rwanda is not alone in such endeavour of promoting African indigenous languages, because some other countries like Benin, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have made innovations through their education reform and language policies that aimed at strengthening the role of national languages in their school systems (Gitonga, 1987, cited in Ndabaga, 2004, p.19). Ndabaga (2004) reiterated Gitonga's statement following the meeting of the African ministers of education in Lagos in 1976, with the agenda of developing mother tongue-in-education policy, namely

> A policy of this type should lead to the revival of the national languages as vehicles of scientific and technical process, it would enable our societies, freed from all the sequels of foreign domination, to contribute in their own unique way to the fruitful dialogue upon which depends the full development of the world's civilisations (Gitonga, 1987, p.202).

Although this statement was made nearly three decades ago, it reminds us that African leaders, who are also language policy makers in most cases, have been reflecting on how to promote African national language education fo some time. In contrast, would-be beneficiaries still have

negative attitudes towards those languages. In the same vein, Ndabaga (2004, p.19) cites the contrast between Hawes's (1979) recommendations of the use of mother tongues or local languages as a medium of instruction, particularly in lower classes, and the concomitant increased development and production of materials in those local languages on the one hand and the insufficient materials and negative attitudes towards those languages on the other hand. Let us now see the respondents' language preference in class, at the school playground and at home, between English and Kinyarwanda.

5.3 Teachers' and learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda in class, at school playground and at home, after the two consecutive shifts

5.3.1 Teachers' preference between English and Kinyarwanda in class

Teachers were asked to indicate the language they prefer their learners should use when talking to their peers in the classroom, between English and Kinyarwanda, after the two consecutive language policy shifts. Figure 5.9 below summarizes their preferences:

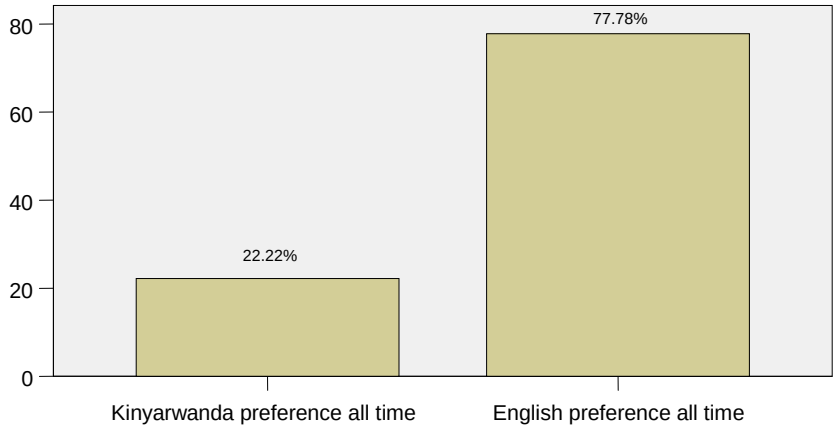


Figure 5.9: Teachers' language preference between English and Kinyarwanda for learners' interactions in class

It is evident that the majority of teachers (77.78%) prefer that their learners should use English all the time when talking to their peers in class. Only 22.22% prefer that learners should use Kinyarwanda all the time for classroom interactions among themselves.

The comparison between urban and rural school teachers, as illustrated in Figure 5.10 below, still confirms English preference, but at different levels among urban and rural school teachers.

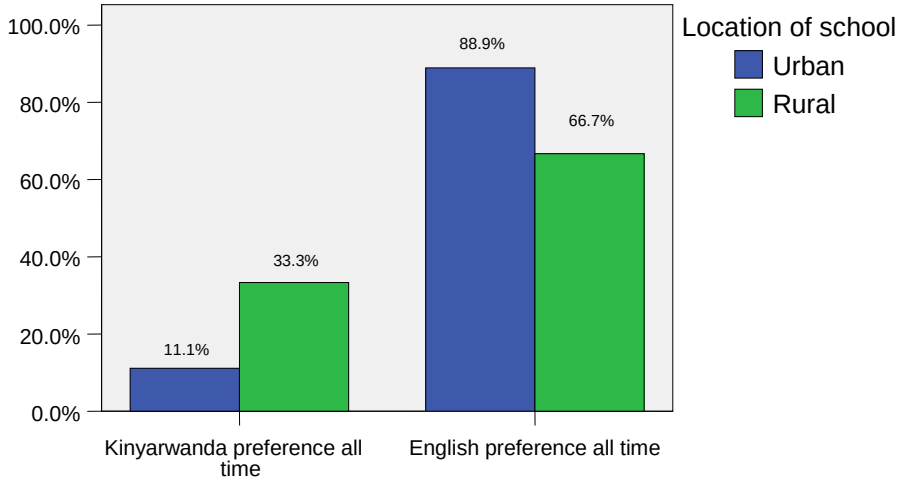


Figure 5.10: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers with regard to their language preference between English and Kinyarwanda for learners' interactions in class

It is observed that the majority of teachers prefer that their learners should use English all the time when they talk to their peers in the classroom. However, urban school teachers showed higher level of English preference (88.9%) than rural school teachers (66.7%). As for Kinyarwanda preference, rural school teachers preferred it more (33.3%) than urban school teachers (11.1%).

The reasons for the higher preference for English among teachers, as identified from the focus group discussions with them and heads of schools include their desire for opportunities to use English, their perception on young learners' ability to acquire English, and their eagerness to improve their English skills by practicing with learners.

Reason 1: Teachers' desire for any opportunity to practice English

Through the group discussions, it was a recurrent observation that teachers were so highly motivated that they wished to grab every opportunity to practice English, for themselves and for the learners. The extract below illustrates how teachers were striving for English practice:

> **…** *the 2009-2010 language policy change …. pushed us to make tremendous effort, because we abruptly heard instructions telling us 'You have to change the medium of instruction and start teaching in English from grade 1 to grade 3'. During that time, we participated in English training, sacrificed evenings to revise English lessons and even paid our own money to learn English. But after one year, we were told to change again and start teaching in Kinyarwanda again from grade 1 to grade 3. I never felt happy about that change to Kinyarwanda because it was hard for us, and we were convinced that we were going to master English by using it as a medium of instruction. We asked ourselves why we were requested to teach in Kinyarwanda while upper classes were allowed to teach in English. We ourselves wanted to improve our English, and the children had shown interest and progressive proficiency in English in such a way that the shift was to have ill effect.*
>
> [Extract 70: S1T3]

This extract indicates that the interviewed teachers were so highly motivated to know English that they spared no effort and means to learn it. They even paid their own tutors to add on what they were learning from the English training provided by the Government. Such high motivation of teachers reminds Spolsky's (1989, p.23) condition 52 in the theoretical framework, which states that "the more motivation a learner has, the more time he or she will spend learning an aspect of a second language". As most of those teachers were from a French speaking background, they were probably concerned about the security of their jobs, which can be described as instrumental motivation. These teachers seemed to believe that the learners' use of English in classroom for every interaction with peers would leave room for practicing English within the Kinyarwanda dominant environment, where 99.4% of the population speak it, as described in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1. It is, therefore, not surprising that the majority of them want their learners to speak English all the time when interacting with their peers in class.

Reason 2: Teachers' perception on young learners' ability to acquire English

Our findings show that most urban teachers feel that young learners are able to acquire English as quickly as possible. The same view was expressed by several teachers, as illustrated in the extract below:

> *… we know that a 7 to 9 year old child is able to memorize whatever you teach him/her. If the Government programme wanted them to become proficient in English from grade 1 to grade 6, they knew that children will learn it quickly, rather than starting in grade three or four. The sooner the child starts the language, the better and the quicker s/he becomes proficient. This is how the Government viewed it and they were right if there were English proficient teachers, with audio-visual materials to match the image with pronunciation. We felt it was wonderful. The problem came when the curriculum developers instructed to switch again to Kinyarwanda, and start English medium again in grade 4.*
>
> [Extract 71: S1T1]

This extract shows that some teachers are convinced that learners benefit a lot only when they start learning through English from lower grades. This shows that a great majority of Rwandan urban school teachers (88.9%) and a sizeable number of rural school teachers (66.7%) still have an old-fashioned belief that people who are exposed to a foreign or an additional language during childhood achieve higher level of proficiency in that foreign or additional language than those who acquire it during adulthood, as claimed by earlier research (Asher and Garcia, 1969; Oyama, 1978; Krashen, 1979; Patkowski, 1980, cited in Singleton, 1989, p.117). They also still believe in one of Benson's (2003) 'widely believed myth', which states that 'students need to start schooling in the L2 as quickly as possible', as described in § 2.7.2 of Chapter 2 and in § 4.2.3.1 of Chapter 4. Their belief reiterates Spolsky's (1989, p.23) condition 50 in the theoretical framework, which claims that "the greater a learner's aptitude, the faster he or she will learn all parts of the second language"; and this is what the majority of the participating teachers tended to believe.

However, another sizeable number of rural school teachers (33.3%) and a small number of urban school teachers (11.1%) have a different belief, as illustrated in the extracts below:

> *Teaching the young learners in Kinyarwanda is extremely important because it enables them to master or gain fundamental knowledge in the mother tongue, which then enables them to get proficiency in other languages.*
>
> [Extract 72: S4T10]

> *What I would prefer is that young learners should start their education through Kinyarwanda medium, and then get introduced to English medium at a certain stage.* [Extract 73: S2T6, S2T4, S1HM1, S2HM]

In these extracts, teachers praise the benefits of starting with Kinyarwanda medium, the learners' mother tongue from lower grades; and support the view that young learners who come to school with a strong foundation in their mother tongue manage to develop strong literacy abilities for academic language. Such a viewpoint aligns with a new belief that the level of development of young learners' mother tongue is a strong predictor of their proficiency in the foreign or additional language, as contended by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Baker (2000), Cummins (2000a, 2003), to name but a few. However, despite such preference of starting with Kinyarwanda medium, they still support the use of English for peer interactions in the classroom.

Reason 3: Teachers' eagerness to improve their English skills by practicing with learners

During the group discussions with teachers, it could be felt that their practice in English will not only improve the learners' proficiency but also their own proficiency. It seemed as if they were teaching learners and improving their own language skills at the same time; as indicated in the extracts below:

> *We were extremely happy about shifting to English, even the learners were excited about it because it made us increase English vocabulary; but we were not happy when we shifted to Kinyarwanda because we lost such an opportunity for improving English.*
>
> [Extract 74: S3T7]

> *I found it very helpful to shift to English medium in 2009-2010 because I learnt a new language, and even learners acquired a new language because they were*

used to their mother tongue. This helped acquire a new language, which enabled us to become intelligent, if I may say so.

[Extract 75: S2T5]

From these extracts, it can be seen that teachers were not only improving English skills, but some were acquiring the language afresh. This is likely to be connected with the fact that only 1.9 % of the Rwandan population, teachers included, could speak English, as indicated in 2002 National Population Census (MINECOFIN, 2005). Therefore, it is likely to be another motive that made the majority of them to show preference that their learners should use English all the time when they are interacting with peers in the classroom. The next section is about learners' preference for the language to use while interacting with their peers in the classroom.

5.3.2 Learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda in class

Unlike their teachers, the majority of learners prefer the combination of Kinyarwanda and English in their interactions with peers in class, as illustrated in Figure 5.11 below:

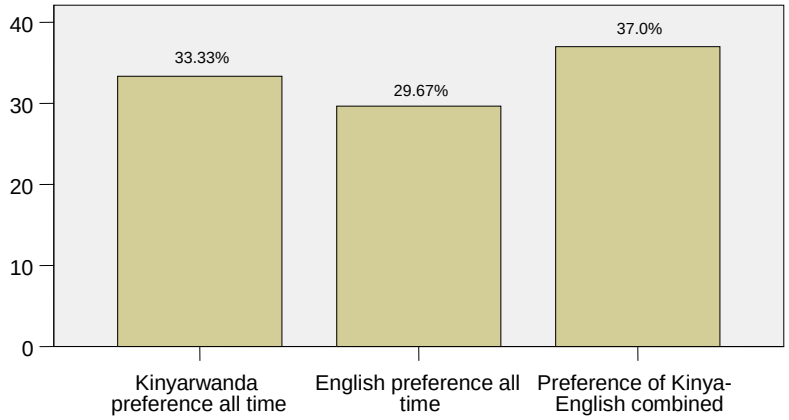


Figure 5.11: Learners' language preference during interactions with their peers in class

For learners, the majority (37.0) prefer the combined use of Kinyarwanda and English while interacting with peers in the classroom; followed by the preference of Kinyarwanda (33.33%), while English is the least preferred (29.67%). The salient motive for overall preference for the use of English and Kinyarwanda combined, as it emerged from the group discussions, was

mainly their high aspirations to attain balanced bilingualism or ambilingualism or equilingualism (Baker, 2006, p.9) between English and Kinyarwanda, as also confirmed in 4.2.2.2 of Chapter 4. The fact that their linguistic milieu is characterized by restricted bilingualism, where true bilinguals are less than 10% of the population (Niyomugabo, 2008, p. 4), and where more than 90% of the population do not know English, French and Kiswahili, but rather speak Kinyarwanda only (Munyankesha, 2004; LeClerk, 2008; Niyomugabo, 2008; Samuelson and Freedman, 2010), as described in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1, is likely to be one of the most impulses that boost young learners' aspirations to balanced bilingualism. They highly appreciated the consecutive shifts between English and Kinyarwanda, as illustrated in Chapter 4, since they allowed them to get exposed to the two languages as the media of instruction consecutively, and such an appreciation still holds in this chapter. Let us see in the next paragraphs if there is any difference in terms of language preference between urban and rural school learners.

The comparison between urban and rural school learners indicates different orientations of preferences among the two groups, as illustrated in Figure 5.12 below:

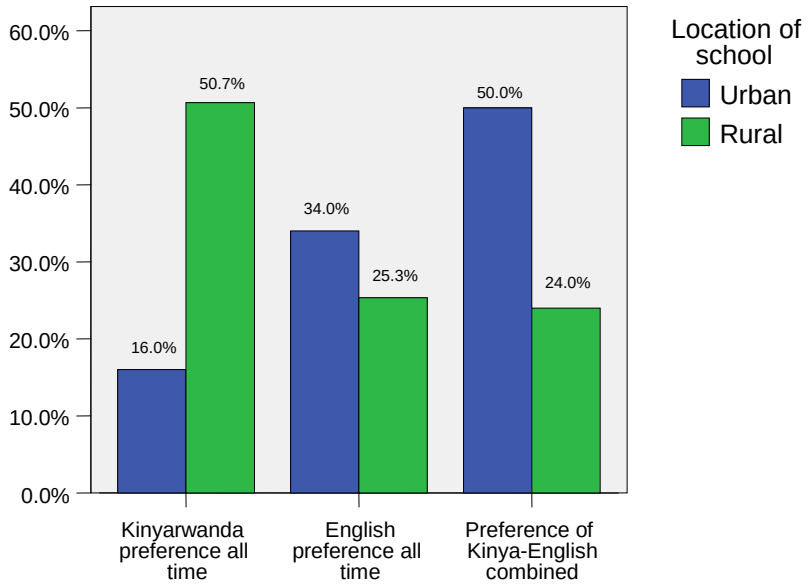


Figure 5.12: Comparison between urban and rural school learners in terms of their language preference during interactions with peers in class

It can be observed from Figure 5.12 above that language preference tends to differ between urban and rural school learners. For example, the majority of rural school learners (50.7%) prefer to use Kinyarwanda for all classroom interactions with peers, while the majority of urban school learners (50%) prefer the combination of English and Kinyarwanda. As for English preference, urban school learners outnumber the rural ones, with 34% against 25.3%; while Kinyarwanda preference received the least attention from urban school learners.

These findings are in consistency and congruence with their attitudes highlighted in § 4.2.2.2 of Chapters 4, where more rural school learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium than the urban ones. These findings confirm that the more the rural school learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwarwanda, the more they prefer its use in class when they are interacting with peers. As for the urban school learners, the less they appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in Chapter 4, the more they prefer its combination with English when interacting with peers in class, in this chapter. It is clear that the ease and comfort that rural school learners feel about Kinyarwanda, as confirmed in the focus group discussions, still influence their Kinyarwanda preference.

The preference of Kinyarwanda among rural school learners continues to challenge the plethora in the existing body of knowledge, which confirms that African indigenous languages are not preferred. While the Rwandan rural learners demonstrated positive attitudes towards their mother tongue medium in this study, Assefa's (2002) research among grade 7 and grade 8 learners in Ethiopia also revealed positive attitudes towards their mother tongue (Sidama). However, while different attitudinal orientations based on urban-rural divide is observed in this study, Assefa's (2002) study found no significant difference between rural and urban learners; and this continues to confirm the claim that attitudes are context-dependent and and that the ideology of current language in use tends to dictate current attitudes, as indicated in the conclusion of Chapter 4 (Cf. § 4.3).

As the high preference of mother tongue among rural school learners is attributed to the Rwandan endoglossic setting, where 99.6% of rural dwellers and 98.4% of urban dwellers speak Kinyarwanda (MINECOFIN, 2005), the positive attitudes to Kinyarwanda can be in line with

condition 42 of Spolsky's (1989, p. 22) Language Preference Model, which states that "the number of people who speak a language as a first or second language influences the desire of others to learn it". It can also be in line with condition 48 which claims that learners "prefer to learn a language when the learning is reinforced or encouraged by speakers of the language". It seems as if rural school learners could not imagine how they could survive in their linguistic milieu if they do not master or use Kinyarwanda, which is spoken by almost everybody. That is why it is not surprising that the majority of Rwandan rural school learners (50.7%) preferred to use Kinyarwanda for all classroom interactions with peers, while 50% of urban school learners preferred the combination of English and Kinyarwanda. Let us now see if their language preference in class is the same as their language preference at the school playground.

5.3.3 Teachers' preference for their learners' use of English and Kinyarwanda at the school playground

This kind of language preference among teachers was investigated by asking them about the language they prefer the learners should be using among themselves while playing at the school playground. Figure 5.13 below illustrates their language preference.

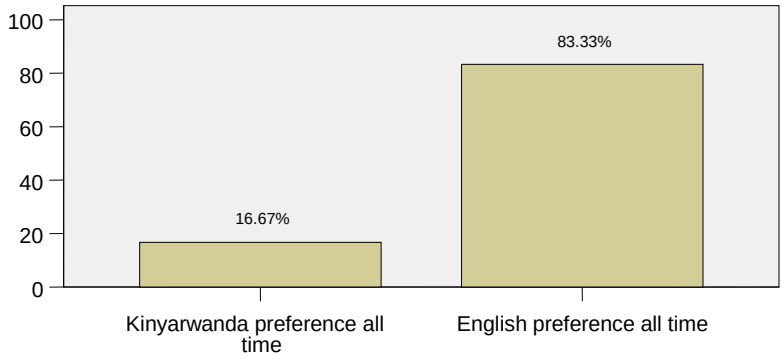


Figure 5.13: Teachers' language preference for their learners' interactions with their peers at the school playground

It can be observed from Figure 5.13 above that almost all teachers investigated (83.33%) prefer that their learners should use English all the time when interacting with their peers at the school playground. Only 16.67% prefer the use of Kinyarwanda. Therefore, English is the most preferred by teachers in such a kind of learners' interaction.

As for the comparison between urban and rural school teachers, Figure 5.14 below shows the following preference:

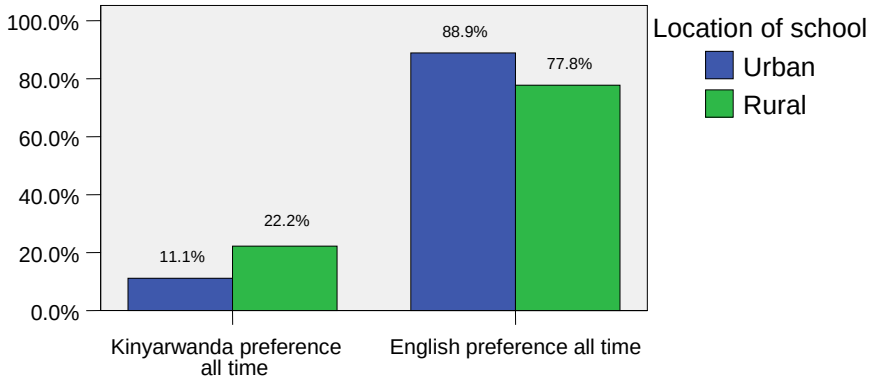


Figure 5.14: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers about their language preference for their learners' interaction at the school playground

Both urban and rural school teachers wanted their learners to speak English when they are playing outside the classroom, and they rated such preference at 88.9% and 77.8% respectively. Only 11.1% urban and 22.2% rural school teachers preferred the use of Kinyarwanda all the time when those learners are playing at the school yard.

Then what are the motives behind such an overwhelming preference of English on the side of teachers? Those teachers are well aware that almost all their learners come from Kinyarwanda speaking families, with very limited proficiency in English, but they wish those learners should use English while interacting with peers at the school playground. This is still the confirmation of the teachers' overwhelming appraisal towards English, as it has been revealed throughout Chapter 4.

The evidence for learners' limited use of English in their interactions was seen during the observations done at the school playgrounds. During the six playground observations done in the six schools surveyed, the occurrence of learners' interactions in English, with discussion in full sentences, was observed and heard at one school only. This school is a private school, whose language practices at school are controlled, and where the school administration has set rules that incite and encourage learners to use English and French at school, both in the classroom and at the school yard. However, in all other five schools surveyed, the researcher overheard only two English words in the code-switched sentences uttered by learners who were playing with their peers. Those English words were code-switched in Kinyarwanda sentence like

> "*Mpereza iyo '**ball**' wowe..*" [pass me that **ball**, you…]
> "***No no-no-no-no**, ntubona ko umupira waguye **out***?" [**No, no, no, and no**, don't you see that ball is **out**?] (for the learners who were playing volley-ball).
>
> [Extract 76]

All other interactions heard were in Kinyarwanda. Teachers are aware of such learners' limited proficiency in English, but they still demonstrate high impulses for learners to interact with peers in English when they are outside the classroom. Such preference reveals how much and how eager the teachers want the learners to practice English, by all possible means. The next section describes if the learners' language preference at the school yard is similar to the one expressed by their teachers.

5.3.4 Learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda at the school playground

Unlike their teachers, the group of participating learners showed the preference of Kinyarwanda, English, and the combination of Kinyarwanda and English almost at the same level, as illustrated in Figure 5.15 on the next page:

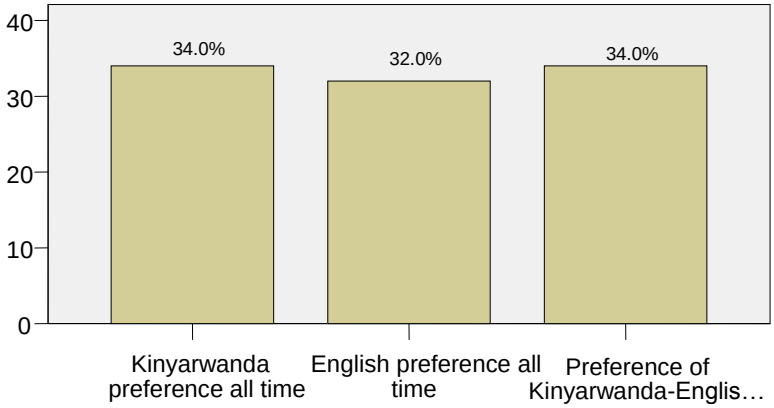


Figure 5.15: Learners' language preference while interacting with their peers at the school playground

For learners, the majority (34%) prefer to use Kinyarwanda all the time, and the same figure (34%) prefer Kinyarwanda and English combined. English alone is preferred by 32% of the whole group of learners investigated. This is also another evidence of positive attitudes towards their mother tongue, but it is at the same time a confirmation of learners' high motives and aspirations to attain balanced bilingualism or ambilingualism or equilingualism (Baker, 2006, p.9) between English and Kinyarwanda, as confirmed in § 5.3.2 above.

However, the comparison between urban and rural school learners indicates different preferences, as shown in Figure 5.16 on the next page:

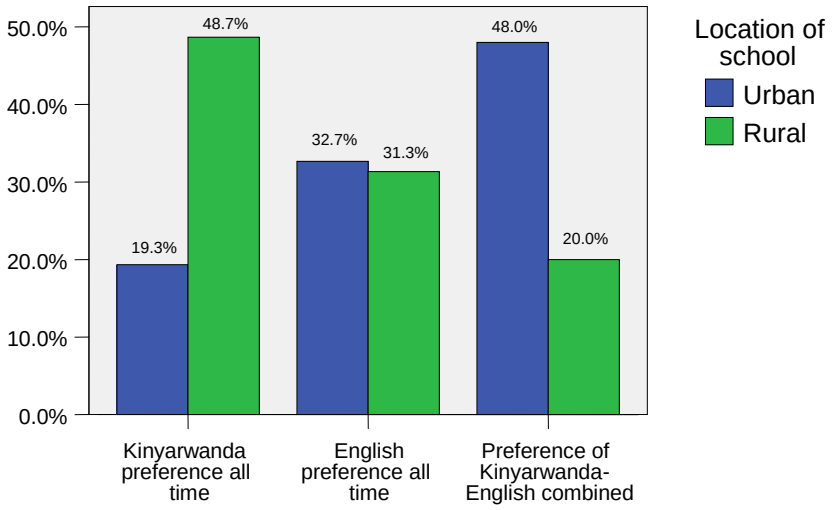


Figure 5.16: Comparison between urban and rural school learners about their language preference while interacting with their peers at the school playground

Opposing orientation in terms of language preference is observed among the two groups, where more rural school learners (48.7%) prefer to use Kinyarwanda all the time when they are playing with peers at the school playground, while more urban school learners (48%) prefer the combination of Kinyarwanda and English. The preference of English comes in the third position, with 32.7% among urban and 31.3% among rural school learners. The least preferred language is Kinyarwanda for urban school learners (19.3%), while it is Kinyarwanda-English combined for rural school learners (20%).

It is evident that there is consistency between the learners' language preference outside the classroom and inside the classroom. Such a congruence is manifested in § 5.3.2 above, where the majority of rural school learners (50.7%) prefer to use Kinyarwanda for all interactions with peers in the classroom, while the majority of urban school learners (50%) prefer the combination of English and Kinyarwanda. English preference also comes in the third position, where urban school learners outnumber the rural ones, with 34% against 25.3%. Similarly, their language preference outside the classroom followed the same trend, with the majority of rural school learners (48.7%) preferring to use Kinyarwanda all the time when they are playing with peers at the school playground, while the majority of urban school learners (48%) prefer the combination of Kinyarwanda and English. The preference of English is still in the third position, with 32.7%

among urban and 31.3% among rural school learners. Such findings are also consistent with their attitudes highlighted in § 4.2.2.2 of Chapters 4, specifically with the appraisal of Kinyarwanda, where more rural school learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium than the urban ones. This evidence continues to support the argument that the findings in this study challenge the common view that people have negative attitudes towards their mother tongue. This study continues to show the opposite to the existing literature, especially for participants from rural settings. Let us now see if the teachers' and learners' language preference at home still confirms the same trend.

5.3.5 Teachers' preference for their learners' use of English and Kinyarwanda at home

Teachers showed their language preference at home by indicating their preferred language that learners should use when interacting with their relatives at home. Figure 5.17 below illustrates it for the whole group of teachers.

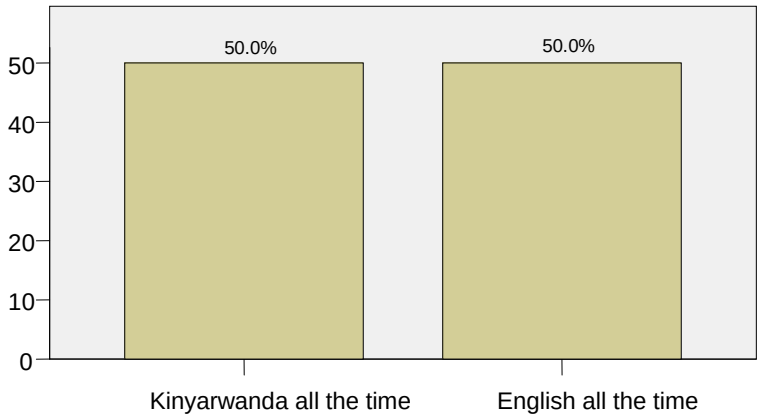


Figure 5.17: Teachers' language preference for their learners' interaction with relatives at home

It is observed that the group of teachers considers their learners' use of Kinyarwanda and English at home on the same footing, i.e. 50% preferred Kinyarwanda all the time and other 50% prefer English. At this stage, it is noticed that the teachers' level of English preference has dwindled if we compare with their level of English preference in the classroom and in the school yard. Such

decreasing preference of English at home is still attributed to the Rwandan endoglossic landscape where 99.4% of the population speak Kinyarwanda, which is the language that plays a predominant role in social, cultural, political and economic interactions among Rwandans (Ngoboka, 1984, p.13), especially at the family level. The predominant role of Kinyarwanda, as identified by Ngoboka (1984) suggests that Kinyarwanda holds the tradition which is enclosed in the Rwandan culture that is embedded in that language. Therefore, those teachers who preferred the use of Kinyarwanda at home were probably influenced by Spolsky's (1989, p.22) condition 47 of the language preference model, which is a great tradition condition that prefers to teach or learn a language which has a great tradition (including a religion) associated with it. Thus, we can say that the over-predominance of Kinyarwanda and its outstanding social and cultural role have influenced the teachers' high preference of English, and reduced it to fifty-fifty.

However, the comparison between urban and rural school teachers has shown opposite orientations, but kept equal level of preference for the two languages, i.e. 66.7% of rural school teachers who preferred Kinyarwanda, and 66.7% of urban school teachers who preferred English, as highlighted in Figure 5.18 below:

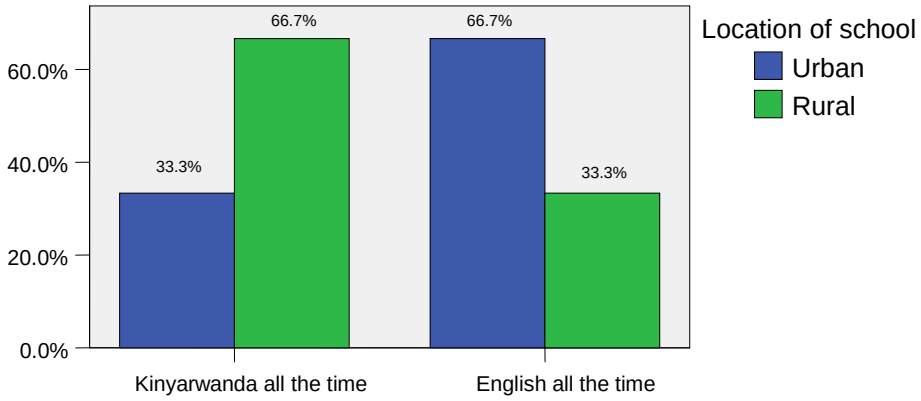


Figure 5.18: Comparison between urban and rural school teachers on their language preference for their learners' interaction with relatives at home

While the majority of both urban and rural school teachers have consistently demonstrated a high preference of English for learners' interactions in class and outside the classroom, they have now manifested differing preference at home. The use of Kinyarwanda at home is more preferred by

rural school teachers, while it is the least preferred by urban school teachers. Contrariwise, the use of English at home is preferred by the majority of urban school teachers, but less preferred by rural school teachers; and both Kinyarwanda and English are preferred at the same level among the two opposing groups (66.7% and 66.7% respectively).

Our findings confirm their opposing attitudes described in § 4.2.3.1 of Chapter 4, where rural school teachers exhibited more positive attitudes towards Kinyarwanda, while urban school teachers highly valued English. This is different from the language choice and preference situation in other parts of Africa. Kamwangamalu (2000, p.126), for example, describes how African local languages in South Africa are not preferred by Black learners, who consider them as barriers to more advanced levels. Makalela (1999, cited in Makalela, 2004, p.357) indicates how South African Black elite who migrate to metropolitan areas tend to use English in their homes and send their children to English medium schools from nursery school level and Heugh (2002, cited in Makalela, 2004, p.357) indicates that attempts to promote and use an African language have not been effective. The Rwandan rural school teachers have shown the opposite. The next section presents the learners' language preference at home.

5.3.6 Learners' preference between English and Kinyarwanda at home

Unlike their teachers, more learners (36.67%) prefer the combination of Kinyarwanda and English when talking to their relatives at home, as illustrated in Figure 5.19 below.

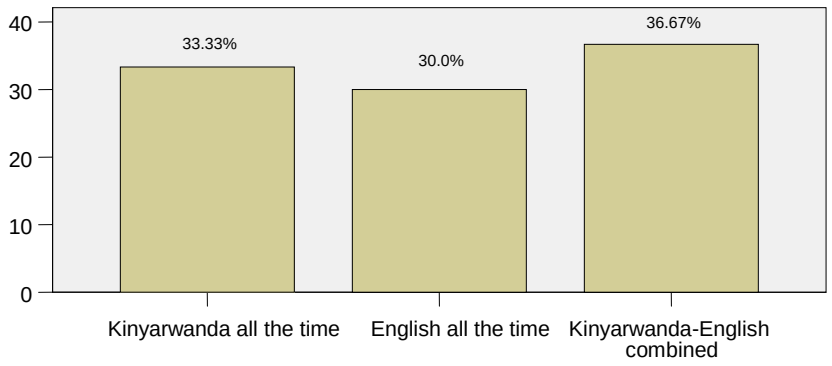


Figure 5.19: Learners' language preference when talking to their relatives at home

Figure 5.19 on the previous page shows that the most preferred language at home is Kinyarwanda-English combined, followed by the use of Kinyarwanda all the time (33.33%), while English alone comes in the third position, with 30%. Here again, the learners' high preference of the use of English and Kinyarwanda combined at home still suggests their high aspirations for attainment of balanced bilingualism or ambilingualism or equilingualism (Baker, 2006, p.9) between the two languages, as it was also found for their language preference in class and at the playground (cf. § 5.3.2 and § 5.3.4). Despite the predominant preference of the combination of English and Kinyarwanda among the whole group of the participating Rwandan learners, it is still evident that English alone is the least preferred by those learners at home, if compared to Kinyarwanda, and this still debunks the findings in many language attitudinal studies in the existing literature. That is why this preference of Kinyarwanda over English has more in common with Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon's (2009) study in Singapore, where Chinese and Indian children in Singapore showed more positive attitudes towards their mother tongues than English, as highlighted in § 5.1.2 above.

However, the comparison between urban and rural school learners in Figure 5.20 below presents opposing orientations among the two groups, which show similarities with their teachers' preference, as illustrated in Figure 5.18 on the previous page.

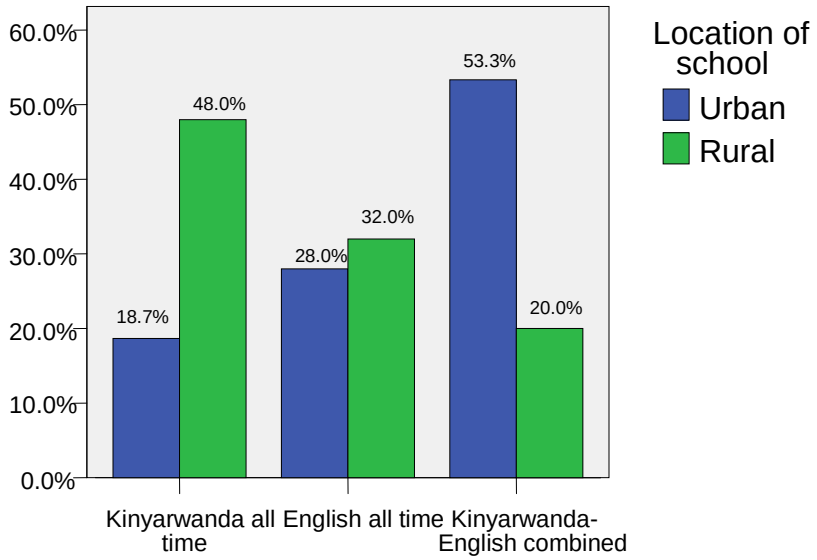


Figure 5.20: Comparison between urban and rural school learners on their language preference while talking to their relatives at home

At this stage also, more rural school learners (48%) prefer the use of Kinyarwanda for all interactions with relatives at home, while more urban school learners (53.3%) prefer English and Kinyarwanda combined. This is a recurrent feature because it was the same case for their language preference in class and at the school playground (cfr § 5.3.2 and § 5.3.4 above). It is even the same feature for the teachers' language preference at home, although they did not prefer the combination of English and Kinyarwanda, but separately. For learners, the preference of English at home still comes in the third position, with 32% of rural school learners and 28% of urban school learners; and such a third position has also been a recurrent feature because it has been the case for their English preference in class and at the school playground (cfr § 5.3.2 and § 5.3.4 above).

5.4 Conclusion

Chapter 5 has provided a detailed answer and analysis to the research question 2: "*Which language do learners and teachers prefer as a MoI and as a subject between English and Kinyarwanda after consecutive policy shifts*?" and part of research question 3: "*What are the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home (preferred language)*?". The key finding is that the location of the participants, either in urban or in rural area, plays a significant influence in the language preference among teachers and learners. In this regard, despite the high preference of English observed among teachers in general, the salient and striking feature is that rural school learners and teachers exhibited more preference and choice of Kinyarwanda medium than urban school learners and teachers; and this preference was consistently in congruence with their positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. Similarly, those rural school learners and teachers have manifested more preference of Kinyarwanda use in class, at the school playground and at home.

On the other hand, urban school learners and teachers have consistently shown more preference to English than rural school learners; but urban school learners have manifested more preference of English and Kinyarwanda combined, be it in class, at the school playground and at home, while urban school teachers preferred the use of English alone in the three settings. For both

urban and rural school learners, the preference of the use of English alone was consistently below their preference for the use of Kinyarwanda alone and the combination of Kinyarwanda and English. That is why I argue that hypothesis 2 which states that "After consecutive shifts, teachers' and learners' preference of MoI favours an endoglossic African language (Kinyarwanda) over an international language (English)" as well as hypothesis 3 which states that "After consecutive shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' preference of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home is still over-dominated by the preference of an African language over an international one" are confirmed in this chapter, especially among rural school learners and teachers. The next chapter is going to analyse their actual language use in class, at the playground and at home, to compare if they are in congruence with their language preference, which was analysed in this Chapter 5.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

PART III: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' ACTUAL LANGUAGE USE IN CLASS, AT THE PLAYGROUND AND AT HOME AFTER POLICY SHIFTS

6.0 Introduction

Chapter six provides a detailed analysis and interpretation of findings from the research question 3: "*What are the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home?*" Part of this research question was analysed in Chapter five where learners and teachers demonstrated their preference towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home. In this chapter, their language preference is compared with their actual language use, before confirming or rejecting hypothesis 3, which states that "after consecutive shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' actual use of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home is still over-dominated by an African language over an international one" (cf. § 1.5.2). Therefore, this chapter comes to counter-act and cross-check Chapter five, for a comparative identification of what languages do the learners and teachers prefer and what they actual use in class, at the school yard and at home. The findings have highlighted the language policies which are actually adopted by the sampled schools for teaching Grade 1-3, the actual language(s) used by learners and teachers in the classroom, the actual language(s) they use during interactions with peers at the school yard, and during interactions with relatives at home as well as the actual language(s) they prefer on TV and radio. Teachers were also asked to rate the frequency of their language use due to their maturity, but learners were only asked to identify the languages they actually use. The comparative account between urban and rural school teachers and learners continued as well. The tenets of theoretical framework which are applied to the analysis in this chapter include the combination of the mentalist approach, the typology of bilingual education and language preference model, with the predominance of conditions 12, 15 and 40 for the language preference model, which focus on language use.

6.1 Teachers' and learners' actual language use at school

The languages that are used by teachers and learners at school include the languages that are adopted in their school language policies as well as the language they use while perfoming academic tasks or when they are interacting with peers in the school environment.

6.1.1 Languages adopted in respective school language policies

The findings revealed that the shifts which were suggested by the Rwandan Government were implemented fully in public and subsidized schools, while some private schools could continue to include some other languages like French. Regarding the medium of instruction, the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 was adopted by all public, subsidized and private schools (Niyibizi, 2010). However, the findings in this study have revealed that the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 was adopted for all subjects by all public and subsidized schools, but not by all private schools, because some private schools could still use English as a medium of instruction for some subjects and Kinyarwanda as a medium for other subjects, but added French as a subject or as a medium for some other subjects. In this regard, Figure 6.1 on the next page illustrates the languages that were included in the school language policy which was being implemented for Grade 1-3, in the six schools investigated, during the data collection period, i.e. between 15 August 2012 and 15 October 2012.

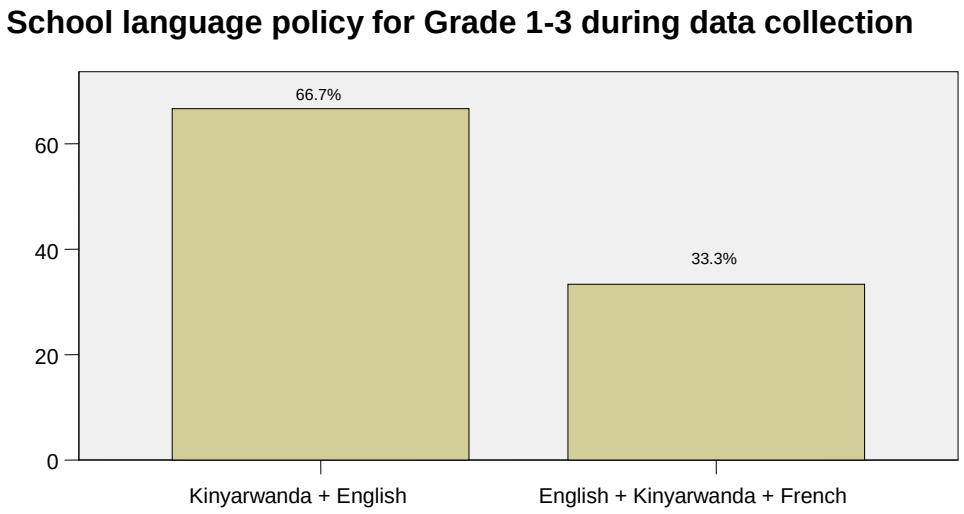


Figure 6.1: Languages adopted in language policies which were being implemented by the sampled schools during data collection period

As shown in Figure 6.1 above, 66.7% of the sampled schools were using two languages, i.e. Kinyarwanda and Englis while 33.3% were using three languages in their school language policy, i.e. Kinyarwanda, English and French, and the latter were exclusively private schools. The majority of the sampled schools shifted from a trilingual policy (French, English and Kinyarwanda) in the pre-2008 language policy and embraced the bilingual policy (English and Kinyarwanda) in 2009-2010, and then shifted to bilingual policy again (Kinyarwanda and English) in 2011-2012 while few schools shifted from trilingualism (French, English and Kinyarwanda) to trilingualism (English, Kinyarwanda and French) in 2009-2010, and back to trilingualism again (Kinyarwanda, English and French) in 2011-2012, by simply exchanging the languages of instruction.

As for the comparison between urban and rural schools, the percentages are the same, as illustrated in Figure 6.2 on the next page.

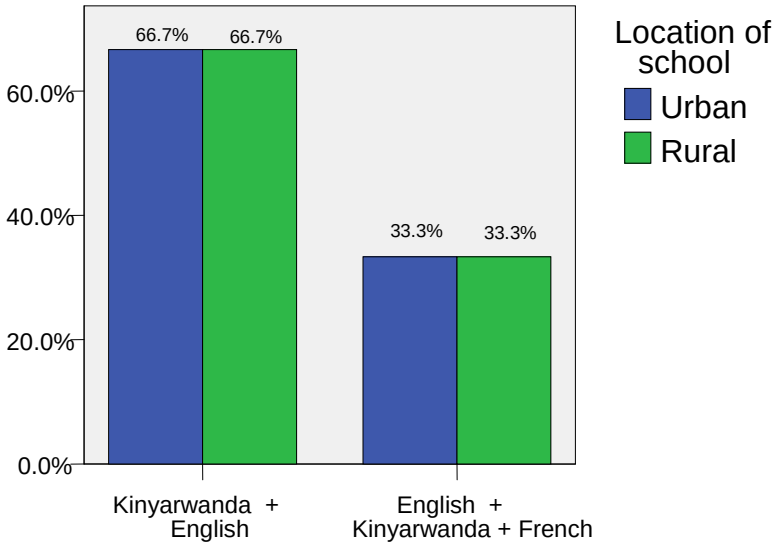


Figure 6.2: Languages adopted in language policies which were being implemented by the sampled urban and rural schools during data collection period

Like Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2 also shows that 66.7% of both urban and rural schools investigated were using two languages in their school language policies, i.e. Kinyarwanda and English and 33.3% in both groups were using three, namely, Kinyarwanda, English and French. The next section describes how the teachers and the learners actually use those languages adopted in their schools language policies, plus other languages spoken in their school location and at home.

6.1.2 Teachers' actual language use in class, at school yard and at home

Table 6.3 on the next page highlights the frequency of teachers' actual language use while interacting with learners in the classroom, when interacting with colleagues at the school yard, and when interacting with relatives at home. The analysis compared the actual language use among the whole group of participating teachers first, and then between urban and rural school teachers, as Table 6.4 on the next page illustrates. The comparison focused mainly on languages that were adopted in specific schools' language policies in 2012 academic year, as described in § 6.1.1 above, where 66.7% of the sampled schools adopted bilingual policy (Kinyarwanda and English); while 33.3% adopted trilingual policy (Kinyarwanda, English and French). That is why Kinyarwanda, English and French were compared at all the three levels, i.e. in the classroom,

outside the classroom and at home. As teachers are mature and are able to estimate the frequency of their language use, they were asked to range their language use on the frequency scale including "all the time, very often, often, rarely and never". Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 below compare such language use by the whole group of participating teachers and urban versus rural school teachers respectively:

Table 6.3: Comparison of teachers' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home among the whole group of participating teachers

Language	**Groups of informants**	**Frequency**	**Use in class (%)**	**Use outside class (%)**	**Use at home (%)**
English	Whole group	All the time	22.22%	-	-
		Very often	33.33%	44.44%	22.22%
		Often	11.11%	22.22%	27.78%
		Rarely	5.56%	22.22%	16.67%
		Never	27.78%	11.11%	33.33%
Kinyarwanda	Whole group	All the time	38.9	33.33%	44.44%
		Very often	11.1	38.89	38.89%
		Often	11.1	5.56%	16.67%
		Rarely	38.9	22.22%	-
		Never	-	-	-
French	Whole group	All the time	-	-	-
		Very often	-	-	11.11%
		Often	11.11%	11.11%	11.11%
		Rarely	5.56%	16.67%	16.67%
		Never	83.33%	72.22%	61.11%
Other African local languages	Whole group	All the time	-	-	16.67%
		Very often	-	5.56%	-
		Often	-	11.11%	-
		Rarely	-	-	-
		Never	-	83.33%	83.33%

From Table 6.3 on the previous page, it is clear that the whole group of participating teachers use languages at different rates, in the three contexts investigated, i.e. in class, outside the class or at the school yard and at home. It is observed that the two languages which are at the centre in this study, i.e. English and Kinyarwanda, are used by all the participating teachers, though the frequency of use in class, outside the class and at home is different. French is used less frequently as compared to English and Kinyarwanda, be it in class, at the school yard and at home. Some local African languages which are spoken in some localities of Rwanda, as indicated on the Rwandan linguistic map (cf. Map 3 and Diagram 1 in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1) were being used in some schools such as Amashi-igihavu, Oluciga-igihima, Ikirashi-urunyambo, Kiswahili, Kirundi, Lingala and Luganda. In the table on the previous page, the other African local language, which some teachers reported to use outside the classroom and at home, was Oluciga-igihima. It is evident that the teachers' dominant language preference identified in Chapter 5 corresponds with the predominant languages they actually use in class, at the school yard and at home, and those languages are Kinyarwanda and English. The next table compares the urban and rural school teachers' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home.

Table 6.4 Comparison of teachers' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home, between urban and rural school teachers

Language	**Frequency**	**Groups of informants**	**Use in class (%)**		**Use outside class (%)**		**Use at home (%)**		
English	All the time	Urban	33.3%		-		-		
		Rural	11.1%		-		-		
	Very often	Urban	33.3%		66.7%		11.1%		
		Rural	33.3%		22.2%		33.3%		
	Often	Urban	11.1%		-		55.6%		
		Rural	11.1%		44.4%		-		
	Rarely	Urban	-		22.2%		33.3%		
		Rural	11.1%		22.2%		-		
	Never	Urban	22.2%		11.1%		-		
		Rural	33.3%		11.1%		66.7%		
Kinyarwanda	All the time	Urban	33.3%		33.3%		55.6%		

		Rural	44.4%		33.3%		33.3%		
	Very often	Urban	11.1%		33.3%		33.3%		
		Rural	11.1%		44.4%		44.4%		
	Often	Urban	11.1%		-		11.1%		
		Rural	11.1%		11.1%		22.2%		
	Rarely	Urban	44.4%		33.3%		-		
		Rural	33.3%		11.1%		-		
	Never	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	-		-		-		
French	All the time	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	-		-		-		
	Very often	Urban	-		-		11.1%		
		Rural	-		-		11.1%		
	Often	Urban	-		-		22.2%		
		Rural	22.2%		22.2%		-		
	Rarely	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	11.1%		33.3%		33.3%		
	Never	Urban	100%		100%		66.7%		
		Rural	66.7%		44.4%		55.6%		
Other African local languages	All the time	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	-		-		33.3%		
	Very often	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	-		11.1%		-		
	Often	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	-		22.2%		-		
	Rarely	Urban	-		-		-		
		Rural	-		-		-		
	Never	Urban	100%		100%		100%		
		Rural	100%		66.7%		66.7%		

The comparison between urban and rural school teachers in Table 6.4 demonstrates that the two groups use the languages at different rates and the section below describes the frequency of teachers' language use in the three settings investigated, based on the figures presented in Table 6.4 on the previous page.

6.1.2.1 Frequency of teachers' language use in class, at school yard and at home

As highlighted in Table 6.4 on the previous page, urban and rural school teachers use languages at various frequencies, be it in class, at the school yard and at home. For example, for the two languages of focus in this study, which were involved in the two consecutive policy shifts as media of instruction, namely English and Kinyarwanda, are used differently. For English, the percentages in Table 6.4 on the previous page indicate that urban school teachers use English more frequently than rural school teachers, at all the contexts, be it in class, at the school yard and at home. On the other side, rural school teachers use Kinyarwanda more predominantly than urban school teachers, and this is the case in class, outside the classroom and at home. The predominant use of either one of the two languages among urban and rural school teachers reflects the disproportion of language use and language distribution among urban and rural dwellers, as revealed by the 2002 and 2012 national population census. In this regard, according to the 2002 census, English was spoken by 6.0% urban and 1.1% rural dwellers respectively (MINECOFIN, 2005), while the figures increased up to 29.9% for urban dwellers and 11.3% for rural dwellers, according to the 2012 census (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.45). As for Kinyarwanda, it is spoken by 99.6% rural and 98.4% urban dwellers respectively (MINECOFIN, 2005).

For French, percentages in Table 6.4 on the previous page show that it is used more predominantly by rural school teachers than the urban ones, especially in class and at the school yard, which is actually not in congruence with the statistics from the national population censuses, where it was spoken by less rural dwellers (i.e. 2.3%) than urban dwellers (i.e. 12.2%), according to the 2002 population census (MINECOFIN, 2005), and by 7.8% of rural dwellers and 27.3% of urban dwellers, according to the 2012 census (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.45). However, after the two consecutive shifts, rural school teachers use French more frequently than

urban school teachers in their interactions in class and at the school yard. Its use in their interactions with relatives at home is almost at the same rate among the two groups.

Table 6.4 also indicates that another African local language identified was exclusively used by some of the rural school teachers, specifically outside the class and at home. This language is Oluciga-igihima, which was found at some of the sampled schools located in the Northern part of Rwanda, near the border with Uganda, as illustrated on the Rwandan linguistic map (Map 3) in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1.

6.1.2.2 Teachers' use of code-switching and translanguaging

The observations made at the participating schools confirmed how urban and rural school teachers were using languages differently, especially through code-switching and translanguaging. Code-switching and translanguaging are known to be one of the recent learning and teaching strategies in a multilingual classroom (Williams, 2000; Garcia, 2009; Van der Walt and Dornbrack, 2011, Makalela, 2013; Kagwesage, 2013). Code-switching is described as the alternation of two or more languages in a speaker's speech at the word, phrase or clause, sentence, and discourse (or paragraph) level (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Moodley and Kamwangamalu, 2004; Moodley, 2013); while translanguaging is described as "a language communication of receiving input in one language and providing output in another language" (Williams, 2000, in Makalela, 2013, p.3).

For example during the six observations made in classroom at all the six schools surveyed, the researcher found that teachers were relying on code-switching and translanguaging in English lessons. In this regard, the classroom observations showed that it was a rare case to get a teacher who conducted a lesson in English from the beginning to the end, without inserting some instructions in Kinyarwanda. Out of the six lessons observed, only two lessons were conducted in English throughout, without any instances of code-switching and these two lessons were observed in two private schools. As for the four remaining lessons, which were observed in public and subsidized schools, we found out that the teachers were code-switching from English

and Kinyarwanda at different stages of the lesson, especially for giving instructions and in providing the synthesis or the summary of the lesson.

Code-switching and translanguaging were only found in lessons conducted in English, and not in the lessons conducted in Kinyarwanda, in which all interactions between the teachers and the learners were done in Kinyarwanda from the beginning to the end. In all lessons conducted in English, it was as if the teachers were convinced that knowledge has to be mediated or lessons are easily made accessible to the learners through code-switching and translanguaging. Classrooms observations showed that the participating teachers were using code-switching and translanguaging at different stages of their teaching, mainly to help learners understand the content and to clarify the instructions. However, even though the teachers were using code-switching and translanguaging, they were discouraging learners to use it while responding; they were rather encouraging them to answer or to interact in English, even if Paxton (2009) claimed that code-switching enables students to explore ideas and concepts in a familiar environment.

The use of code-switching and translanguaging in the Rwandan schools was not only observed in the investigated lower grades, but at other levels of education in Rwanda as well. For example Habyarimana (2014) found that Rwandan primary grade 6 teachers and learners were using code-switching and translanguaging. He claims that "teachers code-switch as a way of helping learners to understand the content in English" (Habyarimana, 2014, p.128) and that "Translanguaging between English and Kinyarwanda would promote the learning of content and the target language" (2014, p.216). Similarly, Kagwesage's (2013) study revealed that students at the University of Rwanda were using code-switching and translanguaging in the three languages (English, French and Kinyarwanda) in their group discussions in order to successfully deal with complex academic tasks, which were offered in English. In a nutshell, code-switching and translanguaging are used at various education levels in Rwanda.

6.1.2.3 Predominance of Kinyarwanda use in all teachers' interactions

As for observations outside the classroom among the teachers, almost all the instances of interactions which were overheard were in Kinyarwanda suggesting that teachers themselves still

have problems to communicate in English among themselves, but they want their learners to interact in English with their peers in the classroom, outside the class and at home, as revealed in Chapter 5. This demonstrates how much and how eager the teachers want the learners to practice English, by all possible means.

Despite the eagerness to use English, their limited proficiency in English hampers their interactions in English and pushes them to use Kinyarwanda in different instances. During focus group discussions, teachers admitted that they were not fully proficient in English as highlighted in the extracts below:

> *....I, as a teacher, had studied in French, which means that I did not have proficiency in English and I did not have much to communicate to learners since my English proficiency was very limited.*
>
> [Extract 77: S4T10]

> *... I was not proficient in English; it was a big issue for me, but slow by slow, we got acquainted with it, developed its spoken skills and then taught it.*
>
> [Extract 78: S4T11]

The viewpoints expressed in the extracts above indicate that teachers trained in French had to strive to improve their language skills. This is likely to be one of the reasons why a sizeable number of teachers reported that they never use English in class (22.2% of urban and 33.3% of rural teachers); at the school yard (11.1% of urban and 11.1% of rural teachers); and at home (0% of urban and 66.7% of the rural school teachers). For the use of English in class, it is to be clarified that some of the interviewed teachers were exclusively teaching in Kinyarwanda and could not get the opportunity to use English in class. As for the teachers' linguistic background in general, the Rwandan primary school teachers used to be trained in two categories in Teacher Trainings colleges in the pre-2008 policy: those who were exclusively trained through French medium (Francophones), and those who were trained through English medium (Anglophones). However, the government implemented the two consecutive shifts on the same footing, irrespective of the language the teachers were trained in at high school level. This partly explains

why urban and rural school teachers use languages at different rates in class, outside the class and at home.

To assist those teachers from French-speaking background to develop and improve their proficiency in English, the Rwandan Ministry of Education organized English training, as mentioned earlier and stressed in the extract below:

> *The assistance which was provided was almost similar in the whole country. There were English language trainings organized by the Government; and peer assistance where your colleague helped you to understand the content you were supposed to teach in English; this is how we assisted each other.*
>
> [Extract 79: S1T2]

This extract shows how those teachers with limited proficiency in English were assisted to cope with this situation, but this aspect is explored in detail in the next chapter, which analyzes the experiences they went through during the two consecutive policy shifts. Let us now see if learners were using the languages on the same rates as their teachers.

6.1.3 Learners' actual language use in class, at school yard and at home

The analysis of learners' language use focused on the frequency of each specific language use, but without estimating their use on the frequency scale (all the time, very often, etc) as it was done for their teachers. This was due to their age. I found it difficult and beyond their level to ask them to rate the level of language use. That is why the interviews with them on this aspect was limited to the identification of the languages they were actually using when talking to their peers in the classroom and at the school playground, as well as when they were interacting with their relatives at home, and watching TV or listening to radio. Table 6.5 on the next page indicates the language they were actually using as a group of participants, with percentages; while Table 6.6 compared the urban with the rural school learners.

Table 6.5: Comparison of learners' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home among the whole group of participating learners								
Groups of informants	**Language used**		**Use in class**		**Use outside class**		**Use at home**	**Listening to Radio-TV**
Whole group	Kinyarwanda		75.33%		73.67%		70.67%	50.0%
	English		7.33%		4.0%		4.33%	8.7%
	French		-		-		0.67%	1.3%
	Kiswahili		-		-		1.67%	1.7%
	Other African local languages (Oluciga-Igihima)		14.33%		15.0%		13.67%	-
	Combinations of languages							
	Kinyarwanda and English		2.33%		7.0%		4.33%	20.7%
	English and French		0.67%		-		-	4.3%
	Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili		-		0.33%		2.33%	1.7%
	Kiswahili and French		-		-		0.67%	-
	English and Kiswahili		-		-		-	0.7%
	Kinyarwanda, English and French		-		-		1.33%	10.7%
	Kinyarwanda, English and Kiswahili		-		-		0.33%	-
	Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili and French		-		-		-	0.3%

Table 6.5 above shows that the participating learners were using more than four languages in their interactions in the classroom, at the school yard and at home. As indicated in the table above, their use of languages is at different rates in the four settings investigated, but the use of Kinyarwanda presents high percentages when compared with other languages. In this regard, the predominant use of Kinyarwanda is reported in their interactions in the classroom, at the school yard, at home and when watching TV or listening to radio. English comes in the second position

or together with its combination with Kinyarwanda while French and Kiswahili are mainly used at home and when watching TV or listening to radio. Let us now compare the urban and the rural school learners, in regard with their actual language use.

Table 6.6: Comparison of learners' actual language use in class, outside the class and at home, between urban and rural school learners

Groups of informants	**Language(s) used**		**Use in class**		**Use outside class**		**Use at home**	**Listening to Radio-TV**	
Both urban and rural learners	Kinyarwanda	Urban	82.0%		78.7%		76%	32.0%	
		Rural	68.7%		68.7%		65.3%	68.0%	
	English	Urban	12.0%		7.3%		8.7%	13.3%	
		Rural	2.7%		0.7%		0%	4.0%	
	French	Urban	-		-		1.3%	2.7%	
		Rural	-		-		-	-	
	Kiswahili	Urban	-		-		2.7%	2.7%	
		Rural	-		-		0.7%	0.7%	
	Other African local languages (Oluciga-Igihima)	Urban	-		-		-	-	
		Rural	28.7%		30.0%		27.3%	-	
	Combinations of languages								
	Kinyarwanda and English	Urban	4.7%		14.0%		6.0%	28.0%	
		Rural	-		-		2.7%	13.3%	
	English and French	Urban	1.3%		-		-	6.7%	
		Rural	-		-		-	2.0%	
	Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili	Urban	-		0.7%		2.0%	2.0%	
		Rural	-		-		2.7%	1.3%	
	Kiswahili and French	Urban	-		-		1.3%	-	
		Rural	-		-		-	-	
	English and	Urban	-		-		-	-	

	Kiswahili	Rural	-		-		-	1.3%	
	Kinyarwanda, English and French	Urban	-		-		2.0%	12.0%	
		Rural	-		-		0.7%	9.3%	
	Kinyarwanda, English and Kiswahili	Urban	-		-		-	-	
		Rural	-		-		0.7%	-	
	Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili and French	Urban	-		-		-	0.7%	
		Rural	-		-		-	1.0%	

As it can be observed from Table 6.6 above, the disproportion of language use is evident among urban and rural school learners. Kinyarwanda is predominantly used by both urban and rural learners in the four settings investigated, and the percentages in Table 6.6 above indicate that urban school learners use it more frequently than the rural school learners, except for watching TV and listening to radio. English comes in the second position, and urban school learners use it more than rural school learners. Urban learners also use the combination of English and Kinyarwanda more than rural school learners, and this is in congruence with their preference in Chapter 5, where urban school learners preferred the combination of English and Kinyarwanda, while rural school learners preferred Kinyarwanda alone. Some of the selected schools were also located in the areas where other African local languages are spoken in the surroundings of the schools. Those languages were therefore used in class, outside the class and at home, instead of using Kinyarwanda and English.

6.1.3.1 Predominant use of Kinyarwanda over other languages among learners

The predominant use of Kinyarwanda in the four settings investigated is obvious as indicated in the table above. Urban school learners reported to use it more than rural school learners, and this tends not to be in congruence with the statistics from 2002 census about the speakers of Kinyarwanda in the two settings. According to this census, the speakers of Kinyarwanda among the rural dwellers slightly outnumbered the speakers of Kinyarwanda among the urban dwellers, with 99.6% and 98.4% respectively (MINECOFIN, 2005), but such proportion is not the one reflected among the investigated learners; rather, urban learners who use Kinyarwanda outnumbered the rural learners. One of the possible explanations for such incongruence is the

fact that some of the participating rural schools, which were selected through a multistage sampling of clusters, were located in areas that use other African local languages, in conjunction with Kinyarwanda. In this regard, Table 6.6 on the previous page indicates that a sizeable number of the participating rural school learners were from an Oluciga-Igihima speaking area, where 28.7% of the learners reported to use this language in the classroom interactions with peers; 30.0% use it at the school yard, while 27.3% of them were using it at home. It is noteworthy that this African local language is spoken by a small population from some specific localities; it is not used in formal education or in official communications but at the regional and family levels, in local markets, cross-border trade exchange and local informal conversations (Munyakazi, 1984; Niyomugabo, 2008, p. 39), as described in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1.

The use of combinations of languages was also observed among urban and rural school learners, with the predominant use of the combination of English and Kinyarwanda among urban school learners, be it in the classroom, at the school playground, at home and when watching TV or listening to radio, as indicated in Table 6.6 on the previous page; and such predominant use of English and Kinyarwanda combined among urban school learners aligns with their attitudes and preference of the combination of the two languages, as revealed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. It is also shown that urban learners use English at a higher rate than rural school learners, which is still in congruence with their higher preference and higher positive attitudes towards English, as revealed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. As for the languages that the learners choose while watching T.V or listening to the radio, the percentages in Table 6.6 on the previous page have indicated that they predominantly watch and listen to programmes in Kinyarwanda and English, which still confirm their preference and positive attitudes towards the two languages, which is a recurrent feature in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

In addition to the languages that they use, the observations done in classrooms and at the playgrounds of the six schools surveyed showed that both urban and rural school learners were using Kinyarwanda almost exclusively in their interactions with peers, be it in the classroom or at the school playground and at home. The evidence is the fact that almost all the learners' utterances that the researcher managed to overhear during their interactions with peers in the classroom were in Kinyarwanda, except some utterances which were in Oluciga-Igihima in some

rural schools, but not in English or in any other language. This was observed in five schools, and interactions in English were only heard among peers at one private school. Learners from that very same school are also the ones who were observed uttering and discussing in full sentences of English at the school playground. This is the very same school which is described in § 5.3.3 of Chapter 5, where the school administration has set rules that control and encourage learners to practice languages, especially English and French, in the classroom and at the school yard. In other observations done at all other five schools, the researcher overheard only two English words in the code-switched sentences uttered by learners who were playing with their peers, as also described in § 5.3.3 of Chapter 5.

Interactions among urban and rural school learners are predominantly done in Kinyarwanda, be it in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, as well as when watching T.V or listening to radio. Apart from an African local language which is used in some rural schools, English comes in the second position among other languages. While the Rwandan linguistic landscape described in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1 indicates that the four dominant languages, namely Kinyarwanda, French, Kiswahili and English were respectively spoken by 99.4%, 3.9%, 3% and 1.9% of the population according to the Rwanda's 2002 National Population Census (MINECOFIN, 2005), the findings of this study show that English has taken the place of French in the second position, after Kinyarwanda, as indicated in Table 7.6. This evidence is also confirmed by the 2012 population census in Rwanda, which reported an increase of English speakers up to 14.7% and 11.4% for French speakers, by considering only the population aged 15 and beyond (MINECOFIN, 2014, p.45). This also reveals that the two consecutive policy shifts have prompted the shift in the order of dominance between French and English in Rwanda in terms of their use; and such a shift emphasizes and confirms the Rwanda's competition of linguistic functions stressed by Rosendal (2009, p.23).

With regard to the use of the combination of languages, including the four dominant languages (Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili), an outstanding dominance was observed among urban school learners, particularly in the use of the most two dominant languages, i.e. Kinyarwanda and English. The rural school learners relied mainly on the use and preference of Kinyarwanda, with extremely minimum use of English, especially at home and outside the

classroom. Such a situation is not unique to the Rwandan rural school learners, because Assefa (2002) found almost a similar situation in Ethiopia where grade 7 and 8 students from rural areas only had more exposure to their mother tongue, Sidama, but without other chance of speaking other languages that are widely spoken in their community. They only had Amharic and English in the classroom as medium of instruction; and that was one of the main reasons why those students of rural areas had more favorable motivation to learn Sidama language in the classroom and achieved more in Sidama language than students from urban areas. Assefa (2002) also indicated that urban students had a less favorable attitude towards Sidama language as instructional media due to the number of different languages that are spoken in towns, mixed cultural exposure, effect of TV and globalization, among others.

Likewise, Rwandan rural school learners tend to have more exposure to Kinyarwanda language in terms of language use, which is likely to be the reason why they prefererred Kinyarwanda medium and showed a more positive level of satisfaction towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, as indicated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Therefore, the learners' predominant use of Kinyarwanda in class, at the school yard and at home is like a reflection of the Rwandan endoglossic setting, with 99.4% of the population who speak Kinyarwanda. The preferred use of Kinyarwanda among the learners in particular and some of the rural school teachers in general continues to debunk the plethora in the existing literature that the mother tongues are not preferred.

6.2. Conclusion

The analysis in Chapter 6 has provided detailed answers and interpretation of the research question 3, about the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, which supplemented the research question analysed in Chapter 5 where learners and teachers indicated their preference towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home. The analysis done in this chapter has confirmed hypothesis 3, which states that "after consecutive shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' actual use of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home is still over-dominated by an

African language over an international one". This hypothesis was confirmed by the fact the majority of both learners and teachers rely heavily on Kinyarwanda during their interactions with peers in the classroom and at the school yard, as well as with their relatives at home.

The international language mentioned in the hypothesis in the Rwandan context is English, while it used to be French before the two consecutive shifts. This implies that the two consecutive policy shifts have also caused the shifts within the Rwandan linguistic landscape, characterized by competition of linguistic functions based on sociopolitical and economic interests, as stressed by Rosendal (2009, p.23). This linguistic competition exactly corresponds with Ricento's (2006, p. 6) claim that the linguistic system of the country or the state can undergo changes depending on rate of change in the economic, cultural, religious and political realms tied with nationalist and pan-nationalist movements, as described in § 1.1.2 of Chapter 1. The competition of language use between French and English in Rwanda was illustrated as a typical example; but these international languages are competing in the second position, following the predominance of the endoglossic language, Kinyarwanda. Chapter 6 continues therefore to challenge the plethora that African indigenous languages are not preferred. The next chapter discusses how the teachers and learners experienced the two consecutive language policy shifts.

CHAPTER SEVEN
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
PART IV-V: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter describes how the investigated teachers and learners experienced the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts. In the context of this study, the term "experiences", as defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2014), is "something personally encountered, undergone, or lived through" and "the act or process of directly perceiving events or reality". This chapter provides a detailed account of how the Rwandan teachers and learners who participated in the study encountered, underwent, lived and perceived the two consecutive policy shifts that occurred in 2008 and in 2011. It describes in detail how they experienced and perceived the two shifts.

7.1. Organization of the chapter

The analysis and interpretation of findings have answered two research question, namely research question 4: "*What are the learners' and teachers' experiences within the 2008-2011 language-in-education policy shifts*?", which is presented and discussed in Part IV; and research question 5: "*What benefits and drawbacks do the learners and teachers attribute to the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts*?", whose findings are presented and discussed in Part V. The two research questions were analyzed and interpreted within the analytic process of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (see § 3.5 of Chapter 3). In this chapter, IPA served as an appropriate tool for "understanding how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world" (Merriam, 2009, p. 13); which enabled the researcher to understand the participants' unique experiences, based on how they constructed their own understandings of these experiences in natural setting, and to provide an account of these experiences from the perspectives of the participants (Cresswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009).

The detailed description mentioned above was based on qualitative data which were collected through individual interviews with heads of schools, focus group interviews with teachers and

learners, observations in the classroom and at the school playground, as well as open-ended questions which were asked in the teachers' questionnaires. The amount of those qualitative data made the component of experience to be analyzed in two parts, namely Part IV and Part V, as mentioned above.

The teachers' and learners' experiences analyzed in Part IV focused on how they lived and experienced the 2008-2011 consecutive shifts; positive and negative experiences during those two shifts, as well as the practices and mechanisms that enabled them to cope with the changes that were imposed by those shifts. Therefore, the salient themes which emerged from the Rwandan learners' and teachers' experiences (in Part IV) were grouped into three main categories, namely (1) lived experiences with the 2008-2011 policy shifts; (2) navigating through their positive and negative experiences; and (3) coping with changes prompted by the two consecutive policy shifts. As for Part V, the salient patterns which emerged from those experiences were grouped into two categories, namely (4) teachers' and learners' perceptions on benefits from the two consecutive policy shifts; and (5) teachers' and learners' perceptions on disadvantages from the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts in Rwanda.

7.2 PART IV: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS

The analysis of teachers' and learners' experiences followed three main themes, namely, lived experiences in terms of preparedness for the shifts, positive and negative experiences they went through in terms of what they liked and disliked with the shifts, and mechanisms and strategies that were put in place for the teachers and learners to cope with changes that were brought in by the two consecutive policy shifts. Each theme is analyzed and interpreted separately.

7.2.1 Lived experiences with the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts

This section elaborates on how the teachers and learners perceived what they experienced during the two consecutive shifts, in 2008 and 2011, specifically on their level of preparedness and readiness for the 2008 shift to English medium, as well as for the 2011 shift to Kinyarwanda medium. It starts with the teachers' preparedness and then the learners.

7.2.1.1 Teachers' preparedness and readiness for the 2008 shift

The views expressed by teachers and heads of schools in regard with shifting from the trilingual medium to English-only medium revealed that some teachers were fully prepared and ready when the shift to English medium was announced in October 2008 and started to be implemented with the beginning of 2009 academic year. Some of the teachers indicated that they were not fully prepared for English medium, while some were not prepared at all. These views were expressed by 18 teachers and 6 heads of schools who were interviewed.

The views of those who were completely ready and prepared to teach through the English medium, as implemented in 2009-2010, are expressed in the extracts below:

> *…I was already Anglophone, I studied in Anglophone system; I went under teaching training in Anglophone system; for me it was easy. But to my colleagues, it was tiresome. However, the Government organized trainings for them and they managed to catch up*. [Extract 80: S5T15]

> *Yes I was prepared because I received more than seven sessions for training in English, after completing secondary school studies which were done in French. I was really prepared to teach in English*. [Extract 81: S6T16]

> *I myself was prepared because I was taught by American teachers at secondary school, who helped me to be familiar with learning in English. That is why this process of teaching in English was of great importance for me to practice what I had acquired from school*. [Extract 82: S6T17]

> *We were provided with training in English as preparations for teaching in English*. [Extract 83: S3T8]

> *I was prepared because they informed us in advance and organized English training for us*. [Extract 84: S3T7]

The extracts show that some teachers had some English background which made it easy for them to teach in English. Some teachers received their teacher training in French but still indicated that they were prepared for English medium due to the kind of prior English training they had had in school. In addition, the preparedness of some teachers resulted from the trainings in English which were organized by the Ministry of Education before and after the shift. It is clear that a number of teachers were conversant and proficient in English at the verge of language policy shift at the beginning of 2009.

The readiness was not confirmed by teachers only; even some of the heads of schools interviewed confirmed that their schools were ready for English medium at the beginning of 2009, as described in the extract below:

> *When we shifted to English medium in 2009, we didn't encounter any problem because we had been teaching English thoroughly as a subject, up to the extent that learners were coping. The only thing that was required when we shifted was to increase the number of English teachers. Otherwise, everything was fine,*

> *children were happy about English because it is an easy language when compared to French. French is difficult while English is easy to learn, we didn't encounter any problem. If we did, it could have been reflected in the national exam results. Our school could not have been the fourth at the national level in 2009 and the second in 2010 while we were teaching through English*.
>
> [Extract 85: S5HM5]

This extract confirms that a number of schools and some teachers were ready and prepared to teach in English with the coming of the 2008 shift.

However, another sizeable number of teachers indicated that they were partly ready and not fully prepared. Extracts below present experiences from such teachers:

> *I cannot say I was fully prepared to teach all subjects in English because I was not proficient in that language. But as it was compulsory to teach in English, we tried all possible means to enable every teacher to become proficient and teach in English*. [Extract 86: S1T1]
>
> *As I was already a teacher, with a certain level of proficiency in English, I was not troubled by the shift…* [Extract 87: S2T5]
>
> *When the shift occurred and we started teaching in English, it seemed to be difficult. I was teaching mathematics in grade 3 and it was as if the shift came abruptly for children. However, as I was already teaching mathematics, I already had a few vocabularies for teaching mathematics, at my level of course, but I have to say that it was not easy for learners*. [Extract 88: S4T12]

The experiences expressed in these extracts show that a number of teachers were poorly prepared for the use of English as the medium of instruction due to a number of reasons, especially the limited proficiency in English or limited vocabularies in the subjects they started teaching in English after the 2008 shift.

These viewpoints from teachers were emphasized by some heads of schools who indicated that their schools were partly prepared for English medium, as illustrated in the extract below:

> *My school was not totally ready. Even if we had teachers with teaching certificate (A2) during that period, due to the fact that urban areas are lucky to have qualified teachers, those teachers learnt English at high school for two hours a week; I can not therefore say they were fully prepared. However, the Government organized trainings in phases for primary school teachers to help them get involved in the program.* [Extract 89: S1HM1]

This extract shows how some schools and some teachers were partly prepared for the English medium in 2009-2010, especially those located in rural schools where qualified teachers hardly accept to go for teaching. They prefer to teach in urban schools to rural areas.

Another group of teachers indicated that they were not ready at all when they shifted to English medium in 2009-2010, though they tried their best level to cope with the situation. Extracts below describe how they strived to deal with the shift to English medium:

> *No I was not ready. I did all my schooling in French, I never studied through English in all my life; however, when the shift to English was announced, I strived to read English books, I read different books so as to become proficient, up to the extent that I managed to teach through it; but in reality, I have never studied through English, it was my personal effort, because it was compulsory to teach in English and it was good for me*.
>
> [Extract 89: S6T18]

> *We were not prepared when the shift occurred, but as teachers and educators, we read seriously and managed to get what to teach children on daily basis*.
>
> [Extract 90: S2T4]

Experiences expressed in these extracts show that teachers who were not ready for the shift to English medium were mainly from French background; but through individual efforts, they managed to teach through English. Lack of preparedness within the Rwandan policy shift to

English medium in 2009 was also reported in Pearson's (2013) study, who argued that "a lack of psychological preparedness on the part of teachers could have resulted in widespread policy resistance – unintentional or otherwise – had teachers not eventually 'bought in' to it" (p. 49). She attributed this lack of preparedness to the fact that the Rwandan teachers "generally characterized the 2008 Cabinet resolution as sudden or automatic" (Pearson, 2013, p.49). In this study, some heads of schools confirmed that their schools were not prepared for English medium in 2009-2010; they only relied on the training in English which was organized by the Rwandan Government. However, some heads of schools commented on those trainings in English which were organized by the Government saying:

> *The trainings came a bit late and were very specific*.
>
> [Extract 91: S4HM4]

From the viewpoints expressed in the extracts above, it can be observed that schools and teachers were at different levels of preparedness on the verge of October 2008 shift. This is why the Rwandan Ministry of Education, through its Teacher Service Commission, organized intensive training in English for primary and secondary school teachers to equip them with the required proficiency in English to implement the new policy (MINEDUC, 2009). Those trainings were mainly organized during holidays; they started in 2008 and continued all along 2009 and 2010 (MINEDUC, 2009), as described in § 1.1.3.1.6 of Chapter 1.

7.2.1.2. Learners' preparedness and readiness for the 2008 shift

The learners' preparedness on the verge of 2009-2010 shift was investigated through their teachers, because it was difficult for young learners to explain if they were ready during the shift, since they were kids from grade 1. The question was judged to be beyond the learners' level of understanding; this is why the researcher asked the teachers to describe how their learners were prepared for the shift to English medium in 2009, as well as for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011. Eventhough learners were not asked directly about their experiences, they were asked about their enthusiasm with the shifts, which was more related to their attitudes. In this

regard, several teachers confirmed that their learners were happy about learning through English in grade 1 in 2010. The extracts below express such enthusiasm:

> *Learners were excited by learning through English*.
>
> [Extract 92: S4T12]

> *Learners were enthusiastic about studying through English and this facilitated the teacher's work.* [Extract 93: S6T18]

In these extracts, teachers confirm that learners were extremely happy about shifting to English medium in 2009-2010. Such enthusiasm confirms the learners' positive attitudes towards the shift to English medium, as reflected in Chapter 4, where they both exhibited highly positive attitudes and appraisal to the shift to English medium.

7.2.1.3 Teachers' preparedness and readiness for the 2011 shift

Like the teachers' and heads of schools' views about the shift to English medium in 2009-2010; they also expressed opposing views about the 2011 policy shift, some confirming that they were ready and prepared to shift to Kinyarwanda medium, while others indicated that they were not ready, but the majority of them expressed resentment towards this second shift. In this regard, among the 18 teachers and 6 heads of schools interviewed, a great number including S1T1, S1T2, S2T4, S3T8, S4T10, S4T12, S6T17, S4HM4, S3HM3, S2HM2 and S1HM1 indicated that they were prepared and ready for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. The extracts below highlight their levels of preparedness:

> *As we were teaching in Kinywarwanda even before the changes, there was no problem. The books and teaching materials were still in the library; so we picked them back again*. [Extract 93: S1T1]

> *I didn't have any problem with Kinyarwanda because I had been teaching in Kinyarwanda, and the learners used to understand better*.

[Extract 94: S1T2]

> *I was prepared to teach in Kinyarwanda because it is the language I master, I studied this language and I have all the skills for teaching through it; I therefore did not encounter any problem*. [Extract 95: S4T10]

What is common in these responses is the fact that Kinyarwanda was the language they master and they happened to use it as a medium of instruction before the two consecutive shifts; and this made them feel prepared for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011.

To confirm how some schools were prepared and how they appreciated their experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, S4HM4 explained that they have suggested the shift back to Kinyarwanda medium, even before the actual shift. This indicates that some schools were willing to shift back to Kinyarwanda medium. Such a viewpoint from S4HM4 was supported by S3HM3, S2HM2 and S1HM1 who confirmed that their schools were ready for Kinyarwanda medium, but all of them stressed on the complaints and disappointment that were observed among some teachers who could not understand why the Governement decided to shift from their cherished English to Kinyarwanda. Such complaints and disappointment on the side of teachers were manifested by the fact that almost every intervieweed teacher was asking the same question like S1T1 who said:

> *...But we were asking ourselves: 'why are they doing this? Why were they changing again'*?
>
> [Extract 96: S1T1 and other teachers]

This shows that some teachers were not quite sure about the rationale for the Government's decision to change the language policy from English to Kinyarwanda; and this could probably insinuate that the teachers were not expecting those consecutive policy shifts, on which experts in the language policy planning suggest they should not be changed before 5 to 10 years, even more, as described earlier.

However, a number of teachers and heads of schools, including S2T5, S2T6, S4T11, S3T7, S5T14, S5T15, S5HM5 and S6HM6, indicated that they were not ready for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium. Their viewpoints are summarized in the extracts below:

> *…the changes came abruptly because learners had studied through English medium in grade 1, and it was difficult for them to adapt themselves to Kinyarwanda again.* [Extracr 97: S2T5]

The teachers' views expressed in the extract above is that their unpreparedness stemmed from abrupt change of the policy, which disrupted the learners' smooth progress. Some heads of schools like S5HM5 and S6HM6 added that their schools were not prepared and ready for Kinyarwanda medium. Those heads of schools also mentioned that some private schools resisted to implementing the shift to Kinyarwanda medium.

These experiences confirm that teachers, heads of schools and their schools were at different levels of preparedness and readiness on the verge of the 2011 shift to Kinyarwanda medium, even though a great number indicated that they were ready for Kinyarwanda medium.

7.2.1.4. Learners' preparedness and readiness for the 2011 shift

Several teachers tended to say that learners were not ready for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012; that learners did not welcome it with open arms and that it made their learning difficult. Such viewpoints are expressed in the extracts below:

> *... it was really difficult for learners*.
>
> Extract 98: S4T12]
>
> *…it seemed as if the learners had to start afresh; we were bound to get them to distinguish between the two languages again, which seemed to be difficult at the beginning and which hampered the progress of the lessons, but slow by slow, they got acquainted and now they are able to follow in one language*.
>
> [Extract 99: S2T4]

In the extracts above, teachers tend to indicate that the shift to Kinyarwanda medium was problematic for the learners.

However, the interviews with learners about their attitudes towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium indicated a contrasting view of what the teachers said. Several learners indicated that they were enthusiastic about the shift to Kinyarwanda medium and that it was not as difficult as confirmed by their teachers. The extract below highlights the viewpoint which was supported by the majority of learners:

> *I could understand perfectly what the teacher was saying in Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 100: S2L7]

In this extract, learners expressed the fact that the shift to their mother tongue medium was beneficial because it enabled them to understand the content taught in their mother tongue. This benefit is of studying through the mother tongue is in line with some of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) typologies mentioned in the theoretical framework, which praise the maintenance of mother tongue education. They include language (/mother tongue) maintainance or language shelter programme and immersion programmes, among others, which Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) classifies among the strong forms of bilingual education, as they allow the attainment of bilingualism.

However, the opposing orientations about Kinyarwanda medium among teachers and learners still remind their opposing attidudes towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, as reflected in Chapter 4, where the majority of learners praised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, while the majority of teachers did not. Their experiences still confirm such opposing orientations and appreciation. The next theme describes both their positive and negative experiences.

7.2.2 Navigating through their positive and negative experiences during 2008-2011 shifts

Teachers as well as their heads of schools and learners expressed that they had both positive and negative experiences of the 2008-2011 shifts. Their positive and negative experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 as well as their positive and negative experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 are presented as follows:

7.2.2.1 Positive experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010

With regard to their positive experiences, a number of teachers and heads of schools praised and appreciated the shift to English. Again, the learners' positive and negative experiences were explored mainly from the teachers' perspectives, because the learners' young age could limit a clear description of what they went through; but still they expressed their own perspectives on those experiences for confirmation and triangulation. Hence, the teachers' and learners' positive experiences with the 2009-2010 shift were reflected into four categories, i.e. boosting the teachers' and learners' proficiency in English, providing opportunity for new language acquisition, broadening knowledge and English skills and arousing excitement among learners and teachers.

7.2.2.1.1 Boosting the teachers' and learners' proficiency in English

A number of teachers and heads of schools, including S1T1, S2T4, S3T8, S6T17, and S1HM1 emphasized that they experienced the boost of English proficiency after the shift to English medium in 2009-2010. Extracts below describe such a boost of English:

> *I loved the shift because it motivated me to become more proficient in English. Even learners happened to know English.*
>
> [Extract 101: S2T4]

> *I liked it because it boosted my eagerness to learn English.*
>
> [Extract 102: S1T1]

> *I liked teaching in English because it helped me improve my proficiency in English*. [Extract 103: S3T8]

> *They [teachers] were extremely happy, due to the fact that English is the language which is mostly used in daily life, in applying for jobs; they were really excited about it, and now I have the feeling that they are teaching it quite well*. [Extract 104: S1HM1]

> *Teaching in English enabled the learners to practice and use English, which is the mostly used language in various places*. [Extract 105: S6T17]

The praises to the shift to English, as expressed in the extracts above, show how the Rwandan teachers who participated in this study valued the 2009 shift to English medium. What is common in these praises is that the shift boosted their proficiency in English, which they perceived as an opportunity of great importance. In the Rwandan context, the importance attributed to the shift to English corresponds to Niyomugabo's (2008) findings among the Rwandan university students, who ranked English as one of the most important languages in Rwanda (57.14%), followed by French (45.37%), Kiswahili (18.48%) and then Kinyarwanda (4.20%), as highlighted in § 4.2.2.1 of Chapter 4.

7.2.2.1.2 Providing opportunity for new language learning

The shift to English medium was experienced and perceived as an opportunity for acquiring the new language, not only for learners, but for some teachers as well. Such an experience was prompted by the fact that some teachers were teaching and acquiring English at the same time, especially those with French background. Extracts below illustrate such opportunity:

> *Learners were excited mainly because they had been studying through French previously, which seemed to be difficult, while English seemed easy for them… As for teachers, it was hard at the beginning, because they have been trained in the French system, only few of them got trained in English; they were therefore practicing the new language*. [Extract 106: S2HM2]

I was expecting to know English like other people, given that we never used English when I was at school. [Extract 107: S6HM6 and S3T9]

Learners acquired a new language. [Extract 108: S2T5]

The viewpoints illustrated in the extracts above show how the shift to English enabled teachers and learners with French background to learn English. Such opportunity can be interpreted as a particularity of the Rwandan policy shift to English medium, because some teachers were simultaneously teaching the language and learning it. It sounds to be a particular experience because, in normal circumstances, teachers are expected to master the language before they use it as a medium for teaching, but it is clear that some of the Rwandan teachers taught the language by practicing and acquiring with the learners, for language mastery. That is why the experiences with the shift to English medium were perceived as an opportunity for acquiring the new language for all learners and for some teachers.

7.2.2.1.3 Broadening knowledge and English skills

Another experience which was highlighted by teachers and heads of schools is how the shift to English broadened their knowledge of language in general and English skills in particular. This was emphasized by a number of teachers, including S1T3, S1T2, S5T13 and S5T14. Extracts below describe how the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 enabled access to English for learners and teachers:

…it made the English language accessible and spread among people. [Extract 109: S1T3]

I liked it because it motivated me to strengthen my skills in English. [Extract 110: S1T2]

> *I liked teaching in English because I acquired English skills both speaking and writing.* [Extract 111: S5T13]

> *It was wonderful, I liked how it developped the skills like speaking, writing and reading among pupils.* [Extract 112: S5T14]

From the extracts above, it is evident that the shift to English medium in Rwanda in 2009-2010 broadened access to English language among the learners and teachers in particular, and among the Rwandan people in general, because those two groups of people interact with the rest of the community. Therefore, their experiences reiterate the overall motive for the 2008 shift to English medium, where the 8th October 2008 decision from the Cabinet meeting requested the Minister of Education to set up a quick programme of teaching in English in all primary and secondary schools as well as universities, both public and Government-assisted; and the Minister of Labour to set up programmes to assist all public servants to learn English, starting from the top leaders of the country (MINICAAF, 2008), as described in § 1.1.3 of Chapter 1. With this broad vision in mind, it is evident that the experiences with the shift to English medium were targeting a large group of Rwandans for effective access to English language and to a broadening English-speaking community.

7.2.2.1.4 Arousing excitement among learners and teachers

The positive experiences related to the teachers' and learners' excitement resulting from the 2008 shift to English medium were highlighted by a number of participants, including S3T7, S4T10, S4T11, S4T12, S5T15 and S6T18. Extracts below elaborate on this excitement:

> *I was excited to teach in English because learners were excited too; and this was due to the fact that it was a new language.*
>
> [Extract 113: S3T7]

> *Learners were enthusiastic about studying through English and this facilitated the teacher's work.* [Extract 114: S6T18]

Learners were excited by learning through English.

[Extract 115: S4T12]

I liked teaching in English because it was easy and applicable to conduct teaching and learning atmosphere in class. [Extract 116: S5T15]

What I praised with teaching in English is that I found it easy to teach in English when I compare with French; and English also seems to be easy for learners.

[Extract 117: S4T10]

What I liked is that we shifted to English medium from French, and we noticed that learners were excited about English than French.

[Extract 118: S4T11]

The views expressed in the extracts above describe how learners got excited by the shift to English because it was a new language; and how teachers praised English medium by comparing it with their experiences with French. These experiences show that the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 was crowned with enthusiasm and excitement among learners and teachers; and such enthusiasm is also confirmed in § 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2 of Chapter 4, where 83.33% of the investigated teachers and 96% of the investigated learners overwhelmingly confirmed that they were enthusiastic and satisfied by the shift to English medium in 2009-2010. The next section elaborates on their negative experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010.

7.2.2.2 Negative experiences with the shift to English in 2009-2010

The negative experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 were characterized by some perceived negative aspects like limited level of proficiency in English among learners and teachers, unfamiliarity with English as a new language, learners' failure as a blame attributed to English as a new language and insufficient teaching materials in English.

7.2.2.2.1 Limited level of proficiency in English among learners and teachers

A number of teachers, including S1T1, S2T6, S4T11, S3T9, S4T10 and S4T11, indicated that they have had bad experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 as it was adopted while they did not have enough proficiency for teaching in English as expressed in the extracts below:

> *The problem was that I was not proficient in English; it was a big issue for me, but slow by slow, we got acquainted with it, developed its spoken skills and then taught it.* [Extract 119: S1T1]

> *If I were proficient in English language, I would have praised the shift; but I didn't because I didn't have any proficiency in English*.
>
> [Extract 120: S4T10]

> *The main hindrance was poor proficiency in English, be it speaking, listening and writing.* [Extract 121: S4T11]

> *The limitations were prompted by inability to hold conversation with others due to limited vocabularies in English*. [Extract 122: S3T9]

> *Learners had not become proficient in Kinyarwanda yet; then they studied in English and this made them mix the languages*.
>
> [Extract 123: S2T6]

> *I did not appreciate the shift because learners had not yet become proficient in their mother tongue, which pushed them to mix the languages*.
>
> [Extract 124: S4T10]

The views expressed in the extracts above show not only how limited proficiency in English was a hindrance to teachers but also how the shift to English occurred before the learners reached a certain proficiency in their mother tongue, which worsened their proficiency in English. These

negative experiences match with some of Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000) typologies described in the theoretical framework, particularly the non-forms of education for bilinguals. This experience with learners for example is a clear example of submersion programme or sink-or-swim (Mackey, 1970; Garcia, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Baker, 2006). The learners started straight with English medium from grade 1 and their teachers are indicating how this programme has worsened their proficiency in English, which might not lead to balanced bilingualism they aspired, but could lead to what Lambert (1974, 1980) described as subtractive bilingualism or Cummins's (1981) limited bilingualism.

Thus, all these views reveal how limited proficiency in English negatively affected the teachers' and learners' experiences with the shift to English medium. Kamwangamalu (2000, p.119) indicated that adopting any new language policy is a difficult task, because it involves complex decision making, assessing and committing valuable resources. It is also a difficult task as it involves what Brann (1981, p.18) described as prior training of language teaching personnel and the production of pedagogical materials. However, the shift to English in 2009-2010 in the Rwandan schools was adopted while some individual teachers were not yet proficient in English, as expressed in their experiences. This can be one of the factors that Ager (2001, p. 5) points out that they can make a language-in-education policy to fail to achieve its targeted aims.

7.2.2.2.2 Unfamiliarity with English as a new language

In addition to the limited proficiency in English which was experienced by some teachers on the verge of the 2009-2010 shift to English, an additional negative experience was prompted by limited acquaintance with English as a new language, not only on the side of teachers, but mainly on the side of learners. Extracts below describe such experiences:

> *It was very difficult for me to understand the new language*.
>
> [Extract 125: S2T5]

> *It was a problem because I was not familiar with this new language*.
>
> [Extract 126: S3T8]

> *I was not proficient in this new language, it was a problem for me to speak English, and it was the same problem for learners*.
>
> [Extract 127: S3T7]

> *Learners could not understand English well because it was a new language as a medium of instruction*. [Extract 128: S1T3]

> *Learners were not yet proficient in this English language; therefore, it required me to make too much effort to help them understand what they were learning in English*. [Extract 129: S6T17]

These extracts have revealed how some teachers were unfamiliar with English on the verge of the 2009-2010 shift and how learners were not acquainted with English. These negative experiences were encountered due to the fact that the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 was effected before they got acquainted with the new medium which was adopted; and this can again be among those factors which hamper the attainment of the targeted aims of a language-in-education policy, as described by Ager (2001, p. 5).

7.2.2.2.3 Learners' failure blamed on English as a new language

Other negative experiences with the 2009-2010 shift pointed to the learners' failure or poor performance, which was perceived as resulting from poor proficiency and mastery of the newly adopted medium, which was English. This extract illustrates such an experience:

> *Learners could not understand what I was teaching them, which pushed me to mix English with Kinyarwanda. During the examinations, they were failing due to limited vocabulary*.
>
> [Extract 130: S4T12]

The extract above shows how teachers attributed the learners' poor performance to limited proficiency in English. This shows how some teachers perceived the shift to English medium as a scapegoat for learners' failure.

7.2.2.2.4 Insufficient teaching materials written in English

Another negative experience during the 2009-2010 shift to English medium was dictated by the limited number of teaching aids that were written in English on the verge of the shift to English medium in 2009. Such a lived experience is stressed in the extracts below, as follows:

> *It was not easy, because the materials to use like text books were not there*.
>
> [Extract 131: S5T14]

> *…training in English was organized in line with teachers' subject groups…. In general, we were given training and textbooks as teaching materials, which enabled us to teach the lessons*. [Extract 132: S2T5]

> *They strived to give us training in English as my colleagues have mentioned, then our administrators tried to search for textbooks, be it dictionaries and other documents….and this enabled us to improve our proficiency in English*.
>
> [Extract 133: S2T6]

The extracts above contain contradicting views on the availability of English teaching materials at the onset of the the 2008 shift, some teachers complaining that they were insufficient, others refuting the blame by confirming that teaching materials written in English were provided, to some extent. Such contradicting views partly support and partly challenge Niyibizi's (2010) observation that a great number of teaching materials and teaching programs which were used in the pre-2008 policy were in French and Kinyarwanda, and this required a tremendous effort on the part of the Ministry of Education to make these materials available in English. The teachers' experiences have shown that those materials written in English were perceived to be sufficient for some teachers and insufficient for others. The next section describes the positive experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012.

7.2.2.3 Positive experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012

Interviews with teachers and heads of schools highlighted a number of positive experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, be it on the side of teachers and on the side of learners, as

viewed from the teachers' perspectives. The salient positive experiences include returning to the value and mastery of the mother tongue, easing interactions between the tachers and the learners and preparing betterment for upper classes.

7.2.2.3.1 Returning to the value and mastery of the mother tongue

One of the salient positive experiences that were highlighted by teachers and heads of schools interviewed stressed the return to the valuation and the boost of the mother tongue among young learners, after the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. These experiences were expressed by quite a number of teachers and heads of schools, including S1T3, S2T5, S2T6, S4T10, S2T4, S4T11, S4T12 and S1HM1. Extracts below give details on those positive experiences:

> *The shift to Kinyarwanda enabled the learner to understand clearly his/her mother tongue*. [Extract 134: S1T3]

> *…it helped learners to know their mother tongue more, rather than continuing with international languages before they master their mother tongue*.
> [Extract 135: S2T6]

> *The main value is that Kinyarwanda is their mother tongue, which includes particular and specific terminology. Therefore, you can not take a Rwandan child and train him/her in English only*. [Extract 136: S4T11]

> *As we speak Oluciga - Igihima in this area, the main value of the shift was to familiarize the learners with the Rwandan culture, which is transmitted through their mother tongue called Kinyarwanda. This makes it easier when they start learning international languages, since it becomes easy to explain to them because they base on what they know in their mother tongue*.
> [Extract 137: S4T12]

The viewpoints expressed in the extracts above stressed on how it would not be of great value to train a child through an international language, leaving aside his/her mother tongue. They also emphasized how shifting to the mother tongue rejuvenated the cultural legacy and facilitated the learning of international languages. These experiences caused by the shift to Kinyarwanda medium have attributed value to the teaching through the mother tongue. However, a number of cases in the existing literature remind Phillipson et al.'s (1986, cited in Rubagumya, 1990) striking example that "most African countries favour European languages as the languages of instruction in schools", with some describing the 'widely believed myths' attributed to mother tongue instruction (Benson, 2003), and others pointing to several advantages attributed to mother tongue education (Spolsky, 1986; Benson, 2003; Baker, 2001, 2006; Cummins, 2000a, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 2000). The Rwandan experiences with the shift to the mother tongue medium in 2011-2012 praised and attributed value to the mother tongue education. Despite the fact that few cases of shifts from an international language to a local language are found in the literature, these positive experiences with the Rwandan shift to Kinyarwanda medium confirm that the claim by Msimang (1993, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2000, p. 129) does not hold in all parts of Africa. This claim which is based on the South African context stated that "most black people have come to hate their own languages and consider them irrelevant in the education process", but the Rwandan experiences showed the opposite.

7.2.2.3.2 Easing interactions between the tachers and learners

Another positive experience that was highlighted by teachers is that the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 facilitated smooth interactions between learners and teachers. Such experience was emphasized by S4T12, S3T7, S4T11, S4HM4 and S5HM5, as described in the extracts below:

> *The learners from this area could not have become proficient in their mother tongue if they had continued learning all subjects in English. With the shift, they managed to interact with their teachers and clearly expressed what they want to say*. [Extract 138: S4T12]

It was beneficial to shift to the language I master and use most of the time; it facilitated my teaching and my interactions with learners.

[Extract 139: S4T11]

…..it was wonderful and beneficial to start teaching through Kinyarwanda from lower grades; it was good because it allowed smooth interactions between learners and their teachers, in their mother tongue that they understand better.

[Extract 140: S5HM5]

The shift to Kinyarwanda enabled the kids to like their mother tongue, to know the culture of their country and to interact with their teachers in the language they understand better. [Extract 141: S4HM4]

The views in the extracts above demonstrate how some experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium facilitated interactions between learners and teachers. Such a lived experience supports and confirms that some of the key advantages of teaching through Kinyarwanda that were motivated in the cabinet paper which suggested the shift to Kinyarwanda (MINEDUC, 2011) became true with the actual implementation of the shift. The key advantage that was stressed in this lived experience is highlighted in § 1.1.3 of Chapter 1, stating that "a child who starts learning in his/her mother tongue from the onset of education is happy about the school as s/he understands what s/he learns, s/he studies smoothly and quickly, s/he can express his/her views and ask for explanations, and therefore becomes a participating and contributing learner rather than an observing learner" (MINEDUC, 2011). This also supports some of the typologies suggested by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) in the theoretica framework, especially those which proclaim the maintainance of mother tongue education.

7.2.2.3.3 Preparing betterment for upper classes

Some teachers and heads of schools anticipated and projected that the shift back to Kinyarwanda medium offers a better preparation for upper classes, especially for the smooth and easy learning of other international languages. This view was emphasized by S4T10, S4T11, S4T12 and S3HM3, as illustrated in the extracts below:

> *Teaching the young learners through Kinyarwanda is very advantageous since it enables them to master their mother tongue, which facilitates the learning of other languages because they build on their skills accumulated in their mother tongue*. [Extract 142: S4T10]

> *…the advantage is that the shift to Kinyarwanda initiated the learners about the Rwandan culture and they became proficient in their mother tongue; therefore, it will facilitate the learning when they will start learning through international languages, because it will be easy for teachers to explain to them, building on their basic knowledge in their mother tongue*.
>
> [Extract 143: S4T12]

> *It is compulsory for the young learners to know Kinyarwanda, which is their mother tongue, and which will facilitate their learning for other languages*.
>
> [Extract 144: S3HM3]

The salient view in the extracts above is that teachers recognize that early teaching through the mother tongue facilitates the learning of other languages. It is evident that these teachers and heads of schools were convinced that the shift to the mother tongue medium will promote and facilitate the learning of other international languages in upper classes. This conviction is in line with the benefits highlighted in the Cabinet Paper that adopted the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, especially the advantage which states that "it will faciliatate the teaching and learning of English because it would be based on what was taught or learnt in Kinyarwanda" (MINEDUC, 2011). It also supports some of the advantages stressed by the proponents of mother tongue education (Spolsky, 1986; Benson, 2003; Baker, 2001, 2006; Cummins, 2000a, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 2000; Dutcher, 2001; Williams and Cooke, 2002; Ngugi, 1987; Ogbu, 1982; Moumouni, 1975 and others). Therefore, this positive experience among the Rwandan learners and teachers still strengthens and promotes the ultimate value of the UNESCO's (1953/1968, 1996, 2003) and UNICEF's (1999) principle that children should start initial learning in their mother tongue, as emphasized throughout this study, but which is not supported by the opponents of the mother tongue education (cfr Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, cited in Spolsky, 1986, p. 155).

These are some of the salient positive experiences that were encountered within the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. Let us see if the participants observed any negative experiences with the 2011-2012 shift.

7.2.2.4 Negative experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012

Despite the positive experiences described above, some of the participating teachers and heads of schools expressed a number of negative experiences they came across during the 2011-2012 shift to Kinyarwanda medium. The salient negative experiences include resentment and disappointment for shifting from the cherished English to Kinyarwanda; instability and delay in Kinyarwanda learning from English experience; mixing Kinyarwanda with English on the side of learners; and teachers' resort to the challenging task of translation from English.

7.2.2.4.1 Resentment and disappointment for shifting from the cherished English to Kinyarwanda

The most striking negative experience that was expressed by several participants touched on their resentment, disappointment and remorse for having shifted from English, a language they cherished and which they were already familiar with. Such disappointment was expressed by the majority of teachers, including S1T1, S1T2, S5T15, S4T12, S4T10, S5T14, S2T4, S2T5, S3T7, S3T8, S3T9, S5T13, S5T14, S5T15, S6T16, S6T18, S6T17, S2HM2, as well as a sizeable number of urban school learners. Their views converged and supported the ones expressed in the extracts below:

> *I never liked the shift to Kinyarwanda as I have already developed much interest in teaching in English*. [Extract 145: S1T2]

> *...unfortunately, they are now disappointed by going back to the system of Kinyarwanda*. [Extract 146: S5T15]

> *I was not happy about the switch because I was already familiar with English*. [Extract 147: S4L24]

The extracts above clarify that some teachers did not welcome the shift back to the mother tongue medium. It shows that some learners and teachers had developed interest and familiarity with English, up to the extent that it prompted remorse and resentment when they experienced the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. It also shows that some of the Rwandan teachers and learners still hold views that were expressed by the opponents of the UNESCO 1953/1968 recommendations to the mother tongue, as described in Fasold (1984, p.293-294). Those opponents were claiming that "to teach in mother tongue will make it more difficult for a youngster to learn a second language later", and this is what the viewpoints expressed in the extracts above tend to insinuate. However, linguists from the UNESCO 1953/1968 committee replied to this claim from opponents by explaining that current knowledge in several places proposes that a healthier way to launch a second language may be to teach it first as a subject, using the native language as an instructional media, as described in Fasold (1984, p.294).

7.2.2.4.2 Instability and delay in Kinyarwanda learning due to prior experience with English

Another negative experience from the 2011-2012 shift is that it prompted the change in the language in which the curriculum, the program and the teaching aids were written, which somehow delayed the learning and created instability. This was emphasized by S5T14, S5T13, S1T2, S1T1, S6T17, S6T16, S5T14, S5T13, S4T12, S4T10, S3T9 and S4T11, as reflected in the extracts below:

> *Shifting to Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction prompted difficulties; they caused again changes of the curriculum, as well as changes of the teaching materials*. [Extract 148: S1T1]
>
> *The program was to be changed again*. [Extract 149: S5T14]
>
> *Shifting has caused delay in the learners' learning; it was like starting afresh, which discouraged me*. [Extract 150: S6T17]

These views which were supported by a number of teachers, describe how they negatively attributed some blames to the shift to Kinyarwanda medium. This negative experience indicates

how they experienced a kind of unhappiness about the shift to the mother tongue, and this can be one of the justification for why we observed the lower level of satisfaction among the teachers and among the urban school learners, for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium.

7.2.2.4.3 Resorting to translation with the mixture of Kinyarwanda and English

Teachers expressed that they underwent a difficult task of translating what the learners have acquired previously in English, to help them understand in Kinyarwanda. They also had to translate into Kinyarwanda some textbooks and some concepts, which were still in English; and this prompted the mixture of languages, especially in the beginning of the shift, not only for the teachers, but for the learners as well. Such an experience was expressed by S1T3, S2T4, S2T5, S2T6, S4T11, S3T7, S3T8, S3T9, S5T13, S6T18 and S1HM1, as illustrated in the extracts below:

> *I was bound to try my best to help learners to remember what they have acquired previously in English, by translating them into Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 151: S6T18]

> *…finding those vocabularies which are suitable for those concepts was a bit tiresome; it was hard to translate directly, as we did not acquire it before...*
>
> [Extract 152: S5T13]

> *…before teachers got booklets written in Kinyarwanda, they had to translate some contents from English textbooks, which were still available. You can therefore imagine going to class after translating from the language you sometimes don't master perfectly; it really took much time for preparation*.
>
> [Extract 153: S1HM1]

In addition to the difficult task of translation, the mixture of languages was another experience after shifting to Kinyarwanda medium, as reflected below:

> *Learners happened to mix the languages up to the extent when you could ask a learner in Kinyarwanda and s/he replied in English, because they started with English medium and then shifted to Kinyarwanda medium later on*.
>
> [Extract 154: S2T6]

> *…you could ask a learner to count in Kinyarwanda; then s/he should start by English 'one, two, three, four,* ***gatanu*** *[five],* ***gatandatu*** *[six]'…, mixing the two languages and showing inability to distinguish Kinyarwanda from English*.
>
> [Extract 155: S1HM1]

These extracts above clarify how teachers underwent the difficult task of translation after the shift, as well as how learners happened to mix the languages as a result of the shift to Kinyarwanda medium. However, the teachers explained that the mixing disappeared progressively as the learners got used to Kinyarwanda medium. These are some of the salient negative experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012; the next section describes their experiences in coping with the changes that were dictated by the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts.

7.2.3 Coping with changes dictated by the 2008-2011 consecutive shifts

Experiences related to coping with the changes that were imposed by the two consecutive policy shifts focused on the strategies and mechanisms that were put in place for the stakeholders to cope with those shifts which include training and workshops, peer assistance, personal and individual school efforts, as well as parental and community involvement.

7.2.3.1 Strategies and mechanisms for coping with the two shifts

7.2.3.1.1 Training and workshops

For effective implementation of the shifts, teachers and heads of schools confirmed that they were provided with trainings and workshops; but those trainings were provided differently for the 2008 shift to English medium and for the 2011 shift to Kinyarwanda medium.

For the shift to English medium in 2009-2010, all the teachers and heads of schools interviewed confirmed that the Government, through Teacher Service Commission, which is affiliated to the Ministry of Education, organized intensive training in English, for all primary and secondary school teachers and head-teachers who were not proficient in English. Extracts below provide details about those trainings:

> *…we were provided with training in English, depending on the subject or the branch of subjects we were teaching. For example I spent two months in Byumba, being trained in English. We were therefore provided with training, teaching aids and textbooks, which enabled us to teach our lessons in English.*
>
> [Extract 156: S2T5]

> *...we participated in several trainings; for example I participated in a two weeks training at FAWE [Forum for African Women Educationists], and when I came back, I had improved my English skills. You know, it is easy for someone who knows French to learn English*. [Extract 157: S1T3]

> *…the Government provided the workshops and they tried their best; it was hardwork but they did it*. [Extract 158: S5T13]

> *For sure, the Government organized trainings in English for us; but we were trained at the same level while we did not have the same level of proficiency in English. Those who were at advanced level could easily follow the trainers, but some of us who had lower level of proficiency were lugging behind*.

[Extract 159: S4T12]

The extracts above confirm that teachers and heads of schools who were not proficient in English were provided with training to sharpen their skills and be able to implement the shift to English medium, and these trainings were organized before the shift and throughout the implementation of the teaching through the medium of English in 2009-2010.

As for the shift to Kinyarwanda, the participants indicated that no training in Kinyarwanda was organized, as illustrated in the extracts below:

> *...with shift to Kinyarwanda …. no teacher went for training during holidays…. This was due to the fact that we were already familiar with teaching in Kinyarwanda*. [Extract 160: S1T3]

> *The advantage is that teachers got excited when they were informed to teach in English; and trainings were organized. But when we switched to Kinyarwanda again, nobody talked about training, which means that all teachers were conversant with that language ...* [Extract 161: S1T2]

These extracts reveal that no training was organized for teachers after shifting to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011 but it was organized for English, before and after the 2008 shift to English medium. This state of affairs indicates that the policy shifts that were effected in Rwanda fulfilled some of the requirements put forward by Brann (1981) and Wardhaugh (1987, in Kamwangamalu, 2000) for the language policy shift to be successful. Such requirements include, among others, the coordinating body which monitors the training of language teaching personnel and the production of teaching materials (Brann, 1981, p. 18). In this regard, the Ministry of Education, through its Teacher Service Commission served as a coordinating body for the monitoring of training those teaching personnel. As for the requirement of producing complex human and materials resources (Wardhaugh, 1987, in Kamwangamalu, 2000, p. 120), the Ministry of Education and the school administration endeavoured to avail the necessary materials and resources. However, the participants indicated that these requirements were fulfilled only

for the 2008 shift, but not for the 2011 shift. It is clear that the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 was provided with more trainings than the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012 due to the different levels of proficiency in both English and Kinyarwanda among the teachers.

7.2.3.1.2 Peer assistance

Teachers and heads of schools indicated that peer assistance was used as a strategy to deal with the shifts. This was confirmed by S3T8, S1HM1, S1T2 and S4T11, as illustrated in the extracts below:

> *Another assistance was provided after the training, where the teachers who were proficient in the new language helped their peers, like finding appropriate terms for some concepts that were in the books but which some teachers did not know in the new language. They helped each other; one could ask his/her peer what s/he did not understand. In addition, the school administration happened to invite people from other schools to come and help our teachers about lesson preparations in the new language, as well as methodology to use with the new language.* [Extract 162: S1HM1]

> *…There were English language trainings organized by the Government; and peer assistance where your colleague helped you to understand the content you were supposed to teach in English; this is how we assisted each other.*
>
> [Extract 163: S1T2]

> *Training in English was organized for us; we were provided with textbooks, and then we organized peer assistance among ourselves.*
>
> [Extract 164: S4T11]

The views expressed in the extracts above show clearly that peer assistance was one of the strategies that were adopted by teachers and schools to cope with language challenges that resulted from the consecutive language policy shifts.

7.2.3.1.3 Group commitment and individual school efforts

During the shifts, individual schools endeavoured to organize their teachers in groups for better assistance at the school level. Extracts below describe how schools and individual teachers organized themselves to deal with the challenges imposed by the shifts:

> *After the shift, we put in place an English club, where teachers who were proficient in English helped their peers in lesson preparations, and in organizing discussions and debates in English*. [Extract 165: S4HM4]

> *Teachers showed solidarity; they quickly understood the motives for the shifts and continued performing their duties with commitment and dedication. We happened to collect contributions from every teacher and put it together to pay trainers who provided us with basic skills in lesson planning, lesson scheme, pronunciation of unfamiliar words etc. Those trainers had books full of images and their interpretation, and this facilitated our teaching. The Government also provided a two months training, which improved our English skills*.
>
> [Extract 166: S1T1]

> *…our school organized an internal training for our teachers who were not proficient in English. We invited an expert in languages, who came and trained our teachers, up the level where the teachers were equipped with sufficient terms in English when we started teaching through English*.
>
> [Extract 167: S5HM5]

> *After the shift to English, our first option was to recruit teachers from Uganda, who came to mentor our teachers, by doing some teaching practices in some classes, where our usual teachers observed how they were doing with the new language*. [Extract 168: S6HM6]

All these examples described in the extracts above demonstrate how individual schools organized themselves to cope with the shifts, particularly for the shift to English medium, which

tended to pose more challenges. The extracts have shown that some schools organized language clubs to improve their language proficiency; other schools organized internal trainings where they invited individuals with expertise in the newly adopted language to come and assist their teachers, in addition to the training provided by the Government; other schools opted to hire English teachers from English speaking countries bordering with Rwanda. Some of the strategies that were adopted in this study, like creating language clubs, hiring external language teachers and organizing in-school mentorship are also similar to the solutions that were suggested by participants in Batt's (2008) study which sought to find out what English Language Learners educators in Idaho College (USA) perceived as the greatest challenges and needs for improvement of English Language Learners' education, as well as solutions for designing professional development for short and long terms. Such solutions included hiring more English as Second Language (ESL) and Bilingual Education qualified teachers; creating a Sheltered English academy; changing the ESL curriculum and using a different education model (Batt, 2008). Though the two studies were done in two different contexts (Rwanda and USA), with different orientations related to languages, including English, they proposed almost similar solutions as a result of their studies on their experiences.

7.2.3.1.4 Parental and community involvement with the shifts

The experiences with the shifts also revealed how the parents and the community at large appreciated, contributed and got involved in helping learners to cope with them. These experiences on parental and community involvement were expressed by teachers and heads of schools as the researcher did not interview the parents or the community leaders directly. From the interviews, teachers expressed how parents and the community got involved through appreciation and excitement or resentment about the two shifts, and how they helped learners to cope with the new language medium when the shifts took place. The interviews described how some parents got excited and praised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, because they could again help their children with assignments; while they complained about the shift to English medium. Extracts below describe the parents' and community involvement as follows:

> *The advantage came with the second shift, i.e. the switch to Kinyarwanda medium, because both the parents and the teachers were happy that the parents*

could contribute again. As you know, the young learner's education is between the school and the parents. When a child arrives home from school and the parents don't check the child's homework, s/he gets lost and just plays the ball. Then they end up saying that the child is not intelligent while it not the case. When the switch to English was announced, parents complained saying "we cannot now assist our children, they study in a language we don't understand, we cannot check their homework; when they say 'minus' for example we don't understand, while we used to help them when they were studying in Kinyarwanda". We also know that there are parents who speak Kinyarwanda but who are illiterate; but still the controversy on the part of the parents was still there because most of the parents wanted their children to study in other languages not Kinyarwanda.

[Extract 169: S1T1]

One positive aspect was that parents could help learners in their homework, because most of parents know Kinyarwanda more than English.

[Extract 170: S6T16]

There was no problem related to teaching in Kinyarwanda, because even the parents could provide additional explanations for foundation phase learners. When we changed to English, parents complained saying that they were unable to help their children with homework. When we switched to Kinyarwanda again, the learners seemed to benefit again because the parents could contribute again, but we as teachers, wanted to continue teaching in English.

[Extract 171: S2T2]

...But when we switched to Kinyarwanda again ...it also helped the parents to follow up the progress of their children. [Extract 172: S1T2]

The views expressed in the extracts indicate how some parents contributed in helping the learners after the shift to Kinyarwanda.

However, some Rwandan parents were not conversant with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium, others complained about the shift to English while others did not appreciate the two consecutive policy shifts. Extracts below present some of their views:

> *Before the shifts, both lower and upper grades of primary were taught in French. When we shifted to English medium, we also kept English medium for both lower and upper grades. And when it was announced that we had to shift to Kinyarwanda medium in lower grades, there was a kind of resistance on the side of school administration, teachers and even parents. When we held a meeting with parents, the first question they asked was: 'are you also going to adopt Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction or you are going to keep English? If your school also shifts to Kinyarwanda medium, we are going to take our children out of this school and send them to other schools'.*
>
> [Extract 173: S6HM6]

> *When we got informed that we had to teach in English, we adapted to the situation by refreshing our English skills and by motivating learners to adopt English. We had benefited from English training which was organized a year before the change. When the switch to Kinyarwanda was announced, parents complained; they were coming to school and ask "How come that children study in English for one year, switch to Kinyarwanda in the next year, and switch again to English in the next year?" We told them that the program and the instructions were like that; for us, we were ready to implement what we were advised to do.*
>
> [Extract 174: S1T3]

These extracts show how parents in particular and the community in general expressed their experiences and their contribution within the policy shifts, even though they appreciated the shifts differently. For example, few parents who were against the mother tongue medium threaten the schools to take away their children in case they decided to adopt the Kinyarwanda medium while a number of other parents appreciated and praised the shift to the mother tongue,

i.e Kinyarwanda. The parents' appreciation to mother tongue medium continues to debunk the plethora in the existing literature, as highlighted in other chapters, because a number of studies in the literature continue to show how much African parents do not praise or adopt their mother tongue medium for their children. An illustrating example is Alexandre's (1972, cited in Heugh, 2002, p. 454) claim that parents in Sub-Saharan Africa use languages other than English, French and Portuguese, but yet they insist that their children study through the medium of international languages, even if it may be at the expense of their home languages. Another example is the situation in South Africa where Makalela (1999, cited in Makalela, 2004, p.357) indicates how South African Black elite who migrate to metropolitan areas tend to use English in their homes and send their children to English medium schools from nursery school level. It has also been stated that Black people in South Africa do not prefer African local languages (Kamwangamalu, 2000; Heugh, 2002; Makalela, 2004) over international languages, like English. Language attitude studies that were conducted in South Africa also emphasize the preference and positive attitudes towards English rather than other African languages (Mutasa, 1999; Matee, 2003; De Klerk, 2002) as described in § 2.2.1 of Chapter 2.

We continue to argue that experiences with a number of Rwandan parents in the policy shifts continued to reflect their positive attitudes towards the mother tongue medium, unlike what the literature observes in different parts of the world. The next part identifies and analyzes the benefits and disadvantages that were attributed to the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts.

7.3 PART V: TEACHERS' AND LEARNERS' PERCEPTIONS ON BENEFITS AND DISADVANTAGES FROM THE 2008-2011 CONSECUTIVE POLICY SHIFTS

While Part IV of this Chapter 7 focused on teachers' and learners' experiences in terms of their preparedness with the 2008-2011 consecutive shifts, their positive and negative experiences during those two shifts, and mechanisms that enabled them to cope with the changes that were imposed by those shifts, this Part V analyses the benefits and disadvantages that were perceived by teachers, heads of schools and learners who experienced the two consecutive policy shifts. Their views responded to research question 5 which asked: "*What benefits and drawbacks do the learners and teachers attribute to the two consecutive policy shifts*?" Like Part IV, the analysis of findings in this Part V also followed the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis process, particularly its idiographic sensibility, which offers a detailed and nuanced analysis of a particular instance of lived experiences (Smith et al., 2009, p.37), which is enriched by verbatim record of the data (p.73). The salient patterns which emerged from their perceptions on benefits and disadvantages from the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts were grouped into two categories, namely the perceived benefits from the two consecutive policy shifts; and the perceived disadvantages from the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts in Rwanda.

7.3.1 Perceived benefits from the 2008-2011 shifts for learners and teachers

The percieved advantages from the two consecutive policy shifts were mainly viewed from the perspectives of teachers and heads of schools, who monitored and managed the learners' experiences during the two consecutive policy shifts. Then their views on how their learners benefited from these experiences were supplemented and triangulated against the learners' perceptions on those benefits. In this analysis, the overarching benefits from the two consecutive shifts included excitement about active early sequential bilingualism; equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda; and short interval between the two consecutive shifts as advantageous.

7.3.1.1 Excitement about active early sequential bilingualism

Views from the participating teachers, heads of schools and learners indicated that their experiences with the two consecutive policy shifts offered an opportunity for active early sequential bilingualism, which the learners were particularly excited about. Such views were expressed by S1HM1, S2HM2, S4HM4, S2T4 and S2T6; and by almost all the learners who participated in the focus group discussions. Extracts below elaborate on this kind of benefit:

> *The first advantage was that the shifts aroused the learners' interest to know an international language; and then they are now mastering their mother tongue.*
>
> [Extract 175: S4HM4]

> *The benefit is that learners happened to distinguish the two languages; some of them can now read in both English and Kinyarwanda correctly; they can now understand when they are asked in any of the two languages.*
>
> [Extract 176: S2T4]

> *the first benefit is that the learner is now learning things that s/he understands better, because s/he understands them in both English and Kinyarwanda and can interpret them from the two languages. It is not like showing him/her an item and say 'this is called a pen in English' while s/he does not have that concept in Kinyarwanda; in such a case, s/he might easily forget the concept.*
>
> [Extract 177: S1HM1]

The teachers' and heads of schools' views described in the extracts above explain how the two shifts have contributed in the development of the two languages, English and Kinyarwanda, specifically in developing academic literacies in both languages among learners. The learners were still in lower grades, and that is why the analysis describes their development of the two languages as early sequential or successive bilingualism, based on McLaughlin's (1984), Collier's (1989) and Baker's (2006) descriptions and based on Thompson's (2000, cited in Baker, 2006, p.97) settings for language acquisition/learning for sequential bilingualism, namely home and nursery or elementary school. In the Rwandan context, the promotion of early

sequential bilingualism among the participating learners was emphasized in two settings. The first setting includes home for Kinyarwanda acquisition and then elementary school where they started learning English. The second setting is still the elementary school, where the two languages, Kinyarwanda and English are reinforced by their consecutive shifts as media of instruction. That is why this analysis has termed it "active early sequential bilingualism" due to those reinforcements from the two consecutive policy shifts.

The learners' attainment and performance in the two languages, as described in the teachers' verbatim quotations above, indicate that such active early sequential bilingualism promoted 'additive bilingualism' among learners. The term 'additive bilingualism', which was initiated by Lambert (1974, 1980, cited in Baker 2006, p.74) and adopted by many other scholars (Cummins, 1981, 2000a; Luckett, 1993; Spolsky, 2004; Baker, 2006) describes a bilingual situation "where the addition of a second language and culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture" (Lambert, 1980, cited in Baker 2006, p.74) or a bilingual situation where an additional language and a mother tongue are complementary and benefit each other (Luckett, 1993). This benefit is described in the teachers' verbatim quotations above, involving active early sequential bilingualism between English and Kinyarwanda. As it involves both the additional language (English) and the mother tongue (Kinyarwanda), it reflects what Alexander (2003) and Benson (2003) describe as 'mother-tongue based bilingual education'. The positive level of learners' attainment in both languages, as highlighted by teachers above, seems to reflect what Cummins (2000, p. 37) describes as "positive effects of additive bilingualism", which claim a positive association between additive bilingualism and the learners' linguistic, cognitive and academic growth. Such positive effects enable children to continue to develop their abilities in two or more languages throughout their primary school years, and they gain deeper understanding of those languages and how to use them effectively (Cummins, 2003).

This benefit is likely to be the one that prompted the participating teachers and learners to display excitement about early sequential bilingualism, which was made active by the consecutive shifts between English and Kinyarwanda medium. Such excitement about early sequential bilingualism was more evident among the learners because it was exhibited by almost all the 36 learners who participated in the focus group discussions, with exception of S5L16,

S5L17, S5L18, S3L13, S4L21 and S4L24 who wished they could have continued with one language. All other learners confirmed that the two consecutive policy shifts offered them opportunity to become proficient in the two languages from early age. The interesting insight from these findings is that the promotion of 'mother-tongue based bilingual education' in the Rwandan context did not follow the normal trend described in the literature, where the mother tongue is developed first to a higher extent before the introduction of the additional language. Rather, the mother tongue got reinforced through consecutive shifts, after the initial shift to English medium from grade 1. Thus, the participating learners started nursery school in French or Kinyarwanda when the trilingual policy (French, English and Kinyarwanda) was being implemented. Thereafter, they shifted to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010, when English was the MoI, and then switched again to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 in 2011, when Kinyarwanda was adopted as a MoI. They continued with Kinyarwanda as MoI in grade 3 in 2012, and switched again to English as MoI in grade 4 in 2013. Yet, they and their teachers demonstrated excitement about such early sequential bilingual experieriences they benefited within those consecutive shifts.

7.3.1.2 Equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda

Some teachers and heads of schools perceived that the two consecutive policy shifts provided equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda. Such a perceived equality of rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda as a result from the two shifts was is described in the extracts below:

> *The advantage is that the two languages were given equal rights; although I would appreciate more if Kinyarwanda were given much strengths from the onset of schooling, that is in grade 1 and 2; because when learners happen to know Kinyarwanda first, it complements the learning of English, despite the different pronunciation of the two languages. Such equal rights between the two languages stop the superiority of some languages in terms of value and power*.
>
> [Extract 178: S2T5]

> *You know, our society suffered because the languages were not treated equally in the past or when we were young. Now, we are training the learners who will not encounter those problems as we did. They are actively learning the two languages consecutively, through consecutive switches. I think it is a good thing for them. We will therefore have bilingual and multilingual children.*
>
> [Extract 179: S6HM6]

The views expressed in the extracts above indicate that some teachers perceived that the two consecutive policy shifts have minimized the superiority between English and Kinyarwanda by putting them on the same footing as media of instruction. While Rosendal (2009, p. 23) describes Rwanda's diglossia as being always in a instable state, due to active competition of linguistic functions based on sociopolitical and economic interests, the consecutive use of English and Kinyarwanda as media of instruction seems to have given equal value and rights between English and Kinyarwanda, by consecutively using both of them as languages of learning and teaching. Therefore, these teachers' viewpoints seem to express that the shift to Kinyarwanda medium from a powerful language like English, which is described as "the world's lingua franca in commerce, academia and technology" (Shohamy, 2006, p.81) or "a global language" (Baker, 2006, p.86) has uplifted the status of Kinyarwanda in the Rwandan context up to that status of English, by using both of them as media of instruction, even though it is still at lower primary school level.

With regard to the status of languages in Rwanda, Article 5 of the 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda stipulates that "the national language is Kinyarwanda; the official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English" (Republic of Rwanda, 2003). It is therefore evident that Kinyarwanda, French and English have different social statuses in Rwanda, but they all have an equal status as official languages. Such an equal status between Kinyarwanda, English and French as official languages started from 1994 when the three language started to be used as media of instruction and taught as subjects in schools, and was legalized by the constitution in 1996 (MINEDUC, 1995, 2002, 2003a, 2004b, 2008). Kabanza (2003, p.24) emphasized this equal status between the three languages by asserting that they continued to be used on television, radio, newspapers and other types of media since 1994. Such an equal status between

Kinyarwanda, English and French continued up to 2008, when French was dropped as a medium of instruction at all levels of education. As for the 2008 language policy which adopted English as a sole medium of instruction from grade 1, Niyibizi (2010, p.133) observed that such a policy would definitely have affected the status of French and Kinyarwanda, even if the two languages were still taught as subjects and used in various areas, including media. The 2011 shift back to Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in lower grades uplifted its status again. Rassool (2007, cited in Samuelson and Freedman, 2010, p.193) still asserts that Kinyarwanda has remained less developed because it is not the language of instruction beyond primary school; and Samuelson and Freedman (2010, p.193) still confirm that "Kinyarwanda has received some of the benign neglect that has been the fate of many other African languages".

Following observations by Rassool (2007) and Samuelson and Freedman (2010), I argue that the shift back to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011 might have boosted again the status of Kinyarwanda, which explains why some of the teachers in this study perceived that the two consecutive policy shifts have prompted equal rights and status between Kinyarwanda and English in the Rwandan linguistic landscape. Those teachers were probably referring to the consecutive status of English and Kinyarwanda as media of instruction, which implies that the Rwandan status planning allocated similar positions and functions to the two languages, and such functions include serving as medium of instruction among others (Cooper, 1989; Francis and Kamanda, 2001). Let us remember that status planning, one of the four types of language planning, refers to the allocation of languages to various functions such as medium of instruction, official language, vehicle of mass communication, international and intranational communication, etc. (Cooper, 1989, p.32; Francis and Kamanda, 2001, p.225; Ricento, 2006, p.29). Those viewpoints from the participating teachers were probably referring to such status planning, and not to other three types of language planning, namely 'corpus planning' which is described as "those efforts related to the adequacy of the form and structure of languages" (Ricento, 2006, p.28); 'acquisition planning' which is described as "efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both" (Ricento, 2006, p.28); and attitude planning which describes attitudes towards the languages and which Small and Cripps (2009, p.5) have placed at the centre of the other three types of language planning (i.e. status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning).

In addition, the perception of equal rights between English and Kinyarwanda as an advantage from the consecutive policy shifts adumbrates Ruiz's (1984, in Heugh, 2002, p. 452) typology, which claims how some societies view language as a right and give value to the principle of social integration, as described in § 2.2.6.1 of Chapter 2. The historical background of the Rwandan linguistic evolution described in § 1.1.3.1 of Chapter 1 reveals that the Rwandan society has been respecting this Ruiz's (1984) typology since the colonial period, because both Kinyarwanda and foreign languages had been alternating as media of instruction throughout. Although Heugh (2002, p. 452) commented on Ruiz's (1984) typology by warning that it sounds difficult to implement a language policy based only on the concept of right, because the implementation continues to rely on unequal relationship between the language of the ruling class or economic elite and the language of those who do not enjoy the political or economic power, the Rwandan typical endoglossic landscape has minimized such unequal relationship by using both Kinyarwanda and foreign languages as media of instruction at different stages of education, even if Kinyarwanda medium is still limited to lower grades. It could therefore be observed that the implementation of the language policy throughout the Rwandan history has tended to be dominated by foreign languages from primary grade 4 upwards, but without viewing other languages as a threat, as stated by Heugh (2002, p.452), but rather with the recognition of local languages like Kinyarwanda as a dominant language among both the ruling class and ordinary citizens. That is why such typology is still observed in the Rwandan community, even after the two consecutive policy shifts. This tends to reveal that the Rwandan linguistic landscape has offered opportunity for all foreign languages used in Rwanda (English, French and Swahili) and Kinyarwanda to be considered as a right and as a resource in the pre-2008 language policy, if we apply them to Ruiz's (1984) typology. It also offered similar opportunity for English and Kinyarwanda for the post 2008 language policy.

That is why some of the participating teachers and heads of schools identified equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda as one of the salient benefits that were gained from the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts.

7.3.1.3 Short interval between the two consecutive shifts as advantageous

While the literature suggests that the language policy in place should be modified at least within the interval of 5 to 10 years, the Rwandan language policy got modified twice within the period of two years and half; and some of the Rwandan teachers viewed it as an added advantage. This was revealed by S2T5 and S2T6, when they were asked if the two consecutive policy shifts caused any challenges for teachers and learners. The two teachers viewed it as a benefit while a number of teachers enumerated the challenges they encountered as a result of those two policy shifts which were close one to another. Extracts below describe such a benefit:

> *There was no problem because the interval between the two shifts was too short*.
> [Extract 180: S2T5]

> *There was no challenge because the two consecutive policy shifts were very close one to another*. [Extract 181: S2T6]

These two teachers seemed to see the short interval between the two shifts as beneficial to them and to the learners; and not as a source of challenges as many teachers tended to believe. Although these teachers who perceived the short interval between the two shifts as advantageous are few when compared to those who highlighted the challenges, it shows that the interval for language policy shift is perceived differently. This can imply that the 5 to 10 years suggested by experts for any language policy shift to take place is not a common view for the lay people, it may rather depend on circumstances.

These are some of the salient benefits that were attributed to the two consecutive policy shifts, which took place in the Rwandan education. The next section highlights the disadvantages that were observed among learners and teachers as consequences of the two consecutive language policy shifts.

7.3.2 Perceived drawbacks on learners who experienced the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts

Teachers and heads of schools pointed out a number of drawbacks that befell on learners who experienced the shift to English medium in grade 1 and then shifted to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3. Those drawbacks were reflected in the interviews with the teachers and the heads of schools, in the written answers on the the teachers' questionnaire, as well as from observations that were made in the classroom and at the school playground. Again, they were mainly collected from the teachers' perspectives for reliability of information, but the learners' perspectives were considered as well for triangulation, despite their younger age. The overarching drawbacks reflected five themes, namely the learners' half-baked proficiency in the two languages as a consequence of shifts; language mixing as a consequence of the two consecutive shifts; confusion as a consequence of consecutive shifts; expected difficulties in the learners' future as a consequence of consecutive policy shifts and teaching – learning instability which led to delays in completing academic programs.

7.3.2.1 Learners' half-baked proficiency in languages prompted by consecutive shifts

Teachers like S1T2, S3T7, S4T12, S6T16, S6T17 and S6T18 expressed the concern that the consecutive shifts might have inhibited learners from mastering both English and Kinyarwanda. Extracts below describe this disadvantage:

> *Learners were victims of the change; they had already acquired a great number of vocabulary in English; then it got changed to Kinyarwanda medium, they got confused and remained half-backed, which led to their failure*.
>
> [Extract 182: S3T7]

> *The shift to Kinyarwanda medium prevented learners to become more proficient in English; while Kinyarwanda is their native language*.
>
> [Extract 183: S1T2]

> *…they [learners] did not manage to know any of the languages very well; they mix them up, especially when they are writing in those languages*.
>
> [Extract 184: S4T12]

> *This challenge has become a hindrance for those learners. This is because they do not know neither English nor Kinyarwanda*.
>
> [Extract 185: S6T16]

> *These learners have various difficulties because they do not master well any of the languages; and obviously, when you start by learning in a language that you use most of the time, it becomes helpful*.
>
> [Extract 186: S6T17]

The views expressed in the extracts above emphasize how some of the participating teachers perceived that the two consecutive policy shifts tended to inhibit the proficiency in the two languages involved rather than promoting them. This sounds like the effects of what Lambert (1974, 1980, cited in Baker 2006, p.74) describes as 'subtractive bilingualism' and which Cummins (1981) described as 'limited bilingualism'. Subtractive bilingualism was described as lowered proficiency in the additional language caused by the lack of continuing cognitive development in the mother tongue while learning the additional language (Lambert, 1974, cited in Baker, 2006, p.74) or a lower threshold level of the mother tongue during the additional language acquisition, leading to negative cognitive effects (Cummins, 1981). Such a construct of subtractive bilingualism is also linked to 'semilingualism' which Cummins (2000a, p.175) refers to as "relatively limited academic knowledge of both languages". Although Cummins (2000a) enumerates a number of authors who have critiqued the construct of semilingualism (Edelsky, 1990; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986; MacSwain, 1999, 2000, cited in Cummins, 2000a, p.86), I apply the views expressed by the teachers in the verbatim quotations above to his construct of semilingualism, as well as to the construct of subtractive bilingualism. It can be observed that the above-mentioned views which are perceived by teachers as negative effects from the two consecutive policy shifts reflect the above-mentioned description of semilingualism by Cummins (2000a) as "relatively limited academic knowledge of both languages". The teachers' views on the learners' inability to know any of the two languages as a result of the two consecutive policy

shifts also reflect Lemmer's (1993) description of semilingualism with which neither the mother tongue nor the additional language is mastered. This is exactly what the teachers insinuated in the verbatim quotations above, where they indicated that the two consecutive policy shifts left learners half-baked, with limited mastery or no mastery of any of the two languages involved, i.e. English and Kinyarwanda.

7.3.2.2 Language mixing as a consequence of the consecutive shifts

Some teachers including S2T4, S2T6, S3T8 and S4T10 perceived that the two consecutive policy shifts led learners to mixing English and Kinyarwanda. Extracts below provide such perceptions:

> *Languages got mixed; it was difficult to differentiate the languages at the beginning. Later, during this year, they now know to distinguish Kinyarwanda from English.* [Extract 187: S2T4]

> *There happened to be the mixing of languages …. It could be better for learners to start with Kinyarwanda medium so as to enable them to know it better, especially reading and writing Kinyarwanda.* [Extract 188: S2T6]

> *Learners encountered the problem of mixing languages, and they could not master any language.* [Extract 189: S3T8]

> *Those changes prompted a mixture of languages among learners; which resulted in not mastering those languages, and it is hard for the learners to understand them.* [Extract 190: S4T10]

These extracts above show how the two consecutive policy shifts prompted language mixing among the lower primary school learners who experienced those shifts, although teachers indicated that learners corrected such a mixture progressively. The drawback of language mixing among learners, as expressed in this study, is interpreted using Ford (2001) and Arnberg's (1987)

description, as well as Baker's (1995) description of language mixing. Firstly, Ford (2001) indicates that the term 'language mixing' is used to "describe the phenomenon of communication through the usage of two languages as if they were one language"; but he acknowledges that it is difficult to find an exact definition for this term. Similarly, Arnberg's (1987, p.27) description states that "language mixing refers to the young child's mixing of both languages within the same utterance before the child is really aware of having two languages in its environment."; which implies that such a mixing is unconscious and children use it regardless whether their interlocutors understand both languages or not (Arnberg, 1987). The viewpoints expressed by the teachers in verbatim quotations above are partly linked with this description by Ford (2001) and Arnberg (1987) because they tended to indicate how the two consecutive shifts created a kind of interference between English and Kinyarwanda among the young learners up to the extent that learners could unconsciously mix the two languages in their utterances and in their academic tasks.

Secondly, Ford (2001) also acknowledges that 'language mixing' is used in reference to adult bilinguals, where it is a conscious use of a blend of two languages in which interlocutors understand both languages; but he warns that language mixing should not be confused with language switching. As for Baker (1995, p.77-78), he indicated that "language mixing is given other labels: transference (i.e. transfer between the two languages); code switching (a term regularly used by researchers); and a related term, interference between languages". Thus, the teachers' viewpoints expressed in verbatim quotations above partly refer to this description as well, because the teachers might have used the term language mixing to express sporadic code-swiching that was observed among learners after the two shifts, and which they thought it hampered their mastery of both English and Kinyarwanda. In such a case, those teachers were referring to Baker's (1995) label of language mixing as 'code-swiching' which is described as an unconscious choice (Adendorff, 1993, p.4; Nwoye, 1993, p.366; Wardhaugh, 1992, p.109, cited in Moodley, 2013, p.58); or as a conscious and calculated choice (Moodley, 2001, 2003, in Moodley, 2013, p.59); or as an exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton, 1992, p.176; Kamwangamalu, 1997, p.285; Kamwangamalu, 1998, p.289, cited in Moodley, 2013, p.60). Although code-swiching is said to be effective and yield several positive functions in the language classroom when used strategically (Adendorff, 1993; Ncoko, 1998; van der Walt, 2001;

and Moodley, 2007, 2010, cited in Moodley, 2013, p.67), the teachers in this study viewed it as a hindrance to language learning simply because learners could not be aware of using it strategically, which pushed the teachers to think that it was detracting from the goal of promoting the acquisition of the target language, as stressed by Moodley (2010, p.6, cited in Moodley, 2013, p.67).

However, despite the fact that language mixing has been interpreted in this section based on how Baker (1995) labeled it code-switching, it is to be acknowledged that language mixing and code-switching was described as separate constructs by various authors. For example Auer (1998) describe how code-switching, language mixing and fused lects are separate transitions of the continuum of language alternation phenomena, where code-switching and fused lects language represent the polar extremes of the continuum, while language mixing represents a point inbetween. To highlight the distinction between the the three, Auer (1998) describe them as follows:

> The terms CS [code-switching], LM [Language Mixing] and FLs [Fused Lects] will be used in the following way: CS will be reserved for those cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants. The term LM, on the other hand, will be used for those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense, i.e. when seen as a recurrent pattern. The transition from CS to LM is therefore above all an issue to be dealt with by interpretive sociolinguistic approaches since it is located on the level of how speakers perceive and use the 'codes' in question. Stabilized mixed varieties will be called fused lects. The transition from LM to FL is primarily an issue for grammatical research; essential ingredients of this transition are a reduction of variation and an increase of rule-governed, non-variable structural regularities.
>
> (Auer, 1998, p.1)

Despite the distinction between language mixing and code-switching described above, my interpretation sticks to Baker's (1995) labelling of language mixing as code-switching, which the teachers consider as a drawback for learners that resulted from the two consecutive policy shifts. Such a negative perception of teachers on learners' language mixing can be compared with the parents' negative perceptions about children's language mixing in Ford's (2001) study. In this

regard, Ford (2001) indicated that parents perceived language mixing as a problem that could negatively affect their children's bilingual development. He gave an example of the case of J.C., one of the investigated children in his study, who, once he began speaking English more and mixing his two languages (English and Japanese), his parents' concern caused them to radically alter their family language pattern; and this resulted in J.C.'s lower fluency in Japanese. Thus, from Ford's (2001) study, it could be observed that parents viewed language mixing as a problem and reacted negatively, rather than viewing it as a natural part of their child's language development.

Similarly, teachers in this study perceived language mixing among learners as a disadvantage from the two consecutive language policy shifts, as described above. In the Rwandan context, language mixing in the context of code-switching is not only observed among lower primary school learners as described above, it was also revealed to be a common practice at other levels of education as well, among learners and teachers. For example Habyarimana's (2014) study on the Rwanda primary grade 6 learners' and teachers' attitudes and practices towards English as a medium of instruction revealed an intensive practice of code-switching in the classroom, where 62% (p=0.0004) of teachers revealed that they practise code-switching between English and Kinyarwanda while teaching. Similarly, Maniraho's (2013) study on the Rwandan Teacher Training College students' and teachers' attitudes and motivation toward learning and teaching through English medium also revealed that code-swiching in Kinyarwanda, English and French was frequently practised in the high schools investigated, after the 2009 shift to English medium. However, the rates of code-switching in Habyarimana (2014) and Maniraho's (2013) studies were not considered to be a high level of hindrance for language proficiency as it is revealed to be in this study among young learners from primary grade 3.

7.3.2.3 Confusion as a consequence of consecutive policy shifts

Some teachers and heads of schools, including S3T9, S4T12, S5T13, S1T3, S5T14 and S1HM1, percieved the two consecutive policy shifts to have created a kind of confusion among learners, as illustrated in the extracts below:

Learners who studied under those changes got confused. They did not manage to know any of the languages very well; they mix them up, especially when they are writing in those languages. [Extract 191: S4T12]

It created confusion among learners. [Extract 192: S1T3]

It was a total confusion for children. [Extract 193: S5T14]

…changing the language policy in that consecutive manner could not provide any immediate advantage at all, becaused it created confusion among the learners in the beginning. [Extract 194: S1HM1]

The serious drawback is that learners were already familiar with counting in English from one to hundred in grade 1; but when they got in grade 2 and we started to tell them to do calculation in Kinyarwanda, like "makumyabiri na gatanu guteranyaho mirongo itatu" [twenty five plus thirty], it was total confusion for the learners; and we attributed such a consequence to those shifts of teaching a child in one language in grade 1 and change to another language in grade 2. [Extract 195: S1T3]

The teachers' perceptions described in the extracts above show that the two consecutive policy shifts created a kind of confusion among learners. Based on the above-mentioned example from S1T3, we can interpret this confusion observed in the learners' calculation within the context of Cummins's (1978, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1984, 2000a, 2000b) 'Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis' and 'Threshold Hypothesis'. As elaborated in § 5.1.1 of Chapter 5, the Interdependence Hypothesis, which was an evolution of the Thresholds Hypothesis, claims that a child's second language competence is partly dependent on the level of competence achieved in the first language; with an assumption that "the more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language" which implies that the competence gained in the mother tongue gets transferred in the additional language to facilitate learning (Cummins, 1978, 2000a, 2000b, cited in Baker 2006, p.173). However, the confusion described by S1T3 above did not

stem from the level of competence in the mother tongue which got transferred to the additional language as learners started shifted to English medium from grade 1 before shifting again to their mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) in grade 2 and 3. Therefore, the transfer observed in this study is not from the mother tongue to additional language as Cummins' model claims, it is rather from an additional language (English) to the mother tongue (Kinyarwanda); and one may wonder if literature provides explanations for such a case. In this regard, the study by Cashion and Eagan (1990, cited in Cummins, 2000a, p.23) in Canadian French immersion programs and the study by Verhoeven (1991a, in Cummins, 2000a, p.23) in Netherlands showed that transfer across languages is two-ways, i.e. from L1 to L2 and then back from L2 to L1, if the sociolinguistic and educational conditions are right (Cummins, 2000a, p.23).

The situation described by S1T3 above, which shows how the transfer from an additional language (English) created confusion when it was transferred to the mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) can be explained with three arguments from the literature. Either we can argue that the sociolinguistic and educational conditions described by Cummins (2000a, p.23) above were not conducive within those two shifts; or that the learners have not reached the thresholds (Cummins, 1976; and Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977, cited in Baker, 2006, p.171) in the additional language before they shifted to the mother tongue. We can also argue that some of other influential factors, such as politics, power relationships, culture, context, social practices, motivation, school, home and community, which Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986, cited in Baker, 2006, p.176) attributed to the relationship between language development and cognitive development, were not favourable to the mastery of English and Kinyarwanda in the Rwandan context. Another possible argument to such confusion can be linked with Cummins's (2000a, p.21) observation that "it is highly problematic to assume that transfer of academic skills across languages will always happen automatically". He gives an example of the French immersion programs where children experienced a strong culture of literacy in English at home, but automatic transfer did not happen in grade 1 and 2, even if the parental reinforcement of English literacy at home played a major role in that transfer (Cashion and Eagan, 1990; Cummins, 1977, cited in Cummins, 2000a, p.21). It might have been the case for the situation described by S1T3 where the cognitive skills from English were not automatically transferred to Kinyarwanda after the 2011 shift, but rather led learners into confusion.

7.3.2.4 Expected difficulties in the learners' future

Some teachers and heads of schools, including S1T1, S2T5, S4T10, S4T11, S1T2 and S5T15, expressed a kind of anticipation for potential difficulties in the learners' future as the consequence of the two consecutive policy shifts. Those expected difficulties are described in the extracts below:

> *When the learners reach the next level [from grade 4], English will be difficult for them in the beginning, since they are already familiar with Kinyarwanda medium*.
>
> [Extract 196: S2T5]

> *The first disadvantage is observed on the learners, because they will not be able to follow lessons smoothly in the upper classes, be it reading or writing*.
>
> [Extract 197: S4T10]

> *… the change of teaching from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium in lower grades of primary created difficulties for learners and teachers who teach them, and it will hinder the learning atmosphere in upper grades*.
>
> [Extract 198: S5T15]

These views show how some teachers anticipated that learners will encounter difficulties as a result from the two consecutive shifts. Such anticipated difficulties among learners can be linked with Cummins's (1984, cited in Baker, 2006, p.177) observations on compulsory aspects for sufficient development of bilingual education of children. In this regard, Cummins (1984, cited in Baker, 2006, p.177) suggests that the 'common underlying proficiency' needs to be developed in the first language or in the second language, but also in both languages simultaneously. The fact that teachers perceived that learners have not reached such underlying proficiency in one or both English and Kinyarwanda can be among the reasons why they anticipated that learners would encounter difficulties in upper grades. Also, the teachers' anticipation of difficulties in the learners' future might have been influenced by Benson's (2003, p.7) ''widely believed myths'' about L1 and L2 acquisition and learning, as decribed in § 2.2.6.2 of Chapter 2. The fact that teachers anticipated difficulties in upper classes, i.e. from primary grade 4 where learners will

shift again to English medium can demonstrate that they were biased about myth 4, which states that ‘school time should be spent learning the second language’; and myth 6, which states that ‘students need to start schooling in the L2 as quickly as possible’. Those teachers expressed this concern while the learners were learning through Kinyarwanda medium, the learners’ mother tongue, which was supposed to help them grasp the concepts better, according to UNESCO’s (1953/1968, 1996, 2003) and UNICEF’s (1999) principle that children should start initial learning in their mother tongue, as described in § 1.1.3 of Chapter 1 and in § 7.2.2.3.3 of Chapter 7. A convincing example of such a great value of using the child’s mother tongue in lower grades is stipulated in UNESCO (1953, p.11) and cited in Fasold (1984, p.293), and it reads:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium of teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.
>
> UNESCO (1953, p.11)

Thus, based on this UNESCO’s (1953) principle, the shift to Kinyarwanda medium from grade 2 would have promoted learners’ understanding and accelerated their learning, as well as facilitating their learning of English in upper class, but some teachers view it differently, with potential reasons mentioned above. However, another sizeable number of teachers indicated that such a shift to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 offered a better preparation for learning through English in upper classes. From such opposing views about the value of the mother tongue medium among teachers, we can still say that different views that are held by the proponents and the opponents of the mother tongue medium versus L2 medium (Spolsky, 1986; Benson, 2003; Baker, 2001, 2006; Cummins, 2000b, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 2000), are still at stake, even within the language policy shifts.

7.3.2.5 Teaching - learning instability which led to delays in completing academic programs

Some teachers and heads of schools, like S6T17, S4T11, S4T12, S1HM1, S3HM3 and S4HM4, expressed that the two consecutive policy shifts have prompted instability in teaching and learning, and this resulted in delaying to complete the academic program. This kind of drawback is expressed in the extracts below:

> *Such consecutive changes tended to be a disadvantage for learners, because their courses were not constant. They were active in English, but when they changed to Kinyarwanda, there was a need to reproduce what they have acquired in English into Kinyarwanda, which created instability*.
>
> [Extract 199: S6T17]

> *The shifts caused delay on the side of the learners, as it took them to learn things in different languages; and the academic program could not be completed within the scheduled period due to those delays*.
>
> [Extract 200: S1HM1]

> *The disadvantage is that those changes caused delays on the side of teachers, they were required to give the learners books that were written in the adopted language at every change; and this took much time for the teacher to explain and make the learners understand the contents in those adopted languages*.
>
> [Extract 201: S4T12]

> *At every shift, teachers had to search for documentations in the adopted language, which created delays and instability among the teachers and the learners*. [Extract 202: S4T11]

All these examples in the extracts above demonstrate how the two consecutive policy shifts caused delays and instability among the teachers, the learners, the programs and the practical teaching and learning. S4T12 and S4T11 emphasized that the delay and instability were caused

by the fact that each of the two language policy shift required new books and documentation for both learners and teachers; and this reminds Barkhuizen and Gough's (1996) considerations for the language policy implementation to be effective, described in § 2.2.5 of Chapter 2. Their considerations suggest that an effective language policy implementation has to take into account the syllabus, the teacher education, the teaching practice and attitudes, the school administration, the testing process as well as the resources involved (Barkhuizen and Gough, 1996, p. 461). The viewpoints expressed by teachers in the extracts above seem to indicate that some of these considerations like syllabus, teacher education and resources were not prepared well in advance, before effecting the policy shifts; and this is likely to be among the aspects which caused instability and delays in completing academic programs after the shifts. These are some of the overarching drawbacks that were prompted by the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts, as perceived by teachers, heads of schools and learners.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter which explored the teachers' and learners' lived experiences within the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts has highlighted both positive and negative experiences, the practices and mechanisms that enabled the stakeholders to cope with the changes or challenges that resulted from the two consecutive policy shifts, as well as the perceived benefits and disadvantages from those two consecutive policy shifts.

Our findings revealed that teachers' and learners' preparedness for the 2008 shift to English medium and for the 2011 shift to Kinyarwanda medium was at different levels. Some were fully prepared, others half prepared, and others not prepared at all. They had positive experiences with both the 2008 and the 2011 policy shifts, namely the boost of their proficiency in English; opportunity for new language acquisition; broadening English skills; valuing the mother tongue; easing interactions between the tachers and the learners and preparing betterment for upper classes. They also had negative experiences with the two shifts, like limited proficiency in English, unfamiliarity with English as a new language, learners' failure caused by policy changes, insufficient teaching materials in English, resentment for shifting to Kinyarwanda, mixing Kinyarwanda with English and resorting to translation.

There were benefits that came from the two consecutive policy shifts, namely excitement about active early sequential bilingualism and equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda as a result from consecutive policy shifts. It also found disadvantages, like learners' half-baked proficiency in the two languages; language mixing; confusion; instability and delays in completing academic programs as a consequence of consecutive policy shifts. To cope with those consequences and challenges, strategies like trainings and workshops, peer assistance, personal and individual school efforts, and parental and community involvement were put in place.

Thus, the two consecutive language policy shifts in the Rwandan lower primary schools offered both advantages and disadvantages, dispite the fact that they were effected within the period of two years and half (October 2008 and February 2011). With regard to the period within which the two shifts took place, I agree with one of the heads of schools (S6HM6) who said**:** "*I think that the time is too short to see the results from such shifts…*". Such an observation can explain why experts in language policy suggested that a language-in-education policy should be modified after 5 to 10 years. They were probably insisting on a kind of stability in the implementation of the policy before its modification. The next chapter concludes and presents the recommendations from the study.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate the attitudes and experiences of Rwandan foundation phase learners and teachers towards the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts in the Rwandan lower primary schools. It was motivated by the desire to contribute in filling the gaps in the existing literature such as limited studies on 'attitude to balanced, organic or holistic bilingualism' (Baker, 1992, p. 3), few empirical studies on attitudes towards different language types, such as exoglossic and endoglossic within the African context (Adegbija, 1994, p. 52), dearth of studies on teachers' and learners' experiences after language-in-education policy change, as well as dearth of empirical studies on the shift from European language-in-education policy to endoglossic language-in-education policy. Also, the Rwandan learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the 2008 - 2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts have not yet been adequately described and accounted for in the body of the existing literature. Based on the salient findings from the study in relation to the research questions, the researcher makes recommendations to the stakeholders in the Rwandan language-in-education policy and suggests areas that may require further exploration in the field of language-in-education policy.

8.2 Summary of chapters

This study is divided into 8 chapters. Chapter 1 identified the context of the study and set the background to the Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts. It stated the research problem to be addressed in this study, the aim of the study, the rationale, the research questions as well as the delienation of the study.

Chapter 2 outlined the theoretical framework which has guided this study, namely the Mentalist Approach (Fasold, 1984); the Language Preference Model (Spolsky, 1989), and the Typology of bilingual education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). It reviewed the literature on attitudes and experiences towards languages and language policy shifts, by discussing the impact of language

policy shifts on education; the language policy shifts in Africa; the successful language-in-education policy shifts; as well as motivations for language-in-education policy shifts.

Chapter 3 presented the research methodology. It outlined the research design, data collection tools and procedures, as well as data analysis. It described the sample size and the sampling techniques, and discussed the issue of validity, reliability and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 discussed and interpreted the findings on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts; more specifically on their level of satisfaction with the shifts. It explored the teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts and the justifications or reasons for their levels of satisfaction.

Chapter 5 focused on the discussion and interpretation of the findings on learners' and teachers' language preferences, after the two consecutive language policy shifts. It analysed their preference of the medium of instruction after the shifts, their language preference in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after the shifts.

Chapter 6 discussed and interpreted the findings on learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the language use. It focused on their actual language use in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after the two consecutive language policy shifts.

Chapter 7 explored the learners' and teachers' experiences within the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts. It specifically focused on positive and negative experiences they encountered during the two consecutive policy shifts; the strategies they used to cope with the changes imposed by the shifts, as well as the benefits and disadvantages attributed to the two consecutive language policy shifts.

Chapter 8 provided the conclusions of the study and presented the summary of the findings, the contribution of the research, the recommendations, as well as suggestions for further research in the area of language-in-education policy shifts.

8.3 Review of the main aim of the study

The overall aim of this study was to investigate the attitudes and experiences of Rwandan foundation phase learners and teachers towards the 2008-2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts. This aim was investigated under five objectives, namely:

(1) To weigh up the learners' and teachers' level of satisfaction with shifting to English medium in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3;
(2) To identify the learners' and teachers' language preference as a MoI and as a subject (preferred versus actual), after consecutive language policy shifts;
(3) To establish the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after consecutive language policy shifts;
(4) To identify the learners' and teachers' experiences within the consecutive language-in-education policy shifts; and
(5) To identify the benefits or disadvantages they attribute to the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

8.4 Summary of the main findings in the study

The main findings on each research objective are the following:

8.4.1 Objective 1: To weigh up the learners' and teachers' level of satisfaction with shifting to English medium in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3

8.4.1.1 Attitudes towards the two consecutive (2008-2011) language-in-education policy shifts

The findings on the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts, as presented and discussed in Chapter 4, were triggered by the research question 1, which asked about the learners' and teachers' level of satisfaction with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012. This research question was explored at four levels, namely the teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010; their level of satisfaction with the

shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012; their level of satisfaction with the two consecutive policy shifts; and their level of appreciation for any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts. The salient findings from each level are summarized as follows:

8.4.1.1.1 Teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the shift from trilingual policy to English-only medium in 2009-2010

Our findings revealed a higher level of positive appraisals towards the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 among the participating teachers (M=1.17; SD=0.383), but more rural school teachers (88.9%) expressed a higher level of satisfaction (M=1.11; SD=0.333) than urban school teachers (77.8%) whose level of satisfaction was 1.22 (M=1.22; SD=0.441). However, the t-test results showed that the difference between the mean scores of the two groups was not statistically significant (p = 0.555; df=16; p>0.05). These quantitative results were clarified and justified by the findings from qualitative data, which provided reasons or justifications for such an overwhelming appraisal towards the shift to English medium, among the investigated teachers. Those reasons included English as a valued language in Rwanda due to its role in the East African region, both teachers and learners were highly motivated to use English medium, prior experience with French led teachers to prefer English medium and the Rwandan endoglossic setting as a booster for English preference.

As for the learners' level of satisfaction with the shift to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010, the majority of the learners in rural and urban areas were overwhelmingly satisfied with the shift towards English medium, but rural learners were more satisfied (97.3 %), with a satisfaction level of 1.03 (M=1.03, SD=0.162) than urban learners (94.7%), with a satisfaction level of 1.05 (M=1.05, SD=0.225). The t-test computation showed that there was no statistically significant difference between the rural and urban learners' levels of satisfaction (p=0.240; df=298; p>0.05). The justifications expressed in the focus group discussions with the learners for such an overwhelming positive appraisal towards the shift to English medium included the learners' high level of instrumental and integrative motivation to learn through English; learners attribute greater value to English than African languages; and Rwandan endoglossic setting motivates learners to feel eager for English.

Thus, we found out that the majority of learners and the teachers enjoyed the change and reported high levels of satisfaction and enjoyment with the first shift, i.e. the shift from trilingual but French-dominant policy to English. The differences between rural and urban experiences of the shift did not yield any significant differences. On the whole, the learners seem to be the major beneficiaries of this change as seen with their high levels of satisfaction and enjoyment reported in the study. A shift towards English is not surprising, given the global symbolic value of English. These attitudes, while noting cognitive and pedagogical reasons, are a reflection of the ideological shift of the Rwandan government to become more Anglophone due to economic benefits associated with English in the region. We therefore note that assessment of attitudes in Rwanda and similar contexts are better understood within the global matrix of power relations (Tollesfon, 1991; Philipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

8.4.1.1.2 Teachers' and learners' level of satisfaction with the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012

The findings showed that more rural school teachers (55.6%) had a higher level of positive attitudes (M=1.44; SD=0.527) towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium while 77.8% of urban school teachers had a higher level of negative attitudes (M=1.78; SD=0.441) towards the medium of an indigenous endoglossic African language. The differences between the two groups of teachers, which were tested through the t-test showed that the differences in the levels of satisfaction between the two groups of teachers were not statistically significant (p=0.165; df=16; p>0.05). The reasons which were provided through interviews with teachers and headmasters on such a negative appraisal among urban school teachers and moderate positive appraisal among rural school teachers, included less importance attributed to Kinyarwanda medium; belief that Kinyarwanda medium tends to inhibit teachers' exposure to English; teachers were not ready to replace English medium with Kinyarwanda medium; teachers seemed unconvinced about the motives behind the shift to Kinyarwanda medium; the Rwandan endoglossic setting resulted in rural teachers valuing Kinyarwanda more than urban school teachers; and urban and rural teachers held opposing views about mother tongue versus foreign language myth.

As for the learners, they showed positive attitudes towards the shift to Kinyarwanda, but rural school learners (69.3%) were more enthusiastic about the shift to Kinyarwanda, with the satisfaction level of M=1.31; SD=0.463; while 50.7% of urban school learners were satisfied with such a shift to Kinyarwanda medium, with satisfaction level of M=1.49; SD=0.509. The t-test revealed that the differences between levels of satisfaction between rural and urban learners was statistically significant (p=0.001; df=298; p<0.05). The reasons for such a high positive appraisal towards the shift to Kinyarwanda among rural school learners, and a moderate positive appraisal among urban school learners included the following: learners appraised the shift to Kinyarwanda medium as it came after their exposure to English medium; rural and urban school learners held opposing views about their levels of proficiency in Kinyarwanda; rural school learners felt more comfortable with Kinyarwanda medium than the urban ones; and qualified teachers in terms of Kinyarwanda or English proficiency seemed to influence the learners' level of satisfaction.

This study shows that the second shift, i.e. the shift from English to Kinyarwanda medium received positive appraisal from both urban and rural school learners, as well as from rural school teachers. This was seen in both the number of participants' satisfaction and high levels of satisfaction, which did not vary significantly. This seems to contrast with most studies on attitudes towards African languages, which are rated negatively, irrespective of rural-urban divide (e.g., Baker, 2006). However, the majority of urban school teachers did not experience enjoyment and satisfaction on this shift - something that reflects their comfort with retaining English as the medium of learning and teaching at least in the urban schools. Perhaps the most interesting finding is the positive outlook towards Kinyarwanda as the language of learning and teaching in the rural areas. Therefore, this finding sits at odds with a plethora of research findings that averred that attitudes toward indigenous African languages are negative. Such a finding debunks the folklore in the existing literature and still goes against the grain that exogenous languages are preferred over indigenous languages. For example, Kamwangamalu's (2000, p. 129) study claimed that black South African have adopted a negative attitude or non-preference of African local languages in education because they are not important in terms of economic viability when compared to English and Afrikaans. While this belief tends to be common in several parts of Africa, our study has revealed the exception and tends to confirm that attitudes

towards languages, including indigenous ones, are context-dependent and ideologically constrained and that the ideology of current language in use tends to dictate current attitudes. We attribute this change to two possible factors, namely, the questionnaires which were carried out in Kinyarwanda and the fact that the study was conducted while Kinyarwanda was the medium of instruction at the schools. Our study has demonstrated that the African languages receive positive appraisal when the instrument of assessment is in the medium of these languages and on this basis, we caution conclusions made in some of the studies on African languages (e.g. Arthur, 1997; Mordaunt, 1991).

8.4.1.1.3 Teachers' and learners' attitudes towards the two consecutive policy shifts

The findings revealed that the majority of teachers were unhappy with the two consecutive language policy shifts. However, more urban school teachers (56, 6%) were dissatisfied, with a high level of dissatisfaction measured (M=2.44, SD=0.726); while 44, 6% of the rural school teachers were dissastified with the two consecutive policy shifts, with mild dissatisfaction level (M=2.11; SD=0.928). A further t-test reveals that the difference between rural and urban teachers is not statistically significant at an alpha value of 0.05 (p = 0.409; df=16; $p > 0.05$). The justification for such dissatisfaction or negative attitudes towards the two consecutive policy shifts among teachers, as collected from interviews with teachers and classroom observations, included the abrupt shift from French MoI to English MoI and then to Kinyarwanda MoI; the short interval between the two consecutive shifts; the speed in the implementation of the two consecutive policy shifts; irregularity in consulting the actual language policy implementers; and disguised resistance to adopting the second shift.

As for the learners, both urban and rural school learners investigated revealed satisfaction with the two consecutive shifts. However, the overwhelming number of urban school learners (87.3%) were satisfied, with the satisfaction level of M=1.19; SD=0.523; while 64.7% of rural school learners were satisfied, with the satisfaction level of M=1.68; SD=0.936. The t-test analysis confirmed that there were statistical significant differences between the rural and urban school learners in terms of their levels of satisfaction (p=0.001; df=298; $p<0.05$). The justification for the learners' positive attitudes about the two shifts included the learners' optimism towards the

success of the shifts, and the absence of pressure imposed on learners by the consecutive policy shifts.

We observed that very few teachers in both the rural and urban settings were satisfied with the consecutive shifts. The learners, on the other hand, were satisfied and reported high levels of satisfaction with the two consecutive shifts. There is a difference on the experiences with the consecutive shifts, which reflects differential impact levels at the pedagogic level (teaching) and cognitive levels (learning). The fact that the learners are not as affected as the teachers suggests that more levels of disruptions happen at the level of teaching, preparations. Although we cannot conclude on the basis of small number of teachers surveyed, the results point out that shifting policies rapidly may create instability and may affect teachers adversely.

8.4.1.1.4 Teachers' and learners' level of appreciation of any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts

The findings revealed that the majority of urban and rural school teachers disagreed that they would support the government if ever it decides to bring back the consecutive policy shifts. In this regard, a great number of urban school teachers (77.8%) would not support any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts, with an appreciation level of M=1.78; SD=0.441; while urban school teachers who would not support it were 66.7%, with an appreciation level of M=1.67; SD=0.500. The test of statistical difference between the two groups through t-test revealed that the differences between rural and urban teachers was not statistically significant at an alpha value of 0.05 (p=0.624; df=16; p>0.05). The reasons for such weak appreciation among teachers included the teachers' willingness for a stable language policy, and teachers' belief that inconsistent policy change disrupts the smooth running of educational system.

As for the learners, the majority of urban school learners (72%) agreed that they would support the government if ever it decides to bring back the consecutive policy shifts, with the level of appreciation of M=1.28; SD=0.451; while 56.7% of rural school learners agreed to support it, with an appreciation level of M=1.43; SD=0.497. A further test of statistical difference between the two groups, which used t-test revealed that the differences between rural and urban learners was statistically significant at an alpha value of 0.05 (p=0.014; df=248; p<0.05). The

justifications for the learners' high degree of appreciation included their perception that the succession of English and Kinyarwanda medium was more advantageous than disadvantageous, and their projection that potential difficulties from the consecutive shifts might not cause a serious threat to learners.

8.4.1.1.5 Teachers' and learners' overall attitudes towards the four aspects investigated

Overall, the findings showed that both urban and rural school teachers had a positive appraisal towards the shift to English in 2009-2010; but only rural school teachers expressed positive attitudes towards the shift to Kinyarwanda in 2010-2011, while urban teachers had negative attitudes. However, both urban and rural school teachers exhibited negative appraisals towards the two consecutive policy shifts and towards any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts.

As for the learners, they showed positive appraisals towards the shift to English medium in 2009-2010, towards the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012, towards the two consecutive policy shifts and towards any continuous implementation of consecutive policy shifts. The new insight which was observed in this study is the overall positive attitude towards an African indigenous endoglossic language (both urban and rural learners plus rural teachers), which contrast more studies on attitudes in the existing literature, that emphasize that exogenous languages are preferred over indigenous languages. Therefore, hypothesis 1 which states that "Teachers and learners were satisfied with shifting to English medium in 2009-2010 and shifting again to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012" is confirmed by these findings, although learners showed more positive attitudes than teachers. Such confirmation partly confirms and supports the overall argument of this study, which states that "Rwandan lower primary school teachers and learners perceive the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts as a positive change within the Rwandan endoglossic setting".

8.4.2 Objective 2-3: To identify the learners' and teachers' language preference as a MoI and as a subject, after consecutive language policy shifts; and To establish the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home, after consecutive language policy shifts.

8.4.2.1 Teachers' and learners' language preference after consecutive policy shifts

The findings on the teachers' and learners' language preference after consecutive policy shifts were provided by the answers to the research question 2, which asked about the language learners and teachers prefer as a MoI and as a subject between English and Kinyarwanda after consecutive policy shifts; as well as the answers to the research question 3, which asked about the learners' and teachers' attitudes towards the use of Kinyarwanda and English in the classroom, at the school playground and at home (preferred language), after consecutive policy shifts?". The findings to these questions are the following:

8.4.2.1.1 Teachers' and learners' preferred MoI between English and Kinyarwanda after the two shifts

The findings revealed that a great number of the participating teachers (55.6% of urban and 55.6% of rural school teachers) preferred English as a medium of instruction in grade 1-3, after experiencing the shift to English and to Kinyarwanda medium. As for Kinyarwanda, its medium was preferred by 44.4% of rural school teachers, but by 0% of urban school teachers. Likewise, 44.4% of urban school teacher preferred a combination of English and Kinyarwanda medium, but 0% of rural school preferred such a combination.

As for the learners, 50% of rural school learners preferred to learn through Kinyarwanda in grade 1-3, while 51.3% of urban school learners preferred English MoI. The preference of English and Kinyarwanda combined was observed among 31.3% of urban and 29.3% of rural school learners. Thus, despite the high preference of English observed among teachers in general, the striking feature is that rural school learners and teachers showed more preference and choice of Kinyarwanda medium than urban school learners and teachers. The overall preference of English is attributed to its status as an outstanding powerfull language worldwide, which is considered to

be "… the passport to the good life, to status, to wealth" (Pattanayak, 1993), "the world's lingua franca in commerce, academia and technology" (Shohamy, 2006, p.81), an uncontestably "global language" (Baker, 2006, p.86), "… a vehicle of globalization" (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006, p.244), and many other attributes. As for Kinyarwanda, its preference by the Rwandan rural learners and teachers is attributed to its status as an endoglossic and national language, spoken by 99.4% of the Rwandan population (MINECOFIN, 2005). Such preference of Kinyarwanda among rural school learners and teachers in this study made another exception in the existing literature where an indigenous language is preferred over English. Such an exception is added to the one found in Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon's (2009) study in Singapore, where Chinese and Indian children's positive attitudes towards their mother tongue was higher than their attitudes towards English.

8.4.2.1.2 Teachers' and learners' language preference in class, after the consecutive shifts

The findings of this study showed that the participating teachers manifested higher level of English preference (88.9% of urban school teachers and 66.7% of rural school teachers) for peer-learners' interactions in class. The motives behind such preference included their infatuation for any opportunity for English practice, their perception on young learners' ability to acquire English, and their eagerness to improve their English skills by practicing with learners. However, the majority of rural school learners (50.7%) prefer to use Kinyarwanda for all classroom interactions with peers, while the majority of urban school learners (50%) prefer the combination of English and Kinyarwanda. The preference for English alone came in the third position with 34% among urban and 25.3% among rural school learners. Again, the preference of the mother tongue is still observed among rural school learners.

8.4.2.1.3 Teachers' and learners' language preference at the school playground, after the consecutive policy shifts

The findings in this study confirm that the greater majority of urban and rural school teachers (88.9% and 77.8% respectively) prefer English and want their learners to speak English when they are playing outside the classroom. However, the learners' language preference is in opposing direction because more rural school learners (48.7%) prefer to use Kinyarwanda all the time when they are playing with peers at the school playground, while more urban school

learners (48%) prefer the combination of Kinyarwanda and English. The preference of English comes in the third position, with 32.7% among urban and 31.3% among rural school learners. Such findings still confirm the mother tongue preference among rural school learners.

8.4.2.1.4 Teachers' and learners' language preference at home, after the consecutive shifts

The findings revealed that 66.7% of rural school teachers investigated preferred Kinyarwanda as the language of interaction with relatives at home, while 66.7% of urban school teachers preferred English. As for learners, more rural school learners (48%) prefer the use of Kinyarwanda for all interactions with relatives at home, while more urban school learners (53.3%) prefer English and Kinyarwanda combined. The learners' preference for English at home still comes in the third position, with 32% of rural school learners and 28% of urban school learners. Thus, more rural school learners and teachers continue to show preference of Kinyarwanda over English, while urban school learners continue to manifest preference of English and Kinyarwanda combined.

8.4.2.1.5 Teachers' and learners' overall language preference in class, at the school yard and at home, after the two consecutive policy shifts

A recurrent feature from our findings is that more rural school learners preferred the use of Kinyarwanda in class, at the school yard and at home, while more urban school learners did not prefer English only but preferred its combination with Kinyarwanda. The preference of English alone among learners from both urban and rural schools came in the third position, which indicates that English is not preferred over the local language, as it is the case in many studies in the existing literature. In this study, English is only preferred by teachers, be it in class, at the school playground and at home, with exception of rural school teachers, who preferred the use of Kinyarwanda at home. Thus, these findings continue to debunk the folklore in the existing literature which states that exogenous languages are preferred over indigenous languages in all aspects.

8.4.2.1.6 Teachers' and learners' actual language use in class, at school yard and at home

The findings on the teachers' and learners' actual language use in class, at school yard and at home were intended to cross-check if their language preference in the three settings is in congruence with their actual language use. The overall finding is that the majority of both learners and teachers predominantly use Kinyarwanda during their interactions with peers in the classroom and at the school yard, as well as with their relatives at home. English is used minimumly in those three settings, despite the fact that its preference is revealed to be high, especially in urban setting in this study.

From the findings in this study, it can be concluded that the location of the participants, either in urban or in rural area, plays a significant influence in the language preference among teachers and learners. The evidence of such a conclusion is that rural school learners and teachers demonstrated greater preference for Kinyarwanda medium than urban school learners and teachers; and this preference was consistently in congruence with their positive attitudes towards their mother tongue regarding its use in class, at the school playground and at home. Also, the high preference of English is more observed among teachers than learners. This continues to contrast more studies on attitudes towards African languages, which are rated negatively, irrespective of rural-urban divide (e.g., Baker, 2006).

These findings partly confirm hypothesis 2 which states that "After consecutive shifts, teachers' and learners' preference of MoI favours an endoglossic African language (Kinyarwanda) over an international language (English)" as well as hypothesis 3 which states that "After consecutive shifts in the Rwandan endoglossic setting, the teachers' and learners' preference of languages in the classroom, at the school playground and at home is still over-dominated by the preference of an African language over an international one".

8.4.4 Objective 4: To identify the learners' and teachers' experiences within the consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

8.4.4.1 Teachers' and learners' experiences within the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts

The findings were provided by answers to research question 4, which inquired about the learners' and teachers' experiences within the 2008-2011 language-in-education policy shifts. The overarching themes that emerged from the answers included the lived experiences with the 2008-2011 policy shifts, navigating through their positive and negative experiences, and coping with changes prompted by the two consecutive policy shifts. The findings identified the sub-categories of each theme as follows:

8.4.4.1.1 Teachers' and learners' lived experiences with the 2008-2011 policy shifts

The findings revealed various experiences among the teachers and the learners. For the shift from the trilingual medium to English-only medium in the beginning of 2009 academic year, the findings indicated that some teachers were fully prepared and ready when the shift to English medium was announced in October 2008, some other teachers indicated that they were not fully prepared for English medium, while others revealed that they were not prepared at all. The learners' preparedness was mainly investigated through teachers' perspectives, who confirmed that their learners were happy about learning through English in grade 1 in 2010.

As for the 2011 shift, the findings revealed that some teachers were ready and prepared to shift to Kinyarwanda medium, while others were not ready, but the majority of them manifested resentment towards this shift to Kinyarwanda medium. On the side of the learners, several teachers tended to say that learners were not ready for the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012; that the learners did not welcome it with open arms and that it made their learning difficult. However, the learners themselves confirmed that they were enthusiastic about the shift to Kinyarwanda medium and that it was not as difficult as it was confirmed by their teachers.

8.4.4.1.2 Navigating through the teachers' and learners' positive and negative experiences during the 2008-2011 shifts

The findings revealed that the teachers' and learners' positive experiences with the 2009-2010 shift to English medium included boosting the teachers' and learners' proficiency in English; providing opportunity for new language acquisition; broadening knowledge and English skills; and arousing excitement among learners and teachers. Such teachers' and learners' positive experiences based on their aspirations for improved fluency in English are in line with Samuelson and Freedman's (2010, p. 203) observation that overall Rwandan population has a positive attitude towards the use of English language, which they perceive to be a language of valuable commodity, and through which Rwandans are striving to compete in the regional market, in the African market, and also in the world market (McCrummen, 2008; McGreal, 2008; Steflja, 2012).

Their negative experiences with the shift to English medium in 2009-2010 were characterized by a limited level of proficiency in English among learners and teachers; unfamiliarity with English as a new language; learners' failure as a blame attributed to English as a new language; and insufficient teaching materials in English.

As for their experiences with the shift to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012, the positive aspects included returning to the value and mastery of the mother tongue; easing interactions between the tachers and the learners and preparing betterment for upper classes. Their negative experiences included resentment and disappointment for shifting from the cherished English to Kinyarwanda; instability and delay in Kinyarwanda learning from English experience; mixing Kinyarwanda with English on the side of learners and teachers' resort to the challenging task of translation from English.

8.4.4.1.3 Coping with the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts

As strategies and mechanisms that were put in place for coping with the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts, the findings indicated that training and workshops were organized; peer assistance among teachers was encouraged; group commitment and individual school efforts were

strengthened and parental and community involvement were not left out during those shifts. Such collaborative and supportive strategies enabled the Rwandan teachers and learners to cope with the changes, as they led to the establishment of a collaborative classroom atmosphere for both teachers and students in Ruiz's (2011) study on the teachers' and learners' experiences within the mainstream classroom in the United States.

8.4.5 Objective 5: To identify the benefits or disadvantages they attribute to the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts.

8.4.5.1 Teachers' and learners' perceived benefits and drawbacks from the two consecutive policy shift experiences

The findings were provided by answers to research question 5, which asked about the benefits and drawbacks that the learners and teachers attributed to the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts. The findings revealed that the percieved benefits from the two consecutive shifts included excitement about active early sequential bilingualism; equal rights and complementarity between English and Kinyarwanda; and short interval between the two consecutive shifts as advantageous. The drawbacks on learners who experienced the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts, as perceived by teachers and heads of schools, included the learners' half-baked proficiency in the two languages as a consequence of shifts; language mixing as a consequence of the two consecutive shifts; confusion as a consequence of consecutive shifts; expected difficulties in the learners' future as a consequence of consecutive policy shifts; and teaching – learning instability which led to delays in completing academic programs. These are the main findings from this study.

8.5 Significance of the findings and the contribution of the study

It was worthwhile to undertake this study because it has shed light and provided insight on Rwandan learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the 2008 - 2011 consecutive language-in-education policy shifts, which have not yet been adequately accounted for in the Rwandan language-in-education policy literature. Therefore, this study has contributed in

addressing the research problem by exposing an account on the learners' and teachers' experiences and attitudes towards unfamiliar consecutive language policy shifts that they experienced during their foundation phase education.

The attitudinal aspects that were investigated in this study, including the learners' and teachers' level of satisfaction, enjoyment and appreciation towards the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts; their language preference and use after the shifts, have revealed their attitudes towards such unfamiliar shifts in language policy. As language attitudes research studies were revealed to be important because they predict and highlight the current language community desires, thoughts, beliefs and preferences (Baker, 1992, p. 9), the findings in this study have exposed how the Rwandan teachers and learners perceived, admired and critiqued the two consecutive shifts they experienced. Both positive and negative attitudes have been explored, together with aspects that might have influenced those attitudes. Based on Cummins's (1986) and Gardner's (1985) observation that studies on language attitudes held by key stakeholders in language-in-education policy such as learners and teachers are of paramount importance because they predict and determine how they engage in language learning and teaching at school and their expectations for success; we can confirm that the findings on the learners' and teachers' attitudes in this study have provided insights on the prediction of success and engagement in the implementation of those two consecutive language policy shifts in the Rwandan schools.

Furthermore, the findings on both positive and negative experiences that the learners and teachers went through during the two consecutive policy shifts have informed all the stakeholders and policy-makers in the Rwandan language-in-education policy about the situation on ground. It has also informed the world about the Rwandan learners' and teachers' experiences and attitudes towards the two consecutive language policy shifts, which were effected in October 2008 and in February 2011.

This study has contributed in the Rwandan education in general and in the Rwandan language-in-education policy in particular. As Adegbija (1994, p. 96) has put it nicely that "[t]he educational system is the power house of development in every nation", we conclude that this study on learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the language-in-education policy shifts

constitutes one of the padlocks for the Rwandan education success in terms of language learning and language teaching, as well as in the implementation of language-in-education policy change.

8.6 Recommendations from the study

One of the key findings in this study is the overall positive attitude exhibited by both teachers and learners towards the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts in Rwanda, which confirms a positive transformative change in the Rwandan language-in-education policy. The new insight from this finding is that the majority of the participants had positive attitudes towards an African indigenous endoglossic language (Kinyarwanda); which seems to contrast more studies on attitudes towards African languages, which are rated negatively, irrespective of rural-urban divide (e.g. Baker, 2006). This study which was conducted in an African endoglossic country debunks the folklore in the existing literature and goes against the grain that exogenous languages are preferred over indigenous languages. That is why the first recommendation is to suggest other scholars and researchers to conduct similar attitudinal studies across the six African endoglossic countries, as identified by Abdulaziz (1993, p.80) (i.e. Burundi, Swaziland, Somalia, Botswana, Lesotho and Rwanda) to confirm and cross-check if positive attitudes towards African endoglossic languages apply across the African continent.

The second recommendation is addressed to the Government of Rwanda in particular and to other Governments which effect language-in-education policy shifts in general. The fact that the participating teachers and learners had positive attitudes towards the two consecutive policy shifts suggests that the Government of Rwanda should have conducted an attitudinal planning before the shifts, to predict and determine how learners and teachers were ready to engage in language learning and teaching in schools and their expectations for successful implementation of those policy shifts. That is why I also recommend other Goverments to conduct attitudinal planning prior to modifying their language-in-education policy.

The third recommendation is related to the implementation of the language policy shifts, specifically on the languages that are involved in the shifts. The two consecutive policy shifts that were investigated in this study involved English and Kinyarwanda. While the Rwandan Ministry of Education organised English trainings for teachers and created English training

centres before and after the shift to English in 2009, similar trainings were not organized after the shift to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011. The fact that Kinyarwanda is an endoglossic language, spoken by almost all the Rwandan population, teachers and learners included, is not in itself a guarantee for academic development in terms of taching and learning. That is why this study suggests that the Rwandan Ministry of Education should set up and expand language training centres which cater for all the languages that were involved in the language policy shifts.

8.7 The limitations of the study

One of the limitations of this study is the fact that the results of this study need to be interpreted within its inherent limitation of small sample of the teacher participants. This is more related to methodological limitation, which is prompted by the mixed methods design that was adopted in this study. The main limitation of the sample in this study is what Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p.56) describe as 'sample integration legitimation' which refers to "the extent to which the relationship between the quantitative and qualitative sampling designs yields quality meta-inferences" (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2006, p.57). According to Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p.57), it can be problematic to construct meta-inferences (for making statistical generalizations from the sample participants to a larger target population) by pulling together the inferences from the qualitative and quantitative phases, especially when individuals or groups involved in both the qualitative and quantitative components of a study are not exactly the same. In this study which adopted a concurrent design, inferences made from quantitative data which were yielded by a large sample (300 learners and 18 teachers) were integrated with inferences made from qualitative data that arose from a smaller subset of this sample (i.e. 6 focus groups which included 36 learners who were selected from 300). For teachers, the same informants were involved in both quantitative and qualitative components; while the heads of schools were involved in qualitative phase but not in quantitative phase. This can be regarded as a limitation for meta-inferences that can be generalized for the entire population, as pointed out by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p.57).

This limitation was minimized by what Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) described as 'weakness minimization legitimation' which refers to "the extent to which the weakness from one approach is compensated by the strengths from the other approach" (Onwuegbuzie and

Johnson, 2006, p.57). The researcher in this study carefully combined the quantitative and the qualitative approaches in such a way that the weakness from one approach was compensated by the strengths from the other approach; which led to high quality meta-inferences or conclusions from the mixed methods. The adoption of the mixed methods approach was somewhat a limitation in itself in the sense that the research took more time than it should have taken if one approach had been adopted. However, the use of the mixed methods enriched the depths of the findings, the quality of their interpretation as well as the quality of their conclusions.

Another limitation is related to the reliance on information provided by minor informants, i.e. primary grade 3 learners, who were aged between 8 and 11. People sometimes question the reliability and validity of information provided by minor informants, but the researcher in this study minimized such a limitation by drawing from assurance from experts in the psychology of young children (cfr. Blandon-Gitlin, Pezdek, Rogers and Brodie, 2005; Save the Children United Kingdom report (SC UK), 2000; Parry-Williams, 1998, in SC UK, 2000; Khan, 1999, in SC UK, 2000); and from similar empirical studies which involved young primary school learners (cfr. Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon, 2009; Jardine, 2008); as well as by triangulating their information with that of their teachers and their heads of schools.

8.8 Further research

As clarified in the first recommendation above, the positive attitudes towards an African endoglossic language (Kinyarwanda) have raised the need for further similar attitudinal studies across all the six African endoglossic countries (Burundi, Swaziland, Somalia, Botswana, Lesotho and Rwanda) to check if the positive attitude exhibited by the Rwandan teachers and learners towards their African endoglossic language is also held by other Africans towards their respective endoglossic African languages. Thus, there is a need for studies that investigate attitudes towards African endoglossic languages and shifts towards their use in endoglossic situations such as Rwanda or the relationship between language exposure and language attitudes in similar endoglossic contexts.

Also, while the component of attitudes towards the Rwandan 2009 shift to English medium has been investigated among the teachers and students at different levels of education, including the

lower primary school level in this study, at upper primary school level (Habyarimana, 2014); in Teacher Training colleges (Maniraho, 2013) and at the level of institutions of higher learning (Niyibizi, 2009), there are still needs for further studies on attitudes towards the 2009-2011 consecutive policy shifts held by different strata of the population, like parents, business people, public and private servants, government officials, etc.

Furthermore, while this study investigated the component of teachers' and learners' lived experiences within the 2008-2011 consecutive language policy shifts, further investigations on other stakeholders' lived experiences within those consecutive changes, like the curriculum developers, the designers and producers of textbooks who used to produce them in different languages before the shifts, as well as the lived experiences at other levels of education, i.e. beyond the lower primary school level, which was the focus in this study, are still needed.

8.9 Conclusion

This study aimed at investigating the teachers' and learners' attitudes and experiences with the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts in the Rwandan foundan phase education. The major finding in this study is the overall positive attitude exhibited by both teachers and learners towards the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts in Rwanda, with the new insight on the preference and positive appraisal for the shift to the African endoglossic language (Kinyarwanda). Such posititive attitudes are likely to be a signal of positive transformative changes in the Rwandan language-in-education policy, which were brought about by the policy shifts that were effected by the Government of Rwanda. Siding with Garrouste's (2007, p.101) assertion that "the type of language-in-education policy (if any) adopted by a government reflects its ambition to educate a skilled and attractive labor force" and with Ricento's (2006, p. 6) perspective that the linguistic system of the state may undergo changes depending on rate of change in the economic, cultural, religious and political realms tied up with nationalist and pan-nationalist movements; I can conclude that the overall positive attitudes held by both teachers and learners towards the shift to English and to Kinyarwanda medium mark a positive change and transformative affirmation within the Rwandan language-in-education policy. Such a conclusion tends to be in line with Steflja's (2012, p.6) observation on the Rwandan language policy that "Officials are taking into consideration which language policy is best suited to ensure improvements in literacy levels,

quality education, and benefits across Rwandan society, including rural areas". Therefore, it confirms the overall argument of this study, which states that "Rwandan lower primary school teachers and learners perceive the 2008-2011 consecutive policy shifts as a positive change within the Rwandan endoglossic setting". The study therefore recommends similar attitudinal studies in other African endoglossic countries.

Reference list

Abdelilah-Bauer, B. (2006). *Le Défi des Enfants Bilingues: Grandir et Vivre en Parlant Plusieurs Langues.* Paris: Editions La Découverte.

Abdulaziz, Y. L. (1993). The Language Situation in Africa Today. *Nordic Journal of African Studies,* 2 (1), 79 – 86.

Adegbija, E. (1994). *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A sociolinguistic overview*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ager, D. (2001). *Motivation in Language Planning and Language Policy*. Clevedon, Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Agheyisi, R. N. & Fishman, J. A. (1970). Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics,* 12 (5), 137-157.

Ajzen, I. (2005). *Attitudes, Personality and Behaviour*. 2nd ed. New York: Mc Graw-Hill International

Alexander, N. (1992). Language Planning from Below. In R.K. Herbert (Ed.), *Language and Society in Africa: The theory and practice of sociolinguistics* (pp.143-149). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Alexander, N. (1999). An African Renaissance without African Languages? *Social Dynamics,* 25 (1), 1 – 12.

Alexander, N. (2003). *Language Education Policy, National and Sub-national Identities in South Africa*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Alexander, N. (2004). The Politics of Language Planning in Post-apartheid South Africa. *Language Problems and Language Planning,* 28 (2), 113-130.

Annamalai, E. (2003). Reflections on a Language Policy for Multilingualism. *Language Policy*, 2 (2), 113-132.

Appel, R. & Muysken, p. (1987). *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.

Arnberg, L. (1987). *Raising Children Bilingually: The preschool years*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Arthur, J. (1997). There must be something undiscovered which prevents us from doing our work well: Botswana Primary Teachers' views on Educational Language Policy. *Language and Education*, 11 (4), 225-241.

Assefa, A. (2002). *Students' Attitude Towards Mother Tongue Instruction as a Correlate of Academic Achievement: The Case of Sidama*. Unpublished master's research report, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa.

Auer, P. (1998). From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech. *Interaction and Linguistic Structures* (InLiSt No. 6) Retrieved 25 March 2014 from http://www.ling.uni-konstanz.de/home/couperku/inlist-index.html

Babbie, E. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research*. 12th ed. California, USA: Wardsworth, Cengage Learning.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (1995). *A Parent's and Teacher's Guide to Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Third edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Fourth edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baldauf, Jr, R.B. & Kaplan, R.B. (2004). *Language Policy and Planning in Africa, Vol. 1: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bamgbose, A. (1989). Issues for a Model of Language Planning. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 13 (1), 24 – 34.

Bamgbose, A. (1991). *Language and the Nation. The Language Question in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.

Bamgbose, A. (1996). African Language Situation and its Implications for Language Planning

and Education. Paper presented at the Pan African Seminar on the Problems and Prospects of the Use of African National Languages in Education. Accra, Ghana, 26-30 August 1996.

Bamgbose, A. (1999). African Language Development and Language Planning. In N. Alexander (Ed.). Language and development in Africa. *Social Dynamics Series,* 25 (1) 13–30. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Document Management Services.

Bamgbose, A. (2000). *Language and exclusion: The consequences of language policies in Africa*. Munster - Hamburg – London: LIT VERLAG.

Barker, C. & Galasinski, D. (2001). *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis – a Dialogue on Language and Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

Barkhuizen, G. P. (2002). Language-in-Education Policy: Students' Perceptions of the Status and Role of Xhosa and English. *System,* 30 (4), 499-515.

Barkhuizen, G. & Gough, D. (1996). Language Curriculum Development in South Africa: What Place for English? *TESOL Quarterly*, 30 (3), 453-471.

Barnes, J. D. (2006). *Early Trilingualism: A Focus on Questions*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Barnes, B. R. (2012). Using Mixed Methods in South African Psychological Research. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 42 (4), 463-475.

Batt, E. (2008). Teacher's Perceptions of ELL Education: Potential Solutions to Overcome the Greatest Challenges. *Multicultural Education*, 15 (3), 39-43.

Beacco, J.C. & Byram, M. (2003). Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe: From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education. Language Policy Division of Council of Europe, Strasbourg. Retrieved 7 May 2014 from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/Linguistic/Source/FullGuide_En.pdf

Benson, C. (2003, October). *Mother Tongue-based Education: What, why and how?* Paper written for consultative meeting on bilingual education at UNICEF Vientiane, Laos.

Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language Attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bloome, D. (2008). *On Discourse Analysis in Classrooms*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. & Caleon, I. S. (2009). The Language Attitudes of Bilingual Youth in Multilingual Singapore. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 30 (3), 235-251.

Braam, D., Broeder, P., Extra, G., Mati, X., Pluddemann, P. & Wababa, Z. (2000). *Language Vitality and Policy Implementation: the Greater Cape Town primary school survey.* Unpublished conference paper.

Blandon-Gitlin, I., Pezdek, K., Rogers, M. & Brodie. L. (2005 April). Detecting Deception in Children: An Experimental Study of the Effect of Event Familiarity on CBCA Ratings. *Law and Human Behavior,* 29 (2) 187-197. DOI: 10.1007/s10979-005-2417-8

Brann, C.M.B. (1981). *Trilingualism in Language Planning for Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*. University of Maiduguri. Nigeria.

Canale, M. & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical Bases of Communicative Approaches to Second Language Teaching and Testing. *Applied Linguistics*, 1 (1), 1-47.

Chilisa, B. & Preece, J. (2005). *African Perspectives on Adult Learning: Research Methods for Adult Educators in Africa*. Cape Town: Pearson Education.

Clair, N. (1995). Mainstream Classroom Teachers and ESL Students. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29 (1), 189-195.

Clayton, T. (2006). *Language Choice in a Nation under Transition. English Language Spread in Cambodia*. New York: Springer.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research Methods in Education.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Collier, V.P. (1989). How long? A Synthesis of Research on Academic Achievement in a Second Language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30 (3), 509-531.

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corson, D. (1990). *Language Policy across the Curriculum*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Coulmas, F. (2005). *Sociolinguistics: The Study of Speakers' Choices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Cresswell, J. W. & Miller, D. (2000). Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39 (3), 124-130.

Cummins, J. (1978). Educational Implications of Mother Tongue Maintenance in Minority Language Groups. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 34 (3), 395-416.

Cummins, J. (1979). Cognitive/academic Language Proficiency, Linguistic Interdependence, the Optimal Age Question and some other Matters. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 19, 197-205.

Cummins, J. (1980). The Cross-lingual Dimensions of Language Proficiency: Implications for Bilingual Education and the Optimal Age Issue. *TESOL Quarterly*, 14, 175-187.

Cummins, J. (1981). Age on Arrival and Immigrant Second Language Learning in Canada: A Reassessment. *Applied Linguistics*, 1, 132-149.

Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56 (1), 18-36.

Cummins, J. (2000a). *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2000b). Putting language proficiency in its place: Responding to critiques of the conversational / academic language distinction. In J. Cenoz & U. Jessner (eds), *English in Europe: The Acquisition of a Third Language*, pp.54-83. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2003). Bilingual Children's Mother Tongue: Why Is It Important for Education? Retrieved 27 June 2012 from http://www.iteachilearn.com/cummins/mother.html.

Cummins, J. (2005). A Proposal for Action: Strategies for Recognizing Heritage Language Competence as a Learning Resource within the Mainstream Classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89 (4), 585-592.

De Klerk, V. (2002). Language Issues in our Schools: Whose voice counts: Part 1, The Children speak. *Perspectives in Education*, 20 (1), 1-14.

Diab, R. (2006). University students' beliefs about learning English and French in Lebanon. *System*, 34 (1), 80–96.

Dictionary Thesaurus, at http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/enjoyment.

Dutcher, N. (2001). *Expanding Educational Opportunity in Linguistically diverse societies*. Washington DC: Centre for Applied Linguistics. Retrieved 10 July 2012 from http://www.cal.org/pubs/ford/eeolds.html.

Echeverria, J., Short, E., & Powers, K. (2006). School Reform and Standards-based Education: A Model for English Language Learners. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 99 (4), 195-210.

Education Encyclopedia - StateUniversity.com (n.d.). Rwanda - History Background - Education, Government, System, and Percent. Retrieved 17 August 2012 from http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1276/Rwanda-HISTORY-BACKGROUND.html#ixzz23nF6c2AR

El-Dash, L. G. & Busnardo, J. (2001). Brazilian Attitudes toward English: Dimensions of Status and Solidarity. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11 (1), 57-74.

Encyclopedia of the Nations » Africa » Burundi. Retrieved 27 November 2013 from http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Burundi.html#ixzz2lqdsXqir)

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Faizah, A. M. (2004). *Adult Learners' Characteristics and their Academic Reading Strategies: A case study*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Faizah, A. M. (2010). Scaffolding Adult Learners' Learning through their Diversity: An

Action Research. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 7 (C), 235–239.

Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fishman, J. A. (2006). Language Policy and Language Shift. In T. Ricento (ed.), *Introduction to language policy: Theory and Methods* (pp.311-328). Malden, MA: Blackwell

Ford, S. (2001). *Language Mixing among Bilingual Children*. Retrieved 22 March 2014 from http://www2.hawaii.edu/~sford/research/mixing.htm

Francis, D. J. & Kamanda, M. C. (2001). Politics and Language Planning in Sierra Leone. *African Studies*, 60 (2), 225-244.

Garcia, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gardner, R. C. & Lambert, W. E. (1959). Motivational Variables in Second Language Acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 13, 266-272.

Gardner, R. C. & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation.* London: Edward Arnold.

Garrouste, C. (2007). Determinants and Consequences of Language-in-Education Policies: Essays in Economics of Education. Unpublished PhD thesis. Stockholm University, Sweden. Retrieved 22 March 2014 from http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/25071/

Gibbs, G. R. (2007). Analyzing Qualitative Data. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage Qualitative Research Kit*. London: Sage.

Gitonga, A. (1987). *The Meaning and Foundations of Democracy*. Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya Ltd.

Gonzalez, A. (1998). Successful Language Teaching in Southeast Asia: The Philippines experiences (1896-1946). Paper presented at the Regional English Language Centre Seminar 1998 in Singapore.

Gunderson, L. (2000). Voices of the Teenage Diasporas. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 43 (8), 692-706.

Gupta, A. F. (1997). When Mother tongue Education is not Preferred. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 18 (6), 496-506.

Habyarimana, H. (2006). *Multilingualism and Change in the Kinyarwanda Sound System Post 1994*. Unpublished Master's Research Report. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Habyarimana, H. (2014). *Investigation of Attitudes and Classroom Practices of Educators and Learners in Relation to English as the Medium of Instruction at four Primary Schools in Rwanda*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Hafernik, J. J., Messerschmitt, D. S. & Vandrick, S. (2002). *Ethical Issues for ESL Faculty: Social Justice in Practice*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Heines, B. (1992). Language Policies in Africa. In R. Herbert (ed.), *Language and society in Africa: The theory and practice of sociolinguistics*, pp.23–36. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Heugh, K. (2000) Multilingual Voices-Isolation and the Crumbling Bridges. *Agenda*, 46, 21-23.

Heugh, K. (2002). Recovering Multilingualism: Recent Language-policy Developments. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.). *Language in South Africa*, pp. 449 – 475. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hitchcock, G. & Hughes, D. (1989). *Research and the Teacher*. London: Routledge.

Hornberger, N. & Vaish, V. (2008). Multilingual Language Policy and School Linguistic practice: Globalization and English-language teaching in India, Singapore and South Africa. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*. DOI:10.1080/03057920802469663. Retrieved 10 May 2014 from http://www.informaworld.com.

Infoplease.com, French Morocco, Retrieved 1st June 2012 from http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0913609.html

Jardine, A. (2008). Affirming Marginal Voices: A Study of a Group of Primary School Children in an Asymmetrical Multilingual Setting. *PRAESA Occasional Papers No. 29*. University of Cape Town: PRAESA.

Jernudd, B. H. (1975). Notes on Economic Analysis for Solving Language Problem. In J. Rubin and B.H. Jernudd, (eds.), *Can Language Be Planned?*, pp.263-276. An East West Centre Book, The University of Hawaii Press.

Johanson, G. A. & Brooks, G. P. (2009). Initial Scale Development: Sample Size for Pilot Studies. *Educational and Psychological Measurement* XX (X), 1–7. Retrieved 18 August 2012 at http://epm.sagepub.com/content/early/2009/12/18/0013164409355692.full.pdf

Johnson, R.B, Onwuegbuzie, A.J. & Turner, L.A. (2007). Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* 1 (2), 112-133.

Kabanza, F. (2003). *Redynamisation du Bilinguisme Précoce au Rwanda*. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Université de Rouen, Rouen.

Kabanza, F. (2001). *Le Multilinguisme à l'école Primaire au Rwanda: Approche Sociolinguistique*. Unpublished B.A. Research Report, National University of Rwanda.

Kagwesage, A. M. (2013). Coping with English as Language of Instruction in Higher Education in Rwanda. *International Journal of Higher Education*, 2 (2), 1-12. Retrieved 15 March 2014 from www.sciedu.ca/ijhe

Kamwangamalu, N. (2000). *Language Policy and Mother-tongue Education in South Africa: The Case for a Market-oriented Approach*. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Kaplan, R. B. & Baldauf, R. B., Jr. (1997). *Language Planning: From Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Karahan, F. (2007). Language Attitudes of Turkish Students towards the English Language and its use in Turkish Context. *Journal of Arts and Sciences Sayi*, 7, Mayis, 73-87.

Karangwa, J.de D. (1996). Rwanda: Vers une Nouvelle Politique Linguistique?. In C. Juillard, L.-J. Calvet (eds), *Les Politiques linguistiques, mythes et réalités* (pp. 215-221).

Kasanga, L. A. (2012). English in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *World Englishes*, 31 (1), 48–69.

Kayisire, C. (2004). "La Formulation et la mise en oeuvre des Politiques d'intégration de langues Nationales: Implication et facteurs déterminants de la réussite". Présentation au Séminaire de concertation sur l'Intégration des Langues Africaines dans les Systèmes Educatifs, tenu du 14 au 16 décembre 2004, Kigali, Rwanda. [*Formulation and*

implementation of policies on the integration of national languages: Implications and determining factors for success". Presentation during the workshop on the integration of national languages in educational system, held on 14-16th December 2004]. Kigali. Rwanda

Kelechukwu, U. I. (2006). An Integrated Approach to the Study of Language attitudes and Change in Nigeria: The Case of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt City. In *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Olaoba F. Arasanyin and Michael A. Pemberton, 194-207. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Kilbride, A. J. (2003). *How Couples Appraise and Communicate about their Fertility Problems: A study using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. The University of Hull.

King, M. & van den Berg, O. (1992). *One Nation, Many Languages: What Policy for Schools?* Focus Series Three. Pietermaritzburg: Centaur Publications in association with the Independent Examinations Board.

Knowles, M. (1990). *Adult Learners: A Neglected Species*. London: Kogan Page.

Kukla, A. (2000). *Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Science*. New York: Routledge.

Lambert, W. E. (1974). Culture and Language as Factors in Learning and Education. In F.E. Aboud & R.D. Meade (eds.), *Cultural Factors in Learning and Education*. 5th Western Washington Symposium on learning, Bellingham: Western Washington University.

Lambert, W. E. (1980). The Social Psychology of Language. In H. Giles, W.P. Robinson & P.M. Smith (eds.), *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Oxford: Pergamon.

LeClerc, J. (2008). Rwanda. L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde. Retrieved April 3, 2009, at http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/rwanda.htm .

Lemmer, E. M. (1993). Addressing the Need of the Black Child with a Limited Language Proficiency in the Medium of Instruction. In J. Le Roux, (ed), *The Black Child in Crises: A socio-educational Perspective, Vol. 1*, pp. 143-170. Pretoria: J. L Van Schaik..

Lewis, E. G. (1981). *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Luckett, K. (1993). 'National Additive Bilingualism' – a Language Plan for South Africa Schools. *South African Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 2 (1), 38-60.

Mabiletja, M.M. (2008). *An Evaluation of the Implementation of the new Language-in-Education*

Policy in Selected Secondary Schools of the Limpopo Province. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. University of South Africa.

Mackey, A. & Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second Language Research: Methodology and Design*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

McLaughlin, B. (1984). *Second-Language Acquisition in Childhood: Volume 1. Preschool Children*. Second edition. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Makalela, L. (2004). Making Sense of BSAE for Linguistic Democracy in South Africa. *World Englishes*, 23 (3), 355-366.

Makalela, L. (2005). We Speak Eleven Tongues: Reconstructing Multilingualism in South Africa. In B. Brock-Utne and R. Hopson (Eds.), *Language of instruction in post-colonial Africa*, pp.147-174. Cape Town: CASAS & Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.

Makalela, L. (2009). Unpacking the Language of Instruction Myth: Toward Progressive Language policies in Africa. In B. Brock-Utne and Prah (Eds.), *Paradigms for Multilingual Language Policies in African Education*, pp.170-194. Cape Town: CASAS.

Makalela, L. (2013). Teaching Indigenous African languages to Speakers of other African Languages: The Effects of Translanguaging for Multilingual Development. *Multilingual Matters*, In Press.

Marley, D. (2004). Language Attitudes in Morocco following Recent Changes in Language Policy. *Language Policy*, 3, 25-46.

Masagara, N. (2001). Conveying and Evaluating Speakers' Commitment to Telling the Truth: The impact of European Christian missionaries on language use. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 22 (4), 325–338.

Matee, P. L. (2003). *A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Black South Africans' Attitudes towards African Languages*. Unpublished Master's Research Report. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Mbori, B. J. O. (2008). *The Interface Between Language Attitudes and Language Use in a Post-conflict Context: The Case of Rwanda*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Mackey, W. F. (1970). A Typology of Bilingual Education. *Foreign Language Annals*, 3, 596-608.

McCrummen, S. (2008). Rwandans Say Adieu to Français. *Washington Post Foreign Service*. October 28.

McGreal, C. (2008). Rwanda to Switch from French to English in Schools. *The Guardian*. October 14.

McKenzie, R.M. (2010). *The Social Psychology of English as a Global Language: Attitudes, Awareness and Identity in the Japanese Context*. London: Springer Science + Business Media.

McMillan, J. H. & Schumacher, S. (2006). *Research in Education: Evidence-based Inquiry*. 6th ed. New York: Pearson Education, Inc.

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2014). Retrieved 19 January 2014 from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/experience

Meyer, D. (1995). Medium of Instruction in Formerly Black Secondary Schools. *Journal for Language Teaching*, 29 (3), 243-266.

MINECOFIN (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning). (2005a). *A Synthesis of the Analyses of the 2002 Census of Rwanda: Third Population and Housing Census in Rwanda, August 15th 2002*. National Census Service. Kigali, Rwanda

MINECOFIN (Ministère des Finances et de la Planification Economique) (2005b). Recensement 2002. 3ème recensement général de la population et de l'habitat du Rwanda au 15 août 2002. Caractéristiques socio-culturelles de la population. Analyse des résultats. [*Census 2002. Third population and housing census in Rwanda, 15 August 2002. Socio-cultural characteristics of the population. Analysis of results.*]. Commission Nationale de Recensement / Service National de Recensement. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINECOFIN (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning). (2014, January). *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda, 2012: Thematic Report Education characteristics of the population*. National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (1995, April). *A Report on the First Conference on Trilingual Policy Planning in Rwanda*. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education) (1996). *Report of Workshop Seminar on Revising and Harmonizing the Teaching Programmes for Primary Schools*. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministrère de l'Education). (2002, Mai). *Document Révisé sur la Politique Sectorielle de l'Education*. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2003a). *Education Sector Policy*. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2003b). Law N° 29/2003 of 30/08/2003 Establishing the Organisation and the Functioning of Nursery, Primary and Secondary Schools, Kigali, Rwanda. Retrieved 1 June 2012, from http://www.mineduc.gov.rw/new/IMG/pdf/Mineduc_law.pdf.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2004a). *Rapport du Séminaire de Concertation sur l'Intégration des Langues Nationale dans les Systèmes Educatifs, tenu du 14 au 16 Décembre 2004*.[Report on workshop on the integration of national languages in educational system, held on 14-16th December 2004]. Kigali. Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2004b). *The Language in Education Policy of the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research and an Outline Strategic Plan for its Implementation*. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2008). *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2008-2012*, Kigali, Rwanda. Retrieved 17 March 2012 from http://mineduc.gov.rw.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2009 June). *Teacher Service Commission Baseline Survey*. Kigali, Rwanda.

MINEDUC (Ministry of Education). (2011). *"Cabinet Paper" yerekeranye no kwigisha mu Kinyarwanda mu mashuri y'incuke no mu cyiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri avanza [Cabinet paper about teaching in Kinyarwanda at nursary and lower primary school levels]. Kigali, Rwanda.*

MINEDUC/Statistics 2008, Kigali, Rwanda. Retrieved 23 March 2012 from http://mineduc.gov.rw.

MINEPRISEC (Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire). (1984). Actes du colloques: L'aménagement linguistique et terminologique au Rwanda: Bilan et perspectives. Kigali, 13 au 27 février 1984. *Publications Conseil International de Recherche et d'Etude en Linguistique Fondamentale et Appliquée* (CIRELFA).

MINICAAF (Ministry of Cabinet Affairs) (2008, October 8). Decisions of Cabinet Meeting held on 8th October 2008, Kigali. Retrieved 2nd June 2012 from http://primature.gov.rw.

MINICAAF (Ministry of Cabinet Affairs) (2011, February 11). Decisions of Cabinet Meeting held on 11th February 2011, Kigali. Retrieved 2nd June 2012 from http://primature.gov.rw.

Moodley, V. & Kamwangamalu, N.K. (2004). Code-switching as a Technique in Teaching Literature in a Secondary School ESL Classroom. *Alternation*, 11(2), 186-202.

Moodley, V. (2013). *Introduction to Language Methodology*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Mordaunt, O. G. (1991). Attitudes of Swazi Teacher Trainees towards First Official Language. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 12 (3), 205-219.

Morocco: French and Spanish Colonization (n.d). Retrieved 3rd June 2012 from http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107800.html?pageno=2#ixzz1wid8zCN9.

Moumouni, A. (1975). The Return to National Languages and Cultures. *Prospects*, 5 (1), 63-70.

Mulaudzi, P. & Mbori, O. (2008). Kiswahili and Ethno-political Stability in Kenya and Rwanda. *Language Matters*, 39 (1), 18-28.

Munyakazi, L. (1984). La situation sociolinguistique du Rwanda: Aspects endocentrique et exocentrique. Unpublished PhD thesis. Université de Nice, Nice.

Munyankesha, P. (2004). *Les Défis du Plurilinguisme Officiel au Rwanda. Analyse Sociolinguistique*. Unpublished PhD thesis. The University of Western Ontario, Canada.

Mutwarasibo, F. (2003). *Dual-Medium Language of Instruction Policy and Practices in Rwandan Higher Education: A Case study of the National University of Rwanda*. Unpublished Master's Research Report. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Mutasa, D. (1999). Language Policy and Language Practice in South Africa: An Uneasy Marriage. *Language matters*, 30, 83-98.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ndabaga, E. (2004). *The Dynamics of Mother Tongue Policy in the Rwandan Primary School Curriculum*. Unpublished PhD thesis. The University of Bath, United Kingdom.

Ndayipfukamiye, L. (1994). Codeswitching in Burundi primary class-rooms. In C.M. Rubagumya, (ed.). *Teaching and Researching Language in African Classrooms*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ndoye, M. (2003). Bilingualism Language Policies and Educational Strategy in Africa. *IIEP Newsletter*, July-September, 2003.

Neuman, W. L. (1997). *Social Research Methods*. Bacon: Allyn and Bacon.

Ngoboka, C. (1984). *Rwandan Teachers and the Communicative Approach to the Teaching of English*. Unpublished B.A Research Report. National University of Rwanda, Ruhengeri.

Ngugi, W. T. (1987). *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.

Nikolov, M. & Djigunovic, J.M. (2006). Recent Research on Age, Second Language Acquisition, and Early Foreign Language Learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26, 234-260.

Niyibizi, E. (2010). *An Evaluation of the Rwandan Trilingual Policy in some Nursery and Pprimary Schools in Kigali City*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Niyibizi, E. (2009). *Prospects for the Rwanda's Preference of using English as a School's Medium of Instruction since 2009: Views from Institutions of Higher Learning Located in Kigali City*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Kigali Institute of Education, Kigali.

Niyibizi, S. (1980). *Le Swahili au Rwanda: Aperçu Historique, Linguistique et Sociolinguistique.* Unpublished B.A. Research Report. National University of Rwanda, Butare.

Niyomugabo, C. (2008). *La Glottopolitique du KIE/Rwanda: Contribution à une Sociolinguistique Educative.* Unpublished PhD thesis. Université de Lome.

Nodoba, G. J. (2010). Language preferences and behaviours of selected students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town in the context of the University's implementation of its 2003 Language Policy and Plan: a qualitative study. *PRAESA Occasional Papers* No. 35. University of Cape Town: PRAESA

Nsanzabiga, E. (1988). *Structures Prosodique Comparées du Rushobyo et du Kinyarwanda*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Université de Nice.

Nsanzabiga, E. (1985). *Etude Phonologique et Morphotonologique du Rushobyo, Dialecte du Kinyarwanda*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Université de Nice.

Nyati- Ramahobo, L. (1998). Language Planning and Education in Botswana. *PRAESA*: Cape Town.

Nyati- Ramahobo, L. (2000). The Language Situation in Botswana. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1 (2), 243-249.

Ogbu, J. (1982). Cultural Discontinuities and Schooling. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 13 (4), 290-307.

Oliver, R. & Purdie, N. (1998). The Attitudes of Bilingual Children to their Languages. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19 (3), 199-211.

Olufunso, T. F. (2010). The Language Policy and Practice of Tanzania and Singapore: What Lessons for Nigeria, Africa. *Issue*, 8 (4) Fall 2010.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. & Johnson, R. B. (2006). The Validity Issue in Mixed Research. *Research in the Schools*, 13 (1), 48-63.

Oppenheim, A. N. (1992). *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. Great Britain: Pinter Publishers.

Ozog, A. C. K. (1993). Bilingualism and National Development in Malaysia. In G. M. Jones and A. C. K. Ozog (Eds.), Bilingualism and National Development. [Special issue]. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 14 (1) & (2), 59-72.

Owhotu, V. B. (2009). Policy Shift, Inconsistency and the Reality of First and Second Languages in Learning Contexts in the West African Sub-Region. Paper presented at International Conference on First and Second Languages: Exploring the Relationship in Pedagogy-Related Contexts. Department of Education, University of Oxford, England, 27-28 March 2009.

Pattanayak, D. P. (1993). Colonial Language Myths. An interview with Dr D P Pattanayak (Central Institute of Indian Language, Mysore, India) conducted by Bua (formerly Language Project Review) during the Language in Contact and Conflict (LiCCA) Conference in Maseru, September 1993. *ELTIC Reporter*, 17 (1).

Paxton, M. 2009. 'It's easy to learn when you are using your home language but with English you need to start learning language before you get to the concept': bilingual concept development in an English medium university in South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 30 (4), 345–359.

Pearson, P. (2013). Policy without a plan: English as a medium of instruction in Rwanda. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 15 (1), 39-56. DOI: 10.1080/14664208.2013.857286

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Poon, A. Y. K. (2004). Language Policy of Hong Kong: Its impact on language education and language use in post-handover Hong Kong. *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Humanities & Social Sciences*, 49 (1), 53-74.

Rassool, N. (2007). *Global Issues in Language, Education and Development: Perspectives from Postcolonial Countries*. Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Republic of Rwanda. (1962). Constitution, Kigali

Republic of Rwanda. (1996). Revised Constitution adopted on 18th January, 1996, Kigali.

Republic of Rwanda. (2003). Revised Constitution adopted on 4th June 2003, Kigali.

Ricento, T. (2006). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Richards, J. Platt, J. & Weber, H. (1985). *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*. Longman Group UK Limited: Longman House.

Richards, J.C., Platt, J.T., Platt, H. & Candlin, C.N. (1992). *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*. England: Longman House.

Rosendal, T. (2009). Linguistic Markets in Rwanda: Language Use in Advertisements and on Signs. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 30 (1), 19-39.

Rubagumya, C.M. (1990). *Language in Education in Africa: A Tanzanian Perspective.* (ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Rubango, N. ya. (1986). Le Francais au Zaire: Langue ‘superieure’ et chances de ‘survie’ dans Un pays Africain. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 10 (3), 253–271.

Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientation in Language Planning. *Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, 8 (2), 15-34.

Ruiz, A. M. (2011). *Teachers and English Language Learners Experiencing the Secondary*

Mainstream Classroom: A Case Study. Unpublished PhD thesis. Georgia State University.

Rwanda: Maps, History, Geography, Government, Culture, Facts, Guide & Travel/Holidays/Cities. Retrieved from http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107926.html#ixzz203b4xuUM

Samuels, J. (1995). Multilingualism in the Emerging Educational Dispensation. *Proceedings of the Southern Africa Applied Linguistics Association*, 15, 75–84. University of Stellenbosch.

Samuelson, B. L. & Freedman, S. W. (2010). Language Policy, Multilingual Education, and Power in Rwanda. *Language Policy*, 9, 191-215. Retrieved 10 July 2012 from http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/55q8m67k.

Save the Children United Kingdom report (SC UK). (2000). *Children and Participation: Research, Monitoring and Evaluation with Children and Young People*. Retrieved 12 May 2013 from http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/publications/hrbap/SCUK_participation.pdf.

Savignon, S. J. (1972). *Communicative Competence: An Experiment in Foreign-language Teaching*. Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development.

Schultz, R. A. (1977). Discrete-point versus Simulated Communication Testing in Foreign Language. *The Modern Language Journal*, 61 (3), 94-100.

Scott, D. & Morrison, M. (2006). *Key Ideas in Educational Research*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Senkoro, F.E.M.K. (2005). Language of Instruction: The Forgotten Factor in Education Quality and Standards in Africa? Paper for presentation at the CODESRIA general assembly in Maputo, Mozambique, 6-10 December 2005.

Shamblen, S. R. & Ringwalt, C. (2008). The Effects of Project SUCCESS on Student Academic Performance: A Quasi-experimental Study. *J Drug Educ.* 38 (1), 1–14.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and new Approaches*. New York: Routledge.

Siatchitema, A. K. (1992). When Nationalism Conflicts with Nationalist Goals: Zambia.

In N. T. Crawhall (ed.), *Democratically Speaking: International Perspectives of Language Planning*. Salt River, South Africa: National Language Project.

Singleton, D. (1989). Language Acquisition: the age factor. *Multilingual Matters*, 94-138.

Singleton, R. A. Jr, Straits, B. C. & Straits, M. M. (1993). *Approaches to Social Research*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Skipper, J. I., Goldin-Meadow, S., Nusbaum, H. C. & Small, S. L. (2007). "Speech-associated gestures, Broca's area, and the human mirror system". *Brain and Language* 101 (3), 260–277. http://dx.doi:10.1016/j.bandl.2007.02.008. Retrived 12 January 2014 from www.sciencedirect.com.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1984). *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic Genocide in Education – or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Small, A. & Cripps, J. (2009). *Attitude Planning: Constructing A Language Planning Framework Toward Empowerment in Deaf Education*. The Canadian Hearing Society. Retrieved June 1 2013 from http://www.chs.ca/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=164&Itemid=1&lang=en

Small, A. & Mason, D. (2008). American Sign Language (ASL) bilingual bicultural education. In J. Cummins and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, 2nd Edition, Volume 5: Bilingual Education*, (pp.133-150). Boston: Springer.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research.* London: SAGE publications Ltd.

Spolsky, B. (1986). (ed.). *Language and Education in Multilingual settings*. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

Spolsky, B. (1989). *Conditions for Second Language Learning: Introduction to a general theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steflja, I. (2012). The High Costs and Consequences of Rwanda's Shift in Language Policy from French to English. *The Africa Portal backgrounder series*, No 30, 1-10, May 2012.

Storch, N. & Wiggleworth, G. (2003). Is There a Role for the Use of the L1 in an L2 Setting? *TESOL Quarterly*, 37 (4), 760-770.

Struwig, F. W. & Stead, G. B. (2001). *Planning, Designing and Reporting Research*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Tashakkori, A. & Creswell, J. W. (2007). The New Era of Mixed Methods. *The Journal of Methods Research*, 1 (1), 3-7.

Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. Eds. (2003). *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

The Guardian (2008, October 14). Rwanda to Switch from French to English in Schools. Retrieved 3rd June 2012 from http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/oct/14/rwanda-france.

The New Times (2012, June 23). Kinyarwanda Speakers and the Question of Identity in the Region. Retrieved 21 February 2014 from http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?i=15032&a=55151.

The 2001 Language Statistics in South Africa. Retrieved 23 March 2012 from http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=163:provinces_new&catid=33:land_bg&Itemid=70#ixzz1qxkwvMSp.

Tollefson, J. (1991). *Planning Language, Planning Inequality, Language Policy in the Community*. Longman: London and New York.

Toukomaa, P. & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1977). The intensive teaching of the mother tongue to migrant children of pre-school age, Report written for Unesco. Research Reports 26. Tampere: Dept of Sociology and Social Psychology, University of Tampere.

Tripathi, P.D. (1990). English in Zambia: the Nature and Prospects of one of Africa's new Englishes. *English Today*, 6 (3), 34-38.

UNESCO. (1953/1968). *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education [L'emploi des langues vernaculaires dans l'enseignement]*. Paris: Auteur.

UNESCO. (1996). *Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa: Working document.* Harare 25-29 November 1996.

UNESCO. (2003). *Education in a Multilingual World [L'enseignement dans un monde*

multilingue]. Paris: Auteur.

UNICEF. (1999). *The State of the World's Children 1999 [La situation des enfants dans le monde 1999]*. New York: Auteur.

Van der Walt, C. & Dornbrack, J. (2011). Academic Biliteracy in South African Higher Education: Strategies and Practices of Successful Students. *Language, Culture and Curriculum,* 24 (1), 89-104. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2011.554985.

Van Ek, J. A. (1976). *Significance of the Threshold Level in the Early Teaching of Modern Language*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Van Overbeke, M. (1972). *Introduction aux Problèmes du Bilinguisme*. Bruxelles/Paris: Labor/Nathan.

van Zyl Slabbert, F., Malan, C. Olivers, K. & Riordan, R. (1994). *Youth in the new South Africa: Towards Policy Formation*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.

Warsame, A. A. (2001). How a Strong Government Backed an African Language: The Lessons of Somalia. *International Review of education*, 47 (3-4), 341-360.

Weinstein, B. (1990). (ed.). *Language Policy and Political Development*. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex.

Welman, J. C. & Kruger, S. J. (2001). *Research methodology: for the business and administrative sciences.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Williams, C. (2000). Welsh-medium and Bilingual Teaching in the Further Education Sector. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* 3 (2), 129-148.

Williams, E. (1996). Reading in Two Languages at Year 5 in African Primary Schools. *Applied Linguistics*, 17 (2), 189-209.

Williams, E. (1998). *Investigating Bilingual Literaacy: Evidence from Malawi and Zambia.* London: DfiD Education Reasearch.

Williams, E. (2011). Language Policy, Politics and Development in Africa. In Hywel Coleman (ed), *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language*. London: British Council. Retrived 13 November 2013 from www.britishcouncil.org.

Williams, E. & Cooke, J. (2002). Pathways and Labyrinths: Language and Education in Development. *TESOL Quarterly*, 36 (3), 297-322.

Williams, E., de Montfort-Nayimfashe, L., Ntakirutimana, E. & O'Sullivan, B. (2004). *Proficiency in French, English and Kinyarwanda in the Primary and Secondary Sectors of the Rwandan Education System*. Unpublished report commissioned by CfBT Education Trust for the Department for International Development.

Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Wright, S. (2008). Allegiance, Influence and Language: The case of Francophonie in Vietnam. *Synergies Europe*, 3, 51–67.

Youngs, C. S., & Youngs, G. A. (2001). Predictor of Mainstream Teachers' Attitudes towards ESL Students. *TESOL Quarterly*, 35, 97-117.

Zubaran, C., Foresti, K., Thorell, M. R., Franceschini, P. R. & Homero, W. (2009). Portuguese version of the Quality of Life Enjoyment and Satisfaction Questionnaire: a validation study. *Rev Panam Salud Publica*, 25(5), 443–448.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS

1.1 The participating learners

SCHOOLS		LEARNERS						
Location of school	**Type of school**	**Number of participants**	**Gender**	**Nationality (number + percentage)**	**Age**	**Category per age**	**Number per age**	**Percentage per age**
Urban	**1Public 1Subsdized 1Private**	**150**	**141 Boys (47.0%)**	Rwandans 292 (**97.3%**)	**Age**	7 years old	6	2.0%
						8 years old	46	15.3%
						9 years old	94	31.3%
Rural	**1Public 1 ubsdized 1 Private**	**150**	**159 girls (53.0%)**	Foreigners 8 (**2.7%**)		10 years old	60	20.0%
						11 years old	44	14.7%
						12 years old + more	50	16.7%
Total	**6 schools**	**300**	**100%**				**300**	**100.0%**

1.2 The participating teachers

SCHOOLS		TEACHERS								
Location of school	**Type of school**	**Number of participants**	**Gender**	**Nationality**	**Teachers' age**			**Teachers' qualifications**		
			Number +%	**Number + %**		**Age range**	**Number + %**		**Level of qualifications**	**Number + %**
Urban	**1Public 1Subsdized 1Private**	**9**	**7 Males** (38.9%) **11 Females** (61.1%)	Rwandans 18 (100%) Foregners 0 (0%)		Between 20-29	4 (**22.2%**)		A2 or D6 or Secondary school Certificate	17 (**94.4%**)
						Between 30-39	9 (**50.0%**)			
						Between 40-49	2 (**11.1%**)			
Rural	**1Public 1Subsdized 1Private**	**9**				Between 50-59	3 (**16.7%**)		Diploma	1 (**5.6%**)
Total	**6 schools**	**18**	**18 (100%)**	**18 (100%)**			**18 (100%)**			**18 (100%)**

1.3 Language policy adopted by the sample schools from Grade 1-3 (during data collection, August - October 2012)

SCHOOL			LANGUAGE POLICY (During data collection)		
Location of school	**Type of school**		**Language policy adopted by school**	**Number of schools implementing this policy**	**Percentage**
Urban	**1Public 1Subsdized 1Private**		Kinyarwanda MOI + English	**4**	66.7%
Rural	**1Public 1Subsdized 1Private**		English MOI + Kinyarwanda + French	**2**	33.3%
Total	**6 schools**			**6 schools**	**100%**

APPENDIX 2: WITS ETHICS CLEARANCE

Wits School of Education

27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27 11 717-3064 Fax: +27 11 717-3100 E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za Website: www.wits.ac.za

Student Number: 577771

Protocol Number:
2012ECE146

Date: 09-Oct-2012

Dear Epimaque Niyibizi

Application for Ethics Clearance: Doctor of Philosophy

Thank you very much for your ethics application. The Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has considered your application for ethics clearance for your proposal entitled:

Foundation phase learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences in the Rwandan language-in-education policy shifts

The committee recently met and I am pleased to inform you that clearance was granted. The committee was delighted about the ways in which you have taken care of and given consideration to the ethical dimensions of your research project. Congratulations to you and your supervisor!

Please use the above protocol number in all correspondence to the relevant research parties (schools, parents, learners etc.) and include it in your research report or project on the title page.

The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.

All the best with your research project.

Yours sincerely

M Mabeta

Matsie Mabeta
Wits School of Education

011 717 3416

Cc Supervisor: Dr. D Mwepu

APPENDIX 3: LETTER TO THE RWANDAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

20 June 2012

The Minister of Education in Rwanda

Dear Sir

Re: Requesting permission to conduct research in 6 lower primary schools

I hereby request permission to conduct research among 6 Rwandan lower primary schools. This study which forms part of my doctoral study will benefit the Ministry of Education and the Rwandan educational system as it will provide light on the learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards the language policy change.

This study is in the domain of Language-in-education policy, and it is entitled "***Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts***". The research interest is to identify the learners' and teachers' attitudes and experiences towards starting with English medium in grade 1 (in 2010) and then shift to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 (2011 and 2012), and then switch again to English in grade 4 (2013). It will specifically focus on their preference between Kinyarwanda and English medium; their use of the two languages in class, at school playground and at home; their proficiency in the two languages; their level of satisfaction within those shifts; their experiences during those shifts; and the advantages and drawbacks they attribute to initial English medium in grade 1 and to sudden transfer to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3.

The research will be conducted among grade 3 learners, teachers and principals, from 6 lower primary schools to be selected countrywide. It involves a survey questionnaire to be filled by grade 3 learners and teachers (1 hour), tape-recorded group interviews with learners and teachers (45 minutes), tape-recorded individual interview with the school principal (25 minutes), classroom observation (40 minutes) and observation at the school playground (15 minutes).

Data collection will be conducted between 15 August and 15 October 2012, and they will be analysed at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

I wish to thank you in anticipation for your assistance.

Yours faithfully,



Epimaque Niyibizi

APPENDIX 3.1: PERMISSION NO 4631/12.00/2012 GRANTED BY THE RWANDAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, 05-09-2012

N° 4634 **/ 12.00/2012**

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
P.O.BOX 622 KIGALI

Mr. Epimaque Niyibizi
PhD Student
School of Education, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa
Email: eniyibizi@yahoo.fr

RE: Approval to conduct research in Rwanda under the project title: "Foundation Phase learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language – in Education Policy Shifts"

Dear Mr. Niyibizi,

Following your letter requesting for permission to conduct research in Rwanda, I am pleased to attach a copy of research clearance which has been granted to you to conduct research on the above project title.

I wish to remind you that the research permit number should be cited in your final research report, the research should be carried out under the affiliation of Kigali Institute of Education and collaboration with Rwanda Education Board. Also on completion of this research, a copy of the final research report is to be given to the Ministry of Education of Rwanda.

I wish you success in your research study.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
GASHUGI, Dr. Marie-Christine, PhD
Director General of Science, Technology & Research

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Marie Christine Gasingirwa
Director General Science, Technology and Research
Ministry of Education

cc.

- Minister of Education
- Minister of Local Government
- Minister of State in Charge of Primary and Secondary Education
- Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education
- Rector, (KIE)
- Director General, (REB)

APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

20 June 2012

Dear Principal,

My name is Epimaque Niyibizi. I am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

I am conducting research on the topic "***Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts***". My research involves a survey questionnaire to be filled by grade 3 learners and teachers (1 hour), tape-recorded group interviews with learners and teachers respectively (45 minutes each), tape-recorded individual interview with the school Principals (25 minutes), classroom observation (40 minutes) and observation at the school playground (15 minutes).

Your school was selected because it is among the schools which meet the criteria set for this investigation.

I would like to invite you and the learners and teachers from your school to participate in this research.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their participation at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for this study.

The names of the research participants and identity of the school will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the project.

I remain available to provide further information should need arise.

I wish to thank you in anticipation for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,



Epimaque Niyibizi

APPENDIX 5: INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

20 June 2012

Dear Teacher

My name is Epimaque Niyibizi. I am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.
I am conducting research on the topic "***Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts***". My research involves a survey questionnaire to be filled by teachers from grade 1, 2 and 3 who experienced the two consecutive language-in-education policy shifts, i.e. the 2008 and 2011 language policy modifications. The questionnaire will take 1 hour. There will be a tape-recorded group interviews with 3 teachers at each school (45 minutes each), and one classroom observation at each school (40 minutes).
The reason why I have selected your school is that it is one of the sample schools which fulfil the criteria set for this investigation.
I would like to invite you to participate in this research.
Your name and identity will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.
All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the project.
You will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. Your participation is voluntary, so you can withdraw your participation at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating and there is no financial incentive for participation in this research project.
Please let me know if you require any further information.
I wish to thank you in anticipation for your help.
Yours sincerely,



Epimaque Niyibizi

APPENDIX 6: INFORMATION SHEET FOR LEARNERS

20 June 2012

Dear Learner

My name is Epimaque Niyibizi. I am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

I am conducting research on the topic "***Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts***". This research involves a questionnaire to be filled by grade 3 learners who started with learning all subjects in English in grade 1 (in 2010) and then switched to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 (2011 and 2012). The questionnaire will take 1 hour. There will be a tape-recorded group interviews with learners (45 minutes), one observation in the classroom (40 minutes) and one observation at the school playground (15 minutes).

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by answering the questions in the questionnaire, accepting to be interviewed and tape-recorded, and accepting to be observed in the classroom and at the school playground.

Remember, this is not a test, it is not for marks and it is voluntary, which means that we are not forcing you to do it. Also, if you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one for you. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, I will store safely all the collected information and I will destroy it between 3-5 years after I have completed the research.

Your teachers and your parents have also been informed about this and their permission has been requested, but at the end of the day it is your decision to join us in the study.

I look forward to working with you!

Please feel free to ask your parents to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you



Epimaque Niyibizi

UMUGEREKA WA 6: IBARUWA YANDIKIWE ABANYESHURI BAZITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Tariki ya 20 Kamena 2012

Bwana Munyeshuri,

Nitwa Epimaque Niyibizi, ndi umunyeshuri mu cyiciro cya Dogitora mu Ishuri ry'Uburezi rya Kaminuza ya Witwatersrand muri Afrika y'Epfo.

Ndi gukora ubushakashatsi k' "**ukuntu abanyeshuri n'abarimu bo mu cyiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri abanza bumva kandi babonye impinduka zabaye muri politiki y'indimi mu mashuri mu Rwanda, n'ukuntu bazibayemo**". Icyo ubu bushakashatsi bubasaba ni ugusubiza ibibazo byanditse, bigasubizwa n'abanyeshuri bari mu mwaka wa 3 batangiye biga mu Cyongereza muwa 1 (abatangiye muri 2010), hanyuma bigahinduka bakiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 (muri 2011 na 2012). Gusubiza ibyo bibazo biratwara isaha 1. Ikindi ni ukugirana ibiganiro mu matsinda y'abanyeshuri, mukemera ko nafata amajwi yanyu mu biganiro, ikiganiro kikaba kizamara iminota 45. Hari kandi no gukurikirana uburyo mukoresha indimi mu ishuri (bikazamara iminota 40), no gukurikirana uko mukoresha indimi hanze ku kibuga cy'ishuri (bikamara iminota 15).

Nkaba rero mbasaba kandi mbatumira ngo mwemere mwitabire ubu bushakashatsi; inkunga yanyu izaba iyo kwemera gusubiza ibibazo byanditse, mukemera ko tugirana ibiganiro, mukemera ko nafata amajwi yanyu mu biganiro, kandi mukemera ko nkurikirana uburyo mukoresha indimi mu ishuri no hanze ku kibuga cy'ishuri.

Ndagira ngo mbabwire ko atari isuzuma muzaherwamo amanota, kubyitabira ni ku bushake bwa buri wese, bivuga ko ntawe tubihatira. Nuzashaka kubivamo ageze hagati ni uburenganzira bwe, kandi nta ngaruka n'imwe bizamugiraho.

Amazina yanyu ntabwo azakoreshwa, nzabaha ayandi, bityo rero nta muntu uzakumenya. Ndabizeza rwose ko amakuru muzampa nta wundi uzayamenya, azakoreshwa mu bushakashatsi gusa. Ayo makuru nzayabika ahantu hizewe, hanyuma nyuma y'imyaka 3 kugeza kuri 5 ubushakashatsi burangiye, ayo makuru tuzayatwika.

Nasabye uburenganzira abarimu n'ababyeyi banyu, ariko icyemezo cyo kubyitabira kirava kuri mwebwe.

Nkaba rero nifuza kandi ntegereje gukorana namwe.

Rwose uwumva hari icyo akeneye gusobanuza, yambaza, cyangwa ababyeyi be bakambaza.

Murakoze



Epimaque Niyibizi

APPENDIX 7: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS

20 June 2012

Dear Parent

My name is Epimaque Niyibizi. I am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

I am conducting research on the topic "***Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts***". This research involves a survey questionnaire to be filled by grade 3 learners who started with learning all subjects in English in grade 1 (in 2010) and then switched to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 (2011 and 2012). The questionnaire will take 1 hour. There will be a group interviews with learners (45 minutes each), an observation in the classroom (40 minutes) and an observation at the school playground (15 minutes).

The reason why I have chosen your child's class is that his/her school is one of the sample schools which fulfill the criteria for this investigation.

I would like to invite your child to participate in this research.

Your child will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. S/he will be reassured that s/he can withdraw her/his participation at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating and there is no financial incentive to be given to your child for participating in this study.

Your child's name and identity will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. His/her individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the project.

Please let me know if you require any further information.

I wish to thank you in anticipation for your help.

Yours sincerely,



Epimaque Niyibizi

UMUGEREKA WA 7: IBARUWA YANDIKIWE ABABYEYI B'ABANYESHURI BAZITABIRA UBU BUSHAKASHATSI

Tariki ya 20 Kamena 2012

Mubyeyi,

Nitwa Epimaque Niyibizi, ndi umunyeshuri mu cyiciro cya Dogitora mu Ishuri ry'Uburezi rya Kaminuza ya Witwatersrand muri Afrika y'Epfo.

Ndi gukora ubushakashatsi k' "**ukuntu abanyeshuri n'abarimu bo mu cyiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri abanza bumva kandi babonye impinduka zabaye muri politiki y'indimi mu mashuri mu Rwanda, n'ukuntu bazibayemo**". Icyo ubu bushakashatsi bwifuza ni uko abanyeshuri basubiza ibibazo byanditse, bigasubizwa n'abanyeshuri bari mu mwaka wa 3 batangiye biga mu Cyongereza muwa 1 (abatangiye muri 2010), hanyuma bigahinduka bakiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 (muri 2011 na 2012). Gusubiza ibyo bibazo bizatwara isaha 1. Ikindi ni ukugirana ibiganiro mu matsinda y'abanyeshuri, bakemera ko nafata amajwi yabo mu biganiro, ikiganiro kikaba kimara iminota 45. Hari kandi no gukurikirana uburyo abana bakoresha indimi mu ishuri (bikazamara iminota 40), no gukurikirana uko bakoresha indimi hanze ku kibuga cy'ishuri (bikamara iminota 15).

Impamvu nahisemo ishuri umwana wawe yigaho ni uko ryatoranyijwe mu mashuri abanza azakorerwaho ubu bushakashatsi.

Nkaba rero mbasaba ngo mwemere umwana wanyu yitabire ubu bushakashatsi.

Umwana wanyu ntacyo bizamutwara na gito. Azaba afite uburenganzira bwo kubivamo igihe yashakira cyose, kandi nta ngaruka n'imwe bizamugiraho. Nta ngorane tubona azagira n'imwe, kandi ni ku bushake nta gihembo cy'amafaranga kirimo.

Amazina n'umwirondoro by'umwana wanyu nta wundi uzabimenya, bizakoreshwa muri ubu bushakashatsi gusa. Bizakomeza kugirwa ibanga, nta n'ubwo bizagaragara mu gitabo kizava muri ubu bushakashatsi.

Amakuru azaba yakoreshejwe muri ubu bushakashatsi azatwikwa nyuma y'imyaka 3 kugeza kuri 5 ubushakashatsi burangiye.

Rwose uwumva hari icyo akeneye gusobanuza, yambaza.

Mbaye rero mbashimiye iyo nkunga muzantera.

Murakoze



Epimaque Niyibizi

APPENDIX 8: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY (Learners, Teachers, Principals, Parents)

I ……, hereby **consent / do not consent** to participate in this research. The purpose and the procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular item or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of the participant .....

Name of the the School …… …… …… ……. Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

Position of the participant: Learner …… Teacher…… Principal… …….

Date .....

Signature .....

In case of a learner: Parent's signature ..... Date .....

UMUGEREKA WA 8: AMASEZERANO YO KWEMERA KWITABIRA UBUSHAKASHATSI (Abanyeshuri, abarimu, abayobozi b'ibigo n'ababyeyi)

Njyewe ……, **ndemera / ntabwo nemera** ko nzitabira ubu bushakashatsi. Nasobanuriwe neza icyo ubu bushakashatsi bugamije n'uko buzakorwa. Numvise neza ko kubwitabira ari ku bushake, kandi ko nshobora kureka gusubiza ikibazo runaka, cyangwa ngahagarika gukomeza kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi, kandi nta ngaruka bizangiraho. Nasobanukiwe ko ibisubizo nzatanga bizagirwa ibanga.

Amazina y'uwitabira ubushakashatsi …….....

Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,

Aho ishuri rihereye: Akarere ka ……,Intara ya …… Umurimo w'uwitabiriye ubushakashatsi: umunyeshuri .... umwarimu ...umuyobozi w'ishuri .. Itariki .....

Umukoro ....

Umukono w'umubyeyi / urera umunyeshuri (umwemerera kwitabira ubushakashatsi) .....

Itariki .....

APPENDIX 9: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING THE INTERVIEW WITH LEARNERS

I ……, hereby **consent / do not consent** to the audio-recording of the interviews. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained all times and that the tapes will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the study.

Name of the learner.....

Name of the the School …… …… …… ……. Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

Date .....

Signature .....

UMUGEREKA WA 9: AMASEZERANO YO KWEMERA GUFATWA AMAJWI MU BIGANIRO N'ABANYESHURI

Njyewe ……, **ndemera / ntabwo nemera** gufatwa amajwi mu biganiro. Nasobanuriwe neza ko umwirondoro wanjye uzakomeza kugirwa ibanga igihe cyose, kandi ko amakasete abitseho ayo makuru azaba yakoreshejwe muri ubu bushakashatsi azatwikwa nyuma y'imyaka 3 kugeza kuri 5 ubushakashatsi burangiye.

Amazina y'umunyeshuri…….....

Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,

Aho ishuri rihereye: Akarere ka ……, Intara ya …… Itariki .....

Umukoro ....

APPENDIX 10: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING THE INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL

I ……, hereby **consent / do not consent** to the audio-recording of the interviews. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained all times and that the tapes will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the study.

Name of the principal.....

Name of the the School …… …… …… ……. Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

Date .....

Signature .....

UMUGEREKA WA 10: AMASEZERANO YO KWEMERA GUFATWA AMAJWI MU BIGANIRO N'ABAYOBOZI B'AMASHURI

Njyewe ……, **ndemera / ntabwo nemera** gufatwa amajwi mu biganiro. Nasobanuriwe neza ko umwirondoro wanjye uzakomeza kugirwa ibanga igihe cyose, kandi ko amakasete abitseho ayo makuru azaba yakoreshejwe muri ubu bushakashatsi azatwikwa nyuma y'imyaka 3 kugeza kuri 5 ubushakashatsi burangiye.

Amazina y'umuyobozi w'ishuri …….....

Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,

Aho ishuri rihererereye: Akarere ka ……, Intara ya …… Itariki .....

Umukoro ....

APPENDIX 11: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING THE INTERVIEW WITH TEACHERS

I ……, hereby **consent / do not consent** to the audio-recording of the interviews. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained all times and that the tapes will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the study.

Name of the teacher .....

Name of the the School …… …… …… ……. Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

Date .....

Signature .....

UMUGEREKA WA 11: AMASEZERANO YO KWEMERA GUFATWA AMAJWI MU BIGANIRO N'ABARIMU

Njyewe ……, **ndemera / ntabwo nemera** gufatwa amajwi mu biganiro. Nasobanuriwe neza ko umwirondoro wanjye uzakomeza kugirwa ibanga igihe cyose, kandi ko amakasete abitseho ayo makuru azaba yakoreshejwe muri ubu bushakashatsi azatwikwa nyuma y'imyaka 3 kugeza kuri 5 ubushakashatsi burangiye.

Amazina y'umwarimu …….....

Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,

Aho ishuri rihererereye: Akarere ka ……, Intara ya …… Itariki .....

Umukoro ....

APPENDIX 12: CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill in and sign this form to confirm your willingness to fill in a questionnaire for my voluntary research project entitled ***"Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts"***.

Permission for the use of a questionnaire

I, ...

Give [ ] / do not give [ ] my consent to fill in a questionnaire.

I know that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. Yes [ ] No [ ]

I am aware that the researcher will keep all information confidential in all academic writing. Yes [ ] No [ ]

I am aware that my questionnaire will be destroyed between 3 - 5 years after completion of the project. Yes [ ] No [ ]

Teacher Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name of the the School …… …… …… ……. Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

APPENDIX 13: CONSENT FORM FOR LEARNERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill in and sign this form to confirm your willingness to fill in a questionnaire for my voluntary research project entitled *"**Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts**".*

Permission for questionnaire

My name is .....

I agree to fill in a question and answer sheet for this study Yes [ ] No [ ]

I know that Epimaque Niyibizi will keep my information confidential Yes [ ] No [ ]

I know that I don't have to answer all the questions

and can decide to stop the activity at any time Yes [ ] No [ ]

Signature..... Date .....

Name of the the School: …… …… …… ……. Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

UMUGEREKA WA 13: AMASEZERANO N'ABANYESHURI YO KWEMERA GUSUBIZA IBIBAZO BYANDITSE

Uzuza hanyuma usinye aya masezerano agaragaza ko wemeye gusubiza ku bushake ibibazo muri ubu bushakashatsi ndi gukora k'***"ukuntu abanyeshuri n'abarimu bo mu cyiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri abanza bumva kandi babonye impinduka zabaye muri politiki y'indimi mu mashuri mu Rwanda, n'ukuntu bazibayemo"***

Uruhushya rwo gusubiza ibibazo byanditse

Nitwa: .....

Ndemera gusubiza ibibazo byanditse muri ubu bushakashatsi Yego [ ] Oya [ ]

Nzi ko amakuru nzaha Epimaque Niyibizi azayagira ibanga Yego [ ] Oya [ ]

Nzi ko atari nshinganwa gusubiza ibibazo byose, kandi ko nshobora gufata icyemezo cyo guhagarika gukomeza kwitabira ubu bushakashatsi igihe nashakira cyose Yego [ ] Oya [ ]

Umukoro w'umunyeshuri .... Itariki .....

Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,

Aho ishuri rihereye: Akarere ka ……, Intara ya ……..

APPENDIX 14: CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS INTERVIEWS

Please fill in and sign this form to confirm your willingness to be interviewed for my voluntary research project entitled *"**Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts**"*.

Permission to be interviewed

I, ...
Give [ ] / do not give [ ] my consent to be interviewed.
I know that I don't have to answer all the questions and that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. Yes [ ] No [ ]
I am aware that the researcher will keep all information confidential in all academic writing. Yes [ ] No [ ]
I am aware that my interview will be destroyed between 3—5 years after completion of the project. Yes [ ] No [ ]
Signature ..... Date: .....
Name of the the School …… …… …… …….
Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

APPENDIX 15: CONSENT FORM FOR LEARNERS INTERVIEW

Please fill in the form below if you agree to be interviewed. I will use your answers to my questions for my research entitled *"**Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts**"*.

Permission for interview

My name is .....

I would like to be interviewed for this study Yes [ ] No [ ]

I know that Epimaque Niyibizi will keep my information confidential Yes [ ] No [ ]

I know that I can stop the interview at any time and don't have to answer all the questions asked Yes [ ] No [ ]

Signature ..... Date .....

Name of the the School …… …… …… …….

Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

UMUGEREKA WA 15: AMASEZERANO N'ABANYESHURI YO KWEMERA KUGIRANA IBIGANIRO N'UMUSHAKASHATSI

Uzuza hanyuma usinye aya masezerano niba wemera ko tugirana ibiganiro. Nzakoresha ibisubizo uri butange muri ubu bushakashatsi ndi gukora k'*"**ukuntu abanyeshuri n'abarimu bo mu cyiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri abanza bumva kandi babonye impinduka zabaye muri politiki y'indimi mu mashuri mu Rwanda, n'ukuntu bazibayemo**"*

Uruhushya rwo kugirana ibiganiro n'umushakashatsi

Nitwa ....

Ndemera kugirana ibiganiro n'umushakashatsi Yego [ ] Oya [ ]

Nzi ko amakuru nzaha Epimaque Niyibizi azayagira ibanga Yego [ ] Oya [ ]

Nzi ko ko nshobora guhagarika ibiganiro igihe nashakira cyose, kandi ko atari nshinganwa gusubiza ibibazo byose bibajijwe Yego [ ] Oya [ ]

Umukoro w'umunyeshuri .... Itariki .....

Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,

Aho ishuri rihererereye: Akarere ka ……, Intara ya ……..

APPENDIX 16: CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS OBSERVATION

Please fill in and sign the form below to indicate your willingness for your teaching to be observed in class for my voluntary research project entitled *"**Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts**"*

Permission to be observed

I, ...

Give [ ] / do not give [ ] my consent to be observed in class for this project.

I know that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. Yes [ ] No [ ]

I am aware that the researcher will keep all information confidential in all academic writing. Yes [ ] No [ ]

I know that the observations will only be used for this project. Yes [ ] No [ ]

Teacher Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name of the the School …… …… …… …….

Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

APPENDIX 17: CONSENT FORM FOR LEARNERS OBSERVATION

Please fill in the form below if you agree to let me observe you in class and at the school playground. I will use my notes for my study called *"**Foundation Phase Learners' and Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences in the Rwandan Language-in-Education Policy Shifts**"*

Permission for observations

My name is .....
I would like to be part of this project Yes [ ] No [ ]
I agree to be observed in class and at the school playground Yes [ ] No [ ]
I know that Epimaque Niyibizi will keep my information confidential Yes [ ] No [ ]
I know that I can leave the study any time I want Yes [ ] No [ ]
Signature..... Date.....
Name of the the School …… …… …… …….
Location of the school: District of …….., Province of …… …

UMUGEREKA WA 17: AMASEZERANO N'ABANYESHURI YO KWEMERA KUKURIKIRANWA N'UMUSHAKASHATSI

Uzuza hanyuma usinye aya masezerano niba wemera ko nagukurikirana mu ishuri no hanze ku kibuga cy'ishuri. Nzajya nandika ibyo ngukurikiranaho, nkazabikoresha mu bushakashatsi ndi gukora k'*"**ukuntu abanyeshuri n'abarimu bo mu cyiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri abanza bumva kandi babonye impinduka zabaye muri politiki y'indimi mu mashuri mu Rwanda, n'ukuntu bazibayemo**"*

Uruhushya rwo gukurikiranwa n'umushakashatsi

Nitwa ....
Ndemera kugira uruhare muri ubu bushakashatsi Yego [ ] Oya [ ]
Ndemera gukurikiranwa n'umushakashatsi mu ishuri no hanze ku kibuga cy'ishuri
Yego [ ] Oya [ ]
Nzi ko amakuru nzaha Epimaque Niyibizi azayagira ibanga Yego [ ] Oya [ ]
Nzi ko nshobora guhagarika ibiganiro igihe nashakira cyose Yego [ ] Oya [ ]
Umukoro w'umunyeshuri .... Itariki .....
Ishuri abarizwaho ……. ……..,
Aho ishuri rihereye: Akarere ka ……, Intara ya ……..

APPENDIX 18: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEARNERS
UMUGEREKA WA 18: IBIBAZO ABANYESHURI BASUBIZA BANDIKA

NB:- You can answer in one of the languages you want. English is written in the white colour and Kinyarwanda in the dark colour.
Ushobora gusubiza mu rurimi ushaka. Icyongereza cyanditse mu ibara ry'umweru naho Ikinyarwanda kiri mu ibara ryijimye.

- **The researcher will read out every question or statement in both languages, you will mark your choice with "X", the research assistants will check if every student has ticked, then we will go to the next question or statement.**
/ Umushakashatsi aribubasomere buri kibazo mu ndimi zombi, urashyira akamenyetso "X" ku gisubizo wihitiramo, abafasha b'umushakashatsi baragenzura ko washyizeho ako kamenyetso, tubone kujya ku kibazo gikurikiraho.
- **Time: 1 hour / *Igihe: isaha 1***

SECTION A/ *IGICE A:*
(Please mark with an "**X**" in the box of your choice / *shyira aka kamenyetso "**X**" ku gisubizo kiri mu kazu wahisemo*)

1. Where is your school located?
Iri shuri wigaho rihereye he?

Urban area	Rural area
Mu mujyi	*Mu cyaro*

2. What is the type/category of your school?
Iri shuri wigaho riri mu kihe cyiciro?

Public	Subsidized	Private
Rya Leta	*Rifashwa na Leta*	*Ryigenga*

3. What is your gender?
Igitsina cyawe

Boy	Girl
Umuhungu	*Umukobwa*

4. How old are you?/ *Ufite imyaka ingahe*?

8 years old	9 years old	10 years old	11 years old	Over 12 years old
Imyaka 8	*Imyaka 9*	*Imyaka 10*	*Imyaka 11*	*Hejuru y'imyaka 12*

3. What is your nationality? /Ubwenegihugu bwawe

Rwandan	Burundian	Congolese	Ugandan	Tanzanian	Other nationality (write it here) ….....
Umunyarwanda	*Umurundi*	*Umunyekongo*	*Umugande*	*Umutanzaniya*	*Ubundi bwenegihugu (bwandike hano) .....*

SECTION B/ IGICE B:
(Please mark with an "**X**" in the box of your choice / shyira aka kamenyetso "**X**" ku gisubizo kiri mu kazu wahisemo)

4. Which language(s) does your teacher use in class when teaching different subjects? If s/he uses 2 or 3 languages, please mark them all with an "X". *Ni uruhe rurimi mwarimu wawe akoresha mu ishuri iyo kwigisha amasomo atandukanye? Niba akoresha indimi 2 cyangwa 3, zose zishyireho akamenyetso "**X**".*

Kinyarwanda	English	Kiswahili	French	Other (write it here): .....
Ikinyarwanda	*Icyongereza*	*Igiswayire*	*Igifaransa*	*Urundi rurimi (rwandike hano) .....*

5. When talking to your classmate in the classroom, which language do you speak?
Iyo ugize icyo uvugana na mugenzi wawe muri mu ishuri, ni uruhe rurimi ukunda gukoresha?

Kinyarwanda	English	Kiswahili	French	Other (write it here): .....
Ikinyarwanda	*Icyongereza*	*Igiswayire*	*Igifaransa*	*Urundi rurimi (rwandike hano) .....*

6. When you are outside the classroom or playing at the school yard, which language do you speak to your classmate?
Iyo muri hanze cyangwa mukina ku kibuga, ni uruhe rurimi uvugishamo mugenzi wawe?

Kinyarwanda	English	Kiswahili	French	Other (write it here): .....
Ikinyarwanda	*Icyongereza*	*Igiswayire*	*Igifaransa*	*Urundi rurimi (rwandike hano) .....*

7. When talking to your relatives at home, which language do you use most of the time?
Iyo uganira n'abavandimwe bawe mu rugo, ni uruhe rurimi muvuga cyane?

Kinyarwanda	English	Kiswahili	French	Other (write it here): .....
Ikinyarwanda	*Icyongereza*	*Igiswayire*	*Igifaransa*	*Urundi rurimi (rwandike hano) .....*

8. Which language do you like to listen to on TV or radio programmes?
Ni uruhe rurimi ukunda gukurikira kuri televiziyo cyangwa radiyo?

Kinyarwanda	English	Kiswahili	French	Other (write it here): .....
Ikinyarwanda	*Icyongereza*	*Igiswayire*	*Igifaransa*	*Urundi rurimi (rwandike hano) .....*

9. If you were given opportunity to choose, which language would you prefer to be taught in between English and Kinyarwanda?
Uramutse uhawe amahirwe yo kwihitiramo, ni uruhe rurimi wifuza ko wakwigamo amasomo yose hagati y'Ikinyarwanda n'Icyongereza?

A.Except English subject only, all subjects should be taught in Kinyarwanda from grade 1 to grade 3.	B.Except Kinyarwanda subject only, all subjects should be taught in English from grade 1 to grade 3.	C.Some subjects should be taught in Kinyarwanda Others in English from grade 1 to grade 3.
A.Uretse isomo ry'icyongereza ryonyine, ndifuza ko amasomo yose yakwigishwa mu Kinyarwanda kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3	*B.Uretse isomo ry'ikinyarwanda ryonyine, ndifuza ko amasomo yose yakwigishwa mu Cyongereza kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3*	*C.Ndifuza ko amasomo amwe yakwigishwa mu Kinyarwanda and akigishwa mu Cyongereza kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3*

10. Between English and Kinyarwanda, which language do you prefer you could use when you are talking to your classmate in the classroom?
Hagati y'Ikinyarwandan'Icyongereza, ni uruhe rurimi wifuza ko wavuganamo na mugenzi wawe iyo muri mu ishuri?

A. I prefer I could talk to my classmate in Kinyarwanda all the time	B.I prefer I could talk to my classmate in English all the time	C.I prefer I could talk to my classmate sometimes in Kinyarwanda, and sometimes in English
A.Ndifuza ko namuvugisha mu Kinyarwanda igihe cyose	*B.Ndifuza ko namuvugisha mu Cyongereza igihe cyose*	*C.Ndifuza ko namuvugisha mu Kinyarwanda rimwe na rimwe no mu Cyongereza rimwe na rimwe*

11. When you are outside the classroom or playing at the school yard, which language do you prefer you should be speaking to your classmate, between English and Kinyarwanda?
Iyo muri hanze cyangwa mukina ku kibuga, ni uruhe rurimi wifuza ko wavugishamo mugenzi wawe, hagati y'Ikinyarwanda n'Icyongereza?

A.I prefer I could talk to my classmate in Kinyarwanda all the time	B.I prefer I could talk to my classmate in English all the time	C.I prefer I could talk to my classmate sometimes in Kinyarwanda, and sometimes in English
A.Ndifuza ko namuvugisha mu Kinyarwanda igihe cyose	*B.Ndifuza ko namuvugisha mu Cyongereza igihe cyose*	*C.Ndifuza ko namuvugisha mu Kinyarwanda rimwe na rimwe no mu Cyongereza rimwe na rimwe*

12. When you are at home, which language do you prefer you should be speaking to your relatives, between English and Kinyarwanda?
Iyo uri mu rugo, ni uruhe rurimi wifuza ko wavugishamo abavandimwe bawe, hagati y'Ikinyarwanda n'Icyongereza?

A.I prefer I could talk to my relatives in Kinyarwanda all the time	B.I prefer I could talk to my relatives in English all the time	C.I prefer I could talk to my relatives sometimes in Kinyarwanda, and sometimes in English
A.Ndifuza ko navugana	*B.Ndifuza ko navugana*	*C.Ndifuza ko navugisha abavandimwe banjye mu*

n'abavandimwe banjye mu Kinyarwanda igihe cyose	*n'abavandimwe banjye mu Cyongereza igihe cyose*	*Kinyarwanda rimwe na rimwe no mu Cyongereza rimwe na rimwe*

13. In your own estimation, at what level do you put your proficiency in both English and Kinyarwanda in your classroom activities?
Ugereranyije wowe ubwawe, Icyongereza n'Ikinyarwanda uzi wavuga ko kingana iki mu byo mwiga mu ishuri?

Language / *Ururimi*	**Estimate (in percentage) / Ikigereranyo (ushyize ku ijanisha)**	**Understanding what teacher says / *Kumva ibyo mwarimu avuga***	**Speaking (in class or at school yard) / *Kuvuga (muri mu ishuri cg hanze*)**	**Writing (like dictation, but not copying teacher's notes) / *Kwandika (ari nk'icyandikwa, atari ukwandukura ibyo mwarimu yanditse)***	**Reading (like self-reading in a book) / *Gusoma (nko kwisomesha mu gitabo)***
Kinyarwanda	Very good / *Cyinshi cyane*				
	Good / *Cyinshi*				
	Average / *Kiringaniye buhoro*				
	Poor / *Gakeya cyane*				
English	Very good / *Cyinshi cyane*				
	Good / *Cyinshi*				
	Average / *Kiringaniye buhoro*				
	Poor / *Gakeya cyane*				

14. What is your level of satisfaction for having studied in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3?
Ese kuba warabanje kwiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza muwa 1 hanyuma bigahinduka ukiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 wabyishimiye ku ruhe rugero?

A.I was extremely happy about it / *Byaranshimishije cyane*	B.I was happy about it / *Byaranshimishije*	C.I was neither happy nor unhappy about it / *Ntibyanshimishije kandi ntibyambabaje*	D.I was unhappy about it / *Ntabwo byanshimishije*	E.I was extremely unhappy about it / *Ntabwo byanshimishije na gato*

15. If you had a choice, which language would you have preferred to study in?
Iyo haza kuba hari andi mahitamo, wari guhitamo kwiga mu ruhe rurimi?

A.I would have preferred to start with English medium in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 / *A.Nari guhitamo gutangira uwa 1 niga mu Cyongereza hanyuma ngahindura nkiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 no muwa 3.*	B.I would have preferred to study in English only from grade 1 to 3 / *B.Nari guhitamo kwiga mu Cyongereza gusa kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3.*	C. I would have preferred to study in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3 / *C.Nari guhitamo kwiga mu Kinyarwanda gusa kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3?*	D.I would have preferred to start with Kinyarwanda medium in grade 1 and then switch to English medium in grade 2 and 3 / D. *Nari guhitamo gutangira niga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 1 hanyuma ngahindura nkiga mu Cyongereza muwa 2 no muwa 3.*

SECTION C/ *IGICE C*:
(Please mark with an "**X**" in the box of your choice / *shyira aka kamenyetso "**X**" ku gisubizo kiri mu kazu wahisemo*).

NB: There is no right or wrong answer. Simply say what you feel or think by choosing between **'Yes, I strongly agree'**, **'Yes, I agree**', **'No, I disagree**', **"No, I strongly disagree**".
*ICYITONDERWA: Nta gisubizo kiricyo cyangwa kitaricyo. Tanga igisubizo cyawe ukurikije uko ubyumva cyangwa uko ubitekereza uhitamo kimwe muri ibi byemezo '**Yego, ndabyemera cyane'; 'Yego, ndabyemera'; 'Oya, simbyemera'; 'Oya, simbyemera na busa'**.*

		A. Yes, I strongly agree. ***A.Yego ndabyemera cyane.***	**B.Yes, I agree.** ***B.Yego, ndabyemera.***	**C. No, I disagree.** ***C.Oya simbyemera.***	**D. No, I strongly disagree.** ***D.Oya, simbyemera na busa.***
16.	I enjoyed learning in English in grade 1				
	Nashimishijwe no kwiga mu Cyongereza muwa 1				
17.	I enjoyed learning in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3				
	Nashimishijwe no kwiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3.				
18.	Having started with learning in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 helped me to know both English and Kinyarwanda better.				
	Kuba naratangiye niga mu Cyongereza muwa 1, ngahindura nkiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 byatumye menya neza indimi zombi kurushaho.				
19.	Having started learning in English in grade 1 was better than starting leaning in Kinyarwanda.				
	Kuba naratangiye muwa 1 niga mu rurimi rw'Icyongereza byari byiza kurusha gutangira wiga mu Kinyarwanda.				
20.	It would be easy to study all subjects from grade 1 to grade 3 in Kinyarwanda.				
	Mbona byoroshye kwiga amasomo yose mu Kinyarwanda kuva muwa 1				

	kugeza muwa 3.				
		Yes, I strongly agree. ***Yego ndabyemera cyane.***	**Yes, I agree.** ***Yego, ndabyemera.***	**No, I disagree.** ***Oya simbyemera.***	**No, I strongly disagree.** ***Oya, simbyemera na busa.***
21.	It would be difficult to study all subjects from grade 1 to grade 3 in English.				
	Mbona bikomeye kwiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3.				
22.	When we are playing at the school playground, I speak to my classmates in English.				
	Iyo turi gukina ku kibuga hanze y'ishuri, mvugisha bagenzi banjye mu Cyongereza.				
23.	When we are in class, I like to ask questions in English				
	Iyo turi mu ishuri, nkunda kubaza ibibazo mu Cyongereza				
24.	As we studied in English in grade 1 and in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3, we studied better than others who study in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3.				
	Kuba twarize mu Cyongereza muwa 1 hanyuma tugahindura tukiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3, twize neza kurusha abandi biga mu Kinyarwanda gusa kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3.				
25.	The advantage of having started with learning in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 is that I consecutively had exposure to both English and Kinyarwanda, which made me know the two languages better.				
	Kuba naratangiye niga mu Cyongereza muwa 1, ngahindura nkiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 byagize akamaro kubera ko byatumye niga mu Cyongereza no mu Kinyarwanda ku buryo bukurikiranye,				

	bituma menya indimi zombie kurushaho				
		Yes, I strongly agree. Yego ndabyemera cyane.	**Yes, I agree. Yego, ndabyemera.**	**No, I disagree. Oya simbyemera.**	**No, I strongly disagree. Oya, simbyemera na busa.**
26.	The disadvantage of having started learning in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 is that it created confusion and made me mix up things that I learnt in those two languages.				
	Ingaruka zo kuba naratangiye niga mu Cyongereza muwa 1hanyuma bigahita bihinduka nkiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 ni uko byatumye ibyo nize muri izo ndimi zombi byivangavanga.				
27.	I would recommend the Government to continue the program we did, which consists of studying in English in grade 1 and then switching to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3.				
	Ku bwanjye, nifuza ko Leta yakomeza iyi gahunda twizemo yo kwiga mu Cyongereza mu wa 1, hanyuma ugahindura ukiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 no muwa 3.				

Thank you for your time and participation!

APPENDIX 19: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES FOR TEACHERS

SECTION A

Location of school: Urban …. Rural……
Type of school: Public… Subsidized….. Private.....
Grade you taught: in 2010 .....…… in 2011…..... … in 2012…….....
Gender: Male……. Female…....
Qualification: Secondary school certificate / Senior 6 / D6…..…… University: Diploma…… Bachelors/ Licence……. Others……
Professional experience (teaching career): ….....years.
Age range: 20-29….30-39…..40-49…..50-59…. +60……
Nationality …….

SECTION B

1. What is the general language policy adopted by your school? i.e. Language(s) used to teach all subjects in grade 1-3: .....
   Languages taught as subjects in grade 1-3: ....
   Language(s) used to teach all subjects in grade 4-6: ....
   Languages taught as subjects in grade 4-6: ....
2. In your particular class, which language(s) do you use in the classroom while teaching your lessons? (Mention all of them, even if you mix languages) and how much do you use each language? (all the time; very often; often; rarely)?
   ……
3. Which language do you often speak at school when talking to your fellow teachers and how much do you use each language? (all the time; very often; often; rarely)?
   ……
4. Which language do you use most of the time at home, with your relatives and how much do you use each language? (all the time; very often; often; rarely)?
   ……

5. Can you remember the languages you used to teach your classes in the following years:
   - In 2010: Teaching language subjects ……..
     Teaching all other subjects ……
   - In 2011: Teaching language subjects ……..
     Teaching all other subjects ……
   - In 2012: Teaching language subjects ……..
     Teaching all other subjects ……
6. Do you support the view that (a) all subjects should be taught in Kinyarwanda from grade 1 to grade 3 with English as subject? Or (b) grade 1 to grade 3 should be taught in English, with Kinyarwanda as a subject? Or (c) some subjects should be taught in Kinyarwanda and others in English? What is your personal preference between (a), (b), and (c)? (Circle one)
7. Between Kinyarwanda and English, which language do you prefer your students should be using when talking to each other in class: ……; when playing at the school playground: …… ; and at home with their relatives:……. …… ?
8. In 2009-2010, you started teaching all subjects in English and in 2011-2012 you changed to Kinyarwanda medium, how did you feel about that? (Tick one box with "X")

I was extremely happy about it	I was happy about it	I was neither happy nor unhappy about it	I was unhappy about it	I was extremely unhappy about it

9. Can you estimate and rate your current proficiency in both English and Kinyarwanda just after having used them consecutively for teaching your lessons for about 4 years? (Mark the case with "X" according to your level of proficiency)

Language	**Estimated proficiency (rate + percentage)**	**Understanding**	**Speaking**	**Writing**	**Reading**
Kinyarwanda	Very good (between 81 – 100%)				
	Good (between 51 – 80%)				
	Average (between 31 -50%)				
	Poor (between 0-30%)				
English	Very good (between 81 – 100%)				
	Good (between 51 – 80%)				
	Average (between 31 -50%)				

	Poor (between 0-30%)				

10. What can you say about learners who started learning all subjects in English in grade 1 in 2010 and then switched to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011-2012?

……..
……
……..

11. Suppose there have been four possibilities of choice for your lower primary learners, which choice should you have made for them? (Tick one box with "X")

I would have preferred to start with English medium in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3	I would have preferred to study in English only from grade 1 to 3	I would have preferred to study in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3	I would have preferred to start with Kinyarwanda medium in grade 1 and then switch to English medium in grade 2 and 3

SECTION C:

(Please mark with an "**X**" in the box of your choice.

NB: There is no right or wrong answer. Simply say what you feel or think by choosing between ***'Yes, I strongly agree'***, ***'Yes, I agree***', ***'No, I disagree***', ***"No, I strongly disagree***".

		Yes, I strongly agree.	**Yes, I agree.**	**No, I disagree.**	**No, I strongly disagree.**
12.	I loved teaching in English in 2009-2010				
13.	I loved changing and teaching in Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012				
13.	For learners who started in 2010, I noticed that they enjoyed learning in English in grade 1				
14.	For learners who started in 2010, I noticed that they enjoyed learning in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3				
15.	Having started teaching in English in 2009-2010 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012 increased my proficiency in both English and Kinyarwanda tremendously.				
16.	I observed that learners who studied all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 managed to know both English and Kinyarwanda better.				
17.	Starting learning in the mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) in grade 1 is better than starting leaning in English.				
18.	I found it difficult to study all subjects from grade 1 to grade 3 in English.				
19.	I noticed that starting learning in English in grade 1 was better for learners than starting leaning in Kinyarwanda.				
20.	I found it easy to study all subjects from grade 1 to grade 3 in Kinyarwanda.				
21.	I have observed that my learners always try to speak to their classmates in				

	English when they are playing at the school playground.				
22.	When I talk to my fellow teachers outside the class, I try to speak in English, even when I don't have enough English vocabulary.				
		Yes, I strongly agree.	**Yes, I agree.**	**No, I disagree.**	**No, I strongly disagree.**
23.	I observed that learners who studied in English in grade 1 and changed to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 studied better than learners who studied all lessons in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3.				
24.	I observed that learners who studied in English in grade 1 and switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 studied better than learners who studied all lessons in English only from grade 1 to grade 3.				
25.	For me, I would recommend the Government to bring back the program we did, which consisted of studying or teaching in English in grade 1 and then switching to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3; instead of teaching in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3.				

SECTION D:

(Please circle 'a' or 'b' or 'c' according to your choice).

26. Having started teaching all lessons in English in 2009-2010 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2011-2012 had advantages because:

a. I consecutively had exposure to both English and Kinyarwanda, which made me know the two languages better
b. I started teaching all lessons in English, which I like, and then switched to Kinyarwanda, which I like too
c. We did not start all lessons in Kinyarwanda, which we acquire naturally from home and in which we don't need to teach all lessons in grade 1

27. The disadvantage for having taught all lessons in English in 2009-2010 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012 is that:
a. I taught all lessons in English for one or two years only, while I wanted to teach in English up to grade 3
b. I started teaching all lessons in English and then abruptly switched to Kinyarwanda, and this created confusion and made me mix up things that I had to teach in those two languages.
c. I started teaching all lessons in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3, while I wanted to start teaching all lessons in Kinyarwanda from grade 1

SECTION E

(Please write anything you think of about the following questions (WRITE IN ENGLISH OR KINYARWANDA)
/*Andika igitekerezo ufite cyose kuri ibi bibazo).*

28. How did you experience the change from teaching in English in 2009-2010 to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012? :
Impinduka zo kubanza kwigisha mu Cyongereza mu 2009-2010 hanyuma ugahindura ukigisha mu Kinyarwanda mu 2011-2012 wazibayemo ute?:

(a) What did you like when you started teaching in English in 2009-2010? */ Ni iki wakundiye kubanza kwigisha mu Cyongereza mu 2009-2010?*
- ....
- ....
- ....

(b) What did you like when you changed and started teaching in Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012? / *Ni iki wakundiye impinduka zabaye ugatangira kwigisha mu Kinyarwanda mu 2011-2012?*.
- ....
- ....
- ....

(a) What problems did you have when you were teaching all subjects in English in 2009-2010? *Ni izihe ngorane wahuye nazo ubwo wigishaga mu Cyongereza mu 2009-2010?*
- ....
- ....
- ....

(b) What problems did you have when you changed and started teaching all subjects in Kinyarwanda in 2009-2010? *Ni izihe ngorane wahuye nazo ubwo wahinduye ugatangira kwigisha mu Kinyarwanda mu 2011-2012*?
....
....
....

Thank you for your time and for your participation

APPENDIX 20: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE LEARNERS

Prompts for semi-structured interviews:

As a group, we are going to discuss some of the questions we answered in the questionnaire, now try to give as much information as possible. I will tape-record the discussions as we agreed and don't feel any shy for the presence of your classmates. Interview duration: 45 minutes.
/Tugiye kuganira muri iri tsinda, turaganira kuri bimwe mu bibazo mwasubije mwandika, ariko noneho mugerageze gusubiza ku buryo burambuye. Ndaza kubafata amajwi muri iki kiganiro nk'uko twabyeranyijweho. Igihe ibiganiro bimara: iminota 45.

As you are 6 learners, everyone is going to pick one name among L1, L2, L3, L4, L5 and L6 because we are not using your real names for anonymity.
Uko muri 6, buri wese arafata izina rimwe muri aya L1, L2, L3, L4, L5 na L6 kuko tudakoresha amazina yanyu ngo atagira aho agaragara

1. Now, tell me how you experienced learning all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3.
   Mumbwire uko iyi gahunda mwayibayemo, mukabanza kwiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza muwa 1, hanyuma muwa 2 n'uwa 3 bigahinduka mukiga mu Kinyarwanda.

- In grade 1: - Was it interesting to start all lessons in English? What did you like?
  Muwa 1: Byari bibashimishije gutangira mwiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza? Ni iki mwabikundiye?
  - Was it easy or difficult ? / Mwabonaga byoroshye se cg byari bikomeye?
  - Could you understand what the teacher was saying in English? Mwumvaga se ibyo mwarimu yabigishaga mu Cyongereza?
  - Was the teacher mixing English with Kinyarwanda to help you understand?
    Mwarimu se yavangaga Icyongereza n'Ikinyarwanda kugira ngo mushobore kubyumva?
- In grade 2 and 3: - Was it interesting to switch from English and start learning in Kinyarwanda? What did you like?
  Muwa 2 n'uwa 3: Byari bibashimishije guhindura mukava ku kwiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza mukayiga mu Kinyarwanda? Ni iki

mwabikundiye?

- How did you feel about immediate change to Kinyarwanda? (very happy, happy, unhappy, very unhappy about it?) Mwumvaga mutekereza iki ku ihinduka ryakozwe vuba vuba ryo kwiga amasomo yose mu Kinyarwanda? (mwarabyishimiye cyane cg mwarabyishiye, cg ntimwabyishimiye, cg ntimwabyishimiye na busa?)
- If you compare with learning in English in grade 1, did you find studying in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 easy or difficult? Ese mugereranyije n'uko mwize muwa 1 mu Cyongereza, mwabonye kwiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3 aribyo byoroshye cg nibyo bikomeye?
- Were you able to understand what the teacher was saying in Kinyarwanda, if you compare with when you were studying in English in grade 1? Mwashoboraga se kumva ibyo mwarimu yavugaga mu Kinyarwanda, mugereranyije n'uko mwabyumva ubwo mwigaga mu Cyongereza muwa 1?

2. Now, tell me the challenges you encountered when you were studying in English in grade 1 and when you were studying in Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3.
   Nimumbwire noneho imbogamizi mwahuye nazo ubwo mwigaga mu Cyongereza muwa 1, n'izo mwahuye nazo mwiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3.
3. Tell me now the benefits or the advantages of starting learning all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3.
   Nimumbwire ibyiza byo gutangira muwa 1 wiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza, hanyuma bigahinduka mukiga mu Kinyarwanda muwa 2 n'uwa 3.
4. Now, tell me the disadvantages or drawbacks of starting learning all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3.
   Noneho nimumbwire ibibi mwabonye byo gutangira uwa 1 mwiga amasomo yose mu Cyongereza, hanyuma muwa 2 n'uwa 3 mukayiga mu Kinyarwanda.
5. You studied in English in grade 1 and switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3; while others studied either in English only from grade 1 to grade 3, and others will study in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3. In your view, who studied in a better way, you or others? Why do you think so?
   Mwebwe mwize amasomo yose mu Cyongereza muwa 1, hanyuma muwa 2 n'uwa 3 muyiga mu Kinyarwanda; hari abandi bize amasomo yose mu Cyongereza gusa kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3; hari n'abandi bayize mu Kinyarwanda gusa kuva muwa 1 kugeza muwa 3. Mwumva ari bande bize neza muri ayo matsinda 3? Kuki mutekereza ko aribo bize neza?

6. Now, what is your level of satisfaction for having studied in English in grade 1 and switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3?
   Noneho nimumbwire ukuntu mwakunze kandi mukishimira kwiga mu Cyongereza muwa 1, mwagera muwa 2 n'uwa 3 mukiga mu Kinyarwanda.
   (a) Were you for example happy, contented and satisfied with the lessons at any of the following levels: satisfied a lot or very happy about it; satisfied; Not satisfied; Not satisfied at all.
   Mwumvaga amasomo muyakunze kandi muyishimiye nko kuri uru rugero; mwabikunze kandi mwabyishimiye cyane; mwabikunze kandi mwabyishimiye; mutabikunze kandi mutabyishimiye; mutabikunze kandi mutabyishimiye na gato.
   (b) Why were you satisfied (for those who were satisfied) or why were you unhappy about it (for those who didn't enjoy it)?
   Kuki mwabikunze kandi mukabyishimira (abo byashimishije) cg kuki mutabikunze kandi ntimubyishimire (abatarabikunze)?

End of interview – THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION AND YOUR FRUITFUL IDEAS!

APPENDIX 21: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS

Prompts for semi-structured interviews:

Thank you for coming for interview, we are going to discuss in group some of the issues that you answered in the questionnaire, but the specific focus will be on your lived experiences during the consecutive language policy shifts, i.e. when you were teaching all subjects in English in 2009 and 2010, and when you switched to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011 and 2012. Try to give as detailed information as possible. I will tape-record the discussions as we agreed and feel free to use any language to express your view clearly. For your anonymity, your identification names are T1, T2 and T3 respectively. The interview will take about 45 minutes.

1. Can each of you describe how s/he experienced teaching all lessons in English in 2009-2010 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012? Let's start from T1.....then T2.....then T3.....
2. More specifically now, how did you go about teaching all subjects in English in 2009-2010? :
   - Were you prepared? Did you enjoy teaching in English? What did you like with teaching all subjects in English?
   - Did you find it easy or difficult?
   - What kind of assistance were you provided with? (for those who did not have sufficient proficiency in English by that time)?
   - What benefit did you attribute to such a language policy?
   - What challenges did you encounter during that period?
3. In 2011-2012, you shifted from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium,
   - Were you prepared? Did you enjoy teaching in Kinyarwanda? What did you like with using Kinyarwanda medium?
   - Did you find it easy or difficult?
   - What kind of assistance were you provided with? (for those who did not have sufficient proficiency in Kinyarwanda)?
   - What benefit did you attribute to such a language policy?
   - What challenges did you encounter when you compare with the time you were teaching in English?
4. Now that you have experienced the two consecutive language policy changes, what advantages do you attribute to the program of starting learning or teaching all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3?
5. What disadvantages can you attribute to such a program of starting learning or teaching all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3?

6. Can you compare the learners and teachers who studied or taught in English in grade 1 (in 2010) and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 (2011-2012), with others learners and teachers who will study or teach either in English only or in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3? In your view, who will benefit much and who will study or teach in better conditions among the three groups?
7. If you were asked to give advice, would you advise the Government to change the policy again and bring back the program you underwent with 2010 intake, where your learners studied all subjects in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3? If not, what would you suggest?

End of interview – THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION AND YOUR CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS!

APPENDIX 22: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Prompts for semi-structured interviews:

Thank you for welcoming me in your office. Our interview is going to focus on your school's lived experiences during the consecutive language policy shifts, i.e. when you were teaching all subjects in English in 2009 and 2010, and when you switched to Kinyarwanda medium in 2011 and 2012. Try to give as detailed information as possible. I will tape-record the discussions as we agreed and feel free to use any language to express your view clearly. For your anonymity, your identification names will be P1, P2, ect., and your school will be identified as S1, S2 etc. The interview will take about 25 minutes.

1. Can you describe how your school experienced teaching all lessons in English in 2009-2010 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in 2011-2012?
2. More specifically now, how did you go about teaching all subjects in English in 2009-2010? :
   - Was your school prepared? Did your school enjoy teaching in English? What did you like with teaching all subjects in English?
   - Did you find it easy or difficult for teachers to teach in English and for learners to learn in English?
   - What kind of assistance did your school provide to teachers who did not have sufficient proficiency in English by that time?
   - What benefit did you attribute to such a language policy of teaching all subjects in English from grade 1?
   - What challenges did your school encounter during that period?
3. In 2011-2012, you shifted from English medium to Kinyarwanda medium,
   - Was your school prepared? Did you enjoy teaching in Kinyarwanda? What did you like with using Kinyarwanda medium?
   - Did your teachers and students find it easy or difficult to teach and study in Kinyarwanda?
   - What kind of assistance did your school provide to teachers who did not have sufficient proficiency in Kinyarwanda?
   - What benefit did you attribute to such a language policy of teaching all subjects in Kinyarwanda?
   - What challenges did your school encounter when you compare with the time you were teaching in English?
4. Now that your school has experienced the two consecutive language policy shifts, can you compare the learners and teachers who studied or taught in English in grade 1 (in 2010) and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 (2011-2012), with others learners and teachers who will study or teach either in English only or in Kinyarwanda only from grade 1 to grade 3? In your view, who will benefit much and who will study or teach in better conditions among the three groups?

5. Based on the lived experiences at your school, what advantages do you attribute to the program of starting learning or teaching all lessons in English in grade 1 (those who started in 2010) and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 (in 2011 and 2012)?
6. What disadvantages can you attribute to such a program of starting learning or teaching all lessons in English in grade 1 (those who started in 2010) and then switch to Kinyarwanda medium in grade 2 and 3 (in 2011 and 2012)?
7. If you were asked to give advice, would your school advise the Government to bring back the program you underwent with the 2010 intake, where learners started with learning all lessons in English in grade 1 and then switched to Kinyarwanda in grade 2 and 3 (in 2011 and 2012)? If not, what would you suggest?

End of interview – THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION AND YOUR CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS!

APPENDIX 23: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE IN THE CLASSROOM

One observation will be conducted in one class at each of the 6 schools. Observation will last 40 minutes, which correspond with one lesson period in Rwandan primary schools. It will be done on any subject other than language subject to enable the researcher to observe some aspects of the language. Without any active participation, the researcher will sit at the back of the classroom and observe the following aspects:

1. Language attitudes in the classroom:
   (c) The language preference as a MoI between English and Kinyarwanda: Is the teacher using one language throughtout the whole lesson? Yes……No….. Is s/he mixing the two languages at some points? Yes …How many times?……. No…..
   (d) Language use by learners: Are the learners responding or asking questions in the medium of instruction? Yes… How many times? .... No……. Are they mixing the two languages at some points? Yes… How many times?….. No…….
   (e) Language proficiency: Does the teacher master the language of instruction? Is his/her fluency okey, i.e. is s/he not struggling with the language to get some expressions? Yes… How many times?… No…… Does s/he write all words correctly on the chalkboard? Yes…… No… How many times?…..... Does s/he read all words correctly to the students? Yes…… No… How many times?…… Do the learners understand the lesson?, i.e. do they respond to the teacher? Yes…… No…… Do they ask questions? Yes… How many times?….. No…… Are they able to write correctly on the chalkboard? Yes…… No… How many times?… Are they able to read any written passage correctly? Yes…… No… How many times?....… If ever a student asks something to his/her classmate, which language of the two does s/he use? …… How many times?.....…
2. Do the above-mentioned aspects tend to reflect what was said in the interviews and survey questionnaires? Yes…… No……
3. To glance at the learners' academic transcripts (for the 6 involved in interviews) and see if they reflect their performance in the classroom (if ever they get involved in the classroom activities mentioned above).
   Learner's Marks: - L1: .....%; Any correspondence with class performance? Yes... No..... Which aspects? .....
   - L2: .....%; Any correspondence with class performance? Yes... No..... Which aspects? .....
   - L3: .....%; Any correspondence with class performance? Yes... No..... Which aspects? .....
   - L4: .....%; Any correspondence with class performance? Yes... No..... Which aspects? .....
   - L5: .....%; Any correspondence with class performance? Yes... No..... Which aspects? .....

- L6: .....%; Any correspondence with class performance? Yes... No..... Which aspects? ..... END

APPENDIX 24: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE AT THE SCHOOL PLAYGROUND

One observation will be conducted at each school playground or school yard, during break time, which lasts 15 minutes. The researcher will move around the playground among the playing learners, to overhear the following aspects of the language:

1. Learners' attitudes towards Kinyarwanda and English outside the classroom:

(f) Language preference: When conversing or playing, do they prefer Kinyarwanda ....(how many times? ....) or English ... (how many times? ....)

Do they ever mix the two languages? Yes ..... (how many times? ....) No.....

Apart from Kinyarwanda and English, is there any other language they use? Yes..... No ..... Which one? ..... (how many times? ....)

(g) Language use based on gender and location: Are urban and rural boys and girls using the same language? Yes ..... No .....
If there is any difference, which language is used in a rural boy-boy interaction? .....

in an urban boy-boy interaction?.....

in a rural girl-girl interaction?.....

in an urban girl-girl interaction?.....

in a rural girl-boy interaction? ....

in an urban girl-boy interaction? . ...

2. Does the overall impression from observation on learners' language use at the school playground tend to reflect what they said in interviews and survey questionnaires? Yes…… No……

END OF OBSERVATION

Appendix 25: Sample of outputs from statistical analysis: Mean, standard deviation, crosstabulation and t-tests

1.1 Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010 (comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.22	9	.441
Rural	1.11	9	.333
Total	1.17	18	.383

Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010 (Mean & Standard deviation)

N	Valid	18
	Missing	0
Mean		1.17
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		.383
Variance		.147
Sum		21

Crosstabulation: Location of teachers * Teachers' satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

			Teacher's love to teach in English in 2009-2010		
			Agree	Disagree	Total
Location of school	Urban	Count	7	2	9
		% within Location of school	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's love to teach in English in 2009-2010	46.7%	66.7%	50.0%
		% of Total	38.9%	11.1%	50.0%
	Rural	Count	8	1	9
		% within Location of school	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's love to teach in English in 2009-2010	53.3%	33.3%	50.0%
		% of Total	44.4%	5.6%	50.0%
Total		Count	15	3	18
		% within Location of school	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's love to teach in English in 2009-2010	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests (SPSS): Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.400(b)	1	.527		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.407	1	.524		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.500
Linear-by-Linear Association	.378	1	.539		
N of Valid Cases	18				

Chi-square (STATA): Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

```
. tab LoveTeachEng Location , chi

 Teacher's |
   love to |
  teach in |
English in |  Location of school
 2009-2010 |     Urban      Rural |     Total
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Agree |         7          8 |        15
```

```
  Disagree |         2          1 |         3
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Total |         9          9 |        18

          Pearson chi2(1) =   0.4000   Pr = 0.527
```

T-test (STATA): Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

```
. ttest LoveTeachEng, by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |       9    1.222222    .1469862    .4409586    .8832715    1.561173
   Rural |       9    1.111111    .1111111    .3333333    .8548884    1.367334
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |      18    1.166667    .0903877    .3834825    .9759653    1.357368
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |            .1111111    .1842569               -.2794961    .5017184
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =   0.6030
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =       16

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.7225         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.5549          Pr(T > t) = 0.2775
```

1.2 Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in 2009-2010

Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010 (comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.05	150	.225
Rural	1.03	150	.162
Total	1.04	300	.196

Chi-square (STATA): Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010

```
. tab LEngEnjoyG1 LSatisfaction, chi

 Learner's |
 enjoyment |   Learner's satisfaction with
of Eng MOI |          policy change
in grade 1 |     Happy  Neither h    Unhappy |     Total
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Agree |       219         13         56 |       288
  Disagree |         9          1          2 |        12
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Total |       228         14         58 |       300

          Pearson chi2(2) =   0.4077   Pr = 0.816
```

T-test (STATA): Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to English MoI in grade 1 in 2010

```
. ttest LEngEnjoyG1 , by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |     150    1.053333    .0184079    .2254501    1.016959    1.089708
   Rural |     150    1.026667    .0131984     .161647    1.000586    1.052747
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |     300        1.04    .0113326    .1962866    1.017698    1.062302
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |            .0266667    .0226506               -.0179087    .0712421
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =   1.1773
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =      298

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.8800         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.2400          Pr(T > t) = 0.1200
```

1.3 Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012 (Comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.78	9	.441
Rural	1.44	9	.527
Total	1.61	18	.502

Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012 (mean & standard deviation)

N	Valid	18
	Missing	0
Mean		1.61
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		.502
Variance		.252
Sum		29

Crosstabulation: Location of teachers * Teachers' satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

			Teacher's love to teach in Kinya in 2011-2012		
			Agree	Disagree	Total
Location of school	Urban	Count	2	7	9
		% within Location of school	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's love to teach in Kinya in 2011-2012	28.6%	63.6%	50.0%

		% of Total	11.1%	38.9%	50.0%
	Rural	Count	5	4	9
		% within Location of school	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's love to teach in Kinya in 2011-2012	71.4%	36.4%	50.0%
		% of Total	27.8%	22.2%	50.0%
Total		Count	7	11	18
		% within Location of school	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's love to teach in Kinya in 2011-2012	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests (SPSS): Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.104(b)	1	.147		
Continuity Correction(a)	.935	1	.334		
Likelihood Ratio	2.157	1	.142		
Fisher's Exact Test				.335	.167
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.987	1	.159		
N of Valid Cases	18				

Chi-square (STATA): Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

```
.
. ** Ch-square
. tab LoveTeachKiny Location , chi

 Teacher's |
   love to |
  teach in |
  Kinya in |  Location of school
 2011-2012 |     Urban      Rural |     Total
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Agree |         2          5 |         7
  Disagree |         7          4 |        11
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Total |         9          9 |        18

          Pearson chi2(1) =   2.1039   Pr = 0.147
```

T-test (STATA): Teachers' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

```
. ** T - tests analysis
. ttest LoveTeachKiny, by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |       9    1.777778    .1469862    .4409586    1.438827    2.116729
   Rural |       9    1.444444    .1756821    .5270463    1.039321    1.849568
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |      18    1.611111    .1182356    .5016313    1.361656    1.860567
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |            .3333333    .2290614               -.1522552    .8189219
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =   1.4552
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =       16

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.9175         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.1649          Pr(T > t) = 0.0825
```

1.4 Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MoI in 2011-2012

Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MOI in grade 2-3 (Comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.49	150	.502
Rural	1.31	150	.463
Total	1.40	300	.491

Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MOI in grade 2-3 (Mean & Standard deviation)

N	Valid	300
	Missing	0
Mean		1.40
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		.491
Variance		.241
Sum		420

Crosstabulation: Learners' satisfaction with shift to Kinya MOI in grade 2-3 * Location of learners

			Location of school		
			Urban	Rural	Total
Learners enjoyment of Kinya MOI in grade 2-3	Agree	Count	76	104	180
		% within Learner's enjoyment of Kinya MOI in grade 2-3	42.2%	57.8%	100.0%
		% within Location of school	50.7%	69.3%	60.0%
		% of Total	25.3%	34.7%	60.0%
	Disagree	Count	74	46	120

	% within Learner's enjoyment of Kinya MOI in grade 2-3	61.7%	38.3%	100.0%
	% within Location of school	49.3%	30.7%	40.0%
	% of Total	24.7%	15.3%	40.0%
Total	Count	150	150	300
	% within Learner's enjoyment of Kinya MOI in grade 2-3	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Location of school	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square tests (SPSS): Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MOI in grade 2-3

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.889(b)	1	.001		
Continuity Correction(a)	10.125	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	10.967	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.853	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Chi-square (STATA): Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MOI in grade 2-3

```
. tab LKinyEnjoyG23 LSatisfaction, chi

 Learner's |
 enjoyment |
  of Kinya |   Learner's satisfaction with
    MOI in |          policy change
 grade 2-3 |     Happy  Neither h    Unhappy |     Total
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Agree |       165          6          9 |       180
  Disagree |        63          8         49 |       120
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Total |       228         14         58 |       300

          Pearson chi2(2) =  64.0661   Pr = 0.000
```

T-test (STATA): Learners' level of satisfaction with shift to Kinyarwanda MOI in grade 2-3

```
. ttest LKinyEnjoyG23 , by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |     150    1.493333     .040958    .5016305      1.4124    1.574267
   Rural |     150    1.306667    .0377756    .4626545    1.232022    1.381312
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |     300         1.4    .0283315    .4907165    1.344246    1.455754
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
    diff |            .1866667    .0557185                .0770151    .2963182
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =   3.3502
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =      298

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.9995         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0009          Pr(T > t) = 0.0005
```

1.5 Teachers' level of satisfaction with two consecutive policy shifts

Teachers' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts (Comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	2.44	9	.726
Rural	2.11	9	.928
Total	2.28	18	.826

Teachers' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts (Means & Standard deviation)

N	Valid	18
	Missing	282
Mean		2.28
Median		2.50
Mode		3
Std. Deviation		.826
Variance		.683
Sum		41

Crosstabulation: Location of teachers * Teachers' satisfaction with policy shifts

			Teacher's satisfaction with policy change			
			Happy	Neither happy nor unhappy	Unhappy	Total
Location of school	Urban	Count	1	3	5	9
		% within Location of school	11.1%	33.3%	55.6%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's satisfaction with policy change	25.0%	60.0%	55.6%	50.0%
		% of Total	5.6%	16.7%	27.8%	50.0%
	Rural	Count	3	2	4	9
		% within Location of school	33.3%	22.2%	44.4%	100.0%
		% within Teacher's satisfaction with policy change	75.0%	40.0%	44.4%	50.0%
		% of Total	16.7%	11.1%	22.2%	50.0%
Total		Count	4	5	9	18
		% within Location of school	22.2%	27.8%	50.0%	100.0%

	% within Teacher's satisfaction with policy change	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	22.2%	27.8%	50.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square tests (SPSS): Teachers' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.311(a)	2	.519
Likelihood Ratio	1.359	2	.507
Linear-by-Linear Association	.732	1	.392
N of Valid Cases	18		

Chi-square (STATA): Teachers' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts

```
.
. ** Ch-square
. tab TSatisfaction Location , chi

           Teacher's |
    satisfaction with |  Location of school
        policy change |     Urban      Rural |     Total
----------------------+----------------------+----------
                Happy |         1          3 |         4
Neither happy nor unh |         3          2 |         5
              Unhappy |         5          4 |         9
----------------------+----------------------+----------
                Total |         9          9 |        18

          Pearson chi2(2) =   1.3111   Pr = 0.519
```

T-test (STATA): Teachers' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts

```
. ttest TSatisfaction, by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |       9    2.444444    .2421611    .7264832     1.88602    3.002869
   Rural |       9    2.111111    .3093202    .9279607    1.397817    2.824405
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |      18    2.277778    .1947943    .8264421    1.866798    2.688758
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |            .3333333    .3928371               -.4994441    1.166111
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =   0.8485
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =       16

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.7957         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.4087          Pr(T > t) = 0.2043
```

1.6 Learners' level of satisfaction with two consecutive policy shifts

Learners' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts (comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.19	150	.523
Rural	1.68	150	.936
Total	1.43	300	.796

Learners' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts (Mean & Standard deviation)

N	Valid	300
	Missing	0
Mean		1.43
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		.796
Variance		.634
Skewness		1.380
Std. Error of Skewness		.141
Range		2

Crosstabulation: Location of learners * Learners' satisfaction with two policy shifts

			Learners' satisfaction with policy change			
			Happy	Neither happy nor unhappy	Unhappy	Total
Location of school	Urban	Count	131	10	9	150
		% within Location of school	87.3%	6.7%	6.0%	100.0%
		% within Learner's satisfaction with policy change	57.5%	71.4%	15.5%	50.0%
		% of Total	43.7%	3.3%	3.0%	50.0%
	Rural	Count	97	4	49	150
		% within Location of school	64.7%	2.7%	32.7%	100.0%
		% within Learner's satisfaction with policy change	42.5%	28.6%	84.5%	50.0%
		% of Total	32.3%	1.3%	16.3%	50.0%
Total		Count	228	14	58	300
		% within Location of school	76.0%	4.7%	19.3%	100.0%
		% within Learner's satisfaction with policy change	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	76.0%	4.7%	19.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square tests (SPSS): Learners' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	35.228(a)	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	38.088	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	28.775	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

Chi-square (STATA): Learners' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts

```
. tab Location LSatisfaction, chi

           |   Learner's satisfaction with
  Location |          policy change
 of school |     Happy  Neither h    Unhappy |     Total
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Urban |       131         10           9 |       150
     Rural |        97          4          49 |       150
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Total |       228         14          58 |       300

          Pearson chi2(2) =  35.2278   Pr = 0.000
```

T-test (STATA): Learners' level of satisfaction with two policy shifts

```
. ttest LSatisfaction, by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |     150    1.186667    .0427119    .5231124    1.102267    1.271066
   Rural |     150        1.68    .0764538    .9363645    1.528926    1.831074
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |     300    1.433333    .0459832    .7964526    1.342842    1.523825
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |           -.4933333    .0875757               -.6656785   -.3209882
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =  -5.6332
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =      298

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0000         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000          Pr(T > t) = 1.0000
```

1.7 Teachers' level of appreciation of Government's continuation of policy shifts

Teachers' level of appreciation: Government should continue those shifts (Comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.67	9	.500
Rural	1.78	9	.441
Total	1.72	18	.461

Teachers' level of appreciation: Government should continue those shifts (Mean & Standard deviation)

N	Valid	18
	Missing	0
Mean		1.72
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		.461
Variance		.212
Sum		31

Crosstabulation: Location of teachers * Government should continue those shifts

			Government should continue those shifts		
			Agree	Disagree	Total
Location of school	Urban	Count	3	6	9
		% within Location of school	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within Government should continue those shifts	60.0%	46.2%	50.0%
		% of Total	16.7%	33.3%	50.0%
	Rural	Count	2	7	9
		% within Location of school	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
		% within Government should continue those shifts	40.0%	53.8%	50.0%
		% of Total	11.1%	38.9%	50.0%
Total		Count	5	13	18
		% within Location of school	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
		% within Government should continue those shifts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square tests (SPSS): Teachers' appreciation - Government should continue those shifts

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.277(b)	1	.599		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.278	1	.598		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.500
Linear-by-Linear Association	.262	1	.609		
N of Valid Cases	18				

Chi-square (STATA): Teachers' level of appreciation - Government should continue those shifts

```
. ** Ch-square
. tab TGovContShift Location , chi

Government |
    should |
  continue |
     those |  Location of school
    shifts |     Urban      Rural |     Total
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Agree |         3          2 |         5
  Disagree |         6          7 |        13
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Total |         9          9 |        18

          Pearson chi2(1) =   0.2769   Pr = 0.599
```

T-test (STATA): Teachers' level of appreciation - Government should continue those shifts

```
. ** T - tests analysis
. ttest TGovContShift, by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |       9    1.666667    .1666667          .5    1.282333    2.051001
   Rural |       9    1.777778    .1469862    .4409586    1.438827    2.116729
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |      18    1.722222    .1086325    .4608886    1.493028    1.951417
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |           -.1111111    .2222222               -.5822012     .359979
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =  -0.5000
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =       16

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.3119         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.6239          Pr(T > t) = 0.6881
```

1.8 Learners' level of appreciation of Government's continuation of policy shifts

Learners' level of appreciation: Government should continue those shifts (Comparison of means)

Location of school	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Urban	1.28	100	.451
Rural	1.43	150	.497
Total	1.37	250	.484

Learners' level of appreciation: Government should continue those shifts (Mean & standard deviation)

N	Valid	250
	Missing	50
Mean		1.37
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		.484
Variance		.235
Sum		343

Crosstabulation: Location of learners * Government should continue those shifts

			Government should continue those shifts		
			Agree	Disagree	Total
Location of school	Urban	Count	72	28	100
		% within Location of school	72.0%	28.0%	100.0%
		% within Government should continue those shifts	45.9%	30.1%	40.0%
		% of Total	28.8%	11.2%	40.0%
	Rural	Count	85	65	150
		% within Location of school	56.7%	43.3%	100.0%
		% within Government should continue those shifts	54.1%	69.9%	60.0%
		% of Total	34.0%	26.0%	60.0%
Total		Count	157	93	250
		% within Location of school	62.8%	37.2%	100.0%
		% within Government should continue those shifts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	62.8%	37.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square tests (SPSS): Learners' level of appreciation - Government should continue those shifts

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.038(b)	1	.014		
Continuity Correction(a)	5.400	1	.020		
Likelihood Ratio	6.146	1	.013		
Fisher's Exact Test				.016	.010
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.014	1	.014		
N of Valid Cases	250				

Chi-Square tests (STATA): Learners' level of appreciation - Government should continue those shifts

```
. tab LGovContShift LSatisfaction, chi
Government |
    should |
  continue |   Learner's satisfaction with
     those |          policy change
    shifts |     Happy  Neither h    Unhappy |     Total
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Agree |       141          7          9 |       157
  Disagree |        41          4         48 |        93
-----------+---------------------------------+----------
     Total |       182         11         57 |       250

          Pearson chi2(2) =  70.6966   Pr = 0.000
```

T-test (STATA): Learners' level of appreciation - Government should continue those shifts

```
ttest LGovContShift, by(Location)

Two-sample t test with equal variances
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
   Group |     Obs        Mean    Std. Err.   Std. Dev.   [95% Conf. Interval]
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
   Urban |     100        1.28    .0451261    .4512609     1.19046     1.36954
   Rural |     150    1.433333    .0405959    .4971957    1.353115    1.513551
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
combined |     250       1.372    .0306303     .484308    1.311672    1.432328
---------+--------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff |           -.1533333    .0618886               -.2752276   -.0314391
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    diff = mean(Urban) - mean(Rural)                              t =  -2.4776
Ho: diff = 0                                     degrees of freedom =      248

    Ha: diff < 0                 Ha: diff != 0                 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0069         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0139          Pr(T > t) = 0.9931
```