

**ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION
OF
TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS
TOWARD
ENGLISH LEARNING AND USE AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN RWANDA**

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Declaration

I, Sigfrid MANIRAHU, declare that this dissertation entitled '**Attitudes and Motivation of Teacher Training College Teachers and Students toward English Learning and Use as Medium of Instruction in Rwanda**' is my own unaided work; and that the information quoted from other sources has been duly acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

This research was conducted in the particular context of the 2009 new language in education policy in Rwanda. The problem examined within this context, concerns the attitudes and motivation of teachers and students from different language backgrounds (both Anglophone and Francophone) as they have experienced the shift from French and/or English as MoI to the sole use of English as medium of instruction (MoI) in education, all the way from the Primary School stage up to and including tertiary institutes. In this unique context where English was being used as MoI whilst simultaneously learning the language, the aim of this study was to investigate an often overlooked psychological aspect of the language policy shift literature, viz., Teachers' and Students' Attitudes and Motivation toward *learning* English; and toward *using* it for teaching and learning. Through the lens of Gardner's (1985) second language (L2) motivation construct as a theoretical framework; this study used quantitative and qualitative methods of enquiry in the context of Mixed Methods approach, to ascertain implementers' reaction amid challenges of policy change. The study established that, in a quasi monolingual society with Kinyarwanda as the national language, Teacher Training College (TTC) teachers and students form a diverse community of language users; that they converge on knowledge and use of English despite this diversity; that they hold positive attitudes toward learning the language and using it as MoI; and that the main reason for these positive attitudes is that the use of English as MoI offers an opportunity to learn the language. This study thus recommends that all stakeholders in the education enterprise in Rwanda be sensitized on the necessity to distinguish between the tasks of *learning* English and *using* it for teaching and learning.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

4 th Y	: Fourth Year
AL(s)	: Additional Language(s)
BICS	: Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills
CALP	: Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	: East African Community
EFL	: English as a Foreign Language
ESL	: English as a Second Language
FQ	: Follow-up Question
L1(s)	: First Language(s)
L2(s)	: Second Language(s)
LOITASA	: Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa
MINEDUC	: Ministry of Education (in Rwanda)
MoI	: Medium of Instruction
MT(s)	: Mother Tongue(s)
Q	: Question
R	: Responses
TL	: Target Language
TTC(s)	: Teacher Training College(s)

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In virtue of a decree signed in the Ministry of Education on 12th November 2008, the 2009 Academic Year in Rwanda commenced with a new language in education policy whereby English replaced French as a Medium of Instruction (MoI) from primary education throughout University. On the face of it, this important change is merely yet another language policy shift; to be interpreted in the context of universal trends towards English, the ‘hypercentral’¹ (De Swaan, 2001) language that occupies a central position in the world, as a consequence of globalization. However, the context of Rwanda deserves a closer look, as the circumstances of the language in education policy change sets it apart as a special case.

To reflect on the uniqueness of Rwanda as a recent so called ‘Anglophone country’, I firstly situate the present research by focusing on the current linguistic context of Rwanda. Thereafter, I briefly explain the problem to be addressed in the study, and outline the aim, the rationale, and the key questions of the study. Finally, I present the structure of the dissertation giving the main points discussed in the different chapters.

¹ De Swaan (2001 in Coleman, 2006) characterizes world languages in relation to language global change as follows: ‘PERIPHERAL’ (98% of languages in the world); ‘CENTRAL’ (about 100 languages); ‘SUPERCENTRAL’ (about 12 languages); ‘HYPERCENTRAL’ (1 language: English).

1.1 THE RWANDAN LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

When a new language in education policy is launched, it primarily has the most direct effects on teachers' and students' everyday work in schools. Activities in schools, however, evolve against the background of the situation prevailing in the society. Therefore, to cast light on the implications of the change from French as MoI to English, I tackle the general linguistic situation of Rwanda by considering demographic, geographic, and socio-economic features (1.1.1); language attitudes in Rwanda (1.1.2); and language in education policy from the early days of formal education to the 2009 change from French to English as the new MoI (1.1.3).

1.1.1 Demographic, Geographic, and Socio-economic Aspects

From the demographic perspective, it is first important to note that Rwanda is characterized by one common mother tongue, Kinyarwanda, and three major foreign languages, viz. French, English, and Kiswahili. According to the 2002, 3rd General Census of Population and Housing Report (2005), Kinyarwanda is spoken by 99.7% of the population, Kiswahili by approximately 236,624 people (3%), French by 307,288 (3.9%), and English by 151,532 (1.9%). In other words, Rwanda is a multilingual society. For a panoramic view of this situation, these statistics are tabulated below:

	<i>Language spoken</i>	<i>Qualification of the condition of use</i>	<i>Population speaking the language(s)</i>	<i>%</i>
1.	Kinyarwanda	<i>Kinyarwanda Monolingual</i>	7,188,995	90%
		<i>Kinyarwanda+(an)other language(s)</i>	774,814	9.7%
		<i>- Monolinguals+Multilinguals</i>	7,963,809	99.7%
2.	French	<i>French Monolingual</i>	-	-
		<i>Kinyarwanda+French+((an)other language(s))</i>	307,288	3.9%
		<i>- Monolinguals+Multilinguals</i>	307,288	3.9%
3.	English	<i>English Monolingual</i>	-	-
		<i>Kinyarwanda+English+(an)other language(s))</i>	151,532	1.9%
		<i>- Monolinguals+Multilinguals</i>	151,532	1.9%
4.	Kiswahili	<i>Kiswahili Monolingual</i>	-	-
		<i>Kinyarwanda+Kiswahili+(an)other language(s))</i>	236,624	3%
		<i>- Monolinguals+Multilinguals</i>	236,624	3%
5.	Other	<i>Monolingual</i>	-	-
		<i>(An)other language(s) without Kinyarwanda</i>	-	0.9%
		<i>- Monolinguals+Multilinguals</i>	-	0.9%
6.	Unaccounted for	-	-	0.3%

Table 1: Panoramic View of Speakers of Different Languages in Rwanda

As can be seen in this table, 8.8% (= 3%+1.9%+3.9%) of the population speak the three most widely spoken foreign languages (English, French, Kiswahili) in the country, and at the same time, speak Kinyarwanda. It is also important to note that, while Kinyarwanda speakers are found everywhere in Rwanda, foreign language speakers tend to cluster in specific locations. These locations are discussed further by considering the geographic position of the country.

Rwanda is a landlocked country in the Great Lakes region of East-Central Africa. It shares borders with Burundi in the South, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the West, Uganda in the North, and Tanzania in the East (DPOD Mini-Programme, 2008). This is linguistically significant in two ways: On the one hand, the fact that Uganda and Tanzania are 'Anglophone' while DRC and Burundi are 'Francophone' puts Rwanda in a medial position between 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone' influences (McGreal, 2008). On the other hand, the clustering of foreign languages in specific locations of the country reflects this influence. Thus, for example, more English speakers reside in the Eastern Province which shares borders with Uganda and Tanzania because former refugees who returned from these Anglophone countries in 1994 mainly settled in *Umutara* region located in that Province (2002, 3rd General Census, 2005).

Another important aspect of the linguistic situation of Rwanda concerns the role of the different languages in the country. As already indicated, Kinyarwanda, the national language, is spoken by almost all Rwandans. Consequently, in social life, it dominates everyday communication among Rwandans of all walks of life. This is true in practically all circumstances, including ministerial cabinet discussions and government office service delivery (McGreal, 2008). On the other hand, as the 2002, 3rd General Census (2005) reveals, the big majority of speakers of English, French and Kiswahili also speak Kinyarwanda as their MT. Since MT is 'the language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication (UNESCO, 1968/1953: 698 in Kamwangamalu, 2000: 121)', foreign languages are hardly used among Rwandans.

The role of Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, English and French in the economic life presents a different picture, however. While Kinyarwanda is still dominant in all economic sectors involving Rwandans, Kiswahili is reported to be used internally in 'market towns' (2002, 3rd General Census, 2005). At the same time, along with English, it is the principal language of the East African Community. The fact that English is the official language of the community and

Kiswahili its *lingua franca* (EAC Treaty 1999, Article 137) is highly significant for Rwanda which is now a member since 2007 (Kafeero, 2008: 65), and which heavily depends on Ugandan, Kenyan, and Tanzanian corridors for commercial exchanges (2002, 3rd General Census, 2005: 8).

Concerning the relative position of the languages in the education sector, the following information can be gathered from the 2nd March 2009 Ministerial decree: First, English emerges as the MoI at all levels from Primary School to University as of 2009 academic year. Secondly, the two languages which are taught as compulsory subjects in Primary and Secondary School are English and Kinyarwanda. The other languages (French and Kiswahili) are offered either as ‘compulsory and non-examinable’, or ‘elective and non-examinable’.

In summary, from one common language before colonization (i.e. 1885)² Rwanda has now reached a total of 4 main languages. However, the imported languages, disproportionately count small numbers of speakers as compared to Kinyarwanda. Also, they tend to cluster in identifiable areas, a fact which is significant for the present study. As for the importance of the different languages, Kinyarwanda is present in all aspects of life, while French, Kiswahili and English are important in specialized sectors of national life. In education more particularly, English is given prominence followed by Kinyarwanda. This general linguistic context is likely to significantly influence Rwandans’ attitudes toward the different languages in the country.

1.1.2 Language Attitudes in Rwanda

The discussion in the preceding section was a factual examination of elements that characterize the Rwandan linguistic context. This section turns now to what people think and feel about the languages in Rwanda, and the respective value they attribute to each language.

Concerning the value attributed to Kinyarwanda, it is important to note first that Rwandans have always spoken the same language. Thus Kinyarwanda which is used by nearly all Rwandans is

² Ntakirutimana Evariste (2010) citing Ngurinzira (1983: 226) and Kagame (1977:321) situate the introduction of the first foreign language in Rwanda (i.e. Kiswahili) in the context of colonization of Rwanda by Germany in 1889, four years later than the 1885 formalization in Berlin. Citing the same sources, he further indicates that before 1889, Rwandans shared the same native tongue, Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language used even beyond the Rwanda frontiers by about 20 million people. The regions outside Rwanda where Kinyarwanda is spoken, are the Provinces of Northern and Southern Kivu in DRC; the regions of Bujumbura and Kabale in Uganda; the region of Karagwe in Tanzania; and the border regions of Burundi (2002, 3rd General Census, 2005).

seen by the Government of Rwanda as a factor of national unity (Hayman, 2005). This is important because as social beings, people need a certain ‘perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate (Ashforth & Mael, 1989: 20)’. This perception of belongingness ‘enable[s] the individual to locate or define him- or herself in the social environment (Ibid: 20)’ and to ‘satisfy the desire for recognition, affiliation, security and safety (West, 1992 in Norton, 1997: 410)’. Even though the recent troubled history of recurrent conflicts in Rwanda show that this perception of belongingness is insufficient on its own to guarantee peace and unity, Kinyarwanda is still valued as giving all Rwandans a sense of *the same identity*³

In contrast to this all encompassing role of Kinyarwanda, the importance of imported languages is limited to characterizing particular groups of individuals. French for example was brought in Rwanda through formal education. However, it remained the reserve of the Belgian colonizer and the elite that he had trained to serve in his administration mainly as interpreters (Babault & Caitucoli in Mutwarasibo, 2003). Even after independence, French continued to be the language of the educated, which perpetuated the idea that it was the language of the privileged, since it was a condition for access to non-manual, well paying jobs (2002, 3rd General census, 2005). Therefore, the uneducated majority of the population never owned French, because it was exclusively transmitted through education which was accessed to by a small portion of the population (Ibid, 2005; Ntakirutimana, 2010). Thus a different aggregate of people who can speak French in addition to Kinyarwanda (‘Francophone Rwandans’ (Mbori, 2008’)) came into existence.

The same can be said about the attitude toward English. Even though until 1994, English was not given enough emphasis in education (Mutwarasibo, 2003); its situation was reversed as a result of the massive repatriation of Rwandans who had taken refuge in Anglophone countries. These returnees were directly positioned/and positioned themselves as “Anglophones”. Thus schools for Anglophones were founded. Curricula for Anglophones were produced. Church services for Anglophones were organized, etc. Still, these “Anglophones” kept the Rwandan identity. This

³ Rutayisire (2004) cited in Hayman (2005: 25) notes that the Government of Rwanda considers language as a ‘political (and economic) issue’. In this respect, (though a common language is not a guarantee for peace and security) the government of Rwanda intends Kinyarwanda the national language spoken by all Rwandans as ‘a strong unifying factor’.

resulted in creating another linguistic group referred to as ‘Rwandais Anglophones (MINEDUC, National Curriculum Development Center, 1998⁴, Mbori, 2008)’.

Finally, concerning Kiswahili, the 2002, 3rd General Census (2005: 7) indicates that it was introduced in Rwanda by the Germans who used it as an official language in the whole *Deutsche Ost-Africa* which included Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania. However, because of a common language, Rwandans had no real need for Kiswahili (Ibid, 2005). Thus the language was only used in administration, education and commerce. This limited use was to be reduced even further when, in 1929, Kiswahili was replaced by Kinyarwanda as a MoI in primary school, and by French in secondary school (Ntakirutimana, 2010). Thus, Kiswahili was always identified with a small category of people composed of Muslims, drivers, and traders living in *de facto* reserved parts of the towns called “Swahili quarters” (3rd General Census, 2005: 7). Moreover, people considered Kiswahili with a sting of contempt and did not care or feel the need to learn it (Ibid, 2005: 6). However, its importance has increased since 1994, as a result of the return of Rwandans who had taken refuge in Kiswahili speaking countries, and because of Rwanda’s recent membership in the East African Community (Hayman, 2005; Ntakirutimana, 2010).

In summary, all Rwandans speak the same language, Kinyarwanda, and they are attached to it, although this could not safeguard them from war and genocide. Still, no ‘linguistic minorities’ exist in Rwanda (Mc Greal, 2008). However, some of them have acquired additional identities from the 3 main foreign languages in presence: Some observers even speak of “Anglophones”, “Francophones”, “Kinyarwandophones”, “Kiswahiliphones”, “Kinyarwanda-Anglophones”, “Kinyarwanda-Francophones”, etc. (Mbori, 2008). Nonetheless, since foreign languages are primarily learnt at school, they seem to be considered by the unschooled general public as “belonging to the educated others”. With the new language in education policy, however, attitudes and motivations toward English are likely to change.

1.1.3 Language in Education Policy in Rwanda

Language in education presents two aspects: MoI and languages taught as subjects. Hereunder I trace the history of languages in Rwanda by focusing on successive MoIs, and on languages taught as subjects since the beginning of formal education.

⁴ MINEDUC (The Ministry of education) in Rwanda recognizes the existence of so called ‘Anglophone Rwandans’ by providing for curricula specifically designed for Anglophones.

Before colonization, education in Rwanda was primarily the responsibility of the family (Mutwarasibo, 2003), and as Kinyarwanda was the only language spoken in the country, it was the MoI. With colonization, the first schools taught through Kiswahili, the then language of communication with the German colonizer (3rd General Census, 2005; Ntakirutimana, 2010). This situation changed in 1929 under the Belgian rule, when Kinyarwanda and French replaced Kiswahili as MoIs, respectively in primary and secondary school (Mbori, 2008). After independence, Kinyarwanda continued to be used to teach in lower Primary School, while French was used in upper Primary School, Secondary School, and University. This situation prevailed until 1994. After 1994, lower Primary Schools still used Kinyarwanda, but at the upper Primary School level, school authorities could choose between French and English as a MoI. Similarly, at Secondary School level, most of the schools (95%) used French, while a few others (5%) used English (Williams, 2003 in Hayman, 2005; Ruremesha, 2009). Finally, at university level, all institutions of higher learning had to use both English and French (MINEDUC, 2007: 1), depending on the language preferred by the lecturer. This situation often referred to as ‘bilingualism’ lasted until 2008 because 2009 academic year started with a new policy.

Concerning the languages taught as subjects, some languages have been continuously offered, new ones have been successively introduced, or existing ones removed from the program. Thus, French was introduced by French missionaries from early days of formal education (3rd General Census, 2005; Ntakirutimana, 2010), and even today it is still taught. Latin and Greek (which are not often mentioned) were taught mainly in Catholic Church seminaries, and while French missionaries taught French, Flemish priests taught their language (Flemish) in some schools (Mc Greal, 2009). As for English, it was introduced in 1966 (Mbori, 2008: 13) and it continues to be taught today. Finally in 1979, Kiswahili which had been dropped in 1929 came back in schools following a treaty of cooperation signed between Rwanda and Tanzania (Mpiranya, 1990 in Mbori, 2008). Clearly, throughout the history of education in Rwanda, language teaching has been an important activity, with French playing a large part both as MoI and subject of study: The current language in education policy represents a swift direction away from French towards English.

To understand the general orientation of the new language in education policy, there is first a distinction to be made between the terms ‘compulsory and examinable’, ‘compulsory and non-examinable’, and ‘elective and non-examinable’ subjects. As shown in two documents about the policy, viz. a letter from the Ministry of Education signed on 2nd March 2009, and a ‘Weekly

time allocation for Teacher Training Colleges' (TTCs) from MINEDUC -Curriculum Development Center, the languages that are considered as important are taught as 'compulsory and examinable'. Thus, in Secondary School Lower level ('O' level or *Tronc Commun*), English and Kinyarwanda are offered as 'compulsory and examinable' while French and Kiswahili are taught as 'elective and non-examinable'. Moreover, English and Kinyarwanda are respectively attributed 5 and 4 hours per week, while French and Kiswahili are taught 1 hour per week.

Similarly, in Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) where language teaching is emphasized, English is taught three hours per week as 'compulsory and examinable' in 'Science and Mathematics' and 'Social Studies' options, while Kinyarwanda is offered two hours per week as 'compulsory and non-examinable', and Kiswahili, two hours per week as 'elective and non-examinable'. Finally, in the 'Languages' option, English, French, and Kinyarwanda are offered as 'compulsory and examinable' while Kiswahili is taught as 'compulsory and non-examinable'. Furthermore, these languages are respectively attributed 7, 3, 5, and 2 hours per week. It is noteworthy that, in other Secondary Schools, Advanced level ('A' level, *Upper Secondary*) options, language teaching is considerably reduced. Nonetheless, even in those sections, English and Kinyarwanda are still taught as 'compulsory and non-examinable', and both attributed 2 hours per week, which is yet another indication of the importance attributed to these languages.

In summary, the labels 'compulsory and examinable', 'compulsory and non-examinable', and 'elective and non-examinable' on the one hand, and the number of hours attributed to each language per week show that English is by far the most important language in the new policy, followed by Kinyarwanda. On the contrary, French and Kiswahili are given the least prominence and in some levels and streams of study, they are not even taught at all.

From this information, three salient points can be highlighted. Firstly, in terms of general communication, the most widely used language is Kinyarwanda, the Mother Tongue of practically all Rwandans. Secondly, like in other developing countries, this language has been supplanted by French as MoI in the past, and even today, it is not used as MoI beyond lower Primary School. Thus, in the domain of education, French has for a long time been used as a MoI and English has not been given as much attention as French until 1994 when many Rwandans who had taken refuge in Anglophone countries returned in their country from exile.

It is against this linguistic background that today English has been given the status of the sole MoI from Upper Primary School to University. Therefore, different groups of people with

different language backgrounds are likely to hold different attitudes and motivations toward the new MoI. This justifies the central question about teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in the present study. The following section elaborates on the question.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In 2009 academic year, English replaced French as the MoI at all levels of education in Rwanda. With reference to Phillipson's (1992) classification of English user countries worldwide, what this signifies is that Rwanda passed from the status of a second type 'periphery-English country' to a first type 'periphery-English country'. In other words, English in Rwanda took on, *ipso facto*, the role of medium of communication in key domains such as business, education, and government (Phillipson, 1992: 24); as in other first type 'periphery-English countries' such as Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, the Philippines, Singapore, to name but a few.

With regard to people's attitudes and motivation toward English use as MoI; what this implies is well known since the issue has been widely researched. For example in Nigeria (Akinaso, 1993), Ghana (Mfum-Mensah, 2005), Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2007), Botswana (Brock-Utne, 2007), South Africa (De Klerk, 2002), Namibia (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2001) and elsewhere; research has shown that parents, teachers, students, and other stakeholders prefer education through English to the detriment of other languages (native or colonial); not because it facilitates subject content learning, but because they hope to learn English in the process. Similarly, in second type 'periphery-English countries', the trend is the same. For example, in Hungary (Petzold & Berns, 2000), Turkey (Dogancay-Aktuna & Kiziltepe, 2005), Brazil (El-Dash & Busardo, 2001), Columbia (Velez-Rendon, 2003), Japan (Yashima, 2002) etc., more and more people are eager to learn English; and in many instances, particularly in universities (Coleman, 2006), they want to use it as MoI. In other words, owing to the forces of globalization (Kamwangamalu, 2010), the shift to English as MoI is no longer an unusual phenomenon; people's reaction to the language and their reasons to prefer it to other languages are well known; and thus, Rwanda does not seem to be an isolated case. Therefore, Rwandan's attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI should not normally be expected to differ from other people's. Arguably, however, Rwanda is indeed different from other Anglophone countries, and reaction to the new language in education policy in Rwanda is worth investigating. To justify

consideration of Rwanda as a special case, attention is directed to the specifics of the context of the country at the time of the 2009 language in education policy shift.

The first most relevant feature highlighted to this effect is thus the unique linguistic situation of the country after the 1994 war and genocide. Following the return from exile of former refugees, Rwanda became a composite of language experiences gained from both Anglophone and Francophone countries. As a corollary, the whole situation resulted in a linguistic diversity, which, in addition to the universal use of Kinyarwanda by the population as a whole, set Rwanda apart as a special case. Thus, the study of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda appears to be an interesting one as compared to previous research in other contexts.

Another significant feature linked to the preceding one concerns the general language situation prevailing in the country. With three major foreign languages (namely, Kiswahili, French, and English); Rwanda can be characterized as a multilingual nation. In reality, however, it appears that in terms of everyday communication between people, the country is basically a monolingual society where the native language, Kinyarwanda, is used by 99.7% of the population (2002, 3rd General Census, 2005). For the sake of comparison to other Anglophone countries, this is an important factor since one of the implications of the use of English as MoI in multilingual countries like Nigeria and Ghana is the hope that it will be eventually used as a lingua franca between different ethnic groups (Tollefson, 2000). In this sense, Rwanda is a special case as it does not need a foreign lingua franca. Therefore, again the study of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in this context is worth undertaking as it is likely to bring a contribution to knowledge in the field.

This, however, does not mean that Rwanda is the only so called Anglophone country that is basically monolingual: Other countries like Tanzania and Botswana also have their own indigenous languages that serve as lingua franca (Brock-Utne, 2007). Nonetheless, Rwanda is still different from the point of view of colonial legacy. Indeed, whereas most of the so called Anglophone countries were colonized by Britain, Rwanda was colonized by Belgium. As a corollary, attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in the former are likely to bear the mark of British influence by virtue of ‘historical tradition (Crystal, 1998: 5)’, whereas the same attributes in the latter are likely to be simultaneously under Francophone and Anglophone influences. Hence, again Rwanda is a special case in relation to English as MoI; and the present

study is the more interesting that, owing to their language experiences, the Rwandan population at large are likely to hold mixed perspectives on the issue of English as MoI.

Finally, to close the discussion on the uniqueness of the 2009 Rwandan language in education policy shift, I would like to use the case of Namibia to further emphasize the fact that Rwanda is a special user of English as MoI. Namibia, like Rwanda, seems to have gone through the same process from previous colonial languages (German and Afrikaans (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2001)) to English. From this point of view, the country seems to be similar to Rwanda which inherited French from colonization (Ntakirutimana, 2010) and later adopted English as MoI. However, again Rwanda is fundamentally different from Namibia as a user of English as MoI since the latter is a multilingual society which needs English as a lingua franca whereas Rwanda is basically monolingual as earlier argued. Therefore, in the last analysis, Rwanda might have adopted English as MoI amid universal trends of language in education policy shift to English. Within the context of these trends, many studies have been conducted in different situations to determine the different stakeholders' attitudes toward English as MoI. However, it seems that the case of Rwanda can hardly be equaled to other instances of Anglophone countries; and thus, the study of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda cannot be superseded.

In summary, it is clear that the subject of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI has been widely researched in contexts where English is likely to serve as a lingua franca, or where it was inherited from colonization. On the other hand, the subject has not yet been researched in the context of Rwanda, which, as I have shown, is rather unique in its kind.

This study, therefore, strives to present the attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda because it appears to be a unique context for many reasons. Firstly, the Rwandan population converge on one common MT; and still, for historical reasons, it is a mosaic of different language backgrounds. Secondly, the two world most vital languages' (Dornyei, 2001) (i.e. French and English) vie for influence in the country and in the region at large. Thirdly, English was not inherited from colonization, and yet it takes over the role of MoI after a century of quasi monopoly of French in education, and it is not likely to serve as a lingua franca. Finally, many teachers and students have to simultaneously learn the new MoI and use it to teach/learn. In other words, many attributes make Rwanda a unique context of language in education policy shift in Rwanda. Therefore, this study is likely to contribute to advancement of knowledge in the

field of the psychological aspect of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI for that reason and thus, it is worth undertaking.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the present study is to investigate teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward learning English, and their attitudes and motivation toward using it to teach and learn in the particular context of Rwanda.

The objectives subsumed in this aim are: To

- (1) identify TTC teachers' and students' linguistic background and experiences;
- (2) describe their attitudes and motivation toward learning English;
- (3) explore their attitudes and motivation toward using English to teach/learn;
- (4) compare attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI between two selected TTCs;
- (5) compare attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI between TTC teachers and students;

To achieve these objectives, the following specific questions are to be answered:

- (1) What are the language experiences of TTC teachers and students?
- (2) What are the attitudes and motivation of TTC teachers and students towards learning English?
- (3) What are the attitudes and motivation of TTC teachers and students towards using English to teach and learn?
- (4) How do the attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI between TTC teachers and students compare?
- (5) How do teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI between a TTC located in proximity to Anglophone countries and a TTC located in proximity to Francophone countries compare?

On the basis of the result of this investigation, this study hopes to make recommendations that are likely to enhance teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation for better learning and effective use of English as MoI in the context of Rwanda. This will hopefully lessen at least the slightest bit of the likely negative impact of L2 use as MoI.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The necessity to investigate teachers' and students' 'attitudes and motivation' at this critical juncture of education in Rwanda is multi-faceted. Firstly, from an experiential point of view, it is noteworthy that from early days of formal education in Rwanda, foreign languages have always been used as MoIs (i.e. Kiswahili under the German colonial rule, French from the Belgian colonial rule to the academic year 2008, and now English since 2009 academic year). Also, the languages used as MoIs have always been taught as subjects, and more particularly, French has been the most favored of all the languages since it was taught 5-8 hours per week from Primary School through Secondary School. In spite of this, however, studies conducted in Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary institutions report poor skills in French among students, and sometimes, even among teachers (e.g. Hayman, 2005). This suggests that using French as MoI in Rwanda did not really help much in building competence in that language. Also, since the language used as MoI has a central role in learning, low competence in French implies that its use as MoI has been a barrier to teaching/learning as a whole. In view of the situation elsewhere, this is not surprising since scholars worldwide have demonstrated that L2 use as MoI frustrates rather than enhances learning (e.g. Brock-Utne, 2007); and that indeed, the ideal language for learning is not the L2, but the learner's MT (e.g. UNESCO, 1953; Akinnaso, 1993; Brock-Utne & Hormarsdottir, 2001; Brock-Utne, 2007). In other words, since English as a L2 has replaced French in Rwanda; it is also likely to be a barrier to learning. Special efforts are thus necessary to lessen the pitfalls that are likely to ensue from its use as the new MoI. This study, which is geared towards exploring attitudes and motivation toward teaching/learning English and using it as MoI, seeks to highlight these efforts.

The second reason for the necessity of this study stems from the complexity of the process of changing from French to English as a MoI. As stated earlier, the new MoI has been introduced after nearly a century of use of French as a MoI. Therefore, most of the teachers were used to working through French. Conversely, the status of English did not provide ample opportunities for its use by the majority of the people. Thus, many intellectuals – and teachers in particular - are so called 'Francophone' (i.e. French speakers) who can express themselves in English but not without difficulty. It is, therefore, important to investigate the attitudes and motivations of these teachers who form the bulk of the human resources in charge of implementing the new language in education policy.

A third reason closely related to the preceding one concerns students. Even though the students concerned in this research started learning through French since Upper Primary school; as young girls and boys aged between 18 and 24, they grew up at a time when French no longer had the monopoly on education. Consequently, they evolved in an atmosphere of visible attempts to give English more importance in Rwanda. In other words, to some extent, they are different from their teachers in terms of how they are likely to view the new status of English. For this reason, it is important to ascertain their attitudes and motivation and how they compare with their teachers' since both their attitudes and motivation and their teachers' are interdependent.

Fourthly, many scholars (e.g. Gardner 1960, 1972, 1985, 2007; Spolsky, 1990; Dornyei 1990, 1994, 2000, 2001) have conducted conclusive studies on the importance of attitude and motivation. They assert that these factors are determinant in language learning and use, and they have constructed theories of language learning based on these findings. The present study adheres to these theories and postulates that understanding teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation will foster learning and use of the new MoI in Rwanda.

Fifthly, learning a language and using it as MoI are two different issues. Yet, a survey of the literature (as will be elaborated in Chapter 2) reveals a stubborn confusion between learning a L2 and using it as MoI. More particularly, parents in many contexts (e.g. South Africa, Ghana, Botswana, Swaziland ...) send their children to English-medium schools because they want them to learn English. Even students themselves often want to study in English-medium schools mainly targeting proficiency in English; and this state of affairs might be a serious problem for subject content learning. In investigating 'Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI', therefore, this study draws a useful distinction between 'Attitudes and Motivation toward *Learning English*', and 'Attitudes and Motivation toward *using English to teach/learn*'. It is my belief that this approach will sensitize teachers and students on the necessity to distinguish between the tasks of *learning English* and *using it to teach/learn*, and hence, give a chance to English learning enhancement without eclipsing subject content learning.

Yet a sixth reason for the necessity of this research is the usefulness of learning from the experiences of teachers and students. English as the new MoI has been used since January 2009 and three years have already elapsed. Teachers and students might have experienced challenges that have hindered their work. Others might have found strategies that have proven appropriate to the different situations they have had to handle. Hopefully, examining the policy

implementation at this preliminary stage will provide information on the new teaching and learning situation, and thus contribute to learning and use of English as the new MoI.

A seventh reason is related to the choice of TTCs: The students in these schools are preparing to teach in Primary Schools. This is important because Primary education represents approximately one fifth of the whole Rwandan population - for example 2001 enrolment reached 1.5 million pupils - (World Bank Country Status Report, 2004). Hence, TTCs which are meant to provide teachers for such an important portion of the population are instrumental for effective learning and use of English in Rwanda. Moreover, in virtue of the 2nd March 2009 Ministerial decree, all the other schools started applying the new language in education policy by progressively phasing out French use as a MoI; whereas TTCs started applying the policy in all levels at once. This shows the importance given to learning and using English in those colleges: Recognition of this importance has prompted the choice to investigate attitudes and motivation in TTCs.

Finally, to the best of my knowledge, no study of attitudes and motivation toward the new MoI in Rwanda of this kind has been done as yet in spite of the necessity to document this important process. Through the present research, I hope to start making this information available to the people concerned, and thus, to help limit the damage that is likely to result from a process that has far reaching consequences for education in Rwanda and for national life of the country in general.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The present study is comprised of five Chapters of which three (Chapters 1, 2, and 3) provide the theoretical foundation of the study, while two (Chapters 4, and 5) are devoted to the data gathered and analyzed for the study and the conclusions and interpretation of the findings. Here below I relate the gist of the study, chapter by chapter.

Chapter 1 is the general introduction. It puts the whole study in context by presenting the Rwandan linguistic context. Then it narrows down the focus on the specific problem of teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI, poses the key questions to be researched, formulates the aim, objectives, and rationale of the study, and presents an outline of the content of the whole dissertation.

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature related to the topic. It focuses on the concepts of ‘attitude’ and ‘motivation’, the relatedness of the two concepts, and the aspects of the concepts which are useful to the present study. It also presents Gardner’s (1985) L2 Motivation construct as the theoretical framework of the study, and debates extensively on the issue of attitude and motivation in L2 Learning and use as MoI, highlighting particularly the controversies inherent in the practice of L2 use as MoI worldwide.

Chapter 3 concerns the methodology used to investigate teachers’ and students’ attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI. As elaborated in this Chapter, ‘Mixed Method Approach’ is the methodology that is deemed adequate for the study. The Chapter thus discusses how quantitative and qualitative elements of enquiry are put together ‘for the broad purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007: 123)’. It also elaborates on the methods used to collect, analyze, and interpret the data.

Chapters 4 and 5 are interrelated. Whereas Chapter 4 is the result of data collection and analysis, Chapter 5 discusses corroboration between the different sets of data analyzed in Chapter 4. It also draws on the analysis to interpret the findings of the research and bring out the meaningfulness of teachers’ and students’ attitudes and motivation to the study and use of English as MoI.

Chapter 6 is the general conclusion of the study of ‘Attitudes and Motivation of Teacher Training College Teachers and Students toward English as MoI’. It pulls together all the threads that link the ideas gathered in the first five chapters, and uses them to formulate recommendations to different stakeholders in the Education enterprise in Rwanda.

1.6 CONCLUSION

Throughout this Chapter, it has been explained that the linguistic demographics of Rwanda is characterized by the predominance of Kinyarwanda (the national language) in social interaction; that imported languages (notably French, English, and Kiswahili) are rather used in specific domains; and that more specifically, English has gained the lion’s share in the education sector. Also, it has appeared that the geographic position of Rwanda puts it in a medial position between Anglophone and Francophone countries, which exposes it to the influence of the two ‘most vital languages (Dornyei, 2003: 4)’ in the world, namely: English and French. By exploring these

features, it has been possible to depict the context in which attitudes and motivation toward English as the new MoI are discussed throughout this study.

On the other hand, L2 as MoI implies *L2 learning* and *L2 use to teach and learn*. This distinction defines the double aim of the study, namely: To investigate teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward learning English, and their attitudes and motivation toward using it to teach and learn. The pursuit of this double aim leads to the task of establishing whether TTC teachers and students are actually motivated *to learn English* and to *use it to teach and learn*. In view of the conceptual difference between motivation to learn a L2 and motivation to use it as MoI, defining theoretically what is implied in the concept of *motivation to use a L2 as MoI* is an important task of this study. In addition, teachers and students constitute different groups in the TTC population. But their experiences are complementary in the context of the language dynamics of the classroom and the TTCs at large. Therefore, one objective subsumed in the above tasks is to compare attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI between teachers and students. Furthermore, the colleges under study are notably different in terms of the social environment in which they operate. This justifies yet another objective to compare teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI between the two colleges concerned in this study.

As a whole, the above objectives are justifiable from different perspectives. Attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI are highlighted because they are believed to enhance L2 learning if they are positive, and hence, to lessen the potentially negative consequences of L2 use as MoI. Also it is useful to distinguish between attitudes and motivation to *learn English* and attitudes and motivation *to use it as MoI*. This distinction will hopefully sensitize on the necessity to boost English language learning without eclipsing subject content learning. In addition, since the new language in education policy is still in its infancy, it is crucial to learn from experience by documenting the process of changing from French to English as MoI as this documentation is likely to help for further steps in the implementation. Finally, the investigation of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in TTCs is highly significant. These 'colleges' are instrumental for the implementation of the new policy since they have the mission to train teachers for Primary Schools which represent the biggest proportion of the school population in Rwanda.

Throughout the discussion in this dissertation, the study of TTC teachers' and students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda starts by assessing whether TTC teachers' and students' linguistic background has an impact on their attitudes and motivation; and whether, in turn, these attitudes and motivation are likely to enhance English language learning and English use as MoI. Also, since some TTCs are likely to be influenced by their proximity to Anglophone countries whereas others are likely to be influenced by proximity to Francophone countries, the study will ascertain whether attitudes and motivation in the two TTCs are comparable. Finally, teachers and students are two different groups in the TTC communities: Their attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI will be compared to assess their complementarity for smooth implementation of the policy. Hopefully, the whole analysis will contribute to better learning and use of English as MoI.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this Chapter, I review the literature that is pertinent to the topic of Attitudes and Motivation toward Second Language (L2) as Medium of Instruction (MoI). As the study mainly draws on the very concepts that it sets out to investigate, I firstly examine the definitions of Attitude and Motivation in mainstream psychology (Section 2.1). Thereafter, I present Gardner's (1985) L2 Motivation construct as the Theoretical Framework upon which this study is constructed, and discuss its relevance to my research (Section 2.2). Next, in an attempt to contextualize my study, I focus in Section 2.3 on the literature related to L2 use as MoI, depicting particularly the themes of 'interaction between language proficiency, knowledge organization, and cognitive processing (2.3.1); desirability of Mother Tongue (MT) instruction (2.3.2); origin of the practice of L2 use as MoI (2.3.3); problems involved in using a L2 as MoI (2.3.4); and learning English as the reason for positive attitudes toward English as MoI (2.3.5).

2.1 THE CONCEPTS OF ATTITUDE AND MOTIVATION

Attitude' and 'motivation' are basically different concepts; and indeed, they are key terms in different branches of Psychology. Whereas the former is mainly studied in Sociology and Social Psychology which seek to explain human action 'as a function of the social context and the interpersonal/intergroup relational patterns (Dornyei, 1994: 274),' the latter is the subject of Motivational Psychology which focuses more on the 'motors of behavior' in the individual as a *human* being rather than a *social* being (Ibid, 1994: 274). In other words, the two terms characterize the individual from two different perspectives. Essentially, however, they are

interrelated, precisely because they both characterize human action. In this Section, I depict the relevant aspects of the two terms and attempt to highlight their relatedness for the purpose of this study.

2.1.1 Attitude

The term ‘attitude’ has been given different definitions⁵ (Mager, 1984: 14) depending on the authors’ theoretical and research interests (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 137) and viewpoints (DeFleur & Westie, 1963). However, most theorists agree on some aspects of attitude definition, namely; the ‘evaluative’, ‘multi-componential’, and ‘latency’ aspects. Also, other characteristics have been highlighted in relation to the source (i.e. relatedness to past experience) and importance (i.e. relevance to behavior) of attitude (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 139; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Here below, I discuss these aspects and characteristics in detail.

2.1.1.1 The Evaluative Character

The first aspect highlighted in various definitions of attitude is ‘evaluation of attitude objects’. For example, Ajzen (2005: 3) defines attitude as ‘a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event’. Fazio (1996: 214) refers to it as ‘an association between a given object and a given evaluation’; and for Eagly & Chaiken (1993: 1) an attitude is ‘a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour’. Clearly, there are many different definitions of attitude, but ‘contemporary social psychologists agree that the characteristic attribute of attitude is its evaluative (pro-con, pleasant-unpleasant) nature’ (Ajzen, 2005: 3). In the particular context of the present study, I have drawn on this aspect to postulate that teachers’ and students’ deep-felt position on learning and using English as a MoI is crucial to the success with which they implement the new language in education policy in Rwanda.

2.1.1.2 The Multi Componential Aspect

There are two opposing models of attitude conceptualization: The behaviorist model and the mentalist model. While behaviorists present attitude as a construct with a unitary structure, the

⁵ In this regard, in 1939 Erland Nelson compiled a list of 23 scientific definitions from 20 contemporary authors, ranging ‘from the simple insistence that attitudes are tendencies toward overt action ... to the complex sum total of inclinations, feelings, prejudices, threats, and convictions about any specific topic (DeFleur & Westie, 1963: 20)’.

mentalists view it as a multiple structure construct. Thus the behaviorists firstly distinguish between ‘attitudes’ and ‘beliefs’ (e.g. Fishbein, 1966) and argue that attitudes comprise only an affective component, while ‘beliefs’ account for the cognitive and conative components. In other words for behaviorists, attitudes are considered as behavior determinants like ‘wants’ and ‘situational conditions’ (e.g. Rokeach, 1968) (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 138-139). This view is in contrast to the mentalist characterization of attitude which identifies three response categories, namely, cognition, affect, and conation. The cognitive component refers to the individual’s knowledge, beliefs, and stereotypes; the affective to his/her emotional reactions; and the conative to his/her behavioral orientation and potential actions as prompted by the attitude object. Such a view is not new because even in Plato’s time this classification system was recognized (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). For the present study, this multi-componential view is considered as more apt to guide the investigation into attitude and motivations towards English as a MoI. Thus, as Eagly and Chaiken (2007: 596) note, if people ‘form attitudes experientially based on direct or indirect cognitive, affective, or behavioral responding to the attitude object’, evaluation of teachers’ and students’ attitudes towards English language learning and use also sought to elicit their cognitive, affective and behavioral responses. The cognitive aspect reflected their perceptions of English and their beliefs about its likely characteristics; the affective aspect sought to reveal their evaluations and feelings about it; and the conative aspect indicated how they learn or use it as a MoI (Ajzen 2005: 5).

2.1.1.3 The Latency Aspect

Attitude, like character traits, is a latent construct. This means that it is not directly observable as it has to be inferred from individuals’ observable responses. In this respect, Eagly and Chaiken (2007: 584-5) explain that ‘[a]n attitude is inside the person, not directly observable, and is manifested by covert or overt responses’. Similarly, Ajzen (2005: 4) comments that ‘we cannot observe traits and attitudes, they are not part of a person’s physical characteristics, nor do we have direct access to the person’s thoughts and feelings’. In order to know a person’s attitudes then, it is necessary to pass through an indirect path from observable facts to inferences of unobservable realities. In Ajzen’s (2005: 4) terms, this means that ‘personality traits and attitudes are latent, hypothetical characteristics that can be inferred from external, observable cues’. This study draws on such ‘external cues’ in the form of questionnaires, written open-ended questions, and interviews, and thus, they provided access to some aspects of teachers’ and

students' attitudes and motivation. Therefore, the latency aspect of attitude represents the rationale for the approach to investigating teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI.

The fact that attitudes lend themselves to measurement can thus be considered as the summary of the above aspects of attitude. Indeed, being inaccessible to direct observation (latency), attitudes have to be inferred from an individual's responses (Ajzen, 2005). Moreover, the measurement must record the favorable or unfavorable aspect (evaluative), reflecting the cognitive, affective and conative components of an individual's attitudes (multi-componential aspect). Ajzen (2005: 4) proposes a schema of 'responses used to infer attitudes' as follows:

<i>Response category</i>			
<i>Response mode</i>	<i>Cognition</i>	<i>Affect</i>	<i>Conation</i>
Verbal	Expression of beliefs about attitude object.	Expression of feelings toward attitude object.	Expression of behavioral intension.
Non-verbal	Perceptual reactions to attitude object	Physiological reactions to attitude object	Overt behaviors with respect to attitude object.

The possibility to infer attitudes from people's responses is relevant to this study which sought to identify teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI. However, only the verbal mode of response was used to infer teachers' and students' attitude toward learning English and using it as a MoI. The question clusters in the questionnaires and interview schedules reflect all the three components of attitude, i.e. cognition (beliefs about learning English and using it as MoI), affect (feelings about learning English and using it as MoI), and conation (behavioral intentions). Furthermore, it has been possible to determine whether teachers' and students' attitudes to English as a MoI are positive or negative.

2.1.1.4 Relatedness to Past Experience

Another aspect of attitude agreed upon by theorists is that attitudes originate from past experience (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). Throughout people's life experiences, they react to particular categories of exemplars. These reactions leave them with 'a mental residue' of the experience, which predisposes them to respond to the same or other exemplars in a particular way. Thus, going through such experiences again and again results in 'acquired behavioral dispositions' which are referred to as attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Furthermore, some

attitudes can be relatively stronger than others; and they are all related to the individual's environment. This relative strength and the relatedness to the environment are explained below.

Relative strength of attitudes: Firstly, it is important to note that people's past experiences manifest themselves in the relative strength of their attitudes. Indeed, as Van Overwalle & Siebler (2005) explain, the more often an attitude object is experienced with the same pleasant or unpleasant evaluations, the stronger the attitude becomes. In other words, a strong attitude results from frequent experiences of the attitude object. This manner of attitude formation is very important in human behavior because direct, behavioral experiences with an attitude object (as opposed to indirect, non behavioral experiences) result in attitudes which are more likely to predict later behavior (Fazio & Zanna, 1981 in Fazio, 1996).

Environment as source of attitudes: Another useful remark is about the origin of attitudes which can be traced in people's environment. According to Campbel (1963 in Eagly & Chaiken, 2007: 584), attitudes 'come into being on the basis of some transaction with the environment'. This can be understood if we take 'environment' to mean all the circumstances, people, things and events that surround a person (Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners). Since people's life depends largely on the environment, their attitudes are a function of their experience with physical and social surroundings. In other words, attitudes are 'repositor[ies] of the individual's experience (Olson et al., 2001 and Tesser, 1993 in Eagly & Chaiken, 2007:584)' with the environment, and thus, individuals' experiences are (metaphorically) 'stored' in their attitudes. Relatedness of attitude to past experience is, therefore, relevant to the present study which is situated in a context where Rwandans underwent different language experiences either in their former host countries as refugees, or (for the younger generations) in different schools using different MoIs. Some Rwandans have been exposed to the English language for about 30 years while others have had limited exposure to the language. Therefore, the strength of their attitudes toward English as MoI is likely to be a function of their experiences and the environment they lived in. More pointedly then, owing to the influence of people's experience on their attitudes, an understanding of teachers' and students' attitudes and motivations toward English as the new MoI must recognize the relevance of their language background. This justifies the importance given to the theme of Teachers' and Students' Language Experiences as the first theme discussed in this research.

2.1.1.5 Relevance to Behavior

The above discussion on the concept and source of ‘attitudes’ leads to a practical question: ‘Why do people’s attitudes matter?’ Scholars answer this question by suggesting that attitudes have a bearing on future action. Indeed, according to Doob (1947 in Eagly & Chaiken, 2007: 590), an attitude is a ‘learned, implicit anticipatory response’ to an attitude object. While the verb ‘learned’ contains the idea of experience, the adjective ‘anticipatory’ bears a reference to future action. In other words, attitudes originate from past experience, but also focus on future behavior: They ‘bear some positive relation to action or behavior either as predisposition to behavior or as a special aspect of behavior itself (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 138)’. Here it is useful to note that attitudes are not merely viewed as ‘predispositions’ to actions: even more, some theorists think that they necessarily lead to behavior. Thus for example, Rokeach (1968 in Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970) conceives of attitudes as agendas to action. Other early theorists⁶ assumed that they necessarily correspond to behavior, and explicitly included an ‘attitude-behavior link in the definition of attitude (Fazio, 1996: 205)’.

These views that attitudes necessarily refer to future action have not always been put forward without being challenged. Thus, researchers in the 60s and 70s started to question the attitude-behavior correspondence: Such researchers are for example Wicker (1969) who affirmed that attitudes normally do not lead to subsequent behavior, and went even further to suggest that the concept of attitude should be abandoned altogether (Fazio, 1996).

While these extreme views contradict each other, however, a medial position would suggest that attitudes may sometimes lead to behavior without necessarily doing so at other times. This inconsistency is due to the fact that the influence of attitudes ‘on specific actions in specific situations is greatly moderated by the presence of other, more immediate factors (Ajzen, 1991: 181)’. Hence, attitudes are undoubtedly related to subsequent behavior (Fazio, 1996), and rather than questioning this relatedness, researchers have turned the focus on variables that attenuate the relation (Ibid, 1996). Similarly, the assumption in the present study is that attitudes towards English as a MoI are indicative of the way in which teachers and students actually use the language to teach and learn. Therefore, an examination of these attitudes and motivation is a

⁶ In the behaviorist tradition, the concept of attitude is closely linked to behavior. Thus, one of the earliest scholars in this tradition, Bain (1928), states that ‘the only way to determine attitude is by observation and statistical treatment of behavior in social situations (cited in Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 957)’.

useful exercise which is likely to yield an accurate picture of the situation on the field, and hence, allow for sound conclusions and useful recommendations. On this note, the relation between people's attitudes and their behavior leads to a focus on the concept of 'motivation'.

2.1.2 Motivation

The term 'motivation' derives from the Latin word *movere* which means 'to move' (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002). Therefore, the study of motivation is basically the study of action, and hence, any attempt to define the concept firstly reflects the fundamental connection between motivation and action. For example, Deci & Ryan (1985: 54) state that 'motivation encompasses the diverse classes of events that move one to action'. This is a succinct way to mean that a motivated person is basically engaged in action. Also Bandura (1991: 69 in Dornyei & Otto, 1998: 64) illustrates the same idea by defining motivation as 'a general construct linked to a system of regulatory mechanisms that are commonly ascribed both directive and activating functions'. In this definition, the important terms are 'regulatory', 'directive', and 'activating', suggesting that motivation entails action (activating) which is regulated (regulatory mechanism) and given a certain direction (directive).

Another dimension of motivation is linked to the first one: Once there is action, there must be also the energy that is necessary for the action. This appears for example in Hechhausen's (1991: 9) definition of motivation as 'a global concept for a variety of processes and effects whose common core is the realization that an organism selects a particular behavior because of expected consequences, and then implements it with some measure of energy, along a particular path.' This definition suggests that motivation does not only entail a series of actions (processes) with their effects which converge to the realization of a final result; it also implies the energy that is necessary for the implementation of the action (some measure of energy).

The above definitions have been selected because they all focus on action, and thus illustrate the fact that motivation is primarily concerned with action. However, Bandura's definition adds two dimensions to the definition: For him, motivation is about action which is controlled (regulated) and oriented toward a goal (direction). Still, even more refinement is given by Heckhausen (1991): Motivation, he suggests, is about action (processes and effects) which is controlled (selection of a particular behavior), oriented toward a goal (expected consequences), and energized (some measure of energy).

For the purpose of the present study, Heckhausen's (1991) definition is useful because it puts together all the elements of motivation, i.e. action, regulation, goal, and energization. This is important for this research which studies 'attitudes' and 'motivation' concomitantly: The processes involved in using English to teach and learn are the actions, activities, and their effects: In Tremblay & Gardner's (1995) terms, they are the teachers' and students' *motivational behavior*. On the other hand, the mental energy that supports this motivational behavior is represented by their attitudes which constitute the *motivational antecedents* operating 'through their cognitive and affective influence (Ibid, 1995: 506)'. In other words, through motivation, attitudes toward English as MoI influence all the actions toward using it to teach and learn effectively. In the following section, this important function of attitudes is discussed in more detail by defining 'motivational antecedents/determinants'.

Motivational Antecedents/Determinants: To capture the meaning of motivational 'antecedent/determinant', it is important to distinguish between the notions of 'motivational behavior' and 'motivational antecedent' evoked above. For Tremblay and Gardner (1995: 506) *motivational behavior* is 'the characteristics of an individual that can be perceived by an observer'. Conversely, *motivational antecedents* are 'factors that cannot be readily perceived by an external observer, but still influence motivational behavior through their cognitive and affective influence (Ibid, 1995: 506)'. On the other hand, these motivational determinants/antecedents are understood, in general psychology, by exploring theories of 'the source, the inducement, the cognitive, and effort expenditure dimensions (Barbuto, 2006) of motivation. Therefore, since attitudes encompass cognitive, affective (inducement), and conative (effort expenditure) dimensions, motivational determinants/antecedents are identified as 'attitudes'. In other words, even though 'attitude' and 'motivation' are two different concepts, they are closely related since the former is the latter's 'determinant/antecedent'.

To conclude, it is necessary to reiterate that the definitions hitherto discussed have contributed to the orientation of this study. Thus, by defining the concept of 'attitude' and hence, discovering its relatedness to past experience, it has been possible to identify the first theme of the study which is 'Teachers' and Students' Language Experiences'. Furthermore, clarifying the multi-componential aspect of attitude indicated the way in which attitudes were to be investigated by focusing on cognitive, affective, and conative aspects. Finally, attitudes and motivation are closely related since the former are the latter's determinants and, therefore, attitudes and motivation were investigated conjointly. In aspects regarding Attitude and Motivation then, the

concepts of these constructs have been used as the first source of ideas that were used to construct this study. The main theoretical framework of the research, however, is discussed below.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: L2 MOTIVATION IN GARDNER'S (1985) SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL MODEL OF L2 LEARNING

Gardner (1985) has developed a particular conceptualization of L2 motivation in the context of his Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Learning which integrates the concepts of attitude and motivation in a single construct. In this model, attitudes are specially characterized to suit the L2 Learning context.

2.2.1 Categorization of Attitudes

According to Gardner (1985), L2 Attitudes fall into three categories. These are: (i) Attitudes toward the Target Language Group⁷; (ii) Attitudes toward the Target Language Itself; and (iii) Attitudes toward the Learning Situation. The first category is justified by the fact that the aspects of the L2 (words, sounds, grammar etc) which are presented to the student are not merely 'aspects of some linguistic code [...] They are integral parts of another culture (Gardner, 1985: 6)', and thus; *Attitudes toward the Target Language Group* necessarily influence the way in which L2 is learned. The rationale for the second category, on the other hand, is that language is not simply learned like any other subject. The process of learning a L2 involves learning its structure, internalizing its sounds, using it to express oneself, etc. This process suggests that another cluster of attitudes related to the language itself (*Attitudes toward the Target Language Itself*) could be involved in successful L2 learning. Finally, as Gardner (1985: 7) explains, the justification for the third category is that contrary to other subjects such as Mathematics, Biology etc. which refer to elements that are valued across cultures, learning material in the L2 'is not part of the students' cultural background'. Therefore, in the school setting, the L2 language course itself, the teacher, the school etc. represent the other culture, which increases the importance of the L2 language learning situation. Gardner's (1985) theory thus identifies a third cluster of the L2 learners' attitudes (*Attitudes toward the Learning Situation*) which are oriented

⁷ In the context of Rwanda, the 'target language group' is not necessarily the native speakers of English, but rather the international community represented by the East African Community and the Commonwealth which the country joined recently as a member country. However, I will come back to this point in Section (d) below.

to the learning situation, and the three categories define L2 attitudes in Gardner's L2 motivation construct.

This three-pronged classification of attitudes is a convenient guide to the investigation of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in the context of Rwanda for the following reasons. Firstly, in the wake of the 2004 war and genocide, people who can speak English have increased in number and importance following the massive repatriation of Rwandans who had taken refuge in Anglophone countries. Also, Rwanda's recent integration of two international English speaking organizations (the East African Community, EAC, and the Commonwealth) along with a political discourse in favor of English has raised Rwandans' awareness of the English speaking world. In addition, the role of English in the life of Rwandans has now increased. In fact, before the 2009 policy change, English was overshadowed by French because it was only taught as a subject: now that English is the new MoI, Rwandans view it under a new light. Finally, the teaching/learning situation in Rwanda has changed; Anglophone teachers have been recruited from various countries (Personal communication with officials in the Ministry of Education); strategies to find materials written in English are being taken, albeit within the limits of available means; and teachers are trying to find materials written in English from their own initiative (see Testimony during interviews). All these events have tremendously influenced the Rwandan linguistic demographics, the outlook for English use, and the teaching/learning situation in the country. Clearly, they warrant wondering about what teachers and students think, feel, and do amidst so many rapid changes, and the three categories of L2 learning attitudes identified by Gardner are thus pertinent to the present study. However, they are latent constructs (Eagly and Chaiken, 2007; Ajzen, 2005) and as such, their role as determinants of L2 Learning is indirect since they manifest themselves as 'motivational antecedents' through the 'motivation' process (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995). This attitude-motivation relatedness is explored further in the following discussion of Gardner's concept of 'motivation'.

2.2.2 Conceptualization of Motivation

Gardner (1985: 10) refers to Motivation in the context of L2 Learning as 'the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes toward learning the language'. As compared to the definition of motivation in general psychology, this is a special and unique definition of the construct: It puts together (1) the intensity of the language learning activity, (2) the strong wish to learn the language, and (3) the positive

attitudes towards the language learning group, the language itself, and the learning situation. According to Gardner (1985: 10) all these elements are put together because effort to learn a L2, desire to learn a L2, and favorable attitudes do not make motivation in a separate way. They join together to constitute motivation to learn a L2. In other words, it is '[w]hen the desire to achieve the goal and favorable attitudes toward the goal are linked with the effort or the drive [that] we have a motivated organism (Gardner, 1985: 11).'

Gardner's (1985) concept of L2 learning motivation, however, does not only encompass want, affect, and effort as described above. It is also goal-directed, and the goal is not merely 'to learn the language'. According to Gardner (1985: 12), in addition to the goal of learning a L2, different learners have other ultimate reasons and the most important among them are **integrative** and **instrumental** goals. The former 'stresses the social-emotional aims of learning the language in order to use it to communicate with the other community', while the latter focuses on the utilitarian aspect of the language (e.g.: preparing for one's career, job promotion, higher salary, etc.). For Gardner (1985: 55), this distinction is important because integrative and instrumental orientations 'reflect differences in motivation' to the extent that some studies have demonstrated that 'integratively orientated individuals are more highly motivated than instrumentally orientated ones (cf. Gardner and Lambert, 1959)'.

This view has been supported by Gardner's contemporary L2 researchers. Lambert (1974, in Gardner 1985: 132) for example has proposed a model of L2 learning (i.e. The Social Psychological Model) whose central proposition is that 'linguistic distinctiveness is a basic component of personal identity'. In this sense, learning a L2 has implications on the L2 learner's self-identity, just as the L2 learner's self-identity has implications on L2 learning. Therefore, L2 learners 'must be both able and willing to adopt various aspects of behavior, including verbal behavior, which characterize members of the other linguistic - cultural group (Lambert, 1967 in Gardner, 1985: 133)'. For this to happen, cognitive factors (aptitude and intelligence) and affective factors (attitudes and motivation) underpin L2 acquisition. It is important to note that Lambert's model also distinguishes integrative and instrumental motivation, emphasizing the fact that 'integrative motivation' is more implicated in the L2 learner's reaction to the TL community and to the process of learning the TL. Thus, Lambert's Social Psychological Model suggests that attitudes and attitudinal orientations influence the level of L2 learning motivation. In turn, attitudes, motivational orientations (or reasons for learning the L2), aptitude, and motivation directly impact on L2 learning outcomes (Gardner, 1985: 133).

Another support for the importance of attitudes and motivation is from Spolsky's (1990) General Theory of L2 Learning. In this theory, Spolsky (1990) shows the relationship between the context, the learner, learning opportunities and learning outcomes (Mitchell & Myles, 2004: 7). Through this model, Spolsky claims that the social context provides opportunities for learning a second language, which may be formal or informal. Furthermore, the social context also leads to learners' attitudes of various kinds which manifest themselves in the learner under the form of motivation. Thus, motivation and other learner's characteristics (age, personality, capabilities, and previous knowledge) enable the learner to use the available learning opportunities. Finally, the interaction between the language learner and the learning situation determine the outcome that might be linguistic or non-linguistic (Spolsky, 1998: 28).

Many more L2 researchers (e.g. Krashen, 1982; Carroll, 1981; Schumann, 1978; Clement, 1980; Giles and Byrne, 1982, in Gardner, 1985) have highlighted the importance of a social dimension in L2 learning motivation, and what they all seem to agree upon is that the social context is crucially important. Thus Lambert (1974) has stressed the fact that the meaningfulness of the integrative/instrumental motivation depends on the context in which L2 learning takes place. Spolsky (1990) has also shown that it is the social context which provides opportunities for L2 learning and shapes the L2 learner's attitudes and motivation. And whereas Gardner (1985) has argued that integrative motivation is likely to lead to better L2 learning results, he has also conceded that, *depending on the context* in which L2 learning takes place, 'instrumentally orientated individuals [may also] demonstrate high levels of motivation (Gardner, 1985: 55)'. This point provides space for thinking about the relevance of L2 motivation theory to the varied contexts where English is taught today, and for adapting the L2 motivation construct to these contexts.

2.2.3 Adaptability to Different L2 Learning Contexts

To reflect on the contexts where English is learned worldwide, I draw on Phillipson's (1992) division of the English speaking world into 'core' and 'periphery' countries. According to Phillipson, the 'core English-speaking countries' are the United States, Canada⁸, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. These countries are multilingual and multicultural societies where different groups characterized by different languages and cultures coexist. In spite of this

⁸ In this country (Canada) 'the Anglophone and the Francophone communities speaking two of the world's most vital languages (Dornyei, 2001: 4)' coexist. In defining 'core' countries here, reference is made to the Anglophone part of the country.

diversity, however, English language and culture dominate all aspects of life and tend to assimilate the other linguistic and cultural groups (Tollefson, 2000), to the extent that ‘the countries are often thought of as exclusively English speaking countries (Phillipson, 1992: 17)’.

The ‘periphery-English countries’, on the other hand, fall into two types of English users. One type comprises countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, to name but a few. English in these countries ‘is not a native language but [...] it is used widely as a medium of communication in domains such as education and government (Phillipson, 1992: 24)’. As a corollary, the language is involved in social, economic, and political upward mobility (Moodley, 2003: 101; Tollefson, 2000). Also, in most of the cases, the language serves as a lingua franca across different ethnic groups, even though it has a limited communication function within the groups⁹ (Tollefson, 2000).

The other type of ‘periphery-English users’ comprises countries such as China, Japan, Sweden, Russia, Burundi, DRC (the Democratic Republic of Congo), Columbia, Brazil. English in these countries ‘is not a medium of instruction or government, but is learnt at school (Ibid, 1992: 24)’ as a subject, which implies that it has no official status, and that its use is limited to international communication (Tollefson, 2000), whereas internal communication in the language is virtually inexistent.

More subtle characteristics can be considered for the classification of English language user countries worldwide, but broadly speaking, Phillipson’s (1992) categorization aptly gives a picture of the role of English in the world, and the conditions in which the language is learned as a ‘second’ language (ESL) or a ‘foreign’ language (EFL). In the first context (core English-speaking countries), English encompasses all functions; in the second (periphery-English countries: 1st type), it combines a regulatory role in internal affairs, and a linking one in external affairs; and in the third (periphery-English countries: 2nd type), it only serves as a link to foreign countries. Beyond this broad description, however, the situation in two countries (i.e. South Africa and Rwanda), deserves more attention. These countries are both classified as 1st type ‘periphery-English countries’, but they are so widely different that their case can give further insight into the importance of the L2 learning context specifics in the study of L2 attitudes and motivation.

⁹ South Africa is an exception to this since English seems to be more intensely used as a lingua franca than in other ‘periphery’ countries. However, it remains true that it is not likely to be used so much within different ethnic groups other than the English native speakers.

Contrary to other periphery-English countries, South Africa is inhabited by a relatively important group of English native speakers (Crystal, 1998: 59). This suggests that some English language learners in the country would be expected to be motivated by ‘integrative motivation’ as per Gardner’s (1985) L2 motivation construct. However, as Coetzee-Van Rooy (2004: 446) remarks ‘successfully mastering English is not enough reason to be accepted as part of the English-speaking South African community’. Indeed, English native speakers in South Africa are ‘protective of their identity (Ibid, 2004: 446 citing Bosch and De Klerk, 1996)’ like the other ethnic groups in the country; and integration with the group is ‘not a reason for learning English (Lanham, 1985: 248; Nortje and Wissing, 1996: 141; Bosch and De Klerk, 1996: 246 in Coetzee-Van Rooy (2004: 446)’. English in that country, therefore, is preferred mainly for its prestige and economic value (Moodley, 2003; Kamwangamalu, 2000) and for interethnic interaction, and not distinctively for communication with the target language group. This marks a ‘difference between the language learning context in South Africa and the context of immigrants/minority groups as a monolingual environment (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2002: 77-78)’ in core English-speaking countries like Canada and the USA, and clearly illustrates the necessity to take into account the context in which the L2 is learned when reflecting on L2 motivation (Gardner, 1985: 55).

Another case in point is Rwanda. From a linguistic and cultural point of view, Rwanda is virtually a monolingual and monocultural country with Kinyarwanda as the MT of the majority (99.7%) of the population. Nevertheless, some of its inhabitants (between 3% and 5%) can speak French, and another relatively small proportion (between 1.9% and 5%) can speak English (LeClerc, 2008; Samuelson and Freedman, 2010 citing Munyankesha, 2004). Despite the relatively small number of English speakers, however, Rwanda has been giving more and more importance to English in the wake of the 1994 war and genocide (Samuelson and Freedman, 2010). This has been done (as mentioned in Chapter 1) mainly by creating the first English medium schools in the country, declaring English an official language on the same footing as French and Kinyarwanda (in 1996), and ultimately, establishing English as the MoI in replacement of French (end of 2008). What resulted from this is that, to date, English is gaining momentum in government, the media, and other domains like business. Also, in terms of L2 motivation, the implication is that from within the country, teachers and students are likely to be influenced by the political will to change Rwanda into an ‘Anglophone’ country and to affiliate more with the Anglophone world, and by the attendant political discourse. In parallel with this,

the forces of globalization and the trend to turn to English as MoI worldwide (Samuelson and Freedman, 2010: 202; Coleman, 2006) are likely to contribute to shaping favourable attitudes toward English. In other words, like in other ESL contexts, attitudes and motivation toward English in Rwanda are influenced simultaneously from inside and from outside the country even though relatively few speakers (between 1.9-5%) can use the language when necessary.

Other individual countries have their own specificities. For example, English in Bangladesh is supposed to be taught as a L2 (ESL). But in view of the amount of English children are exposed to it should be taught as a 'foreign language' (EFL) (Phillipson, 1992: 24). Also in rural Malaysia 'English remains an entirely foreign language, [but] it is very much an everyday language in the cities' (Ibid, 1992 citing Benson 1990: 20). In ex-colonial countries such as South Africa (Alexander, 1999), Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2007), and Botswana (Arthur, 2001), English enjoys a very high status in national life, but it is in actual fact a foreign language for the majority of learners, a point that will be detailed further later in this Chapter. Many more differences between countries in terms of the 'special space' English occupies in those countries (Crystal, 1998: 56) can be cited. However, one thing is common for all contexts of English use:

'English is now entrenched worldwide, as a result of British colonialism, international interdependence, 'revolutions' in technology, transport, communications and commerce; and because [it] is the language of the USA, a major economic, political, and military force in the contemporary world (Phillipson, 1992: 23-24)'.

This implies that English has an influence on virtually all English language learners regardless of whether they are learning it in the 'core English-speaking' context, in the first type of 'periphery-English countries' context, or in the second type of 'periphery-English countries' context. This fact warrants investigation of one of the elements of Gardner's L2 motivation construct (*Attitudes toward English Itself*) in all contexts. Also, English is no longer the language of the sole British or Americans (Warschauer, 2000: 512 in Lamb, 2004: 3): It has become the language of native and non native speakers of English from all corners of the world (Crystal, 1998: 57-60). Again, investigation of another element in Gardner's L2 motivation (*Attitudes toward English Speaking People*) is warranted since L2 learners do not need to refer to native speakers of English (about 315 million, Phillipson, 1992: 24) who are currently outnumbered by the dramatically increasing number of second and foreign speakers (Ibid, 1992: 24). Furthermore, English learners in all contexts (core English-speaking countries and periphery-English countries contexts) have a certain perception of their own language learning situation.

This justifies the investigation of the third element in Gardner's categorization of L2 attitudes (*Attitudes toward the Learning Situation*).

Finally, learning a L2 is an arduous task, and learners everywhere necessarily expend much effort to acquire English for various reasons. Ideally, this effort is sustained by a strong wish to learn the language, and a goal (Gardner, 1985) in pursuit of which the language is learned. Measuring that *effort* and assessing the *desire* to learn the language, as well as the ultimate reason (i.e. *motivational orientation*) for learning it are necessary steps towards an understanding of Motivation to Learn English, regardless of the context under consideration. In other words, all the components of Gardner's L2 motivation construct (i.e. (1) effort; (2) desire; (3) attitudes; and (4) motivational orientation) can be investigated in any context, provided that they are adapted for the different situations. And in fact, researchers have attempted such adaptations in different contexts. Here below, Gardner's context of L2 motivation study (the 'Core English-speaking Countries' Context), and two exemplars of studies conducted in 'Periphery-English Countries' Contexts (Yashima's 2000; 2004 study in Japan and Lamb's 2004 study in Indonesia) are comparatively discussed to further highlight the link between context and L2 motivation, and the suitability of Gardner's L2 motivation construct to different contexts.

2.2.3.1 Motivation to Learn English in the Context of Core English-speaking Countries

In its original conceptualization, Gardner's concept of L2 motivation was developed on the basis of research conducted in Canada and the USA (Dornyei, 2003; Gardner, 1985). These countries are good examples of 'core English-speaking countries'. One common feature of this L2 learning context is the domination of all aspects of life by the native English speaking community. Also 'the pattern [in this context] has been of increasing monolingualism (Phillipson, 1992: 17)', and one way in which monolingual aims are achieved is through assimilation policy which consists of encouraging 'subordinate groups to adopt the language of the dominant group as their own (Tollefson, 2000: 15)'. In addition, more covert ways are used which 'consist in preventing the use of the MT through "structural means" by offering education in the dominant language and not offering MT education (Skutnab-Kangas, 2000: 352-353)'. Furthermore, the issue of monolingual policy is not really 'that one language is used exclusively but rather that using a particular language is essential for economic success and political power (Tollefson, 2000: 14)'.

These are generally the characteristics of the context in which learners from minority groups in *the 'Core English-speaking Countries' Context* are likely to learn English. Even though efforts to support other languages are currently observed in some core English-speaking countries (e.g. French-English bilingualism in Canada; right of access to English and Maori in New Zealand, see Phillipson, 1992), monolingual assimilationist practices perpetuate the 'hegemony'¹⁰ of native English-speaking communities. In such conditions, three types of reaction¹¹ on the part of the L2 learner are possible. Either learning English could be undertaken as a way to gain membership in the dominant mainstream English speaking society (integrative motivation), or as a way to obtain benefits allegedly inherent in knowledge and use of the language (instrumental motivation) (Gardner, 1960), or even as a way to achieve a combination of the two goals. This is the context in which Gardner has pertinently investigated L2 learning motivation and identified the different components of the construct, namely: (i) Effort to learn the language; (ii) Desire to learn the language; (iii) Attitudes toward learning the language (i.e. attitudes: toward the target language community; toward the language itself; and toward the L2 Learning Situation); and (iv) Motivational orientations (i.e. integrative and instrumental).

In view of the nature of the context in which Gardner (1960; 1972; 1985) conducted his research (core English-speaking countries), these components perfectly reflect the socio-psychological influences on L2 motivation. In the context of 'Periphery-English Countries', however, the same components are likely to be reflected differently through motivation to learn English. This important aspect is highlighted below.

2.2.3.2 Motivation to Learn English in the Context of 'Periphery-English Countries' (First Type)

The first type of 'periphery-English countries' context comprises countries like Indonesia and Nigeria. These countries **may** be multilingual and multicultural societies where different groups characterized by different languages and cultures coexist. Also English in those countries is not represented by any salient community of native speakers, but it serves as an important link for international communication. In addition, English in this context plays an essential role within the countries; because it is an official language; because it is used notably in government, education and business; and because it serves as a lingua franca for interethnic communication

¹⁰ See Gramsci's (1967) concept of hegemony.

¹¹ The definition of 'reaction to something you have experienced' is 'what you feel, say or do because of it'. In this context, the term could also include 'what you think'.

(where many ethnic groups coexist). In other words, English in the first type of ‘Periphery-English Countries’ context assumes many functions to the extent that knowledge of the language is crucially important for participation in the social, economic, and political life of the country (Moodley, 2003, 2011; Tollefson, 2000; Alexander, 1999)’. In addition to this, what would be observed in these countries is that, in the absence of a community of English native speakers, people who can use English form (elite) groups which embody the values and interests represented by the English language, almost in the same way as the TL communities would embody these values and interests in core English-speaking countries (Phillipson, 1992: 52).

In such conditions, assessing *effort* and *desire* to learn English and investigating attitudes *toward the language itself* and *toward the L2 learning situation* for the study of L2 motivation, would be a relatively straightforward process like in the ‘core English-speaking Countries’ Context. On the other hand, what would need to be (re)adapted is the investigation of attitudes *toward the TL community* and the assessment of *motivational orientations* (i.e. integrative or instrumental motivation). In the absence of a salient TL community of native speakers of English, investigation of these components would need to draw on the presence of the political, business, and intellectual elite who (as mentioned earlier) embody the image of English within the countries, and on the important role of the language in the country. As a result, rather than including the ‘*Attitude toward the TL Community*’ component like in Gardner’s original L2 motivation construct, this (re)adaptation would reflect Attitude toward an *Internal Group of elite (non native) users of English*, as well as Attitudes toward a hypothesized *International Community of native and non native users of English* (Kaylani, 1996: 87 in Lamb, 2004). This represents a major finding of research on L2 motivation in ‘periphery-English countries’ where English ‘has been successfully transplanted and [where it] serves a range of intranational purposes (Phillipson, 1992: 17).’ One example of research studies in this vein is Lamb’s (2004) research on *Integrative Motivation in a Globalizing World* in Indonesia presented below.

In this study, Lamb (2004) could ascertain that young Indonesians are very highly motivated to learn English. However, he found that the traditional distinction between instrumental and integrative components tends to be lost with the current global character of the English language. Indeed, as Lamb (2004) indicates, the fact that English is no longer associated with English speaking cultures makes it difficult to associate L2 motivation and a specific TL community. He then argues for a reorientation of L2 motivation in Indonesia to a ‘bicultural identity’ defined by a global English speaking community, rather than by the traditional TL community as referred to

in Gardner's (1985) L2 motivation theory. To come to this conclusion, he draws on Arnett's (2002: 777 in Lamb, 2004: 13) notion of *bicultural identity* whereby 'part of [people's] identity is rooted in their local culture, while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture' because of globalization.

Thus Lamb's (2004) study suggests that in this 'rapidly globalizing world' (Lamb, 2004: 4), learners no longer want English in order to be integrated in some native English-speaking community. They want it to integrate

'a new society, in which English is shared among many groups of non native speakers rather than dominated by the British and Americans (Warschauer, 2000: 512 in Lamb, 2004: 3)' and which is not 'associated with [any] geographical or cultural communities but with a spreading international culture incorporating (inter alia) business, technological innovation, consumer values, democracy, world travel, and the multifarious icons of fashion, sport and music (Lamb, 2004: 3).'

At the same time, they are strongly influenced by 'the characteristics of their own compatriots, as a dominant group within their society (Lamb, 2004: 14)'; and among these characteristics, English is a 'typical attribute of the [...] "world citizen" (Ibid, 2004: 14)'. This motivational duality which consists of the simultaneous integration of L2 learners into the community of speakers of English worldwide and the community of speakers of English within the respective countries can be considered as a solution to the question of *TL community* originally hypothesized in Gardner's (1985) L2 motivation.

2.2.3.3 Motivation to Learn English in the Second Type of 'Periphery-English Countries'

The second type of 'periphery-English countries' context encompasses countries such as Japan and China where English has no official status, where it is studied as a subject in schools, and where it is used for international communication and hardly for intra national communication. Such countries **may** also be multilingual and multicultural, but English is not represented by any salient community of native speakers. Also, knowledge of English in this type of periphery-English countries 'may provide benefits to its speakers [but] it is not a central basis for deciding who has access to economic resources and political power (Tollefson, 2000: 13)'. As a result, for the study of L2 motivation in this context, assessing *effort* and *desire* to learn English may apply Gardner's framework without having to adapt it since learning a L2 always requires effort, and

ideally benefits from a strong wish (= desire) to learn the language regardless of the context. Also investigating attitudes *toward the language itself* and *toward the L2 learning situation* would be relatively straightforward since, as mentioned earlier, English has an influence on virtually all English language learners, and since every learner is likely to have an opinion of his/her own L2 learning situation. On the other hand, however, to assess attitudes *toward the TL community* would require some kind of reorientation because there is no community of salient English native speakers (i.e. TL community) to refer to. Likewise, the investigation of ‘motivational orientations’ (i.e. integrative or instrumental), which also implies the existence of a salient TL community (for integrative motivation) and an important role of the language in the country’s everyday life (for instrumental motivation) would also need to be readapted. Such (re)adaptations have been realized by researchers in *the Second Type of ‘Periphery-English Countries’ Context*; and the issue of ‘reference to the TL community’ has been resolved in relation to their context. One example of this endeavor is Yashima’s (2000; 2002) study of motivation to learn English in Japan.

In this study of what English symbolizes for Japanese learners of English, Yashima (2000) found that for many Japanese learners, English ‘symbolizes the world around Japan, something that connects them to foreign countries and foreigners [...] with whom they can communicate by using English (Yashima, 2002: 57).’ Also, he found that some students manifested more interest and more favorable attitudes toward English than others, which is a significant inclination that he labeled “international posture”. As a concept *international posture* includes among other things; ‘interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners, and [...], openness or non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures’. Also Yashima’s (2002) study demonstrated that the ‘international posture’ as a general attitude toward the international community fosters English learning and use for communication as it ‘influences motivation, which, in turn, predicts proficiency and L2 communication confidence (Yashima, 2002: 63)’.

Yashima’s (2002) study of ‘international posture’ as a substitute for ‘attitude toward the Target Language Community’ is thus a good example of the adaptability of Gardner’s L2 motivation construct to different L2 learning contexts. Whereas L2 motivation in Gardner’s (1985) context includes ‘integration’ with the TL language community (i.e. native speakers of English) as an important component, L2 motivation in Yashima’s (2002) context includes the Japanese L2 learner’s communication outlook for the international community (i.e. international posture).

This is in line with the current status of English which has ‘become the international language *par excellence* (Phillipson, 1992: 6)’.

2.2.3.4 Motivation to Learn English in South Africa

One of the examples of ‘special case’ countries given above is South Africa. English in this country ‘has acquired such an omnipotence that it has emerged as the dominant language in all sectors of life (Moodley, 2003: 338)’. Here is how Moodley (2003: 338-339) presents the positions of the language vis-à-vis the other languages in the country:

‘Now that English is accessible to all schools, the values of English [...] have become deeply entrenched in the consciousness of people, [and] Above all, English is perceived as the key to a livelihood – it has the kind of material power that earns the bread and butter and pays the rent. English has come to be perceived as almost an assurance of good earnings and upward mobility. [Also] English appears to be a self-perpetuating language in that English is the most pursued language because it is “the most widely spoken language in the world” and because “it is the lingua franca”. The combination of English as the most accessible language in the country and its self-perpetuating properties enhance its status as a dominant language. In the years to come English will be a dominant language not only by virtue of the powerful role it plays in the country, but dominant in the sense that it will be the most widely spoken language by non-native speakers in the land.’

As can be inferred from this ‘omnipotence’ of the language, all South Africans who can afford to have access to the language make an effort to learn it. And this is so notwithstanding the presence of ten other official languages in the country. To explain this massive ‘inexorable surge’ for English which is even ‘infiltrat[ing] the homes of indigenous language speakers (Moodley, 2003: 340)’, a number of reasons can be evoked. Firstly, like everywhere in the world, the forces of globalization are partly responsible for the motivation to learn English, since in fact, globalization works through the medium of English (Kamwangamalu, 2010). More importantly, however, in the context of South Africa which bears the scars of the defunct apartheid regime, ‘the bloody Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976, [...] marked the end of Afrikaans as a language of learning and teaching in black schools and concomitantly *boosted the status of English* (emphasis mine) not only in these schools but also in the Black communities’ (Kamwangamalu, 2000: 126-127). These facts added to the socio-politico-economic benefits mentioned earlier are powerful motivating factors for L2 learning in the context of South Africa, and they are likely to challenge Gardner’s (1985) L2 motivation construct from various perspectives.

Firstly, English as one of the many South African languages is represented by a relatively important community of native speakers. This community, however, is not a majority group in the country since it only represents 9% of the population (Kamwangamalu, 2000: 122). Also, as mentioned earlier, in terms of social system dynamics, different ethnic groups in South Africa tend to strive to ‘protect their ethnic identity (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2004)’. Contrary to English native speakers in ‘core English-speaking countries’, therefore, this community is not apt to ‘integrate’ other groups and, hence, the notion of ‘integrativeness’ expounded in Gardner’s (1985) L2 motivation is not applicable in this context. This has been pertinently emphasized in Coetzee-Van Rooy’s (2002) study of ‘the relationship between English proficiency and cultural identity [among] Afrikaans and Southern Sotho learners in South Africa’. Contrary to the suggestion in Gardner’s concept of integrative motivation that the L2 learner is likely to learn a L2 in order to integrate the TL group, Coetzee-Van Rooy’s (2002) study demonstrated instead that ‘positive in-group identification’ is correlated with higher proficiency in English as a L2. She then concluded that the notion of ‘integrativeness is a problematic predictor of English L2 achievement in South Africa (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006: 447)’. This finding is highly pertinent (and not surprising) in the South African context where the above mentioned tendency for different ethnic groups to protect their identity (Bosch and De Klerk, 1996 in Goetzee-Van Rooy, 2004: 446) somehow rules out the ‘integrative’ motive that is usually found in other dominant native English-speaking communities. This does not mean, however, that in other contexts the notion of integrative motivation would be meaningless altogether as attested to by L2 motivation researchers. One such testimony is from Csizer and Dornyei (2005: 29) who investigated ‘the internal structure of the language learning motivation’ and found that, in the Hungarian context, ‘Robert Gardner’s original concept of *integrativeness* is a central factor in the L2 motivation construct’. It could be the case that the motivational influence of this construct would be valid in the context of Rwanda as well: In which way? Here below is an attempt to elucidate the issue.

2.2.3.5 Motivation to Learn English in Rwanda

Another examples of ‘special case’ countries earlier given along with South Africa is Rwanda. Contrary to the situation in many first type ‘periphery-English countries’, English in this country was not ‘transplanted by colonization’ (Phillipson, 1992). Rather, to a certain extent, a political

decision to transform Rwanda from a ‘Francophone’¹² country into an ‘Anglophone’ country has succeeded in entrenching English as a L2 in the country. Also the determination to achieve this goal and related political actions such as integration of the Commonwealth and the East African Community are likely to focus teachers’ and students’ motivation towards learning English and using it as MoI. In such conditions, guidelines for the investigation of motivation to learn English following Gardner’s L2 motivation construct would be as follows: Firstly, an evaluation of the effort that teachers and students expend to learn English, and the strong wish to learn it would not need to be readapted since learning a L2 language always requires *effort* which is ideally supported by a *desire* to achieve the goal. Also, ‘Attitudes toward *English Itself*’ and ‘Attitudes toward *the Learning Situation*’ would be investigated straightforwardly as per Gardner’s L2 motivation construct. *Attitudes toward the TL community* and *Motivational Orientations*, however, would need to be adapted to the context of Rwanda since they imply reference to a TL community which, in the case of Rwanda, is nonexistent. Such an adaptation would need to take into account the fact that English is more and more used in key domains of national life (e.g. education, administration), and the fact that more and more influential nationals can use the language (Schweisfurth, 2006: 299).

As a whole then, the discussion of the adaptability of Gardner’s (1985) L2 motivation construct to motivational research in different contexts has focused on the difference between L2 motivation in ‘core English-speaking countries’ and ‘periphery-English countries’. One important difference is that reference to the TL community in relation to ‘integrativeness’ in the ‘core English-speaking countries’ context (Gardner’s context of research) is justifiable, whereas it has proved problematic in ‘periphery-English countries’. On the other hand, despite the importance of ‘integrativeness’ as attested to by various studies conducted in different environments (e.g. Clement, Dornyei, & Noels, 1994; Dornyei, 1990 cited in Kormos and Csizer, 2008: 330), reference to the TL community in relation to this concept has proved problematic in ‘periphery-English countries’. Nevertheless, drawing on the notions of ‘bicultural identity’ (Arnett, 2002 in Lamb, 2004) and ‘international posture’ (Yashima, 2002), a solution to the issue has been proposed since a community of native and non native English speakers worldwide and within countries can be viewed as a wide group that is apt to symbolically

¹² Brock-Utne (2007: 512) pertinently refers to African countries as ‘Afrophone’ rather than ‘Francophone’, or ‘Anglophone’, or ‘Lusophone’

welcome all users of English. This provides space for adaptation of Gardner's L2 motivation construct for the study of 'attitudes and motivation toward learning English'.

2.3 ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD ENGLISH AS MoI

In essence, the term Medium of Instruction (MoI)¹³ refers to language used to teach and learn. As Arthur (2001: 357) points out, this appellation 'carries with it echoes of the colonial past' and assumes the teacher's 'rather impersonal and technical role' in the classroom, discarding any active participation of the learner in the process of knowledge acquisition. In other words, the real communicative role of language in the classroom has been historically ignored. Notwithstanding the fault, the term connotes a language that the teacher and the students use dialogically in the process of knowledge (co)construction (Vygotsky, 1978). This suggests that efficient interaction between 'language proficiency', 'knowledge organization' and 'cognitive processing' is necessary for this dialogue to be established.

In this section, I firstly interrogate the literature to outline the contours of this interaction (2.3.1). Thereafter, I trace the debate on issues surrounding the use of a L2 as MoI in terms of desirable Mother Tongue (MT) instruction as opposed to L2 use as MoI (2.3.2); reason for L2 use as MoI (2.3.3); problems involved in using a L2 as MoI (2.3.4); and learning English as a reason for positive attitudes toward English as MoI (2.2.5).

2.3.1 Interaction between Language Proficiency, Knowledge Organization, and Cognitive Processing

The process of L2 use as MoI presents at least three dimensions. These are: 'academic proficiency' in the L2 which is used as MoI (Cummins, 1999), 'knowledge' to be organized and delivered through the L2, and 'cognitive processing' which is involved in using the L2 to acquire/construct knowledge (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). In the following paragraphs, these dimensions are explored in the light of Cummins (1979, 1999) categorisation of language proficiency, and (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001) 'Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing'. As the MoI is a key factor in the whole process, however, I firstly highlight its role in teaching and learning to stress the importance of the language in education issue.

¹³ The alternative term used in post-apartheid South Africa is 'Language of Learning and Teaching' (LOLT) (Arthur, 2001)

2.3.1.1 The Central Role of Language in Teaching and Learning

As a preliminary, it is useful to note that current theories on teaching and learning suggest that students construct knowledge collaboratively with their teachers and peers. This view gained impetus particularly in the 90s with the spread of Vygotsky's (1978) Socio-cultural Theory of Learning (Mitchell & Myles, 2004). According to this theory, students become aware of various features of their environment, process incoming information, and elaborate plans to solve problems through supportive dialogue with their teachers in the process of scaffolding (Ibid, 2004). In other words, under the guidance of their teachers, students **use language** to construct knowledge. Therefore, language plays a central role in teaching and learning and hence, proficiency in the language used as MoI commands particular attention. What 'proficiency' in language entails is discussed below.

2.3.1.2 The Nature of Language Proficiency in the Academic Context

Language proficiency can be categorized as 'conversational' or 'academic' (Cummins, 1999). According to Cummins (1979; 1999) two constructs concerning language proficiency need to be distinguished. These are: CALP and BICS, referring respectively to 'Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency' and 'Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills'. As Cummins (1999) explains, even though these constructs are interrelated, they are distinct: Whereas CALP is the kind of language proficiency that is necessary for dealing with academic subjects, BICS concerns the kind of language skills that are necessary for ordinary conversation in social life.

Accordingly, there are 'clear differences in acquisition and developmental patterns between conversational language and academic language, or BICS and CALP (Cummins 1999: 2-3)', and indeed, individuals can achieve high levels of conversational skills (BICS) without ever having an opportunity to develop academic proficiency. Furthermore, 'Attainment of high levels of L2 CALP can precede attainment of fluent L2 BICS in certain situations (Cummins 1999: 3)' and 'literacy and vocabulary knowledge (CALP) [...] continues to develop at least throughout our schooling and throughout our lifetimes (Ibid, 1999: 3)'.

CALP and BICS are, therefore, different. In spite of this difference, however, since students 'construct knowledge' through dialogues with their teachers and peers (Mitchell & Myles, 2004), both conversational (BICS) and academic (CALP) proficiency are necessary for effective dialogic learning using English as MoI.

This is important for the present study in view of the Rwandan context of English language learning and use. Firstly, Rwandans use the same mother tongue, Kinyarwanda. Therefore, opportunities to use English out of the classroom for BICS development in English are rather rare. Secondly, ‘L1 and L2 CALP tend to be strongly related to each other (Cummins, 1999: 5)’. Yet, since Kinyarwanda is not used as MoI, opportunities to develop CALP in Kinyarwanda (L1) are not enough, and hence, CALP development in English (L2) might be hampered too. Therefore, the distinction between CALP and BICS informs the interpretation of teachers’ and students’ experiences with English in relation to their use of the language for academic work. And academic work relates to ‘knowledge delivery’ and ‘cognitive processing’ to which I turn in the following section.

2.3.1.3 Levels of ‘Knowledge’ and ‘Cognitive Processing’

As suggested in the preceding section, both conversational and academic proficiency are essential for L2 use as MoI. But L2 proficiency is not enough by its own: Other dimensions of L2 use as MoI are (1) the knowledge to be ‘acquired’ and ‘constructed’ through L2 use, and (2) the cognitive activity which is involved in the process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). Characterization of these dimensions is a useful reference for investigating the use of L2 to teach and learn.

Concerning the first dimension, Anderson & Krathwohl (2001) identify four types of knowledge (Factual, Conceptual, Procedural, and Metacognitive) graded from relatively simple to more complex. Thus, *factual knowledge* is about the basic elements in a discipline; *conceptual knowledge* concerns schemas, models, and theories; *procedural knowledge* is knowledge of how to do something; and finally, *metacognitive knowledge* is awareness of mental processes in general and knowledge of one’s own cognitive processes (Ibid, 2001: 55)’. These types of knowledge are processed at different levels of cognition.

According to Anderson & Krathwohl (2001), two outcomes of cognitive processing, i.e. knowledge acquisition or knowledge construction, are possible: While ‘knowledge acquisition’ mainly results in memorization, ‘knowledge construction’ goes further to result in students making sense of the information they process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). For the former possible outcome, one ‘cognitive process’ category (*Remember*) is involved, while five others (*Understand, Apply, Analyze, Evaluate, Create*) are involved in the latter (Ibid, 2001). All these

cognitive processes are complementary and, as said before, they are accomplished through the mediation of language.

In the case of L2 use as MoI, the implication is clear: Difficulties to construct knowledge through cognitive processes arise from the fact that teachers and students do not understand the MoI (Holmarsdottir, 2000; Marsh, 2006; Brock-Utne, 2007), and their attitudes and motivation are likely to be a function of these difficulties. Therefore, using Anderson & Krathwohl's (2001) categorization of 'cognitive processes' and 'knowledge types' allows for a focused investigation of areas of difficulty and hence, is likely to yield a precise picture of attitudes and motivation toward using English to teach and study in the context of Rwanda.

In summary, the issue of L2 use as MoI in this section has been analyzed in the light of three dimensions, namely: Language Proficiency (Cummins, 1999), Levels of Knowledge, and Levels of Cognitive Processing (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). Even though language proficiency is categorized into Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), it is suggested that both aspects of language proficiency are necessary for efficient use of a L2 as MoI. Furthermore, different levels of knowledge and cognitive processing (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001) have been highlighted. It is suggested that this understanding of 'language proficiency', 'knowledge organization', and 'cognitive processing' is necessary to guide the study Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. It is also important to note that, throughout the literature, mention of the issue of L2 as MoI almost invariably evokes the close relation (and also the tension) that is established between *L2 use as MoI* and *L2 learning* since the former cannot occur without the latter. In turn, discussion of L2 learning entails existence of a MT or L1.

Because of these relationships, the sections below tackle the literature on the three issues (MT, L2 as MoI, and L2 learning) in turn to ensure understanding and full contextualization of the theme of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI.

2.3.2 Desirable MT Use as MoI

Reference to L2 use as MoI automatically implies the existence of a First Language (L1) or Mother Tongue (MT) since learning a L2 is undertaken 'only after a native language is already acquired (Johnson and Newport, 1989: 61)'. This in essence creates tension between L2 instruction and MT instruction. Indeed, whereas L2 use as MoI seems to be the norm throughout

the world, various studies document the benefits of MT use in the classroom (e.g. Code switching to MT as a communicative and teaching resource, Moodley 2003; Advantage of MT use in the L2 classroom, Atkinson 1987; Linguistic interdependence, Cummins 1979), and scholars affirm that children should be allowed to study through their MT (Brock-Utne, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

In the USA for example, Ramirez et al (1991) conducted a comparative study of three groups of students whose MT is Spanish. One group was taught through Spanish for 3-4 years (i.e. late-exit to English); another for 1-2 years (i.e. early-exit); and still another was taught through English only. The common sense would expect the ones who were taught through English only to achieve better results in English. However, as Ramirez et al (1991) report, those students who were taught through Spanish (their MT) achieved native levels of English proficiency and had the best results in other subjects, whereas students in the two other groups needed additional boost to catch up with their peers. Another example is from Akinnaso (1993) in Nigeria where the author reports on a wide project (The Ife Experimental Project) that tested the effectiveness of MT use all through Primary school. The project set out to teach English as a L2, and to use Yoruba for instruction in all the other subjects. By comparing results from experimental groups (i.e. with Yoruba as MoI) and groups taught through the traditional program (i.e. switching to English MoI in upper Primary school), the project demonstrated that students taught through their MT gain both cognitively, academically and affectively. Moreover, in terms of language proficiency, they (the experimental group students taught in Yoruba) proved to be more fluent both in English and Yoruba.

Still more evidence of this consistency between MT use as MoI and cognitive, academic, and affective benefits is provided in reviews of research studies. For example, Moorfield (1987, in Akinnaso, 1993) reviewed studies in Mexico, the USA, Canada, and Sweden: From all the research studies reviewed, the author reported that when the MT is used to teach, better academic results are achieved. In this respect, like Akinnaso (1993), Moorfield (1987) has shown that the usefulness of MT use as MoI is not limited to content subject teaching only: Even for L2 teaching, the use of the MT in the classroom is commendable. And he is not alone: Atkinson (1987) also has evidence for the importance of MT in L2 learning. In a study of the role of the MT in English classes, Atkinson (1987: 242) found that about 5% of talk in the language class should be held in the student's MT. He argues that the use of the MT is for example necessary for comprehension checking, clarification of class methodology, student

cooperation, learning strategies development, etc. In like vein, Storch & Wigglesworth (2003: 760) argue that, even though students' MT in L2 class is often discouraged, it nevertheless provides 'learners with additional cognitive support that allows them to analyze language and work at a higher level' than when they are not allowed to use the MT.

There are sound explanations for this consistently positive correlation between MT use as MoI and cognitive, academic, and affective achievement. One important explanation is from socio psychological and educational perspectives. As the 1951 UNESCO document (cited in the Harare 1996 UNESCO working document: p 11) states:

'Psychologically, [the MT] is the system of meaningful signs that in [the child's] mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he[/she] belongs. Educationally, he[/she] learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium'.

In other words, the MT appeals more meaningfully to the child's mind, relates more adequately to his/her identity, and mediates his/her education more efficiently.

More explanations of the importance of MT instruction have been availed from a theoretical and educational point of view. From the point of view of L2 acquisition, for example, MT development has been found to be the basis for effective L2 development (Cummins, 1999), and hence, the level of MT knowledge and abilities make it easier for the student to learn a L2 (Walqui, 2000). From the point of view of academic success, on the other hand, many authors affirm that subject content development is enhanced when students are allowed to use their MT because it gives them access to their own experiences and knowledge (Moll, 1992); enables them to say what they really want to say (Bolitho, 1983); and because MT skills development and use help build 'solid foundation in content and cognitive development', and support growth, self-esteem, and English abilities (Luca & Katz, 1994).

Finally, from the point of view of psychological benefits, many researchers laud MT use because it 'reduces affective barriers'; 'allows students to discuss vital issues (Hemmingdinger, 1987)'; 'reduces anxiety (Corson, 1997)'; and spares students the bad feeling that their 'personal and conceptual foundation for learning' is undermined since rejecting a child's language amounts to rejecting the child (Cummins, 1999).

In view of all this, however, the question would be when to use the MT and when to use the L2 as MoI. Firstly, it should be emphasized that when scholars state that the role of the MT in the

classroom should not be ignored, they do not mean that the L2 should be abandoned. Rather, they mean that in cases when the L2 is likely to constitute a barrier to learning, it should be supplemented by the students' MT, which is thus used to promote TL learning and subject content learning; and even then, researchers warn against over dependence on the MT. Thus, as a principle, teachers are advised to judiciously and critically (Adendorff, 1993) make use of the MT when it is inevitable, helpful, and quicker (French, 1963: 94).

All evidence in favor of MT instruction thus suggests that in normal circumstances, education through a language other than the MT is rather unnatural. The fact is, however, that MT instruction is only the privilege of children in developed countries (Brock-Utne, 2007; Skutnab-Kangas, 2000), that it is hardly practiced in ex-colonized countries beyond lower Primary School (Bamgbose, 2004: 16), and that L2 instruction (indeed English as MoI) is gaining ground even in developed countries (Coleman, 2006). How this situation came about and how it is currently perpetuated is also an issue that is debated in the literature.

2.3.3 Origin of the Practice of L2 Use as MoI

From the foregoing discussion, it seems clear that the worth of MT use to promote TL and subject content learning is indisputable. In spite of this, however, more and more students throughout the world today are taught through other languages than their MTs. To understand this phenomenon, a brief history of L2 use as MoI is necessary.

In many countries throughout the world, formal education was introduced by colonizers. As a result, one of the objectives of education was to teach the language of the colonizer to enable the colonized to communicate with their masters (e.g. Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996: 454; Viswanathan, 1989 in Hornberger & Vaish, 2000: 308). In the wake of the struggle for independence, a general patriotic urge to cultural decolonization resulted in recommendations to replace colonial languages as MoIs with indigenous languages (Kamwangamalu, 2010). However, while relatively few countries effectively opted for MT instruction, others maintained the same colonial languages, and still others adopted a 'pluralist' policy whereby more than one official language was instituted. Different interests in different postcolonial contexts underpin these different language policies (Pennycook, 1998).

In the relatively few countries which opted for MT instruction, the first motive observed as underpinning language policy planning is the need to assert national identity (Bray & Koo,

2004). This was particularly on the Asian continent where countries like Pakistan and Malaysia replaced English as the language used in education with respectively, Urdu and Malay. Similarly, Indonesia replaced Dutch with Bahasa Indonesia, and Korea replaced Japanese with Korean in Education (Ibid, 2004). On the African continent, one typical example is Tanzania which replaced English with Kiswahili in most of its educational system. In most of the other cases the colonial language was retained. Thus, MT education was not observed in America, since most countries in that continent adopted the languages of the colonizer which spread as *linguae francae*, eventually replaced the local languages, and became first languages in most Latin American states (Heine, 1990 in Kamwangamalu, 2010).

Another reason for retaining the colonial languages for use in education was lack of a dominant local language. This is the case of Kyrgyzstan for example which retained Russian as the only one official language; and Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands which kept English. As Bray & Koo (2004) explain further, retaining ex-colonial languages in these cases was seen as a solution to rivalry between the numerous local languages competing for the role of the official language. On the African continent, the alleged lack of dominant¹⁴ local languages in colonized countries was a pretext used by the colonizer to impose colonial languages and to retard the development of African Languages. Ironically, however, even after independence, many countries opted for the use of ex-colonial languages in education, following the failure to implement the ideology of ‘vernacularization’ (Kamwangamalu, 2010).

Simply put, ‘vernacularization’ refers to an ideology underpinning the language in education planning policy whereby indigenous languages are to be used as MoIs in place of languages inherited from colonization (Cobarubias, 1983 in Kamwangamalu, 2010: 1). As Kamwangamalu (2010) explains, even though this ideology was supported politically, attempts to ‘vernacularize’ education failed because policy initiatives and declarations were not accompanied by practical measures ‘to use indigenous languages in education or to make them economically or politically useful to their users (Ibid, 2010: 5)’.

Apart from choosing between indigenous languages and ex-colonial languages, another option is the simultaneous use of (a) local language(s) and (an) ex-colonial language(s) as official languages. This was observed for example in countries like India and Madagascar. It is

¹⁴ A language can be ‘dominant’ either owing to the uses to which it is put (e.g. administration, education, business), or to the number of its speakers in a given area. In the particular context of formerly colonized countries, ‘dominant’ referred to majority of speakers.

important to note that in some settings, the colonial language was viewed as a force for unification and differentiation from neighboring states (Bray & Koo, 2004). Thus, one of the reasons Singapore retained English was to bring together many racial groups. Another example is the choice of Portuguese in East Timor to distinguish it from Indonesia (Ibid, 2004). On the African continent, the use of indigenous languages alongside ex-colonial languages seems to be the norm. Thus in Tanzania and Botswana English is used alongside Kiswahili and Setswana respectively (Arthur, 2001). In Swaziland, English is used alongside siSwati (Brock-Utne, 2001). In South Africa, eleven languages including two ex-colonial languages and nine indigenous languages have the status of official languages though the 9 African languages are not the MoI (Alexander, 1999; Banda, 2000; Moodley, 2003). In Burundi, French and Kirundi are both used as official languages. In Rwanda, English and French are used alongside Kinyarwanda.

Another dimension of the use of a L2 in education is linked with globalization and the need for countries to communicate with the wider international community. As Bray & Koo (2004) explain, with a growing global sense of interconnectedness, some countries feel the need to break their isolation by coming back to ex-colonial languages considered as languages of wider communication. This new dimension had the effect of relaxing ‘advocacy of national languages in Pakistan and Malaysia (Ibid, 2004: 6)’. Similarly, with a view to accessing wider communication demands, countries like Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam abandoned French in favor of English. Finally, the same motive partly explains the recent decision to make English an official language in Rwanda alongside French and Kinyarwanda, and even more recently, to make English the sole language of education in Rwanda (Ibid, 2004).

Thus, when listing the patterns of language policy planning in countries, one often comes to a factual observation that the forces of globalization justify the adoption of English as a MoI. Some scholars think that this is the result of Anglo-American often hidden policies which orchestrated the spread of English (e.g. Phillipson, 2007). Others think that it is not the result of any machination, but rather a matter of the population making choice of English rather than other alternatives (Kamwangamalu, 2010). Whatever the case, it is a fact that choosing a L2 as MoI has never been motivated by educational perspectives. Rather, political (and economic) reasons have prevailed (Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996: 453); forces beyond the powers of countries have weighed in the balance towards L2 (or indeed English) use as MoI; and countries have been forced into irrational policies (Alexander, 1999).

All in all then, ex-colonial languages are pervasively present in most countries' activities of higher domains, like education. More particularly, in this era of globalization, English is even replacing other ex-colonial languages (French, Portuguese, Spanish) (Kamwangamalu, 2010), and more and more 'L2 use as MoI' is becoming 'English use as MoI'. Therefore, it seems clear that the practice of using a L2 as MoI is far from being superseded; and the best thing to do is perhaps to find ways to lessen the pitfalls of the practice rather than trying to discard it altogether. In this vein, the first move would be awareness of the issues raised by the practice itself.

2.3.4 Problems in Using a L2 as MoI

The discussion in the preceding Sub-sections has focused on the value of MT instruction (2.2.1), and the historical facts which contributed to entrenching L2 education in ex colonial countries (2.2.2). Also, the debate has highlighted the contradiction that, while the value of MT instruction is unquestionable, L2 instruction seems to prevail. More particularly, English as MoI is gaining ground (Marsh, 2006: 29) even in countries which were not historically colonized by Britain (Coleman, 2006). This trend has been attributed to globalization which, in fact, works through the medium of English (Kamwangamalu, 2010). For 'hyperglobalists' this is 'a benign outcome of global forces (Block, 2004: 76)'. For a critical observer, however, it appears clearly that L2 use as a MoI engenders a multitude of problems.

The first problem is related to the detrimental effect of L2 education on academic achievement. As evidenced in the literature, scholars worldwide have noted that L2 use as MoI in many contexts constitutes a barrier to learning. In Papua New Guinea, for example, Keith Johnson had noted, as early as 1970 that L2 use as MoI engenders problems linked to, among other things, 'course content'. As Johnson (1970: 205) explains, because English is a 'precarious medium of communication for most of the pupils', it has always been necessary to first 'establish [...] the means by which "content" may be acquired (Ibid, 1970: 205)'. Thus the pupils have been taught 'a language-oriented course', 'a course without content' as it were; and the result has been that the time and effort necessary for academic achievement has been lost. More recently, Phillipson (2000) has noted that, because the system of education through English in Papua New Guinea is ineffective and irrelevant, it is characterized by many drop-outs, too small a number of graduates, and the alienation of many school leavers. Also in India, most Indians learn English 'in an environment with poor teaching and little interaction in English, [and the] language does

not become a usable means of communication'. For that reason learning in English 'is often a barrier to education and employment rather than an opportunity for it (Ibid, 2000: 18)'. Finally, the situation does not seem to be better in Singapore where even language learning is hampered since 'English standards are deteriorating [...] despite being the MoI since 1987 (Hornberger & Vaish, 2009: 317)'.

On the African continent, similar problems are listed. In Uganda for example, many students drop out of school because of English (Brock-Utne, 2001: 127). This is in essence reiterated by Kyeyune (2003) who states that the use of English as a MoI in that country frustrates rather than facilitates learning; and that policy makers have erred by 'expecting even infants to learn through English (Kyeyune, 2003: 174)'. A similar argument about Tanzania is made by Rubagumya (1991: 76 in Brock-Utne, 2001: 124) who notes that 'English ceased to be a viable' MoI. Still about Tanzania, Roy Campbel & Qorro (1997 in Brock-Utne, 2001: 123) affirm that 'the English language should no longer be allowed to act as a barrier to the attainment of knowledge'; and hence, recommend that secondary schools and universities in Tanzania should 'switch from English' to Kiswahili MoI. In the same line, Arthur (2001: 347) observes that considering teachers' and students' 'communication needs' in Tanzania, English 'constrains opportunities for teaching and learning'. And indeed, when asked what they think of English as MoI, students admit that they do not understand lessons taught in English, though they nevertheless seem to be enthusiastic about English as MoI.

Further South on the African continent, other examples highlight the problems inherent in the use of a L2 as MoI. In Swaziland, for example, Brock-Utne (2001: 125) notes a high drop-out rate caused by the use of English as MoI. In Namibia also, O' Sullivan (2002: 219-220) noticed that 'teachers were not implementing the ELT¹⁵ reforms', because they were developed without taking into account their low capacity in English. Similarly, a plethora of studies (e.g. Moodley, 2011; Brock-Utne, 2007; Heugh, 2000; Neville, 1995) have documented the problem of MoI in South Africa.

Neville (1995: 2-3) for example has pointed out that South African children acquire science concepts 'almost entirely via what is in almost every respect a foreign language (usually English) for them'; especially that 'they do not live in an English environment' which would help them to reinforce what they learn in class. Moodley (2011: 586) has also described

¹⁵ ELT: English Language Teaching.

conditions of ‘English as a teaching and learning barrier’ in a school in Gauteng Province. And still on the issue of English as MoI, Heugh (2000) has pointed out that it is difficult for students in South Africa to cope with the curriculum because they do not understand English. At the root of the problem, she identifies teachers’ low proficiency in English (only between 7 and 10% teachers are proficient enough to teach in English), dearth of resources (85% of schools are insufficiently resourced), and lack of adequate exposure to English; and in the last analysis, the blame is on the apartheid system whose ‘intended consequences have continued beyond the life span of its official practice (Heugh, 2000: 27)’. In similar vein, Brock-Utne (2007) draws on a series of studies conducted in Tanzania and South Africa in the context of LOITASA¹⁶ research project, trying to answer the question of what children in Africa actually learn when they are forced to study in a language they do not understand. Basing her comments on findings in Tanzania and South Africa, she demonstrates that students do not understand English; that for that reason they cannot acquire new knowledge; and that they cannot ‘engage in meaningful conversations’ in class unless they use a language that is familiar to them (p. 526). She then concludes that the use of a language like English that is not understood by students increases inequalities because it profits only a few students whose parents can afford them facilitation of access to the language (Brock-Utne, 2007: 526).

Another problem linked to poor academic achievement is that the use of a L2 as a MoI runs counter to the generally recognized role of the mother tongue (MT) on students’ intellectual development. From a theoretical point of view, it is firstly useful to note that ‘classroom interaction [is at] the heart of the education process (Arthur, 2001: 358)’. Also ‘opportunities for student-centered learning are made possible through exploratory talk (Barnes, 1976)’ and this exploratory talk requires a language that both teachers and students know best. Since MT is ‘the language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication (UNESCO 1968/1953: 698 in Kamwangamalu 2000: 121)’, it is understandable that the most appropriate language that should be used for intellectual development is the MT.

The assertion that L2 use as MoI runs counter to the recognized role of MT for intellectual development is not only supported from theoretical evidence. Empirical research also corroborates its validity. Many examples have been given earlier (Section 2.3.1 ‘Desirable MT Use as MoI’) to highlight the importance of MT instruction. Without having to repeat them here,

¹⁶LOITASA: Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa.

many research studies have demonstrated that not only the MT has an important role in enhancing subject content learning, but also, it has been proved that contrary to the English-only policy in L2 learning, MT use helps L2 learning (Storch & Wiggleworth, 2003; Cummins, 1999; Auebach, 1993; Atkinson, 1987). The problem, therefore, is that while it is more productive to use MT for intellectual development, the policy of L2 use as MoI prevents teachers and students from using it.

This leads to the observation that the fallout from the use of a L2 as MoI is not only limited to poor academic achievement. Other problems affecting both the individual and the society at large are likely to ensue. From a psychological point of view for example, Cohen & Swain (1976) point out that the feeling of insecurity may be an undesirable consequence of ‘immersion’ programs (or rather submersion) when non-English speaking children are ‘immersed’ with English speaking children. In other words, even in countries like Canada and the USA where English is the majority language, the use of English as a MoI is not without problems because minority language children often study under coercive power relations vis-à-vis their teachers and the community (Cummins, 2000).

Still on this issue, psychological insecurity concerns also classroom dynamics which are likely to be affected by feelings arising from difficulties of communication. Brock-Utne (2007: 524) could observe this by comparing two biology lessons on the same content taught successively in English and then in Kiswahili by the same teacher. As Brock-Utne (2007: 524) notes, when the lesson was delivered in English, students ‘were silent, grave and looked afraid’. Conversely, when it was taught in Kiswahili, they were lively; participating actively; competing to answer teacher’s questions; and coming up with good suggestions. Even the teacher herself ‘was smiling and seemed relaxed’ (Ibid, 2007: 524). In fact, throughout the whole classroom, ‘There was a lot of smiles and laughter during [the] lesson and it went very fast (both for the teacher, the students and the observers) (Brock-Utne, 2007: 525)’. The question then is, as Hugwe (2007: 136) wonders: If the reason for the improvement of the whole classroom atmosphere is the use of a language that both the teacher and the students master well, ‘what should be the proper role of schooling with respect to language education in former colonial states where non-indigenous languages have remained dominant in both school and society?’

More consequences from L2 use as MoI have socio cultural implications for the individual and for the whole society. Here, to tackle this problem, it would be useful first to reiterate Franz

Fanon's (1967 in London, 2001: 420) remark that '[t]o acquire a language is to assume a culture'. This is what De Klerk (2002: 2) has observed in South Africa as she notes that enrolling children in English MoI schools facilitates 'a process of assimilation of [the] children', and that parents' option for these schools 'will probably result in the rapid and complete Anglicization of their children'. Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2001: 393) also noted this in Namibia where the establishment of English as a MoI causes concern about indigenous languages 'losing a battle against English' and thus 'puts the country in risk of becoming a monolingual society (Brian Harlech-Jones, 1998 in Brock-Utne, 2001)'. Other examples like the plight of immigrants' MTs which are quickly abandoned in favor of English (Kuncha & Bathula, 2004) or the Indian languages dissipated by English (Moodley, 2003: 340) are typical cases. One of the pitfalls of using a L2 as MoI, therefore, seems to be loss of one's language, and along with it, alienation from one's own culture (Brock-Utne, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

How this language loss is likely to happen is often subtle but the precursory signs are unmistakable: In the process of language shift, the problems, as a whole, start with indigenous languages (albeit dominant languages) being condemned to the private domain by diglossia (UNESCO-OAU report, Twahirwa, 1994 in Phillipson, 1996). Then the status reserved to these languages as 'horizontal codes (languages of everyday interaction and solidarity) (Heine, 1992 in Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996)' puts them in a weak position as compared to 'vertical codes (languages of education and societal access) (Ibid, 1996)'; and this ultimately results in impoverishment and even abandonment.

These are generally some issues that are likely to ensue from L2 use as MoI. It appears that, as analyzed from the literature thus far, L2 use as MoI engenders many problems. Some of them (e.g. endangerment of indigenous languages) are not directly visible because they are future consequences of the situation now. Others (e.g. students' failures), however, are directly perceptible. These are compounded by many challenges such as learning a foreign language and using it as MoI in a context where the language is barely used. Thus for example Heine (1992 in Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2001: 305) estimates that 'less than 20% of Africans are competent in the official languages of their respective countries'. In a country like South Africa which would be expected to be better off than other African countries, 'only 25% of Black South Africans are functionally literate in English, the main language for access to education and more lucrative jobs in South Africa (Webb & Kembo, 2000: 6 in Barnes, 2004: 50)'. Also, resources and teaching/learning conditions in general are not conducive. This is still the case even in South

Africa where the conditions of English learning do not allow for the acquisition of the language necessary for academic work (Probyn, 2009; Alexander 1995). Finally, in some contexts, the difficulties are the more acute that even teachers' knowledge of English is limited (Moodley, 2012, 2011; Kanjira, 2008; Arthur, 2001; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2001: 293; Holmarsdottir, 2000; Obanya, 1980 in Brock-Utne, 2001).

Many other problems like inappropriate training of teachers (when they are trained at all) (Barkhuizen & Gough, 1996) which result in poor education can be cited; and generally, it seems that L2 use as MoI causes more problems than it helps solving. In spite of this, however, people's attitudes and motivation toward using L2s as MoI are rather positive. The following section elaborates on the reason for the paradoxical infatuation for L2s as MoI.

2.3.5 Learning English as the Reason for Positive Attitudes toward English as MoI

The concept of 'Medium of Instruction' is a straightforward construct: It refers to language used to teach and learn, and in this case, the language in question is English. However, for parents, students, and other stakeholders in education, it seems that 'English as MoI' refers to something more than 'using English to teach and learn': In addition, and perhaps more importantly, it implies 'Learning English'. As discussed below, this tendency to equate 'English as MoI' and 'English Learning' has been observed in many countries throughout the world, and more particularly in Africa.

In Ghana for example, Mfum-Mensah (2005) studied parents', students', and other community members' attitudes to MT instruction. He found that these stakeholders prefer English to the vernacular as MoI having in mind proficiency in English. As Mfum-Mensah (2005: 80) reports, parents think that proficiency in English represents 'educational and social advantages in the society'. Therefore, they want their children to study through English because, without knowledge of English, these children would be relegated to the fringe of the 'mainstream Ghanaian society (Ibid, 2005: 80)'. Furthermore, children themselves declare joining programs taught in English in order to acquire skills in English. Apparently then, English as MoI for respondents in Mfum-Mensah's (2005) study primarily implies English learning.

Similar perspectives prevail in South Africa. In a study conducted in Grahamstown in Western Cape for example, De Klerk (2002) found that, even though the new language in education policy in South Africa provides for the promotion of African languages in all domains, some

parents would not like these languages to be taught in English-medium schools to which they prefer to send their children. And this is not because they do not like their native languages: Simply they think that the most important language for them is English (Ibid, 2002). In other words, for these parents, using English as MoI is a way to learning English. In this vein, De Klerk (2002 citing Coutts, 1992: 42) indicates that former English-medium schools, which were reserved to White students, are now overwhelmingly in demand from Black students who hope to gain competence in English which they could not get under the apartheid regime. For both parents and students in South Africa then, it appears that studying through English means primarily learning English.

The idea that using a L2 as MoI is a way to learn the L2 is not only found in Ghana and South Africa, though. In Nigeria too, Akinnaso (1993) writes, the African elite generally do not accept the MT instruction policy; and even when it is applied, some parents (Phillipson, 1996) prefer to send their children to English-medium schools in pursuit of proficiency in English and other advantages for their children. Another example is Namibia where the same situation obtains. Following the inception of a new language policy which gave English the status of MoI in that country, parents are eager to see their children acquire the knowledge of English (Brock-Utne, 2001: 303). However, as Brock-Utne (2001: 314) comments, they are mistaken to think that ‘the best way to learn English is to have it as the language of instruction’.

So much for examples from Africa: On the other continents too, the pursuit of competence in English through its use as MoI is observed. In Asia one typical example is Hong Kong (a former colony of Britain recently reverted to the mainland China). As Evans (2002: 98) notes, parents in that territory are fully aware of the ‘educational and cultural advantages’ of having their children study in Chinese. However, they have traditionally opted for English-medium schools for their children, primarily because they perceive them as conducive for the acquisition of ‘high levels of proficiency in English’. Similarly, in the neighbouring territory of Macao (a former colony of Portugal also recently reverted to the mainland China), Young (1999) found that Macao students are strongly motivated to learn English, that they are eager to be fluent in it, and that they are ready to use it as MoI.

These are a few examples from Asia showing the tendency to use English as MoI as a way to learn English. In Europe too, competence in English is a goal that many people in different countries are pursuing through the use of English as MoI. In this vein, Turkey is a typical

example. In this country, English has no official status. However, for many Turkish people English is the L2 (Dogancay-Aktuna & Kiziltepe, 2005). It is also the MoI in many universities and secondary schools. More specifically, schools referred to as ‘Anatolian’ schools are English-medium schools. As Dogancay-Aktuna & Kiziltepe (2005: 255) further explain, these schools were founded on the request of parents who do not have much money but want English instruction for their ‘higher achieving children’. Whatever the type of school however, it is clear that parents and students value English-medium schools because they offer the best opportunity to learn English.

The same idea that using English as MoI implies learning it is observed in other countries like Hungary where more and more schools and universities are adopting English as MoI, which is one of the signs of the Hungarians’ ‘powerful motivation for learning English (Petzold & Berns, 2000: 123)’. Many more examples on the European continent (see Coleman, 2006), in Asia and more specifically, in Japan (see Tsuneyoshi, 2005), and in Latin America, for example in Colombia (see Velez-Rendon, 2003), show that more and more institutions are adopting English as MoI. Even though it is not expressly stated that these institutions are adopting English as MoI in order to learn English, they all imply that knowledge of English is in view, and certainly, more research focusing on other parts of the world where English is established as MoI would be likely to reinforce the impression that when people opt for English use as MoI they are implicitly opting for English learning.

What can be concluded then is that, from the point of view of people’s attitudes and motivation, using a L2 as MoI cannot be dissociated from learning the L2. Therefore, in contexts where English is a L2, a study of ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI’ entails the study of ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English’. More particularly, in the context of Rwanda where teachers and students are learning English and simultaneously using it to teach and learn, it is understood that there is a close relation between attitudes and motivation toward learning English and attitudes and motivation toward using it as MoI. This study is, therefore, premised on the assumption that teachers’ and students’ motivation to learn English is a precondition for their motivation to use it as MoI. In other words, even though using a L2 as MoI is not necessarily the best way to learn it (Skutnab-Kangas, 2000; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2001), using a L2 as MoI necessarily implies learning it. In my view this is a very important point for the study of L2 use as MoI. Therefore, in the present study ‘Attitudes and Motivation

toward Learning English’ is analyzed as part of the study of ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI’.

These are briefly the issues related to the use of a L2 as MoI. I have tried thus far to depict the tension that surrounds the debate on L2 (and more particularly English) use as MoI and to pick out the problems and paradoxes that the practice generates. Firstly, there is abundance of evidence that MT instruction is academically, socially, and affectively better than L2 instruction. And yet, L2 use as MoI is rather becoming the norm. In an attempt to explain this paradoxical situation, I have traced its root cause to the historical phenomena of colonization and to failed attempts to decolonization through ‘vernacularization’, as well as to subsequent internationalization and current globalization. Thus, in the last analysis, it has appeared that the real problem is that L2 use as MoI has always been more political than educational; and this has been decried in the literature as a barrier to students’ academic achievement and intellectual development as well as a threat to indigenous languages.

Still another aspect of the paradox is that, in spite of the controversies, different education stakeholders hold favorable attitudes toward L2 use as MoI, and more particularly toward English as MoI. As many scholars (Dogancay-Aktuna & Kiziltepe, 2005; Mfum-Mensah, 2005; De Klerk, 2002; Akinnaso, 1993) have noted, this predilection is not directed to English use as MoI *per se* but to English learning. This tendency to equate English as MoI and English learning is also evident in my own study. As will be demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, teachers and students declare themselves favorable to English use as MoI, and when asked to explain the reason, the majority of them explain that they are favorable to English as MoI because it is an opportunity for them to learn English.

It appears clearly then that the use of English as MoI seems to be surrounded by controversies, paradoxes, and fallacies. Also, the primary goal of class activity, viz. knowledge dispensation and acquisition, seems to be lost when it comes to issues of English as MoI. Should this be the case in the context of the new language in education policy in Rwanda, urgent measures would be necessary to redress the situation before it is too late.

2.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study is about ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI’ in the new education context of Rwanda. By analyzing this context in the light of the new language in

education policy, it has appeared that teachers and students, who are the most direct implementers of the policy, need to learn the new MoI and, simultaneously, use it to teach and learn. On the other hand, the literature review in this Chapter has examined the concepts of ‘attitude’ and ‘motivation’ (Section 2.1), and the outcome is that attitudes are ‘evaluative’, ‘multicomponential, and ‘latent’, as well as they are ‘repositories of past experiences’ and ‘related to behaviour’. In addition, motivation is basically a series of actions (processes) and their effects, and it is related to attitudes since they are ‘motivational determinants’.

In view of these characteristics, the present study starts by exploring teachers’ and students’ language background (relatedness of attitude to past experience). Also, since attitudes are inaccessible to direct observation (latency), they are inferred from responses to survey and interview questions. Furthermore, the study has recorded the favorable or unfavorable aspect (evaluative), while reflecting the ‘cognitive’, ‘affective’ and ‘conative’ components of their attitudes (multi componential aspect). Also, since attitudes are motivational determinants, by investigating them, motivation was also investigated concomitantly. Finally, attitudes and motivation are investigated in relation to two attitude objects: *learning English* and *using it as MoI*.

Further information obtained from the literature is about the application of the concepts of attitude and motivation to L2 Learning Theory. Many scholars have incorporated these concepts in their theories as important factors in L2 Learning. More particularly, Gardner’s (1985) L2 Motivation Theory has contributed a framework for investigating attitudes and motivation toward L2 Learning. In view of all the input from the different scholars, the present study has adopted a blend of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Mixed Method Approach). As will be elaborated in Chapter 3, this approach ensures corroboration of results and facilitates the incorporation of all the possible motivational influences obtaining in the new context of English use as MoI.

In addition, the literature has contributed information on the relation between academic language proficiency, types of knowledge, and categories of cognitive processes. This has contributed a framework for an adequate investigation of the process of ‘using a L2 as MoI’. Further, the literature has also been explored to highlight the controversial hegemony of English as MoI and the paradoxically positive attitudes and motivations of the different stakeholders in the education

enterprise. The present study makes use of this information through informed interpretation of the results of the enquiry on ‘attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI’ in Rwanda.

As a whole, the literature on the concepts of Attitude and Motivation, L2 Learning, and L2 Use as MoI has been put together to inform the investigation of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI’ in three themes: Teachers’ and Students’ Language Experiences; their Attitudes and Motivation to Learn English; and their Attitudes and Motivation toward Using English as MoI. Details on the methodology used to deal with these themes are given in the following Chapter.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the previous Chapters, I have established that the subject of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in the context of Rwanda generates a complex research problem involving (1) an account of teachers' and students' Language Experiences; (2) a description of their Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English; and (3) an exploration of their Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. These themes have led to the formulation of the research questions identified in Chapter 1, which focused on reporting, describing, and exploring the phenomena using both quantitative and qualitative methods. This methodological approach made it possible to address the descriptive and exploratory questions of the research, to draw stronger inferences, and to capture varied participants' views (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003: 674). This Chapter attempts to explain the way in which these methods were applied in the present study through Mixed Methods procedures. Firstly, the Chapter focuses on an overview of the tenets of Mixed Methods Research and its usefulness to this study. Next, the Strategies of Enquiry used to orient the study are explored, followed by the methods used to collect and analyze the data. Finally, the interpretation process and the method used to interpret the results are explained.

3.1 MIXED METHODS APPROACH

Mixed Methods as a research paradigm is a relatively new concept (Johnson *et al.*, 2007). Until the second half of the 20th century, research was conducted either in the Quantitative or in the Qualitative tradition, and purists on both sides passionately strived to show the superiority of

their respective paradigms (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Newman et al, 2003). Quantitative purists held that valid research is the one that features the kind of neutrality and objectivity with which natural scientists deal with physical phenomena. Qualitative purists, on the other hand, thought that the alleged scientific neutrality and objectivity are impossible, that reality is multiple and socially constructed, that it is value-bound and subjective (Ibid, 2004). Apparently then, these research paradigms seemed to be doomed to incompatibility (Howe, 1988 in Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

In the second half of the 20th century, however, researchers began to realize that both Quantitative and Qualitative methods have strengths and weaknesses, and that combining them could result in maximizing the strengths and minimizing the weaknesses (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell, 2003: 211). This new development marked the emergence of Mixed Methods Research.

As a relatively new approach then, Mixed Methods Research has been given many tentative definitions. For example, Tashakkori & Creswell (2007: 4) define Mixed Methods Research as

'[R]esearch 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.'

This definition points to the very essence of Mixed Methods Research, namely; use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. As the authors indicate, however, it is a broad definition intended to be as inclusive as possible. To capture the complexity of Mixed Methods Research, therefore, I consider another definition which includes the nature of data collection, the timing of the mixing, the priority given to each form of data, and the stage at which the data integration occurs (Creswell, 2003: 212). This definition reads:

'A mixed methods study involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research.'

As the authors themselves indicate, this definition is a 'reasonable beginning point for considering mixed methods designs (Creswell, 2003: 212)'. It captures a very important point concerning the order in which the Quantitative and Qualitative methods are applied to particular research studies. However, it does not indicate why Quantitative and Qualitative methods should

be mixed. A definition by Johnson *et al.* (2007) adds to the preceding ones this aspect. The definition follows:

'Mixed Methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007: 123).'

For the purpose of my study, I have adopted this last definition because it encapsulates the reason, the orientation, and the extent of mixing Qualitative and Quantitative methods. Firstly, concerning the reason, Johnson *et al.* (2007) explain that mixing methods aims to obtain 'broad and deep understanding' of the research problem. This subsumes other more specific reasons of which the first is data 'triangulation'. In essence, data 'triangulation' or 'convergence' supposes different sets of data, and hence; different methods to investigate the same phenomenon. When these sets of data prove to be similar, they 'converge' to or 'triangulate' the same research result. One of the reasons for mixing Quantitative and Qualitative methods, therefore, is data convergence or triangulation through complementary methods (Jick, 1979).

Other specific reasons for mixing methods are 'connecting' and 'integrating' Quantitative and Qualitative data. As Creswell (2009) indicates citing Tashakkori & Teddlie (1998), by the early 1990's, the reason for mixing shifted from simple method convergence to actual integration or connection of Quantitative and Qualitative data. Thus 'connecting' means that, in a Sequential Mixed Method Research, results from the first method are used to identify participants or questions for the second. On the other hand, in a Concurrent Mixed Method Research, 'integrating' means that one larger database is created by merging the Quantitative and Qualitative data; it can also mean that the results are 'used side by side to reinforce each other (e.g., qualitative quotes are used to support statistical results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007)).'

In my own study, 'broad and deep understanding' was achieved by actually 'integrating' Quantitative and Qualitative data. In fact, for the presentation of results, both sets of data were used side by side to reinforce each other, and all through the interpretation of the results from survey questionnaires, quotes from interviews were used to confirm, reinforce, or interpret the findings. Quantitative and Qualitative data 'integration' were thus used in an attempt to make stronger inferences.

Another theme conveyed in the above definition is the orientation of a study or its general direction as determined by its aims. In the context of Mixed Methods Research, these aims can be driven either from the research question (Creswell, 2009; Tashakkori, 2006 in Johnson et al, 2007), or from the researcher's quest to conduct emancipatory, antidiscriminatory, participatory research (Mertens, 2003). In the first case, the orientation is what Tashakkori (2006) has labeled a 'bottom-up approach' while in the second case, it is a top-down 'sociopolitical commitment (Greene, 2006)'. Since the orientation of a study is rarely clear cut in a dichotomous way, however, the orientation of the mixing is located 'somewhere [on a continuum] between bottom-up and top-down from the Mixed Methods being driven from the research question or from the 'researcher's quest to conduct research (Johnson *et al*, 2007: 123)'.

In the present study, the issue of 'Attitudes and Motivation toward *English as MoI*' was studied in a context of change from French as MoI to English as MoI. Therefore, some teachers and students from a Francophone background are likely to be at a disadvantage as compared to their peers from an Anglophone background. Each time this issue was raised from the data, it was commented for better understanding of teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation. In a limited sense then, this can be thought of as an emancipatory orientation. However, the main thrust of the study is to achieve a broad and deep understanding of Teachers' and Students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. This understanding is geared to reflecting on ways in which Motivation toward English as MoI can enhance English learning without being a hindrance to subject content learning. In this sense, the orientation of the study is derived from its purpose and research questions, and the general direction is educational.

Still other related themes implied in the definition of Mixed Methods Research are the 'stage' at which mixing occurs and the 'breadth' of the mixing. In this connection, scholars' views are again located on a continuum between those who think that mixing essentially occurs at the Quantitative and Qualitative data collection stage, and those who think that it can occur at all stages of the research process, including even the Quantitative and Qualitative philosophical underpinnings (Yin, 2006; Greene & Caracelli, 2003: 95; Johnson et al, 2007: 123).

Relevance to the Present Study

Overall, three important points can be made from the above analysis for the purpose of my study: Firstly, Mixed Methods approach leads to 'broad and deep understanding' of complex issues. Secondly, the general orientation of Mixed Methods approach is driven from the research

question, the nature of the phenomena under investigation, and the context of the study (Greene & Caracelli, 2003). Thirdly, mixing Quantitative and Qualitative methods can occur at all stages of the research. These important features make Mixed Methods a particularly useful approach to my study for many reasons.

Firstly, my central concern was to understand Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. This is a complex question in the delicate context of language in education policy change, and hence, it required from the outset a *broad*, general grasp of the situation, and a *deep*, nuanced understanding of the participants' perception of the experience. Therefore, for a 'complete picture (Morse, 2003: 189)' of the situation, different methods were needed for an analysis of the problem both in terms of general attitudinal trends and in terms of individual views. Mixed Methods approach offered the possibility to gain a general understanding of TTC Teachers' and Students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI, and to apprehend views of individuals from different language backgrounds.

Another utility of Mixed Methods is related to 'deep understanding' and attainment of inference quality and strength (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Taking into account the fact that all methods have inherent strengths and weaknesses, 'deep understanding' and stronger inferences were achieved in this study, by combining the strengths of the methods employed, and avoiding overlaps between their weaknesses. More concretely, one of the methods used was the Questionnaire. The strength of the Questionnaire is that data can be collected almost at the same time, that all the participants can answer the same questions, and that they do so under the cover of anonymity (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In this study, these features were 'a strength' because they enhanced teachers' and students' openness and quasi total participation; and facilitated the analysis of the data. On the other hand, open-ended questions and interviews offered the advantage of collecting 'rich data (Fontana & Frey, 2000)' originating from free expression on the different issues discussed. 'Multiple inferences' from Quantitative and Qualitative instruments, therefore, led to stronger inferences through triangulation and complementarity (Greene et al., 1989) of the results, and thus enhanced 'deep understanding' of the question.

Concerning the orientation of the research, one of the orientations of Mixed Methods approach is that it allows for the grounding of the study in the research question, the nature of the phenomenon, and the context of the study (Johnson et al, 2007). Accordingly, owing to the

nature of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI, this study had a double purpose *to describe* ‘Language Experiences’, ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English’, and ‘Attitudes toward English as MoI’, and *to theorize* on ‘Motivation to Use English as MoI’¹⁷. The study thus comprised both confirmatory (*to describe*) and exploratory (*to theorize*) questions, and these could only be answered through Mixed Methods approach since neither ‘pure’ Quantitative nor ‘pure’ Qualitative approaches could serve this double purpose (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Finally, as a whole, Quantitative and Qualitative methods were mixed all through the study; from the design to the interpretation stage. This proved helpful because different research stages are interconnected (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 18) in such a way that the conceptual perspectives and theoretical framework used guided the choice of strategies of enquiry which, in turn, oriented the choice of methods for the process of data collection and data analysis. In the remainder of this Chapter, these Strategies of Enquiry, Methods of Data Collection, and Methods of Data Analysis are the focus of Section 3.2; Section 3.3; and Section 3.4 respectively.

3.2 STRATEGIES OF ENQUIRY

Creswell (2009: 11) defines Strategies of Enquiry as ‘types of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods designs or models that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design’. In the same vein, Denzin & Lincoln (2000: 22) comment that Strategies of Enquiry ‘comprise [...] skills, assumptions, and practices that the researcher employs as he or she moves from paradigm to the empirical world, [and that they] connect researchers to specific approaches and methods for collecting and analyzing empirical materials.’ Thus Strategies of Enquiry like Case Study, Phenomenology, Grounded Theory, Survey Research, Experimental Research etc. lead the way to the use of methods such as interviews, observations, visual methods, textual analyses, and focus groups (Ibid, 2000: 20).

Relevance to the Present Study

In my own study, the primary Strategy of Enquiry that directed the data collection process is the Concurrent Mixed Methods Procedure (Creswell, 2003, 2009; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004;

¹⁷ As explained earlier, there is a ready-made theory of Motivation to Learn English (see Gardner, 1985) which features ‘Attitudes toward Learning English’ as **determinants** of Motivation to Learn English (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995). Accordingly, ‘Attitudes toward English as MoI’ are also studied at this stage as **determinants** of ‘Motivation to Use English as MoI’.

Morse, 1991, 2003). As the appellation suggests, this strategy is located in the context of Mixed Methods approach and, in this study, it subsumes another subsidiary strategy, namely: Survey Research, defined in the context of the Quantitative and Qualitative components of the research. Thus, the two strategies (i.e. Concurrent Mixed Methods Procedure, and Survey Research), together form an ensemble specifically tailored to the nature of my research project as determined by the themes that had to be developed (i.e. TTC Teachers' and Students' Language Experiences; their Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English; and their Attitudes toward English as MoI); and by the double purpose to *describe* and *explore* the phenomenon of English as the new MoI in Rwanda. More details on these Strategies of Enquiry follow.

3.2.1 Concurrent Mixed Methods Procedures

'Concurrent' as an adjective modifies the phrase 'mixed methods procedure', and adds to it an aspect of time. Thus one of the dimensions of Mixed Methods Research planning is 'timing', which can be sequential or concurrent (Creswell et al., 2003; Creswell, 2009; Morse, 2003; Greene & Caracelli, 2003, 2008, 2010). Also, there are other compulsory dimensions in the process of mixing methods. These are: 'weighing' (i.e. priority given to qualitative or quantitative elements), and 'mixing' (which is about *when* and *how* to mix) (Creswell et al., 2003; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell, 2003, 2009).

Relevance to the Present Study

Concerning the mixing dimension, *when* and *how* to mix have already been mentioned: In my study, the *when* is 'all through the whole process', and the *how* is: By using both Quantitative and Qualitative Methods to collect, analyze, and interpret the data. Also, the weighting has been specified since both Quantitative and Qualitative elements are treated as equally important components. Finally, the timing is about whether the two methods are carried out concurrently or in a sequence. In the present study, the two approaches were used concurrently as follows: Firstly, both Quantitative and Qualitative data were collected in the same time period (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). After being collected, they were analyzed and compared for deeper understanding and corroboration. Thus, throughout the Chapters on findings, extracts from the qualitative data are quoted as appropriate, to 'support or disconfirm' the quantitative findings; whereas in Chapter 5 which is devoted to 'interpretation of the results'; elements of both types of data are merged for ease of comparison (Creswell, 2009), and for use in the argumentation. In

this way ‘Concurrent Mixed Method Procedures’ have helped in constructing strong arguments (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) for achieving the aims of the present study which are: To *describe* Attitudes and Motivation toward *Learning English* and to *explore* ‘Attitudes toward *Using English as MoI* in Rwanda’.

3.2.2 The Survey Research Strategy

Basically, Survey Research as a quantitative Strategy of Enquiry studies a sample of a population and provides a ‘numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions’ of that population using questionnaires or interviews in cross-sectional or longitudinal studies (Creswell, 2009: 12; Vogt, 2007). Also, the principle of Survey Research is to generalize from a sample to a target population (Vogt, 2007: 76). These characteristics motivated the choice of the strategy for achieving the aim of my research, namely: To *describe* TTC teachers’ and students’ Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda.

As one of the principles of Survey Research is sampling, two TTCs were selected as the sample for my study because one is located in the Eastern Province and the other, in the Western Province respectively sharing borders with Anglophone countries (Uganda and Tanzania) and Francophone countries (Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC and Burundi). This is significant for the present study because, as mentioned earlier, Rwanda is located between Anglophone and Francophone countries and hence, the 10 TTCs which are distributed throughout the country are likely to be, in one way or another, influenced by Anglophone or Francophone environments and traditions of teaching/learning. Thus, owing to the fact that proximity to Anglophone/Francophone countries tends to influence language background, and hence, attitudes and motivation, the two colleges were thought to be ‘typical (Vogt, 2007: 81)’ of TTCs in Rwanda. It was anticipated that findings from these two colleges are likely to yield a general picture of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in TTCs.

In summary, the Strategies of Enquiry described in this Section have provided ‘a flexible set of guidelines (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 22)’ for the implementation of the present study. Thus, in virtue of the Concurrent Mixed Methods Procedure, Quantitative and Qualitative elements of research have been used concurrently all through the present study. Also, following the principles of the Survey Research Strategy, findings from the data collected in two selected TTCs have been used to *describe* TTC Teachers’ and Students’ Attitudes and Motivation toward

English as MoI in Rwanda. In all these processes the Strategies of Enquiry have been implemented by making use of data collection and analysis methods. In other words, these methods have helped the research to ‘move from paradigm to the empirical world (Ibid, 2000: 22)’. Following is a detailed description of these methods starting with methods used to collect the data.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Two data collection methods, the Survey Questionnaire and the Interview, were used in the present study. In this Section, I explain these methods in detail, focusing particularly on (1) the data collection sites; (2) the participants in the study; (3) the ethics considerations and procedures for the administration of the enquiry; and finally (4) the instruments used in the research.

3.3.1 The Sites

As mentioned earlier, I carried out this study in two Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) selected from the 10 TTCs that are distributed throughout Rwanda. The two selected colleges are respectively located in the Eastern Province sharing borders with Uganda and Tanzania which are so called ‘Anglophone’ countries; and in the Western Province bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi which are so called ‘Francophone’ countries. Owing to the many exchanges between the populations on either side of the borders, such locations expose the selected colleges to Anglophone and Francophone influences respectively; and therefore, these particular sites were chosen in order to take account of such influences; and to make sure that the whole linguistic reality of the country is captured.

With regard to actual use of English to teach/learn, TTCs as the name suggests, have the important mission to train pre-service Primary School Teachers. In spite of the label ‘college’, however, they are not higher institutions of learning. Rather, they are upper Secondary Schools (or A’ Level), and they are a continuation of lower Secondary School (or O’ Level). Concerning their curriculum, TTCs are comprised of three ‘Streams of Study’ labeled: (1) *Mathematics & Science*; (2) *Social Studies*; and (3) *Languages* which are covered in three academic years, corresponding to three levels of study referred to as 4th Year; 5th Year; and 6th Year. Some examples of the core courses in these ‘Streams of Study’ are respectively: Mathematics,

Integrated Science, and Entrepreneurship (in ‘Mathematics & Science’); Teaching Methods and Practice, Social Studies, and Creative Performance and Physical Education (in ‘Social Studies’); and Foundation of Education, English, and French (in ‘Languages’). It is important to note that, except for Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, and French, all the courses are taught through the medium of English as per the new language in education policy, which has necessitated recruitment of staff from foreign countries. Thus 39 teachers from Uganda are currently deployed in the 10 TTCs with a mission to reinforce the use of English as MoI, either by teaching through English or by teaching English and training their non Anglophone colleagues in English (Personal communication with officials in the Ministry of Education). It is also noteworthy that 5 colleges are located in the Eastern and Northern provinces sharing borders with Anglophone countries (Tanzania and Uganda), whereas the other 5 are located in the Western and Southern provinces sharing borders with Francophone countries (Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi).

3.3.2 The Participants

Participation in this study depended on the requirements of the methods used for collecting the data. Therefore, for the Questionnaires which were meant for ‘a large account of people’s actions and beliefs’ (Ambert, 1995: 881), the entire population of the two selected TTCs was requested to participate. This includes 17 members of the teaching staff in TTC1 and 16 in TTC2; and 278 students in TTC1 and 358 in TTC2. According to the statistics of the collected questionnaires, however, only 15 teachers in TTC1 and 14 in TTC2 took part in the study, which is to say 29 teachers in the two TTCs representing 87.87% of the whole teaching staff. Also, only a total of 274 students in TTC1 and 351 in TTC2 took part in the study and thus, 625 Questionnaires in the two TTCs were filled and collected, which represents 98.27% of the total student population of the two TTCs. For more information on participation in the different ‘streams’ and ‘levels’ of study, following is a table that gives statistic details of the Questionnaires filled in the two TTCs.

Table 2: Number of Questionnaires filled and collected in the two TTCs

Category of Participants	Stream of Study	Level of Study	Number of Questionnaires Filled		
			TTC 1	TTC 2	Total TTC1 & TTC2
A. TEACHERS	-	-	15	14	29 (87.87%)
B. STUDENTS	1. Mathematics and Science	4 th Year	47	82	129
		5 th Year	57	34	91
		6 th Year	29	65	94
		3 classes	133	181	314
	2. Social Science	4 th Year	16	34	50
		5 th Year	29	24	53
		6 th Year	30	19	49
		3 classes	75	77	152
	3. Languages	4 th Year	23	39	62
		5 th Year	19	24	43
		6 th Year	24	30	54
		3 classes	66	93	159
	Grand Total	9 classes	274 copies	351 copies	625 copies (98.27%)

As this table shows, participation from both teachers and students was high, and thus it allowed for a ‘broad’ description of TTC teachers’ and students’ Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. However, such a description that orients research to ‘breadth’ (Johnson et al., 2007; Ambert, 1995) can only result in a limited characterization (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006) of the phenomena under study. More ‘in depth’ exploration and interpretation of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI was achieved through interviews, which required a smaller sample of teachers and students. The following table gives details.

Table 3: Teachers’ and Students’ Samples for the Interviews

Category of Participants	Streams of Study	Level of Study	Nr of Participants		Core courses commented in the interviews
			TTC 1	TTC2	
A. TEACHERS	-	-	5	5	
B. STUDENTS	1. Mathematics & Science	4 th	5	5	1. Entrepreneurship 2. Integrated Science 3. Mathematics
		5 th	5	5	
		6 th	5	5	
	2. Social Science	4 th	5	5	1. Teaching Methods and Practice 2. Social Studies 3. Creative Performance and Physical Education
		5 th	5	5	
		6 th	5	5	
	3. Languages	4 th	5	5	1. Teaching Methods and Practice 2. Foundations of Education 3. English
		5 th	5	5	
		6 th	5	5	
	Total: 3 Streams of Study	9 classes	45 participants	45 participants	9 subjects focused on in the interviews

The above table shows that 5 teachers in TTC1 and 5 in TTC2 participated in the interviews. They were selected because of the core courses they teach in the different streams of study. This ‘default’ selection may be compared to a ‘homogeneous case sampling (Kemper et al, 2003: 282)’ because it allowed for in-depth study of attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in that particular group of teachers.

On the other hand, 5 students were randomly selected from each of the 9 classes (levels of study) and streams of study. Thus, a total of 90 students in the 2 TTCs (45x2) participated in group interviews. Again this ‘default’ sampling may be compared to the ‘purposeful sampling technique’ described by Patton (1990 in Sandelowski, 2000), or more specifically, ‘stratified purposive sampling’ which consists of ‘dividing the purposefully selected target population into strata [...] with a goal of discovering elements that are similar or different across the subgroups (Kemper et al., 2003: 282)’. In other words, even though the student samples were selected from their ordinary subgroups (i.e. classes and streams of study), the information they contributed achieved this goal. Finally, the 9 subjects presented in the table are the core courses in the different streams of study. They were specifically commented during interviews with teachers and group interviews with students.

3.3.3 Ethics Considerations and Procedures for the Administration of the Enquiry

In accordance with the University of the Witwatersrand Policy on Research Ethics, an application form was duly completed and addressed to the University Ethics Committee; and permission to conduct research on Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in two Teacher Training Colleges in Rwanda was granted. Furthermore, the research was undertaken in cognizance of the participants’ right to informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, and protection from harm. ‘Information Sheets’ providing details on the identity of the researcher and the nature and purpose of the research were, therefore, addressed to teacher and student participants. Also, participants were assured that participation is voluntary, that the right to refuse to answer certain questions and withdraw from participation at any time was granted. Thus, by signing a form designed for that purpose, participants consented to filling a survey questionnaire, participating in interviews, and having their answers tape-recorded. Finally, enthusiasm on the part of participants and courtesy on the part of the researcher towards all the people involved in the study resulted in smooth running of the entire process.

3.3.4 The Instruments

As mentioned earlier, both Quantitative and Qualitative data were collected concurrently in the present study. Two instruments, the Questionnaires and the Interviews, were used to collect the data. A detailed account of these instruments follows.

3.3.4.1 The Questionnaires

Two questionnaires (one for teachers – Appendix A1, and the other, for students – Appendix A2) were prepared. They are a mixture of multiple choice questions, Likert scale ratings, and open-ended questions; and they are divided into three sections tapping different kinds of information as follows.

Section 1 concerns the respondents' '*Language Experiences*'. This information is necessary for the study of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI because, as agreed upon by most scholars (Agheyisi & Fishman (1970), attitudes are formed from past experiences (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). In the context of the present research, 'Language Experiences' is defined in terms of 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of Languages; and the aim is to gather information on the languages that teachers and students know (i.e. MTs and ALs); and the ones that they use at home or at school for social communication; and those they use at school for teaching/studying.

Section 2 is about '*Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English*'. Since 'existing instruments can be used or adapted for use instead of preparing new ones (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006: 195)', it is a shortened adaptation of Gardner's (1985: 177) Attitude/motivation Test Battery. It is further divided into four Subsections drawing on Gardner's (1985) concept of L2 Motivation which identifies four components. Thus, Subsection 2.1 contains questions tapping information on participants' efforts to learn English (referred to as 'Motivational Intensity' in Gardner's theory); Subsection 2.2 is about whether they have a desire (=strong wish) to learn English; Subsection 2.3 is designed to establish whether TTC teachers and students have positive attitudes toward learning English; and Subsection 2.4 (labeled 'Motivational Orientations') is concerned with TTC teachers' and students' prospects of using English. As a whole structure, Section 2 features all the elements that constitute Gardner's (1985) L2 motivation concept; it is thus used to ascertain the extent of TTC teachers' and students' motivation to learn English.

Section 3 concerns '*Attitudes toward English as a MoI*'. As previously mentioned, 'using English as a MoI' means 'using it to teach' and 'using it to study'. Therefore, while the two first sections (1 and 2) are basically the same in teachers' and students' questionnaires, Section 3 differs in both questionnaires: For Teachers, it investigates the way in which English is used to 'mediate knowledge', and for Students, it investigates the way in which they use English to 'cognitively process' knowledge. The distinction between these two complementary tasks draws on Anderson & Krathwohl's (2001) Taxonomy for Teaching, Learning, and Assessing, suggesting that the object of teaching/learning is 'knowledge', and that the process involved in understanding knowledge is 'cognition'. Thus for teachers, Section 3 focuses on the different categories of knowledge, (*Factual, Conceptual, Procedural, and Metacognitive*), while for students it focuses on the different levels of knowledge processing (*Remember, Understand, Apply, Analyze, Evaluate, Create*) as identified in Anderson & Krathwohl's (2001) Taxonomy.

Furthermore, whereas Gardner's (1985) L2 Motivation construct is a convenient reference for investigating *Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English*, there is no ready-made framework for investigating *Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI* as a single construct. Therefore, the definition of 'attitude' has been used as a convenient starting point for investigating the construct, and thus; Section 3 starts by an investigation of *Attitudes toward English as MoI*. This is done in two broad phases corresponding respectively to Subsection 3.1 and Subsection 3.2, which are further divided into three parts corresponding to the three aspects of the 'attitude' definition, namely: ***Cognitive Aspect (3.1.1), Affective Aspect (3.1.2), and Conative Aspect (3.1.3).***

As a whole, Subsection 3.1 as described above is about 'General Attitudes toward English as MoI'. It should be emphasized that, following the inception of English as MoI, the general public received the new language in education policy in a certain way. Since teachers and students are part of this 'general public', their opinions, feelings, and prospects for action in this broad sense, constitute an important starting point for a study of their **Motivation to Use English as MoI**.

From a more specific perspective, the second phase of the evaluation of TTC teachers' and students' 'Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI' is carried out in Subsection 3.2. This Subsection draws attention to specific attitudes directly related to academic work, and is broken

into three smaller parts in order to capture the cognitive, affective, and conative aspects of teachers' attitudes toward English as MoI. The items in these parts are distributed as follows:

'3.2.1 Cognitive Aspect' comprises three items, one tapping teachers' opinion on whether they find it difficult/easy to use English to talk about basic elements (=factual knowledge) in their subjects, another enquiring about what they think about using English for more complex notions (=conceptual knowledge), and a third one concerned about explaining techniques and methods (=procedural knowledge) in their subjects.

'3.2.2 Affective Aspect' also comprises three items. They enquire about teachers' feelings when using English to mediate knowledge by respectively asking them to indicate whether they find it enjoyable, satisfying, annoying or frustrating to deal with basic elements (=factual knowledge) in English, to explain complex notions (=conceptual knowledge) in English, and to talk about techniques and methods (=procedural knowledge) in English.

Finally, **'3.2.3 Conative Aspect'** is about what teachers do to efficiently 'mediate knowledge' in their subjects in the context of Rwanda. Four items are respectively used to enquire (1) whether they use all the linguistic resources available (mainly English, French, and Kinyarwanda) to the students, (2) whether they stick to the exclusive use of English, (3) whether they have to compensate for limited competences in English by other aids like massive notes on the blackboard, and (4) whether they resort to different languages for the preparation of lessons.

The information gathered from Subsection 3.2 in this Questionnaire gives some insight into teachers' attitudes as directly influenced by the realities of the task of teaching through English as the new MoI. Similar information has been provided by students through items composed from a student's task perspective, and thus, Subsection 3.2 in the students' Questionnaire is also broken into three smaller parts: The four items in **'3.2.1. Cognitive Aspect'** focus respectively on **'Remember'**, the lowest 'cognitive level of knowledge processing which most likely works for acquiring 'factual knowledge' (item 1); **'Understand'**, a higher level of cognitive processing necessary for processing 'conceptual knowledge' (item 2), **'Apply'**, an even higher level required for processing 'procedural knowledge' (item 3), and finally, **'Analyze'**, yet another higher level of cognitive processing which applies to any type of knowledge (item 4).

'3.2.2 Affective Aspect' also comprises three items which investigate students' feelings when using English to cognitively process knowledge. Thus item 1 enquires whether students find it

enjoyable, satisfying, annoying or frustrating to **remember** basic elements (=factual knowledge) in English; item 2 is meant to find out whether they find it enjoyable, satisfying, annoying or frustrating to try and **understand** complex classifications, principles, theories, etc. (=conceptual knowledge) in English, and item 3 is concerned with students' feelings when trying to **analyze** the information presented in their subjects in English.

Finally, '**3.2.3 Conative Aspect**' is about what students do to study efficiently in English. Item 1 in this part of the Students' Questionnaire enquires whether they use all the linguistic resources available (mainly English, French, and Kinyarwanda) to them. Item 2 tries to find out whether, between schoolmates, they resort to Kinyarwanda and French which are the most likely to be used among them, and item 3 focuses on the possibility of translation of notes in English into French or Kinyarwanda for better understanding.

As in the case of teachers, the information gathered from Subsection 3.2 allows for some insight into students' attitudes when faced with the real situation of studying through English. It should be pointed out that in both teachers' and students' questionnaires, the items hitherto described are closed-ended questions. Indeed, in Section 1 and Section 2 (Subsections 2.1 and 2.2) (see Appendices A1 & A2), teachers and students contributed information through multiple choice questions: They were presented with several possibilities, and their task was to choose the one that corresponded to the information they wanted to impart. Likewise, in Subsections 2.3 and 2.4, and in Section 3 (see Appendices A1 & A2) respondents had to choose from possibilities proposed to them, but this time, on a Likert Scale.

What is suggested then is that, in all these types of items, respondents had only to choose from possibilities presented to them: They were not given a chance to compose their own answers. For items in Section 2 about 'Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English', this state of affairs was kept as it is because the items were an adaptation of Gardner's (1985) L2 Motivation Test Battery, and because the items as a whole were enough to test the L2 Motivation construct.

On the contrary, in Section 3, 'Attitudes and Motivation to Use English as MoI' is a construct which is still to be explored. In the first phase, therefore, only items for evaluating 'Attitudes toward English as MoI' through the 'cognitive', 'affective', and 'conative' aspects of the construct were available. Consequently, the complementary information on teachers' and students' motivation was drawn from open-ended questions and thus, at the end of each set of

closed-ended items in Section 3 (see Appendices A1 & A2), an open-ended item was proposed as an invitation to TTC teachers and students to '*add any other comment*'.

In the space thus provided under 'Write here any other comment about using English as MoI', teachers and students could express themselves freely. It is from these open-ended items that the additional information necessary to ascertain their Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI was tapped.

3.3.4.2 The Interview Instruments

As noted from the outset, whereas teachers could be interviewed individually, students could not because of their big number. Therefore, two interviewing techniques, the 'interview' and the 'focus group interview' were used, and thus, two interview instruments were prepared. These instruments contained **semi structured questions** which were 'phrased to allow for individual responses (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006: 204)'. Moreover, they were 'specific in their intent (Ibid. 2006: 204)' meaning that the themes they were intended to document were clearly known to the researcher and thus, were included in the formulation of the interview core questions. Following are details.

Core Questions for Interviews with Teachers

Eleven core questions (see Appendix B1) were prepared for interviews with teachers. They are divided into three sections, corresponding to the themes that were to be explored. In Section one, the theme of '*Language Experiences and Professional Details*' was explored. Through the six questions that it comprised, individual teachers could "identify themselves as language users in Rwanda" (Subsection 1.1) and elaborate on their "Professional Training and Experience" (Subsection 1.2) and thus, provide information that constitutes a good picture of individual teachers' language experiences.

Section 2, on the other hand, led the interviews into the 'heart of the matter' because teachers' '*Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI*' were clearly defined. Indeed teachers could expose their ideas (Q7) and feelings (Q8) about English as MoI; explain the way in which they generally use English to deal with lesson planning, class delivery, and exams and assignments setting (Q9); speak of details of their everyday work, and more specifically, focus on the challenges of teaching their respective subjects in English through Q10 of Subsection 2.2.

Finally in Section 3 (Q11), teachers were given an opportunity to make general comments on any other issue concerning English as MoI.

Core Questions for Group Interviews with Students

For Group interviews with students, twelve core questions (see Appendix B3) were prepared. They were divided into four sections focusing on the same themes as in interviews with teachers, the difference being that for teachers the focus was on *teaching*, while for students the focus was on *learning*.

Section 1 is entitled '*Language Experiences*'. It is about the language students prefer to use (Q1), the language(s) they know and their competence in using them (Q2), and the processes they went through to learn these languages (Q3). This information is useful for evaluating the real status of English among the students as compared to the other languages.

Section 2 concerns '*Attitudes and Motivations toward Learning English*'. The questions proposed in this section enhanced the discussion of what students think about learning English (Q4), what they feel about learning English (Q5), and what they do to learn English (Q6). This section gave the students an opportunity to exteriorize their real attitudes and motivation toward learning it, and to express their understanding of the role of English in Rwanda as well as the position of the language in the region and in the world.

Section 3 is the longest part of the Group interview schedule. It is comprised of two Subsections of which one (Subsection 3.1) is about General Attitudes toward English as MoI while the other (Subsection 3.2.) focuses on the use of English in specific subjects. Thus, Subsection 3.1 proposes three general questions about what students think (Q7) and feel (Q8) about using English to study, and what they do (Q9) to efficiently use it to study.

These simple questions were used to trigger a discussion of the students' real and deep felt-thoughts about English as MoI. Subsection 3.2 also pursued the same objective by giving a list of the core courses in each stream of study (Q10), with a view to putting the students in the mood to recall the real situations of English use as MoI and thus, invite them to relate their attitudes to real and lived challenges of 'cognitively processing knowledge' in English.

After a look at the core subjects in each stream of study, the group interviews turned to a more general consideration of 'cognitive processing' of knowledge (Q11) by pointing to the

challenges involved in **remembering** the basic content of their subjects in English; **reflecting on and understanding** concepts and theories in their subjects in English; **applying** theories and notions learnt through English; and **analyzing** the information they get from their subjects in English. Finally, to conclude the group interviews, Q12 in Section 4 asked the students to add any other point that had not been discussed in other sections.

Overall, in both Core Questions for Interviews with Teachers and Core Questions for Group-interviews with Students, the themes developed are purposefully the same as the ones developed in questionnaires: This apparent duplication was meant to have parallel information from survey questionnaires and from interviews, and thus, have a possibility to compare ‘quantitative data’ and ‘qualitative data’.

3.3.5 Implementation of the Data Collection Process

Once the sources of data identified, the task was to negotiate access to these sources. This was done at different levels: The level of the University of the Witwatersrand, the level of the Ministry of Education, the level of the college management, and the level of individual participants. The following steps were, therefore, taken to access the data sources.

3.3.5.1 Permission from the Hierarchy of TTC Authorities

Subsequent to approval of my application for ethics clearance by the Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities (see **Protocol: 2010ECE46C**), request for permission to conduct research in the two TTCs was addressed to different authorities including the Director of Research in the Ministry of Education (and a copy sent to my University, i.e. Kigali Institute of Education), the *Nyagatare* District Mayor¹⁸, the *Rubavu* District Mayor, and the Teacher Training College Directors. Permission from the Ministry of Education was promptly granted (See **Permission No: MINEDUC/S&T/028/2011**) and District authorities declared that it was enough to allow me to contact the TTCs’ authorities directly, and when I contacted the latter, they also granted permission promptly. The task that was remaining, therefore, was to conduct the actual data collection process. This required support not only from school authorities, but also from teachers and students.

¹⁸ The level of the District originally scheduled to issue permission referred me to the Ministry of Education.

3.3.5.2 Administration of the Data Collection Process

The Questionnaires

In order to obtain the desired information, certain measures were taken for the administration of the questionnaires. The first concern was to make sure that sufficient copies were available for all teachers and students. Preparation of enough copies was possible because the two TTC population statistics could be obtained beforehand from the administration of the schools.

Another issue concerned the actual distribution of the questionnaires. To reach all the teachers, I sought help from the respective College Directors who organized short meetings during which I was introduced and given an opportunity to distribute the questionnaires, explain them, and discuss the process of filling them as well as the objective of my project. Thus, the first day's work resulted in nine questionnaires out of seventeen in TTC 1 and twelve out of sixteen in TTC 2 being filled and returned to me. The remaining six in TTC 1 and two in TTC 2 were filled later, collected by the administration of the school, and handed over to me the third day of my visit to the school. As a whole then, fifteen (15) questionnaires out of seventeen in TTC 1 and fourteen (14) out of sixteen in TTC 2 were filled and returned to me.

Concerning the students' questionnaires, the problem was not very difficult because they are together at the same time during class hours. Moreover, with the help of the Administration of the schools, it was possible to organize systematic distribution via the teachers who had class directly after the 10h00 a.m. break meeting mentioned above. Thus, when lessons resumed, the teachers allowed twenty to thirty minutes of their lessons to be used for filling the questionnaires, collected them, and either handed them to me personally, or put them in the Director's office where I collected them. In this way, 274 copies in TTC 1 and 351 in TTC 2 were filled and collected the same day. They were then sealed together, class by class, and stream of study by stream of study.

The Interviews and Group Interviews

Interviews and focus group interviews were conducted over two days. To ensure smooth running, the school administrators were requested in advance to avail a place that is calm for interviews: In both TTCs, the School Library and the staff room during class hours were indicated by the respective Directors as ideal places for interviews with teachers. For Group

interview with students, a multipurpose room was mobilized for a whole day to accommodate the activity.

Another practical detail concerns the equipment for interview recording. Firstly, after many trials with my laptop, it appeared that it was a better tool than a tape recorder. However, during all the interviews, a small digital recorder was used concomitantly, lest any unexpected problem with the computer should occur.

With these precautions, all the interviews went well; and they fulfilled the role they were expected to play because they allowed for a deeper understanding of what English as MoI really means for teachers and students. Indeed, even though the Questionnaires constitute a detailed probe into the themes to be explored, they somehow limited the information to the content of the items proposed in each section and subsection. In this respect, interviews offered an advantage of collecting ‘rich data (Fontana & Frey, 2000)’ originating from free expression on the different issues discussed. Furthermore, participants wholeheartedly filled the questionnaires and participated in interviews, and the analysis and comparison of results from both tools yielded useful results. The methods used for this analysis are explained next.

3.4 THE METHODS USED FOR DATA ANALYSIS

From the discussion in the preceding Section, it has appeared that multiple methods (Survey Questionnaires, ‘Open-ended Questions’, and Interviews) were used to collect the data following the principle of ‘methodological triangulation (Mackey & Gass, 2005)’. Accordingly, multiple methods were also used to analyze the same data. In this Section, I firstly present the method used to analyze the data obtained from the Survey Questionnaires and follow it with the method used to analyze the data from Open-ended Questions and Interviews.

3.4.1 Method for the Analysis of Data from Closed-ended Questions in the Survey Questionnaires

Survey Questionnaires were comprised of ‘closed-ended’ and ‘open-ended’ questions. The method used to process the data from closed-ended questions is Descriptive Statistics, a branch of statistics which is used to present and summarize data (Ryan, 2004).

In the present research, simple statistical methods of presentation were used. Firstly, since in statistical terms data are ‘measurements collected on variables as a result of taking observations (Ryan, 2004: 1)’, the different characteristics of TTC teachers and students (= variables) were given a numerical value. In the present case, the numerical value is the percentage of respondents for each item. Then, the numerical values were used for the representation of the data using tables and charts. Thus, without having to resort to complicated statistical calculations, it has been possible to use a “quasi-statistical analysis style (Miller & Grabtree, 1992:18 in Sandelowski, 2000: 338)” to describe the data.

3.4.2 Method for the Analysis of Open-ended Questions and Interview Data

The procedure for analyzing the data from Open-ended Questions and Interviews were inspired from the principles of ‘Qualitative Content Analysis’. This method ‘is a dynamic form of analysis of verbal and visual data that is oriented toward summarizing the informational content of that data (Altheide, 1987; Morgan, 1993 in Sandelowski, 2000: 338)’. Referring to the processes of analysis as exemplified in Graneheim & Lundman (2003), analysis of the qualitative data in the context of Qualitative Content Analysis proceeds by firstly determining the units of analysis. Then meaning units are identified, condensed, and given a code (or a meaning unit label). Also categories (or ‘groups of content that share a commonality (Krippendorff, 1980 in Graneheim & Lundman, 2003)’ and eventually sub-categories are created. Finally, finding connections between these elements results in data content summaries.

In the present study, these steps were facilitated by the template used to compose the Survey Questionnaires and the Core Questions for Interviews. Thus, the composition of the qualitative data content summary followed the template presented hereunder.

Section 1	<i>LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES</i>	1.1. Knowledge of Languages 1.2. Use of Language at Home 1.3. Use of Language at School for General Communication 1.4. Use of Language at School to Teach
Section 2	<i>ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD LEARNING ENGLISH</i>	2.1. Motivational Intensity 2.2. Desire to learn English 2.3. Attitude toward learning English, i.e. Attitude toward 2.4. Motivational orientation
Section 3	<i>ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH AS MoI</i>	3.1. General Attitudes (Cognitive, Affective, Conative Aspects) 3.2. Specific Attitudes (Cognitive, Affective, Conative Aspects)

As already mentioned, this template is the same as the one used for the composition of the Survey Questionnaires. The use of this template facilitated mutual corroboration between Quantitative and Qualitative data.

3.5 INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The present study was set up to explore two types of questions: The '*what*' questions and the '*how*' questions. The quantitative data descriptions from Survey Questionnaires and the qualitative data summaries from open-ended responses and interviews represent answers to the '*what*' questions: They are the 'manifest content' (Graneheim & Lundman, 2003: 106) of the data and represent the findings of the research. On the other hand, what the data 'talk about' or the 'latent content' (Ibid, 2003: 106) are attempts to answer the '*how*' questions or to interpret the findings.

In the present study, this interpretation was attempted through (1) a discussion of the *significance* of TTC teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation to English learning and use as MoI; (2) a comparison between TTC teachers' and students' on the one hand; and (3) a comparison between TTC1 and TTC2 populations in terms of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, Mixed Methods Research has been explored as the methodological approach chosen for the present study. More particularly, the orientation of the mixing of qualitative and quantitative approaches, the reason for the mixing, the breadth and depth of mixing, the mixing stage as well as the elements mixed in the study have been highlighted. Thus, it has been concluded that Concurrent Mixed Methods is the appropriate procedure for handling the complexity of 'Attitude and Motivation toward English as MoI' in Rwanda. Thereafter, the process of data collection has been described in detail by presenting the data sources, the ethics issues, and the data collection methods used. Finally, the Chapter has given details of the data analysis process and concluded on an explanation of the rationale for the interpretation of the results.

Overall, it has been argued that the descriptive objective of the present study has been achieved by comparing the quantitative summary from questionnaires and the qualitative summary from

interviews and written open-ended responses, and that analysis and interpretation combining both qualitative and quantitative data has allowed for a deep understanding of ‘attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI’ in Rwanda. In the following Chapters, these analyses are presented in detail.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Data analysis in the context of Mixed Methods Research ‘is part of a four-component, interactive, cyclical research process involving data collection, data analysis, data interpretation, and [data] legitimation’ (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003: 373). In the preceding Chapter, the procedures followed for the realization of the first of these components (i.e. Data Collection) have been presented, emphasizing the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the process. In this Chapter, the second component (i.e. Data analysis) is tackled; and the remaining components (i.e. Data legitimation and interpretation) are reserved for Chapter 5. Thus, Section 4.1 below focuses on the Quantitative data collected from Questionnaires; thereafter, Section 4.2 considers the Qualitative data obtained from the Open-ended Questions in the Questionnaires; and finally, Section 4.3 closes the Chapter with an analysis of the Qualitative data obtained from Interviews.

4.1 ANALYSIS OF THE QUANTITATIVE DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

As explained in the preceding Chapters, collection of the data in this study was geared to developing three major themes, namely: Language Experiences; Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English; and, Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. Throughout the study, these themes are discussed in order to determine who the implementers of the new language in education policy are in relation to English; what they think and feel about English and what they do to learn it; and what they think and feel about English as MoI and what they

are prepared to do to use it to teach/learn. In this Section, I firstly present the implementers of the new language in education policy in terms of their ‘language experiences’. Thereafter, I sketch their Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English. Finally, I outline their Attitudes and Motivation toward using English as MoI.

4.1.1 Teachers’ and Students’ Languages Experiences

4.1.1.1 Data Collected for the Study of Language Experiences

Language Experience in the academic context implies the attainment of both conversational and academic language competence (Cummins, 1999). Consequently, the items used in Section 1 of the Questionnaires to collect quantitative data were geared to investigating not only *Knowledge* of Languages in general, but also and most importantly, to distinguish between *Use of Language(s) at Home and at School for General Communication* (i.e. conversational competence); and *Use of Language(s) to Teach/Study* (i.e. academic competence). The resulting format of Section 1 of these questionnaires is as follows:

Section 1: Language Experiences					
Sub-Sections		Kinya-Rwanda	French	English	Other
1.1.	<i>Knowledge of Languages</i>				
1.2.	<i>Use of Language(s) at Home</i>				
1.3.	<i>Use of Language(s) at School for General Communication</i>				
1.4.	<i>Use of Language(s) at School to Teach/Study</i>				

In this format, Subsection 1.1 is separated from the others to signal the distinction between **knowledge** and **use** of languages. Also Subsection 1.4 is separated from Subsections 1.2 and 1.3 to show the distinction between use of language for **social communication** and use of language for **academic purposes** (Cummins, 1999). For each Subsection, a number of items were proposed to respondents. Before presenting the data obtained for the study of TTC teachers’ and students’ Language Experiences, I firstly list these items for ease of reference.

Items for the Study of Language Experiences

Section 1: Sub Section 1.1: Knowledge of Languages

Q1. What is your mother tongue/first language?

Q2. What other language(s) did you learn after your mother tongue?"

Subsection 1.2: Language(s) Used at Home

Q3. Which language(s) do you use at home when you speak to your family members?

Q4. Which language(s) do you use at home when you speak to friends who visit you at home?

Subsection 1.3: Language(s) Used at School for General Conversation

Q5. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to school administrators?

Q6. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to you colleagues?

Q7. Which language(s) do you use at school to speak to students?

Note: Items in the students' Questionnaire were phrased differently. They read as follows:

Q5. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to school administrators?

Q6. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to you teachers?

Q7. Which language(s) do you use at school to speak to your schoolmates?

Subsection 1.4: Language(s) Used at School to Teach/Study

Q8. Which language(s) did you use to teach before 2009 Academic Year?

Note: The preceding item implies that teachers who used English as MoI before the inception of the new language in education policy are Anglophone. For the students, however, more items are necessary to establish whether their experience in using English to study. Items in the students' Questionnaire read as follows:

Q8. Which language(s) did you use to study in Tronc Commun (=O' Level)?

Q9. Which language(s) did you use to study in 2009 Academic Year?

Q10. Which language(s) did you use to study in 2010 Academic Year?

As can be seen in this box, the items in the different Subsections are meant to reflect Cummins' (1999) distinction between 'conversational' and 'academic' language competence. Responding to these items consisted of choosing between four alternatives: The three languages that are the most likely to be used in Rwanda (i.e. Kinyarwanda, French, English) and a fourth option labeled 'Other' (meaning any other language than the three listed above). Teachers' and students' responses were then counted and classified; and, following the principles of Descriptive Statistics, each language was given a score representing a numerical value (Dey, 1993) which corresponds to the percentage of respondents for each choice. Following are the data from each Subsection tabulated for the study of the theme of Language Experiences.

Table 4: Data on TTC Teachers' and Students' Languages Experiences

1.1. Knowledge of Languages - (15 teachers and 274 students in TTC1) - (14 teachers and 351 students in TTC2)													
	Question No.	TTC 1				TTC 2				TTC1 + TTC2			
		Kinya rwanda. %	French %	English %	Other %	Kinya rwanda. %	French %	English %	Other %	Kinya rwanda. %	French %	English %	Other %
Teachers	Q1	53.3	0	0	46.6	57.1	0	0	35.7	55.2	0	0	41.1
	Q2	13.3	46.6	100	13.3	7.1	71.4	100	35.7	10.2	59	100	24.5
Total		66.6	46.6	100	59.9	64.2	71.4	100	71.4	65.4	59	100	65.6
Students	Q1	92.3	0.7	5.1	1.8	94.3	0	1.7	0.5	93.3	0.7	3.4	1.1
	Q2	7.3	41.6	82.8	5.1	0.2	78.9	90.3	23.3	4.7	60.2	86.5	14.2
Total		99.6	42.3	87.9	6.9	94.5	78.9	92	23.8	97.5	60.9	89.9	15.3
1.2. Language(s) Used at Home													
Teachers	Q3	60	0	33.3	53.3	71.4	14.2	28.5	42.8	65.7	7.1	30.9	48.0
	Q4	53.3	13.3	46.6	53.3	85.7	28.5	35.7	21.4	69.5	20.9	41.1	37.3
Average		56.6	6.6	39.9	53.3	78.5	21.3	32.1	32.1	67.6	14	36	42.6
Students	Q3	92.3	4.3	19.3	2.5	93.4	4.8	11.3	4.2	92.8	4.5	15.3	3.3
	Q4	80.2	6.5	5.8	3.2	86.6	14.5	44.4	3.9	83.4	10.5	25.1	3.5
Average		86.2	5.4	12.5	2.8	90	9.6	27.8	4.0	88.1	7.5	20.2	3.4
1.3. Language(s) Used at School for Conversation													
Teachers	Q5	6.6	6.6	100	0	50	42.8	78.5	14.2	28.3	24.7	89.2	7.1
	Q6	40	13.3	93.3	0	42.8	50.0	92.8	0	41.4	31.6	93.0	0
	Q7	6.6	0	100	0	21.4	21.4	85.7	0	14.0	10.7	92.8	0
Average		17.7	9.9	97.7	0	38.0	38.0	85.6	4.7	27.9	22.3	91.6	2.3
Students	Q5	5.8	5.4	95.2	2.1	42.1	17.0	80.3	3.4	23.9	11.2	87.7	2.8
	Q6	6.5	5.4	96.7	1.0	17.9	26.7	97.7	5.1	12.2	16.0	97.2	3.0
	Q7	29.1	8.3	87.5	2.5	59.8	26.2	77.7	5.4	44.4	17.2	82.6	3.9
Average		13.8	13.6	93.1	1.8	39.9	23.3	85.2	4.6	26.8	14.8	89.1	3.2
1.4. Language(s) Used at School to teach/study													
Teachers	Q8	6.6	13.3	66.6	0	14.2	50	42.8	0	10.4	31.6	54.7	0
Students	Q8	10.2	49.6	51.4	0.7	13.1	94.5	10.2	9.1	11.6	72.0	30.8	4.9
	Q9	12.7	35.7	62.4	0.7	9.9	62.6	42.4	15.9	11.3	49.1	52.4	8.3
	Q10	5.4	11.6	88.3	0.7	9.1	31.0	69.2	1.7	7.2	21.3	78.7	1.2
Average		9.4	32.3	67.3	0.7	10.7	62.7	40.6	8.9	10.0	47.4	53.9	4.8

In this Table, values characterizing 'Knowledge of Languages' are calculated in totals. This is due to the fact that individuals do not normally know a language as MT and as AL simultaneously. In other words, if for example 53.3% of teachers know Kinyarwanda as MT and 13.3% know it as AL, a total of 66.6% of teachers know the language. The values are therefore, cumulative. On the other hand, values characterizing the other aspects of Language Experiences

(e.g. Use of Languages at Home) are not cumulative. For that reason, they are calculated in averages.

4.1.1.2 Findings on TTC Teachers' and Students' Language Experiences

TTC Teachers' Language Experiences

In the context of this study, 'Language experiences' have been defined in terms of 'knowledge' and 'use' of English. Thus, an overview of the data on 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of Languages suggests that the TTC community of teachers is multilingual. From reading the data in column 3 of Table 4 above, it appears firstly that only 55.2% of TTC teachers have Kinyarwanda as their MT, whereas 41.1% have other languages (Luganda, Lutooro, Kiswahili, etc.) as their MTs. Secondly, all TTC teachers know and use many languages. Indeed, on the question of Additional Languages (ALs) that they know, about 10.2% mentioned Kinyarwanda as their AL; 59.0% mentioned French; 100% affirmed that they learned English; and 24.5% cited other African languages as their ALs. In terms of 'knowledge of languages' as a whole, therefore, English is universally known among TTC teachers (100%); then follow other African languages than Kinyarwanda with 65.6% of teachers who know them either as MTs (41.1%) or ALs (24.5%); Kinyarwanda then comes next with 65.4% of teachers who know it either as MT (55.2%) or AL (10.2%); and finally French closes the list with 59.0% of TTC teachers who learned it as AL.

With regard to language use, 65.7% and 69.5% of teachers declare using Kinyarwanda at home for communication with family members and visitors respectively; 7.1% and 20.9% use French for the same purposes; 30.9% and 41.1% use English; and 48.0% and 37.3% use other languages in the same circumstances, which suggests that TTC teachers are multilingual, not only in terms of Knowledge of Languages, but also in terms of effective use of those languages at their homes.

At school, however, it appears from the data in Table 4 that English becomes predominant, with 89.2% of teachers using it to communicate with school administrators; 93.0% with colleagues; and 92.8% with students. As a corollary, the use of Kinyarwanda and French are significantly reduced among TTC teachers since only 28.3% and 24.7% of teachers respectively declare using them with school administrators; 41.4% and 31.6% with colleagues; and just 14.0% and 10.7% use Kinyarwanda and French respectively with students. In other words, from the fact that it is the new MoI, English seems to have impinged on the use of the other languages tremendously since, as a whole, it dominates all TTC teachers communications (91.6%), whereas Kinyarwanda (27.9%); French (22.3%); and other languages (2.3%) are reported to be moderately used.

Finally, this dominance is reflected in the use of languages for academic purposes since all TTC teachers who do not teach Kinyarwanda, French, or Kiswahili declare using English in class. Also, as a whole the majority of TTC teachers are used to teaching in English since 54.7% used it to teach even before 2009, whereas only 31.6% taught in French before 2009; and only 10.4% used Kinyarwanda to teach before the 2009 academic year. Interestingly then, what this suggests is that, in a context like Rwanda where the national language (Kinyarwanda) is normally present in all activities, English is reported to dominate most of TTC teachers' Language Experiences both at home and at school; and this is likely to impact on their Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English.

TTC Students' Language Experiences

The data obtained from TTC student respondents (see Table 4, column 3) show that their MT is predominantly Kinyarwanda (93.3%), and that a relatively small number (0.7% French; 3.4% English¹⁹; 1.1% other) have other languages as their MTs. On the other hand, even though only 86.5% admit 'knowing English', all of them (100%) learned it as an AL since it figures in their curriculum; 60.2% learned French as a Second or Foreign language; 4.7% learned Kinyarwanda as AL; and 14.2% learned 'other' languages. In other words, as a whole 97.5% of TTC students are confident with Kinyarwanda; 100% learned English but only 89.9% admit knowing it; 60.9% indicated that they know French; and finally, 15.3% know 'other' languages as ALs.

With regard to use of the languages that they know, 92.8% and 83.4% of TTC students declare using Kinyarwanda at home respectively with their family members, and with friends who visit them at home; 15.3% and 25.1% use English for the same purposes; 4.5% and 10.5% use French in the same circumstances; and 3.3% and 3.5% use other languages. In other words, the order of importance in terms of TTC students' use of languages at home is (1) Kinyarwanda (88.1% on average); (2) English (20.2% on average); (3) French (7.5% on average); and (4) 'other' languages (3.4% on average).

At school, however, the situation seems to be the reverse. Only 23.9% against 87.7% of TTC students declare using Kinyarwanda and English respectively with school administrators; just

¹⁹ This percentage of native speakers of English among students seemed to me to be too high and, hence, intriguing. Later during interviews, however, I could understand what they meant by 'first language' when some respondents indicated that they learned **some English** in the environment where they grew up along with Kinyarwanda. Still, even though such students might be in a better position to use English to study, it would be misleading to consider them as native speakers of English.

12.2% as opposed to 97.2% claim using the two languages with teachers; and 44.4% against 82.6% affirm that they use Kinyarwanda and English respectively with schoolmates. What appears clearly as a whole then is that English is presented as the most important language for general conversation at school (89.1% on average), then follows Kinyarwanda (26.8% on average); next comes French (14.8% on average), and finally other languages close the list with just 3.2% on average.

Still for academic purposes, the same situation prevails since English is used in all subjects except in Kinyarwanda, French, and Kiswahili subjects. However, contrary to their teachers who, in majority, are used to teaching in English, TTC students report that 30.8% used English as MoI in O' level, whereas 72.0% used French; 52.4% switched to English as MoI in 2009 immediately following the inception of the language in education policy, whereas 49.1% still used French; and it is only in 2010 that the majority of students (78.7%) started using English as MoI, whereas 21.3% still used French.

Overall then, the data (Table 4) show that TTC students' experience in using English to study is estimated at around 53.9%; their experience with French use as MoI at 47.4%; and the experience to use Kinyarwanda and other languages, at about 10.0% and 4.8% respectively. Added to their high experience in using Kinyarwanda for social communication (88.1%), this indicates that they are fundamentally different from their teachers whose experience with teaching in English is higher (54.7%) than the experience with teaching in French (31.6%); and whose use of Kinyarwanda at home (i.e. for social communication) is relatively limited (67.6%).

4.1.1.3 Conclusion on TTC Teachers' and Students' Language Experiences

As a whole, the analysis of the data on language experiences has shown that both TTC teachers and students are a multilingual community. Beyond this general observation, however, it is noteworthy that TTC students' knowledge and experience with Kinyarwanda is higher than their teachers', which correlates with the latter's higher knowledge and experience with the other languages used in the country (English, French, and Kiswahili). This suggests that, in the context of Rwanda where Kinyarwanda (the national language) dominates communication in practically all activities, TTC students are closer to the general public as compared to their teachers. This point, however, will be elaborated in Chapter 5 as it pertains to comparison between TTC teachers and students.

4.1.2 Teachers' and Students' Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

The data on Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English were collected through Section 2 of the questionnaires used in this study. This Section featured the different components of one of the best known L2 Motivation constructs, namely: Gardner's (1985) theory of L2 Motivation in the context of his Socio-educational model of L2 Learning. The template for the composition of items in this Section was as follows:

Section 2: Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

- 2.1 Effort (=Motivational Intensity) to Learn English
- 2.2 Desire (=Strong Wish) to learn English
- 2.3 Attitude toward learning English, i.e. Attitude toward:
 - 2.3.1 English itself
 - 2.3.2 English speaking people
 - 2.3.2 The learning situation
- 2.4. Motivational orientation
 - 2.4.1 Integrative Motivation
 - 2.4.2 Instrumental Motivation

Owing to the size of this Section and the diversity of the Subsections it contains, different strategies of enquiry were used. Thus, for ease of presentation, I divide the Section into 3 parts encompassing respectively: 'Effort' and 'Desire' to Learn English; 'Attitudes toward Learning English'; and 'Motivational Orientation'. Also, for the convenience of the reader, I provide in each part, the key to items used to investigate these components, and explain the procedure for computing the data.

4.1.2.1 Efforts and Desire to Learn English

a. Data Collected for the Study of Effort and Desire to Learn English

Data on 'Effort' and 'Desire' to learn English were collected from Section 2 (Subsections 2.1 and 2.2). Items in these Subsections were multiple choice questions. For each item, teachers and students had to choose from three options numbered **a)**; **b)**; and **c)** of which one was deemed to be the most likely to convey participants' highest level of **effort** and **desire** to learn English. Thus, the options presented for each item in the following figure were chosen as the most indicative of effort and desire to learn English in TTCs.

Items for the Study of 'Effort' and 'Desire' to Learn English

Section 2: Subsection 2.1. Effort (=Motivational Intensity) to Learn English

- Q1. I actively think about the English I have to use in class very frequently (**a**)
- Q2. When I have a problem finding the good English for something during the lesson, I am sure to find out how to say it as soon as I get some free minutes. (**a**)

- Q3. When I prepare my lessons, I work very carefully, making sure I know how to say everything **(b)**
 Q4. Considering how I make effort to better my English, I can honestly say that I really try to learn English. **(c)**
 Q5. When Rwanda TV is broadcasting in English, I try to watch it often carefully and try to understand all the words. **(c)**

Note: Items in the students' Questionnaire were phrased differently. They read as follows:

- Q1. When I have a problem understanding something in English, I immediately ask the teacher for help. **(a)**
 Q2. When it comes to English homework, I work very carefully, making sure I understand everything. **(b)**
 Q3. If my teacher wanted someone to do an extra English assignment, I would definitely volunteer. **(b)**
 Q4. When I get my English assignment back, I always rewrite them, correcting my mistakes. **(a)**
 Q5. When I hear an English song on the radio, I listen carefully and try to understand all the words. **(b)**

Subsection 2.2. Desire (=Strong wish) to learn English

- Q1. When I am outside of school where English is used, I take the opportunity to speak English, using the other languages only if necessary. **(b)**
 Q2. If there were an English club in my neighbourhood, I would be most interested in joining. **(b)**
 Q3. I find learning English very helpful. **(c)**
 Q4. When I go to a film rental house, I definitely choose one in English. **(b)**
 Q5. If there were English speaking families in my neighbourhood, I would speak English with them as much as possible. **(c)**

Note: Items in the students' Questionnaire were phrased differently. They read as follows:

- Q1. During English class, I would like to have as much English as possible spoken. **(b)**
 Q2. If I had the opportunity to speak English outside of school, I would speak English most of the time, using other languages only if really necessary. **(b)**
 Q3. If there were an English club in my neighbourhood, I would be most interested in joining. **(b)**
 Q4. Compared to my other courses, I like English the most **(a)**
 Q5. If it were up to me whether or not to take English, I would definitely take it. **(a)**

Teachers' and students' responses were counted and percentages for each item were computed.

Table 5 below summarizes the data thus obtained.

Table 5: Data on Effort and Desire to Learn English in TTCs

Question No	- (15 teachers & 274 students in TTC1) - (14 teachers & 351 students in TTC2)											
	Teachers				Students				Teachers		Students	
	TTC1		TTC2		TTC1		TTC2		TTC1 + TTC2		TTC1 + TTC2	
		Scores (%)		Scores (%)		Scores (%)		Scores (%)		Scores (%)		Scores (%)
2.1. Effort (=Motivational Intensity)												
Q1	A	73.3	A	71.4	a	89.4	A	90.0	A	72.3	a	89.7
Q2	a	80.0	A	85.7	b	82.8	B	69.2	A	82.8	b	76.0
Q3	b	53.3	B	78.5	b	45.9	B	52.1	B	65.9	b	49.0
Q4	c	53.3	C	57.1	a	66.4	A	70.0	C	55.2	a	68.2
Q5	c	60.0	C	71.4	b	76.2	B	75.4	C	65.7	b	75.8
Total score		63.9		72.8		72.1		71.3		68.3		71.4
2.2. Desire (= strong wish) to Learn English												
Q1	B	60.0	B	85.7	b	74.4	B	54.9	B	72.8	b	64.6
Q2	b	73.3	B	71.4	b	71.8	B	49.8	B	72.3	b	60.8
Q3	c	80.0	C	42.8	b	83.5	B	70.9	C	61.4	b	77.2
Q4	b	73.3	B	14.2	a	64.5	A	54.7	B	43.7	a	59.6
Q5	c	66.6	C	71.4	a	70.4	A	67.8	C	69.0	a	69.1
Total score		70.6		57.1		72.9		59.6		63.8		66.2

In this Table, the letters **a, b, c**, represent the options that are the most likely to indicate that participants make ‘effort’ to learn English and have the ‘desire’ to do so. In front of each option, the percentage for each category of respondents (i.e. teachers in TTC1 and TTC2, students in TTC1 and TTC2, teachers in TTC1+TTC2, students in TTC1+TTC2) is indicated. Total scores for each category were computed and tabulated. The values thus obtained represent measurements of ‘Effort’ and ‘Desire’ to learn English.

b. Findings on TTC Teachers’ and Students’ Efforts and Desire to Learn English

Teachers’ Effort and Desire to Learn English

As can be seen from reading Table 5, TTC teachers generally make effort to learn English. This is mainly shown by the way they (72.3%) actively think about the English to use in class; the way they (82.8%) hasten to find out appropriate words in English for something that has caused them a problem in class; the way they (65.9%) make effort to know how to say everything when they prepare lessons; and the way a significant number of them (65.7%) take advantage of opportunities like TV programs to improve their English. Apparently, however, not many TTC teachers seem to explicitly acknowledge the effort to learn English since only 55.2% declare that they really make effort to learn English; but this does not signify that they do not expend effort on learning English since the average score of 68.3% testifies to this effort.

As regards the desire to learn English, again the data in Table 5 show that TTC teachers have a strong wish to learn (or know more) English. This is evidenced by the fact that they (61.4%) think that learning English is ‘very helpful’, by their (72.3%) willingness to join an English club if there were any in their neighborhood, and by their (72.8%) readiness to practice English when an opportunity presents itself. Finally, another evidence of their desire to learn English is that they (69.0%) would speak English with English families as much as possible if there were some in their neighborhood. However, all these examples are contrasted by the fact that TTC teachers do not seem to be ready to enjoy entertainment in English since only 43.7% prefer a film in English when they go to a film rental house.

Students’ Effort and Desire to Learn English

For the description of data from TTC students, again I refer to Tables 5. From this table, it appears that TTC students generally (71.4%) make effort to learn English because they (89.7%) do not hesitate to ask the teacher when there is something in English they do not understand; because they (76.0%) work carefully on their English homework trying to understand

everything; because even while listening to songs in English they (75.8%) try to understand all the words; and because they (68.2%) always rewrite their homework, trying to correct all the mistakes. However, it seems that they (49.0%) would not volunteer for extra assignment, which is rather normal with most students.

As concerns the desire to learn English, still the data in Table 5 show that TTC students have a strong wish to learn (or know more) English since they (77.2%) would join an English club if there were one in their neighborhood. Also they (64.6%) would like to have as much English spoken in class as possible; they (60.8%) would speak it as much as possible if they had an opportunity to do so outside of the school; and if they had a choice to study English or not to study it, they (69.1%) would take it anyway. Apparently, however, TTC students who prefer English to all the other courses are not as many (59.6%).

4.1.2.2 Attitudes toward Learning English

a. Data Collected for the Study of Attitudes toward Learning English

According to Gardner (1985), Attitudes toward Learning English encompass ‘Attitudes toward English Itself’, ‘Attitudes toward English Speaking People’, and ‘Attitudes toward the Learning Situation.’ In this study, these components were respectively measured through the following series of items.

Items for the Study of Attitudes toward Learning English

Section 2: Subsection 2.3. Attitudes toward Learning English

2.3.1 Attitudes toward English Itself

- Q1 : English is really a beautiful language
- Q2 : Learning English is really great
- Q3 : Learning English is enjoyable
- Q4 : Everyone should learn as much English as possible
- Q5 : Most people who start learning English end up really loving it

2.3.2 Attitudes toward English Speaking People: *English Speaking people are:*

- Q1 : admired people
- Q2 : friendly and hospitable
- Q3 : trustworthy and dependable
- Q4 : cheerful, agreeable and good humoured
- Q5 : very kind and generous

2.3.3 Attitudes toward the Learning Situation

- Q1 : There are many good opportunities to learn English in my neighborhood
- Q2 : When I try to speak English outside of school, I wonder how people interpret my effort

- Q3 : I often think of taking some private English lessons but I am not sure to find good places that teach English well
- Q4 : In many contexts in Rwanda, one feels awkward to try and practice speaking English.
- Q5 : I often think of making more effort to learn English, but there are so many other things to do.

Note: Items 2, 3, 4 are different in the students' Questionnaire but they are still negative. They read as follows:

- Q2 : When I try to speak English outside of the classroom, I wonder how people interpret my effort
- Q3 : It is difficult to find reading materials written in English.
- Q4 : When I am not at school, I feel awkward trying to practice my English.

Items for the investigation of 'Attitudes toward English' and 'Attitudes toward English speaking people' proposed certain qualities allegedly characterizing English, and English speaking people. It was assumed that teachers' and students' agreeing or disagreeing with them is an indication of their positive or negative attitudes toward English and English speaking people. Items for the investigation of 'Attitudes toward the Learning Situation' on the other hand, were composed differently. Whereas item 1 was phrased positively, items 2, 3, 4, and 5 were negative about the learning situation (e.g. feeling awkward trying to practice English in the context of Rwanda). High scores on the positive item was an indication of positive attitudes, whereas high scores on the negative items was an indication of negative attitudes, and scores were calculated accordingly.

Another point to note is that, contrary to Subsections 2.1 and 2.2 where the items were conceptualized on the multiple choice model, items for collecting the data on 'Attitudes toward Learning English' (Subsection 2.3) and 'Motivational Orientations' (Subsection 2.4) were composed on a Likert scale model featuring four alternative choices, namely *Strongly Agree*; *Agree*; *Disagree*; and *Strongly Disagree*. Responses which 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' with the content of the proposed items were computed as **Accept**, just as the responses which 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' with the content of the proposed items were computed as **Reject**. The reason for aggregating the above two alternatives two by two (i.e. *Strongly Agree* and *Agree* on the one hand, and *Disagree* and *Strongly Disagree* on the other) is that, as Cohen et al. (2001: 253 in Moodley, 2003: 180) has indicated, one respondent's *Strongly Agree* may be another's *Agree*. Table 6 below summarizes the data thus obtained.

Table 6: Data on Attitudes toward Learning English in TTCs²⁰

2.3 Attitudes toward Learning English

- (15 teachers and 274 students in TTC1)
- (14 teachers and 351 students in TTC2)

		Teachers				Students				Teachers		Students	
		TTC1		TTC2		TTC1		TTC2		TTC1 + TTC2		TTC1 + TTC2	
		Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject
2.3.1 Attitudes toward English Itself													
	Q1	100	0	92.8	7.1	95.2	1.4	86.8	2.5	96.4	3.5	91	1.9
	Q2	100	0	92.8	7.1	88.6	9.1	81.4	15.0	96.4	3.5	84	12.0
	Q3	100	0	92.8	7.1	91.2	4.3	85.7	11.3	96.4	3.5	88.4	7.8
	Q4	93.3	0	85.7	7.1	82.1	13.8	76.6	22.2	89.5	3.5	79.3	18
	Q5	100	0	100	0	90.1	6.9	78.6	17.6	100	0	84.3	12.2
Total score		98.6	0	92.8	5.6	89.4	7.1	82.4	13.7	95.4	2.8	85.4	10.3
2.3.2 Attitudes toward English Speaking People													
	Q1	100	0	92.8	7.1	73.7	23.3	77.2	19.9	96.4	3.5	75.4	21.6
	Q2	93.3	6.6	92.8	0	63.1	33.2	63.2	36.4	93.0	3.3	83.1	34.8
	Q3	73.3	20.0	50.0	28.5	62.7	29.9	49.8	41.3	61.6	24.2	56.2	35.6
	Q4	86.6	6.6	71.4	14.2	65.6	27.7	62.9	30.1	79.0	10.4	64.2	28.9
	Q5	86.6	6.6	64.2	21.4	64.2	31.3	63.5	31.9	75.4	14	63.8	31.6
Total score		87.9	7.9	74.2	14.2	65.8	29.0	63.3	31.9	81.3	11.0	68.5	30.5
2.3.3 Attitudes toward the Learning Situation													
	Q1	46.6	53.3	35.7	64.2	93.0	2.5	86.6	9.9	41.1	58.7	89.8	6.2
	Q2	73.3	20.0	64.2	28.5	77.3	16.7	83.7	11.6	68.7	24.2	80.5	14.2
	Q3	53.3	33.3	50.0	42.8	45.6	48.1	47.5	41.0	51.6	38.0	46.5	44.5
	Q4	66.6	26.6	71.4	21.4	67.8	27.7	59.2	36.1	69.0	24.0	63.5	31.9
	Q5	40.0	53.3	78.5	14.2	70.4	25.9	68.6	25.6	59.2	33.7	69.5	25.7
Total score		35.9	57.3	28.5	65.6	42.2	52.7	42.1	53.7	32.2	61.4	41.2	53.2
OVERALL		74.1		65.1		65.8		63.9		69.6		65.0	

As can be seen in this Table, following Gardner's (1985) definition of Attitudes toward L2 learning, measures of Attitudes toward English Itself; Attitudes toward English Speaking People; and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation were first computed separately, and then an overall total was calculated to represent 'Attitudes toward learning English' as one construct. The figures in the last box represent answers to negative items, and are thus computed as negative. Thus for example 73.3% represents 'accept a negative statement'. It is computed as 'Reject'.

b) Findings on TTC Teachers' and Students' Attitudes toward Learning English

Firstly, concerning attitudes toward English itself, TTC teachers have remarkably positive attitudes toward English itself as shown in Table 6. Indeed, these teachers (96.4%) think that it is

²⁰ For the presentation of the data in this Table, and in Tables 7 and 8 that follow it, the rubrics **Accept** and **Reject** are used to represent the choices 'Strongly Agree' and 'Agree' (=Accept) and 'Strongly Disagree' and 'Disagree' (=Reject) respectively. The two columns are shown in parallel to highlight the differences. Also the figures in the last box are in bold to signal that 'Accept' is counted as representing a negative statement whereas 'Reject' is counted as representing a positive statement.

really a beautiful language; that learning it is really great (96.4%) and enjoyable (96.4%); and that not only everyone should learn as much English as possible (89.5%), but also that most people who start learning it end up really loving it (100%).

Secondly, TTC teachers also have positive attitudes toward English speaking people since they (96.4%) generally think that they are admired people; that they are friendly and hospitable (93.0%); that they are cheerful, agreeable and good humored (79.0%); that they are very kind and generous (75.4%); and (to a lesser degree), that they are trustworthy and dependable (61.6%).

In contrast, however, TTC teachers' attitudes seem to be less favorable to the learning situation. Indeed, at the same time that very few (41.1%) think there are good opportunities to learn English in their neighborhood; most of them (68.7%) are hindered in their endeavor to practice English because they worry about how people interpret their effort. Also, a significant number of them (69.0%) think that one feels awkward to try and practice speaking English in the context of Rwanda; a fairly good number of them (59.2%) would take some private lessons in English, but have many other things to do; and another considerable number (51.6%) cannot find good places that teach English well.

Overall then, it appears that TTC teachers consider the English learning situation as unfavourable (32.2% in average). Nonetheless, they generally hold positive attitudes toward learning English (69.6% in average). As shown below, their students' attitudes toward learning English are also positive.

Students' Attitudes toward Learning English

Firstly, as shown in Table 6, TTC students' scores indicate that they hold positive attitudes toward English itself since they (91.0%) think that it is really a beautiful language; that to learn it is enjoyable (88.4%) and 'really great' (84.0%); that 'most people who start learning English end up really loving it' (84.3%); and that 'everyone should learn as much English as possible' (79.3%). On average (85.4%), their attitudes toward English itself are highly favorable.

Secondly, TTC students' attitudes toward English speaking people are also positive, though to a lesser degree (68.5% on average) as compared to their teachers (81.3%). Indeed, as Table 6 still shows, TTC students generally think that English speaking people are admired people (75.4%);

that they are friendly and hospitable (83.1%); cheerful, agreeable, and good humored (64.2%); very kind and generous (63.8%); and trustworthy and dependable (56.2%).

Thirdly, in contrast to attitudes toward English itself (85.4% on average) and toward English speaking people (68.5% on average), TTC students' attitudes toward the learning situation are rather unfavorable (41.2% on average). Indeed, as can still be seen in Table 6, a considerable number of TTC students (89.8%) think that there are many good opportunities to learn English in their school even though some of them (46.5%) think that it is difficult to find reading materials in English. However, it appears that many of them (63.5%) feel awkward when they try to speak English outside of school; that even a greater number of them (69.5%) think that they have many things to do which prevent them from making more effort to learn English; and that still more (80.5%) worry about how other students interpret their effort when they try to speak English outside the classroom.

These are generally the attitudes and motivation of TTC teachers and students toward learning English. Their motivational orientations which constitute the last aspect of motivation to learn English according to Gardner (1985) have also been examined. Here below is the report.

4.1.2.3 Teachers' and Students' Motivational Orientation

a) Data Collected for the Study of TTC Teachers' and Students' Motivational Orientation

Motivational orientation is the last of the 4 components (Effort; Desire; Attitudes; and Motivational Orientation) of Gardner's (1985) L2 Motivation construct. The process of investigating this component (in Subsection 2.4) was the same as for the investigation of Attitudes toward Learning English (Subsection 2.3). Again for ease of reference, following are the items used to measure this aspect of teachers' and students' Motivation to Learn English.

Section 2: Subsection 2.4. Motivational Orientation

2.4.1 Integrative Motivation: *To know English will help me*

- Q1 : To be more at ease with other speakers of English whenever I meet them in the world
- Q2 : To meet and converse with more and varied people
- Q3 : To better understand and appreciate art and literature in English
- Q4 : To participate more freely in the activities of other cultures that use English as a medium of communication

2.4.2 Instrumental Motivation: *I need to know English because*

- Q1 : I'll need it to maintain my job
- Q2 : It will make me a more knowledgeable person

Q3 : It may help me to get a better job

Q4 : Other people will respect me for knowing English

Note: Items 1, 3, are different in the students' Questionnaire. They read as follows:

Q1 : I'll need it when I start my teaching career

Q3 : It may help me to get a good job

Items in this Subsection were selected to reflect two different (but non-exclusive) ultimate goals of language learning, namely: Learning a language primarily to communicate with the users of the language (integrative motivation); and learning a language for the benefits expected from knowledge of it (instrumental motivation). Table 7 below summarizes the data obtained for the study of 'Motivational Orientation'.

Table 7: Data on Motivational Orientation in TTCs

2.4 Motivational Orientations										- (15 teachers and 274 students in TTC1)				- (14 teachers and 351 students in TTC2)			
		Teachers				Students				Teachers		Students					
		TTC1		TTC2		TTC1		TTC 2		TTC1 + TTC2		TTC1 + TTC2					
		Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject				
2.4.1 Integrative Motivation																	
	Q1	93.3	0	100	0	93.7	2.9	83.1	13.9	96.6	0	88.4	8.4				
	Q2	86.6	6.6	100	0	90.5	5.1	76.0	19.3	93.3	3.3	83.2	12.2				
	Q3	93.3	0	100	0	90.8	5.1	72.3	21.3	96.6	0	81.5	13.2				
	Q4	93.3	0	100	0	91.9	5.1	84.3	11.3	96.6	0	88.1	8.2				
Total Score		91.6	1.6	100	0	91.7	4.5	78.9	16.4	95.7	0.8	85.3	10.5				
2.4.2 Instrumental Motivation																	
	Q1	73.3	20	78.5	21.4	92.7	4.3	87.7	8.5	75.9	20.7	90.2	6.4				
	Q2	93.3	0	92.8	7.1	90.8	6.5	83.7	11.6	93.0	3.5	87.2	9.0				
	Q3	60.0	33.3	78.5	21.4	93.7	4.0	87.4	9.4	69.2	27.3	90.5	6.7				
	Q4	66.6	26.6	42.8	57.1	73.7	16.7	66.6	27.3	54.7	41.8	70.1	22.0				
Total Score		73.3	19.9	73.1	26.7	87.7	7.8	81.3	14.2	73.2	23.3	84.5	11.0				

This Table presents the data on 'Integrative Motivation' and 'Instrumental Motivation' separately because people are not always supposed to be characterized by the two attributes together. Thus individuals may be integratively or instrumentally, just as they can be both integratively and instrumentally motivated. A total of data of the two components was not calculated for that reason.

b) Findings on TTC Teachers' and Students' Motivational Orientation

Teachers' Motivational Orientation

As can be seen in Table 7, TTC teachers appear to be generally more integratively motivated (95.7%) than instrumentally motivated (73.2%). Indeed, their motivation is rather 'integrative'

because they learn English; to be more at ease with other speakers of English in the world (96.6%); to better understand and appreciate art and literature in English (96.6%); to participate more freely in activities of other cultures (96.6%); and to meet and converse with more and varied people (93.3%). Still in like vein, TTC teachers are also ‘instrumentally’ motivated since they need English because it makes them more knowledgeable (93.0%); because it helps them maintain their job (75.9%); because they think other people will respect them for knowing English (54.7%); and finally, because they think English might help them to get a better job (69.2%). It appears then that TTC teachers feel the need to learn English because it is useful; but even more, they think that it is necessary for communication with the English speaking world. Their students, as elaborated below, seem to value the language equally for its usefulness and for communication.

Students’ Motivational Orientation

Contrary to their teachers’, TTC students’ motivational orientation seems to be balanced between integrative motivation (85.3% in average), and instrumental motivation (84.5% in average). Indeed, as can be seen in Table 7, TTC students mainly learn English because it might help them to get a good job (90.5%); but, at the same time, they learn it to be more at ease with other speakers of English in the world (88.4%). Also, whereas they aim to participate more freely in the activities of other cultures in learning English (88.1%), they also need English for their future career as teachers (90.2%). Still, while learning English they aim to better understand and appreciate art and literature in English (81.5%), and they also think that knowing English will make them more knowledgeable (87.2%). Finally to meet and converse with more and varied people is one of their objectives in learning English (83.2%), but also, for TTC students, another expected outcome of knowing English is to gain respect from other people (70.1%).

4.1.2.4 Conclusion on TTC Teachers’ and Students’ Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

Thus far, the data collected for the study of ‘attitudes and motivation toward learning English’ have been considered. The analysis has firstly shown that TTC teachers and students form a special group of language users in Rwanda as they ‘know’ and ‘use’, to differing degrees, the four major languages that are found in the country. On the other hand, it appeared that English is the most important language for them in the academic context, and that they are motivated to

learn it. It remains the question to know whether they are also motivated to use the language to teach and learn. Analysis of the data on attitudes toward English as MoI follows.

4.1.3 Teachers' and Students' Attitudes toward English as MoI

As I remarked earlier, contrary to 'motivation to learn a L2' which is a widely researched construct, there seems to be no theory explaining 'motivation to use a L2 as MoI' as a construct. Therefore, basing on the fact that 'motivational antecedents [are] factors that cannot be readily perceived by an external observer but still influence motivational behavior through their cognitive or affective influence (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995: 507)', I have investigated 'Attitudes toward English as MoI' in this study as the starting point for exploring TTC teachers' and students' motivation to use English as MoI.

In the figures used below to explain the items, I distinguish items used for investigating 'General Attitudes' and those used for investigating 'Specific Attitudes'. This distinction is justified by the fact that TTC teachers and students are affected by the new language in education policy on two levels.

Firstly, as part of the general public, they are likely to hold attitudes that are similar to the ones held by the general public. These attitudes are referred to as 'General Attitudes'. On the other hand, however, teachers and students are particularly affected because they are the most immediate implementers of the policy. I have referred to their attitudes as directly influenced by their everyday work using English as MoI as 'specific attitudes'. Details on data collection for the study of 'general' and 'specific' attitudes toward English as MoI are presented below.

4.1.3.1 General Attitudes toward English as MoI

a) Data Collected for the Study of Attitudes toward English as MoI

TTC teachers' and students' 'General' Attitudes were investigated through items presented in the following figure.

Section 3: Subsection 3.1. 'General' Attitudes toward English as MoI	
3.1.1 Cognitive Aspect: <i>Teaching through English</i>	
Q1: helps teachers increase their knowledge	Q1: is good for our country at large
Q2: is the best way to help students learn English	Q2: helps teachers learn English fast
Q3: helps students learn other subjects better	Q3: helps students' intellectual development

Q4: is good for our country at large	Q4: facilitates learning
*Q5: hinders students' intellectual development ²¹	Q5: is the best way to teach students English
Q6: enhances teachers' professional development	*Q6: makes students' work more complicated
Q7: helps teachers learn English fast	Q7: facilitates teachers' work

Note: Items in the students' Questionnaire were phrased differently as shown in the second column:

3.1.2 Affective Aspect: *Teaching through English makes me feel*

Q1: proud
 *Q2: annoyed
 Q3: that I am developing my communication skills in English
 *Q4: frustrated
 Q5: happy
 *Q6: unsure of myself
 *Q7: that I haven't taught as much as I wanted
 Q8: confident
 Q9: that my task is easier in English

Note: Items 5, 7, 9 are different in the students Questionnaire. They read as follows:

Q5: happy that I have an opportunity to use English
 *Q7: that I haven't learnt as much as I wanted
 Q9: that learning is made easier because of English

3.1.3 Conative Aspect: *To teach through English efficiently, I do the following*

Q1. I use a dictionary that I often carry with me
 *Q2. I rely very much on having students write down notes and rarely speak because of my poor English
 Q3. I use two books (one in French and another in English) to prepare my lessons
 Q4. I switch to French or Kinyarwanda when students do not understand what I am explaining
 Q5. I encourage fluent students to explain to their peers
 Q6. I ask my colleagues before class to help me with some difficult words in English

Note: Items 2, 3, 4, 5 are different in the students Questionnaire. They read as follows:

*Q2. I rely very much on notes written down in class
 Q3. I make effort to learn more English
 Q4. I ask the teacher while we still studying the lesson
 Q5. I try to read as many books written in English as I can

These items were composed following the principle of the multi componential aspect of attitudes (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). Thus the three sets of items are meant to assess what teachers and students *think*, *feel*, and *do* about English as MoI respectively. Also, as was the case in Section 2, items were composed following the Likert scale model featuring four alternative choices, namely: *Strongly Agree*; *Agree*; *Disagree*; and *Strongly Disagree*, and each item was given a numerical value by calculating the aggregated percentage of respondents who marked *Strongly*

²¹ * Item with negative meaning. For these kinds of items, agreeing (or strongly agreeing) with the proposition of such an item suggest negative attitudes, whereas disagreeing with it suggests positive attitudes. This factor is taken into account in the computation of total scores for each attitude aspect.

Agree and *Agree* on the one hand; and *Disagree* and *Strongly Disagree*, on the other. Percentages for each choice were calculated, and thus, respondents were estimated to have positive or negative attitudes toward English as MoI depending on these numerical values. The data collected using these items are presented below.

Table 8: ‘General’ Attitudes toward English as MoI in TTCs*²²

3.1 General Attitudes toward English as MoI										- (15 teachers and 274 students in TTC1) - (14 teachers and 351 students in TTC2)			
		Teachers				Students				Teachers		Students	
		TTC 1		TTC 2		TTC 1		TTC 2		TTC 1 + TTC 2		TTC 1 + TTC 2	
		Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject
3.1.1 Cognitive Aspect													
* *	Q1	93.3	0	78.5	7.1	93.7	2.9	88.3	3.4	85.9	3.5	91	3.1
	Q2	93.3	0	78.5	7.1	84.6	10.9	78.6	13.1	85.9	3.5	81.6	12.0
	Q3	93.3	0	71.4	14.2	85.0	6.2	81.4	8.8	82.3	7.1	83.2	7.5
	Q4	93.3	0	85.7	0	85.0	9.4	75.7	13.9	89.5	0	80.3	11.6
	Q5	26.6	66.6	42.8	42.8	83.2	10.5	77.2	11.9	34.7	54.7	80.2	11.2
	Q6	86.6	6.6	85.7	0	46.3	47.4	43.0	44.4	86.1	3.3	44.6	45.9
	Q7	86.6	6.6	85.7	0	80.2	12.7	79.4	11.1	86.1	3.3	79.8	11.9
		87.5		75.4		79.8		75.0		81.4		77.4	
3.1.2 Affective Aspect													
* * * *	Q1	60.0	26.6	71.4	7.1	74.0	20.8	55.5	37.3	65.7	16.8	64.7	29.0
	Q2	0	80.0	0	71.4	36.8	56.9	36.1	55.2	0	75.7	36.4	56.0
	Q3	86.6	0	64.2	7.1	88.3	4.0	83.1	9.6	75.4	3.5	85.7	6.8
	Q4	0	86.6	14.2	57.1	47.4	42.3	44.1	41.5	7.1	71.8	45.7	41.9
	Q5	80.0	6.0	71.4	0	80.6	11.6	80.3	12.8	75.7	3.0	80.4	12.2
	Q6	6.6	80.0	14.2	50.0	40.5	48.9	46.1	40.4	10.4	65.0	43.3	44.6
	Q7	13.3	73.3	35.7	35.7	41.9	51.0	37.8	48.4	24.5	54.5	39.8	49.7
	Q8	80.0	6.6	57.1	7.1	84.6	9.1	76.0	13.9	68.5	6.8	80.3	11.5
	Q9	66.6	20.0	64.2	14.2	79.9	12.0	74.3	16.5	65.4	17.1	77.1	14.2
		77.0		60.2		67.3		61.6		68.6		64.4	
3.1.3 Conative Aspect													
*	Q1	46.6	46.6	57.1	35.7	86.1	12.4	83.4	6.8	51.8	41.1	84.7	9.6
	Q2	13.3	80.0	7.1	71.4	61.6	35.7	67.5	27.6	10.2	85.7	64.5	31.6
	Q3	0	93.3	14.2	64.2	90.8	6.5	85.4	7.9	7.1	78.7	88.1	7.2
	Q4	13.3	80.0	50.0	28.5	85.7	9.4	81.1	10.2	31.6	54.2	83.4	9.8
	Q5	73.3	20.0	71.4	7.1	89.0	4.7	81.7	8.2	72.3	13.5	85.3	6.4
	Q6	40.0	53.3	64.2	14.2	-	-	-	-	52.1	33.7	-	-
		42.2		54.7		77.4		71.8		48.4		74.6	
		68.9		63.4		74.8		69.4		66.1		72.1	

²² Percentages from items with negative meaning are highlighted. It is noteworthy that ‘rejection’ of the proposition of these items is interpreted as positive in the analysis. Q5 (3.1.1) is negative only in Teachers’ questionnaire, and Q6 (3.1.1) is negative only in Students’ questionnaire.

This Table presents TTC teachers' General Attitudes toward English as MoI in the first column, and TTC students' General Attitudes in the second column, separating data from the two TTCs. The third column puts the same data from the two TTCs together. The analysis of the data leads to the findings presented below.

b) Findings on TTC Teachers' and Students' General Attitudes toward English as MoI

Teachers' General Attitudes toward English as MoI

As Table 8 column 3 shows, TTC teachers hold general positive attitudes toward English as MoI because they (85.9%) think that teaching through English helps teachers increase their knowledge; is the best way to help students learn English (85.9%); helps students learn other subjects better (82.3%); and is good for the country at large (89.3%). Also, a majority of TTC teachers (54.7%) against a minority of 34.7% reject the proposition that teaching through English hinders students' intellectual development; 86.1% believe that it rather enhances teacher's professional development; and 86.1% opine that it helps teachers learn English fast.

With regard to what they feel about using English as MoI, Table 8 still shows that 65.7% of TTC teachers feel proud about it; 75.4% feel that they are developing their communication skills in English; 75.7% feel happy about it; 68.5% feel confident while using it; and 65.4% feel that their teaching task is made easier by using English to teach. At the same time, 75.7% of teachers reject the suggestion that teaching through English annoys them; that it makes them feel frustrated (71.8%) and unsure of themselves (65.0%); and that it leaves them with a feeling that they haven't taught as much as they wanted (54.5%). Definitely, the way TTC teachers feel about using English as MoI shows positive attitudes (68.6% in average).

Figures about what they are ready to do (and what they are not ready to do), however, need to be considered carefully. Indeed, only 51.8% declare having a dictionary that they often use; and 52.1% admit that they ask their colleagues for explanation of some words in English. These are not bad actions towards using a L2 as MoI, but TTC teachers seem to suggest through these low figures that they do not need such help; probably because many of them estimate that their English is good enough. In the same vein, as many TTC teachers as 78.7% reject the proposition that they use other books than English books to prepare their lesson; and 54.2% reject the proposition that they might use other languages than English to explain certain things to students; suggesting that many of them either adhere to the 'English only policy'; or simply that

they cannot use any other language than English in the context of Rwanda. Finally 72.3% of TTC teachers accept that during class they ask fluent students in English to explain to their peers, and this is a positive move. These points, however, will be explored further in the following Chapter since they relate to the influence of Attitudes and Motivation on English use as MoI.

TTC Students' General Attitudes toward English as MoI

As can be seen in Table 8, TTC students are not only motivated to learn English; they also hold positive attitudes (both 'general' and 'specific') toward using it as MoI. Indeed, an overwhelmingly big number of them (91.0%) think that studying through English is good for their country at large; that it helps their teachers to learn English fast (81.6%); that it also helps students' intellectual development (83.2%); that it facilitates learning (80.3%); that it is the best way to teach students English (80.2%); and that it facilitates teachers' work (79.8%). Furthermore, relatively few TTC students (44.6%) accept the negative proposition that studying through English makes their work more complicated; and all this suggests that they hold positive opinions about English use as MoI.

Concerning what they feel about it, still the data in Table 8 show that 64.7% of TTC students feel proud about using English to study; 85.7% feel that they are developing their communication skills in English; 80.4% feel happy that they have an opportunity to use English; 80.3% feel confident while using it; and 77.1% feel that their learning task is made easier by using English to study. At the same time, 56.0% of TTC students reject the suggestion that studying through English makes them annoyed; that it makes them feel frustrated (41.9%); unsure of themselves (44.6%); and that they have not learnt as much as they wanted (49.7%). In other words, TTC students' feelings about English as MoI are positive; and this relates to what they are ready to do about using English to study.

Indeed, as the data in Table 8 still show, 84.7% of TTC students affirm that they use an English dictionary that they often carry with them; 88.1% make more effort to learn English to increase their ability to use it to study; 83.4% ask the teacher while the lesson is still being taught; and 85.3% try to read as many books in English as they can. Paradoxically, however, 64.5% of them also confess that they rather rely very much on notes written down in class: Nonetheless, taken as a whole (72.1%), TTC students' general attitudes toward English as MoI are positive; and their attitudes toward using it to study their specific subjects are also positive though to a lesser

degree (63.1%). On this note, it still remains to discuss TTC teachers' and students' 'specific' attitude toward English as MoI.

4.1.3.2 Specific Attitudes

a) Data Collected for the Study of Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

TTC teachers' and students' 'Specific' Attitudes were investigated through items presented in the following figure.

Section 3: Subsection 3.2. 'Specific' Attitudes toward English as MoI

3.2.1 Cognitive Aspect: *The subject(s) I teach contain(s)*

*Q1: basic elements (e.g. terminologies) which are difficult to explain in English

Q2: complex notions (e.g. classifications, theories) which are well expressed in English

Q3: techniques and methods which are easy for students to understand in English

Note: The students' Questionnaire contains different items. They read as follows:

*Q1: Generally, the basic elements (e.g. terminologies) in the subjects we study are difficult to **remember** because of English

Q2: The complex notions (e.g. classifications, theories...) that are presented in our subjects are easy to **understand** in English

*Q3: The techniques and methods that we learn are difficult to **apply** because they are described in English

3.2.2 Affective Aspect: *How do you feel about the following activities in English?*

Q1: Teaching basic elements (e.g. terminologies) in my course through English is (enjoyable; satisfying; *annoying; *frustrating)

Q2: To explain the complex notions (e.g. classifications, principles, and theories) in my course is (enjoyable; satisfying; *annoying; *frustrating)

Q3: To teach techniques and methods in English is (enjoyable; satisfying; *annoying; *frustrating)

Note: The students' Questionnaire contains different items. They read as follows:

Q1: To remember the content of our subjects in English is (enjoyable; satisfying; *annoying; *frustrating)

Q2: To understand complex notions (e.g. theories) in English is (enjoyable; satisfying; *annoying; *frustrating)

Q3: To analyze the information presented in the subjects we study in English is (enjoyable; satisfying; *annoying; *frustrating)

3.2.3 Conative Aspect: *To teach my subject efficiently in our context, it is necessary*

Q1: To use not only English but also the other languages that students know

Q2: To make tremendous effort to learn more English

Q3: To prepare lessons using various resources (in French, Kinyarwanda, etc.), and translate them in English

Note: The students' Questionnaire contains different items. They read as follows:

Q1: To use not only English but also the other languages that I know

Q2: To ask my colleagues to explain to me in French or Kinyarwanda to make sure I understand my lessons

Q3: To translate my notes into French or Kinyarwanda to see if I can understand better

These items were composed following the same principles as the ones that guided the composition of items for investigating General Attitudes. Thus the three sets of items are meant to assess what teachers and students *think, feel, and do* about English as MoI respectively. Also, they were composed following the Likert scale model featuring four alternative choices, namely: *Strongly Agree; Agree; Disagree; and Strongly Disagree*. Table 9 below summarizes the data obtained for the study of TTC teachers' and students' 'Specific' Attitudes toward English as MoI.

Table 9: Teachers' and Students' Specific' Attitudes toward English as MoI in TTCs

3.2 Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI													
- (15 teachers and 274 students in TTC1) - (14 teachers and 351 students in TTC2)													
		Teachers				Students				Teachers		Students	
		TTC 1		TTC 2		TTC 1		TTC 2		TTC 1 + TTC 2		TTC 1 + TTC 2	
		<i>Accept</i>	<i>Reject</i>	<i>Accept</i>	<i>Reject</i>	<i>Accept</i>	<i>Reject</i>	<i>Accept</i>	<i>Reject</i>	<i>Accept</i>	<i>Reject</i>	<i>Accept</i>	<i>Reject</i>
3.2.1 Cognitive Aspect													
*	Q1	26.6	66.6	35.7	42.8	49.2	45.2	42.7	47.0	31.1	54.7	45.9	46.1
	Q2	53.3	40.0	57.1	21.4	78.4	17.5	72.0	21.3	55.2	30.7	75.4	19.4
*	Q3	80.0	13.3	64.2	7.1	46.7	48.1	44.7	47.2	72.1	10.2	45.7	47.6
*	Q4	-	-	-	-	34.3	55.1	33.6	48.7	-	-	33.9	51.9
		66.6		54.7		56.7		53.7		60.6		55.2	
3.2.2 Affective Aspect													
	Q1	80.0	13.3	42.8	42.8	78.1	14.2	74.6	16.5	61.4	28.0	76.3	15.3
	Q2	73.3	13.3	50.0	35.7	70.0	23.3	65.8	24.5	61.6	24.5	67.9	23.9
	Q3	66.6	20.0	57.1	21.2	73.7	18.2	68.6	21.6	61.8	20.6	71.1	19.9
		73.3		49.9		73.9		69.6		61.6		71.7	
3.2.3 Conative Aspect													
*	Q1	40.0	53.3	28.5	57.1	62.7	32.1	75.2	17.3	34.2	55.2	68.9	24.5
	Q2	60.0	26.6	64.2	14.2	58.7	36.1	69.2	22.5	62.1	20.4	63.9	29.3
	Q3	13.3	80.0	14.2	64.2	54.0	39.4	59.2	32.4	13.7	72.1	56.6	35.9
	Q4	0	93.3	0	78.5	-	-	-	-	0	85.9	-	-
		45.0		39.2		58.4		67.8		42.1		63.1	
		61.6		47.9		63		63.7		54.7		63.3	

As can be observed, this Table has the same format as the preceding one. In the two first columns, the scores are presented separately for TTC1 and TTC2; and then, totals representing TTC teachers' and students' motivational attributes in general are provided in column 3. For the moment, I focus on the 3rd column to present TTC Specific attitudes toward English as MoI in the two TTCs together.

b) Findings on Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

Teachers' Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

As can be seen in Table 9, TTC teachers' specific attitudes toward English as MoI are positive in all the three aspects considered (54.7% average). Indeed, these teachers (54.7%) do not find it too difficult to use English to explain basic notions in the subjects they teach; more than half of them (55.2%) think that complex notions such as classifications and theories that they teach are well expressed in English; and 72.1% find that the techniques and methods taught in their subjects are easy for students to understand in English.

Concerning what they feel about using English in their specific subjects, 61.4% of them either enjoy it (or feel satisfied) when teaching basic elements of their courses; 61.6% enjoy it (or feel satisfied) even when explaining the complex notions in their courses; and 61.8% enjoy it (or feel satisfied) when teaching techniques and methods in their courses through English. Finally, only 34.2% of TTC teachers use not only English to teach but also the other languages that students know; a significant number of them (62.1%) find it necessary to expend tremendous effort to learn more English in order to teach efficiently in English; and when teaching through English, a very small number of them (13.7% against 72.1%) admit that they speak very little to students and rely on having students write down notes from the blackboard. Amazingly, however, none of them (0%) accepted the possibility to draw information to be used in English from books in French or Kinyarwanda, which reduced the score representing actions toward efficient use of English as MoI to 42.1%.

Overall, however, what appears from the above description is that TTC teachers' specific attitudes toward English as MoI are generally positive, though the score is rather low (54.7% in average). However, this result will be discussed further in Chapter 5. For the moment I turn to TTC students' specific attitudes toward English as MoI and, as the data suggest, these attitudes and motivation are also positive.

Students' Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

As the data in Table 9 indicate, as many as 75.4% of TTC students find the complex notions (e.g. classification and theories) presented in their subjects easy to understand in English; 51.9% think that the texts they use in their subjects are not difficult to analyze in English; and on the whole TTC students (55.2% on average) have positive opinions about using English in their

specific subjects. However, as many as 45.9% of them generally find basic elements (e.g. terminologies in their courses) difficult to remember because of English; and 45.7% experience difficulties in applying the techniques and methods they are taught in their subjects because they are described in English.

With regard to the way they feel while using English to study, on the other hand, TTC students (76.3%) affirm that they enjoy it when they try to remember the content of their subject in English; that they are satisfied in their attempts to understand complex notions in English (67.9%); and that they are happy trying to analyze the information presented in the subjects they study in English (71.1%). Finally, in an attempt to efficiently study through English, TTC students (68.9%) find it necessary to use other languages they know in addition to English; to ask schoolmates for explanations in French or Kinyarwanda (63.9%); and to translate notes into French or Kinyarwanda to see if they can understand better (56.6%). In other words, what seems to be the case is that TTC students are relatively open to use other languages than English when necessary.

4.1.3.3 Conclusion on TTC Teachers' and Students' Attitudes toward English as MoI

Overall, these are generally the Attitudes toward English as MoI that characterize TTC teachers and students. In many ways, there are similarities mainly in terms of general attitudes; and differences particularly with regard to specific attitudes. Also, beyond general attributes described on the basis of results from both TTCs together, there are certain specificities linked to the respective environments of the two TTCs. Both the pertinent differences and similarities between teachers and students, on the one hand; and between the two TTCs, on the other hand, will be tackled in Chapter 5. Before that, I turn to the Qualitative data collected in this study following the principles of Mixed Methods Approach.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITATIVE DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

As explained in the preceding Section, the Questionnaires used in this study were comprised of 'closed-ended' questions and 'open-ended' questions. Whereas the 'closed-ended' questions were meant to elicit quantitative data for the study of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI, the 'open-ended' questions were used to give respondents an opportunity to express themselves freely on what they think, feel, and do about using English to teach/learn and thus, contribute more information on their Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. In this

Section, I sketch a presentation of the Qualitative data resulting from these ‘open-ended’ questions and follow it with a descriptive summary thereof.

4.2.1 Presentation of the Qualitative Data Collected from Open-ended Questions in the Survey Questionnaire

Section 3 of the questionnaires used in this study comprised two Subsections respectively tapping information on participants’ ‘General’ Attitudes toward English as MoI and ‘Specific’ Attitudes toward English as MoI. Items in these Subsections were composed on a Likert scale model and thus, a series of propositions were presented to respondents who had to tick: *Strongly Agree; Agree; Disagree; or Strongly Disagree* depending on their choice. In other words, responses were constrained by the content of the propositions. In order to elicit more information on Attitudes toward English as MoI, therefore, space was provided for respondents to express themselves freely, and open-ended questions were added to each item as shown in the following box:

Section 3: Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI

3.1 ‘General’ Attitudes toward English as MoI

3.1.1 Cognitive Aspect (What Participants **Think** about English as MoI)

Write here any other comment about using English as MoI (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)

3.1.2 Affective Aspect (What Participants **Feel** when using English as MoI)

Other feeling(s) (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)

3.1.3 Conative Aspect (Participants’ **Actions** toward Using English as MoI)

Other actions (Please specify) (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)

3.2 ‘Specific’ Attitudes toward English as MoI

3.2.1 Cognitive Aspect (What Participants **Think** of Using English to Mediate/Process Different Types of Knowledge)

Write here anything else you think about presenting/studying subject content in English

3.2.2 Affective Aspect (What Participants **Feel** of Using English to Mediate/Process Different Types of Knowledge)

Write here any other feeling you have when you use English to teach/study your subjects in English

3.2.3 Conative Aspect (What Participants **Do** of Using English to Mediate/Process Different Types of Knowledge)

Write here anything else you do to teach/study your subject in English

In answering these Questions, respondents expressed their ‘General’ and ‘Specific’ Attitudes toward using English to teach/learn. However, in addition and most interestingly, some of their answers directed attention to the other themes of the study, namely: Language Experiences and

Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English. In this Section, I present the qualitative data obtained from Open-ended Questions selecting the ones that are particularly relevant to these themes.

4.2.1.1 Responses Reflecting Participants' Language Experiences^{23 24}

Language Experiences in TTC1

a. Responses from Teachers

1. Anglophone teachers

- I feel my students gain a lot from my English when I am teaching.
- I feel that I can explain in English better than any other language.
- I speak English from the beginning of the lesson to the end.
- Of course English makes me proud of myself and I call upon teachers also to use it inclusively in teaching.

2. Francophone teachers

- Always translating difficult words in English to Kinyarwanda.
- Mix both English and Kinyarwanda in order for students to understand.
- I am very well conversant in English.
- Some terms [...] are difficult to explain in their etymological meanings showing their origin. Example: To learn is in French *apprendre* (from Latin: *apprehendere*).

b. Responses from Students

4th Year

- English language is the help your answer in me school in order to pass exams.
- I like to study but I am not used to English.
- To use English is very good even though we are not able to speak it very well. But if we study in English it will help us to know it.

5th Year

- For me, as I studied in French, I feel that French should come back.
- We can ourselves English and Kinyarwanda.
- English is very important around the world; that's why we try to practice it very well; even though we do not know it very well, what we know is that slowly by slowly makes journey.

6th Year

- In studying English, I try to translate it in my mother tongue such that I get it properly.
- When I use English, French, and Kinyarwanda I make sure I know which language to use when speaking with different persons in different situations.

²³ Throughout this analysis, responses are reproduced in their original form.

²⁴ Examples in this Section were selected to illustrate, through what TTC teachers and students think, feel, and do, the existence of different categories of language users in Rwanda.

- I can use both English and Kinyarwanda and some little French.

Language Experiences in TTC2

a. Responses from Teachers

1. Anglophone teachers

- I use only English and I explain in the simplest vocabulary ever to enable learner to understand.
- I use English language only. I prepare lessons in English only.
- Sometimes I am disappointed when I come through students whose levels are not common.
- I try my best to stay on the move – use as much English as I can.
- Communication is made easier, quicker, and live.
- At times, I find a problem of explaining some theories, principles, and terminologies to the Rwandan students as their English is very low; but I try my level best because I have used English my entire school years in Uganda.

2. Francophone teachers

- I do my best to teach in English but the problem is about some pronunciation.
- I can use all these languages depending on circumstances.
- I use English when I teach my lesson, but sometime I explain it in French when the students didn't understand.
- I find it [English] the easiest.
- It is a good idea [to use English as MoI] but mentoring in using good English is needed.

b. Responses from Students

4th Year

- Kinyarwanda if to begin my course, French when explain, English end of lesson.
- Apart from difficulties studying in English because we were used to French, the English terms are very difficult because we are not used to English, and we have problems using those terms.
- I can use English because it is not complicated as compared to other languages like French.

5th Year

- In starting to learn English for me, it is difficult because I am not knowing English in my learning know it easy because I acquired new knowledge.
- English is a better language, but to someone who studied in French, English is a difficult language compared to French. But for us English is a better language.
- I feel that to learn English is good but for it to be very good, we should mix with Kinyarwanda; then once we know English well, we would speak it.

6th Year

- Yes sometimes I use French, Kinyarwanda, because they help me to understand English; for example when I meet with a very difficult word.
- In studying English, I try to translate it in my mother tongue such that I get it properly.
- Most people in Rwanda can't speak English or French; but there is no problem to communicate with them. Someone who wants to study English must go in school or English club.

4.2.1.2 Responses Reflecting Participants' Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

1. *Effort and Desire to Learn English*

TTC1

a. Responses from Teachers

- I try by all methods to teach in English and see that everybody is understanding (sic) what I am saying.
- I mainly use English only when teaching my subject.
- I speak English from the beginning of the lesson to the end.
- I use English to teach in a context
- I always encourage students to speak and write notes, and make expressions in English.
- Always translating difficult words in English to Kinyarwanda.
- I read English books to prepare my notes.

b. Responses from Students

4th Year - In order to study in English efficiently,

- We work in debates and work in groups
- I try to speak English when I talk with my friends. I try to know everything around me in my compound. I try to understand everything and curiosity.
- I listen to the radio and television. I watch films in English. I practice English.

5th Year

- I try to join debates during free time.
- I need to use dictionary or read English books.
- I listen to the radio, read newspapers and watch T.V

6th Year

- [I try] to know much English, I try to use all means of learning English and I do research and use the dictionary every day.
- I try to converse with other people who know English. I try to interact with our teacher whether in conversation or in studying.
- I practice English through conversing with my fellows after classes and even in classes using English language. I make my own research through looking for new words.

TTC2

a. Responses from Teachers

- As I am a tutor of Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili I don't get much time to use English in classroom except when talking with my colleagues and sometime students out of class. So it will be better to find some subjects in English to improve our English skills.
- I look in a dictionary I write the meaning and the pronunciation in my notebook and try to master them and I do not carry the dictionary in class. I prepare my lesson very well and review my preparation before to teach (sic)
- I update my knowledge and am prompted to go on finding new resources that can improve my English.
- I try my best to stay on the move – use as much English as I can.

b. Responses from Students

4th Year

- We try to speak wherever we are; when we do sport we can do English.
- I use other books which in French to help to compare what I study in English and what I know in other languages
- For studying through English I can use English during my 'recalling' or my studying, not mixing languages.

5th Year

- I can use English because it is not complicated as compared to other languages like French.
- It is good to know all languages but English is the most important language.
- To study more efficiently in English I need to develop my communication skills, knowledge in English.

6th Year

- I am happy to study my lessons in English because I'm favorite my languages and understand many words I don't know and try to explain English.
- To use other materials which help me to know the language of English, to use many dictionary and news.
- For studying my subject is better to use English but, I still insist on the explanation and many things that may help the understanding as: books; some materials.

2. Attitudes toward Learning English

TTC1

a. Responses from Teachers

- Even if some terminologies become difficult I can find explanations in dictionary before going to teach.
- [Teaching through English] helps for making research.
- English as Medium of Instruction in Rwanda needs a lot of practice. People will learn it better by speaking it all the time.
- I teach English using the direct method.
- I read English books to prepare my lessons
- English is fine
- English is Okay

b. Responses from Students

4th Year

- English because English is language international
- The English is simple to speak, to do and to teach.
- You can use English because speaking English is better than other languages.

5th Year

- English is very beautiful because of in our country encourages or put effort in English.
- Studying English makes me to be confident and know much about other lessons and it makes me to feel comfortable in whatever I do.
- English is very good Language that is not difficult to use. That language is better than other languages like French.

6th Year

- Studying English makes me feel happy but it will help me in teaching practice.
- English language is a good language because it helps us to make our future good because in our country English is the most [favorite] among the other languages.
- [English] is the sweet language among others. It is the marketable language in the whole of East Africa. All the people of the world should learn it whole heartedly.

TTC2

a. Responses from Teachers

- As I am a tutor of Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili I don't get much time to use English in classroom except when talking with my colleagues and sometime students out of class. So it will be better to find some subjects in English to improve our English skills.
- I look in a dictionary I write the meaning and the pronunciation in my notebook and try to master them and I do not carry the dictionary in class. I prepare my lesson very well and review my preparation before to teach.
- I update my knowledge and am prompted to go on finding new resources that can improve my English.
- I try my best to stay on the move – use as much English as I can.

b. Responses from Students

4th Year

- I can use English because English is good.
- English causes us to have low marks.
- As we are interested to learn, it is a pleasure to speak with others in English.

5th Year

- I'm feel enjoyable when I'm conversing with others in English language.
- It necessary to use English because English is a very nice language to speak.
- English makes me feel well when I understand someone who speak it, it is enjoyable.

5th Year

- Studying English makes me feel happy and proud because I know the foreign language, and English is very interesting to me.
- It is good but books are poor, there are few hours for sciences and mathematical options, and yet we do the same examination of English as compared with the languages option.
- In teaching /learning use of English language is better because English is easy and understandable. It develops intellectual level of learners.

3. Motivational Orientation

TTC1

a. Responses from Teachers

- I mainly use **only English** when teaching my subject.
- I encourage my students to participate in class during the lesson **only in English** language.
- I speak English from the beginning of the lesson to the end.
- As I am English teacher I present my content of the subject in English.
- English **only**.
- English as a Medium of Instruction in Rwanda needs a lot of practice. People will learn it better by **speaking it all the time**.
- I teach English using the direct method.
- I always encourage students to speak and write notes, and make expressions **in English**.
- Always translating difficult words in English to Kinyarwanda.
- Mix both English and Kinyarwanda in order for students to understand.

b. Responses from Students

4th Year – Using English to study

- will help to developing my skills in speak it and help me to get a job in English EAC members.
- is good to use them all [i.e. the languages]; it would help you to get a job.
- helps for a job because all people use English

5th Year

- [will help me] To know the culture in other countries.
- makes you happy; you feel today you are in Rwanda; but tomorrow you will be in America
- is good in our country because now we are in E.A.C. We have to learn and teach students, and to teach some teachers who are not very well to speak English. It will help teachers to know very well English so that they can teach the students.

6th Year

- helps us as future teachers to train our learners
- [helps] first to learn English. After knowing it, it will help me to know other subjects in English
- [makes it] Easy to understand my notes, easy to express myself in front of foreigners

TTC2

a. Responses from Teachers

- As I am a tutor of Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili I don't get much time to use English in classrooms except when talking with my colleagues and sometimes students out of class. So it will be better to find some subjects in English in order to improve our English skills.
- [I use] simple and understandable methods of teaching and explanation **in English**.
- [To teach my subject efficiently] I use English language only. I prepare lessons in **English only**.
- I am used to teaching in **English only**.
- It is better to explain **in English only** but sometimes I use the other languages for one word or two because help to pupils to be able to understand other words without translation.
- [To teach through English efficiently] I do my best to teach in English but the problem is about some pronunciation.
- Using English as MoI is really helpful to the teachers and learners as it help them to improve their written and communication skills.
- I use English when I teach, but sometime I explain it in French when the students didn't understand.

b. Responses from Students

4th Year - Using English to study

- Is the best way to do at touristic park of national Rwanda.
- To learn English helps the teacher to increase his/her knowledge; it enables us to acquire knowledge; it helps us to explain properly to students.
- To study and to learn in English is very important because English is used in many countries.

5th Year

- It is good to use English in this country because Rwanda is in EAC or the COMMONWEALTH.
- To learn through the English language is good; however, for us as different students to study through English will increase chances to get a job in the future.
- To use English in teaching is very good because it helps the learners to use it and to speak to their classmates; it help the people to develop language skills in different ways; it facilitate communication among teacher and learners; and communication with outside persons. Ex: South Africa etc.

6th Year

- To study through English is something which makes me really very happy because it will enhance mutual understanding with citizens of foreign countries.
- To use English is necessary because when we study through it, it is easy to understand and then we must know that many countries use English, e.g.: Uganda, USA, ENGLAND. So, in brief, English is number 1. Then there are other languages like French, Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili.
- Studying in English will help country to communicate with others and to have best trade. And it will help to manage our natural resources.

As can be easily understood, not all the responses obtained from respondents have been reproduced in this presentation. Those that have been provided here were simply chosen to give (in a general manner) an idea of the way in which TTC teachers' and students' responses reflected the themes of the study, namely: 'Language Experiences'; 'Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English'; and 'Attitudes toward English as MoI'. In the 'Descriptive Summary' that follows, some of these examples are taken up again to more pointedly support the argument that participants' responses helped to expand, clarify, and nuance the.

4.2.2 Descriptive Summary of the Qualitative Data from Open-ended Questions in the Survey Questionnaire

4.2.2.1 Summary of the Data on 'Language Experiences'

'Language Experiences' was defined in terms of 'knowledge' and 'use' of languages in the present study. In the TTC teachers' and students' responses described above, details on these aspects were not directly reflected since the theme of 'Language Experiences' was not particularly the prime focus of written open-ended questions. Nonetheless, at least three elements of information pertinent to the theme of 'Language Experiences' were obtained from TTC teachers' and students' responses.

The first piece of information obtained is that some TTC teachers are self-confident with regard to their knowledge and use of English. This appears in responses to the question of how it feels to use English to teach. One teacher for example confidently writes:

'I feel my students gain a lot from my English when I am teaching.'

In similar vein another declares:

'I feel that I can explain in English better than any other language.'

Still another gives the impression that to know English is just natural. He/she states:

'Of course English makes me proud of myself and I call upon [other] teachers also to use it inclusively in teaching.'

On the other hand, another piece of information obtained is the reverse of the above mentioned self-confidence: Apart from the self-confident TTC teachers, some others are less self-assured, even though they manage to use English successfully. This appears for example in an answer to

the same question of knowing what TTC teachers feel when using English to teach. One teacher for example writes:

*'[Using English as MoI] makes me to know (sic) and understand that **at some time** (emphasis mine) we will be at the same level of English speaking.'*

Further, other responses to open-ended questions give a third piece of information: The possible impact of the differences in teachers' self-perception of knowledge of English. On the one hand, efforts to use English as MoI made by the less self-assured teachers can be rewarding. One teacher for example is apparently amazed and gratified simultaneously after his efforts in using English to teach: He/she makes the following statement of relief:

'I feel satisfied when students understand me while speaking to them.'

On the other hand, however, other teachers' satisfaction in knowledge of English is sometimes vexed by the perceived students' 'low English'. One instance of such vexation is for example expressed by one teacher who complains:

'Sometimes I'm disappointed when I come through students whose levels are not common. Some are intermediate and [...] others pre-intermediate.'

These are some aspects of TTC teachers' 'Language Experiences' as perceived from open-ended answers. Students' 'Language Experiences' were also tackled by teachers and students alike, and many open responses firstly hinted at their weakness in English. Thus, as one teacher views it,

'It is a good idea [to use English as MoI], but more mentoring in using good English [is] needed'.

Also another teacher opines that owing to weaknesses in English, those who know Kinyarwanda might find themselves

'always translating difficult words in English to Kinyarwanda' and 'Mix[ing] both English and Kinyarwanda in order for students to understand.'

From the students' perspective also, there is recognition of the weakness. This recognition passes through complaints about difficulties such as the following:

'I like to study but I am not used to English.'; 'Depending on what one understands best, English is difficult for me'; 'I try to learn the English language but I fail'; 'English causes us to have low marks [...].'

One student even makes a somewhat desperate statement as follows:

'I try to learn the English language but I fail, and I don't even know French; so, isn't it 'my death'?''

In the face of difficulties, some unrealistically would rather see French back. One says for example: *'For me, as I studied in French, I feel that French should come back.'* Others have been able to solve their problem by resorting to Kinyarwanda or French. Such pragmatic students share their experience in the following terms:

'In order for me to learn, I read many times, then the last time I try to understand in Kinyarwanda.'; 'Kinyarwanda if to begin my course, French when explain, English end of lesson'²⁵; 'To study and teach through English is good but it requires that certain things be also explained in Kinyarwanda or in French.'

'Language experiences' are not only characterized by difficulties, however. Some other students, especially in advanced levels of study, do not have problems. They rejoice in terms like the following: Studying through English

'makes me feel wonderful'; 'helps me to reason on the content of our subjects in English'; 'makes me feel that the other subjects are simple'; '[makes me] happy that I learn English as a key to all subjects'; '[makes me feel that] there is no problem to use English because it is like the other languages'; '[makes me feel that] English is good in all things; so I like it a lot'.

On the issue of 'Language Experiences' then, it could be concluded that competences in English are diverse. It is noteworthy that amid this diversity of competence, it seems that everybody is striving to learn the language, and perhaps one of the reasons is that, as one student bluntly remarks, *'English is a language that is so publicized in our country that people must know it very well'*. As I argue here below, however, whatever the reason, TTC teachers' and students' open-ended answers show that they are motivated to learn English.

4.2.2.2 Data on Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

As was the case with the study of 'Languages Experiences' in the preceding subsection, 'Attitudes and Motivation to Learn English' was not the prime objective of the open-ended questions in this study. However, TTC teachers' and students' written open answers do not only inform on their Language Experiences; they also tackle the issue of motivation to learn English. Thus the first kind of information obtained concerns their 'effort' and 'desire' to learn English. In this connection, one teacher writes for example:

²⁵ Responses have been reproduced in their original form.

'I update my knowledge and am prompted to go on finding new resources that can improve my English.'

In similar vein, another affirms:

'I look in a dictionary; I write the meaning and the pronunciation in my notebook and try to master them'.

Still another reiterates:

'Even if some terminologies become difficult I can find explanations in [a] dictionary before going to teach.'

A second piece of information obtained from teachers' open responses is that their effort is sustained by a strong wish to learn the language. This appears for example in statements like: *'I try my best to stay on the move – use as much English as I can'*. Also attitudes toward learning English are highly positive. That is what some teachers show when they simply write: *'English is OK'* or *'English is fine'* or *'English is the easiest'* even though one of them laconically states that *'[English] is an awesome language'* and that *'Communication in English in class and outside class is an awesome experience'*.

On the side of students too, motivation to learn English is very high as can be inferred from the open answers they write. Indeed, in the numerous statements they make, they convey their 'effort' and 'desire' to learn English as shown by the following extracts from various responses:

In order to learn English

'I have to learn much vocabulary'; 'I read books written in English and try to explain it myself'; 'I make sure that I attend debates as much as possible'; 'I try to read English newspapers'; 'I listen to the radio, read newspapers and watch T.V'; 'I read other languages by comparing with English'.

Students' motivation to learn English is also shown by their opinions about English and English speakers. This can be seen in statements like:

'English is a good language'; 'English language should be used in all countries'; 'English is simple to speak, to do and to teach'; 'But for us English is a better language'; 'English is not complicated as compared to other languages like French'; 'Even though we don't know it very well, what we know is that we will know it'.

TTC students' opinions are not merely testimonies of their attitudes toward learning English: They also show their motivational orientations. The following extracts show their integrative motivation:

'English is important because our country is in the commonwealth'; 'English is more useful than other languages because we are in EAC and COMESA'; 'English develops relationship between you and other people when you communicate'; 'EAC encourages the use of English.'; 'English is useful to help going to other countries in the world.'; 'English is an international language'.

In similar vein, other extracts from students' written responses show their 'instrumental motivation'. Following are some examples:

'I learn English to get good employment'; 'When you know English, people fear you; saying: Here is an American!'; 'English helps us to be like other people who use it in meetings'; 'English will help me in my job of teaching'; 'It helps people for their future, they would be important people'; 'It will help me to get a job in EAC countries'.

From all these statements, it is clear that both teachers and students are highly motivated to learn English. In addition and more interestingly in the present case, all these statements were made in response to questions about their Attitudes toward English as MoI. As I argue below, the fact that responses to questions about 'English as MoI' point to 'Motivation to Learn English' shows that in the minds of respondents, there is a certain connection between using English to teach and learn, and learning English. More details on this come next.

4.2.2.3 Data on Attitudes toward English as MoI

Attitudes toward English as MoI in the present study were defined to refer simultaneously to what TTC teachers and students **think, feel, and do** about using English to teach/learn. Interestingly enough, to the open questions about these aspects, TTC teachers and students mainly pointed to **Learning English** by way of answering. Thus to the question to know what they think about English as MoI, some teachers gave the following answers:

'English as a Medium of Instruction in Rwanda need a lot of practice. People will learn it better by speaking it all the time.'

'[English as a Medium of Instruction] increases an understanding between different categories of people. [...] I always encourage students to speak and write notes, and make expressions in English.'

'Using English as Medium of Instruction is really helpful to the teachers and learners as it helps them to improve their written and communication skills.'

As can be seen from these responses TTC teachers do not seem to view English as MoI as primarily useful for subject content learning, but rather for English learning. Some of their students' answers also convey this view. Some extracts from their answers to open-ended questions are the following: Studying through English is good because

'... it can help learners to improve their language'; 'It helps us to express ourselves in English'; 'it is the best way to communicate with our foreign friends'; 'Rwanda is in EAC and the commonwealth'; 'it makes communication easy'; 'it will help our country to communicate with others and to have best trade. And it will help to manage our natural resources'; '[it helps] economic development because many countries all over the world use English'.

The other question posed to TTC teachers and students is what they feel about English as MoI. To answer this question TTC teachers generally wrote:

'The content is expressed well in English'; 'English makes the lesson simple'; 'English makes learning easier'; 'English is good for the instruction'; 'Communication is made easier, quicker and live'; 'Basic elements are easier to explain in English'; 'Simple and understandable methods of teaching [are used] in English'.

TTC students, on the other hand, echoed the same opinions in their own way as follows:

'English makes things to be simple'; '[It makes it] easy to understand my notes'; 'To study in English is better than French because [it] is easy to remember what we have learnt'; 'It is very good to do activities in English because it facilitates to understand difficult words and to analyze the data'; 'Studying through English is an advantage to me because it helps me to understand the lessons well'

Close consideration of these examples, however, shows that such opinions are mainly held by Anglophone teachers and by students who are fairly advanced in their studies. Thus Francophone teachers were rather reserved on the question of facilitation of learning by the use of English; and the rare comments they made on the issue were less laudatory. Extracts from their responses are for example:

'English is an awesome language'; 'Communication in English in class and outside class is an awesome experience'; '[When English is used as MoI] students can't participate.'

Students also, particularly in the 4th years, hold less positive opinions about English as MoI. The most telling of their opinions were for examples:

'Because our English is down, it is difficult to understand the subject'; 'I feel that to study my subjects through the English language is difficult because I don't understand it well.'; 'Apart

from difficulties studying in English because we were used to French, the English terms are very difficult because we are not used to English, and we have problems using those terms.'

Finally the most important proportion of reasons why TTC teachers' and students' Attitudes toward English as MoI are positive is not that English facilitates learning, an opinion which is rather value judgmental any way. TTC teachers' and students' open-ended answers pointed to another reason: Learning English. Overwhelmingly, respondents expressed this ultimate reason for using English as MoI in different ways: For example, using English as MoI is good because:

'it helps to speak to foreigners'; 'it helps to develop [...] relationship between you and other people'; 'it is a way to get information from the whole world'; 'to know how in other countries [...] commerce is developed'; 'to feel good when I listen to the speech through the radio'.

These goals are but a few randomly chosen samples to represents the numerous others. They seem unrelated but what they have in common is that they all appear to be the result of a common mindset: Using English as MoI results in knowing English; which in turn results in achieving different goals that necessitate knowledge of English. On the whole, that is the gist of the open-ended answers obtained from Section 3 of the Survey Questionnaire used in this study. Apart from the long list of ideas of participants on the usefulness of English, these open-ended answers contributed useful corroborative information on TTC teachers' and students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI. Before a full discussion of data corroboration in this study, however, I firstly turn to 'Interviews' with teachers and 'Group interviews' with students, which also contributed qualitative data for the present study.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITATIVE DATA FROM INTERVIEWS

Respondents' responses to open-ended questions in Survey Questionnaires as analyzed in the preceding Section were not the only sources of Qualitative data. 'Semi-structured' interviews with TTC core course teachers and 'semi-structured' group-interviews with students were other sources of Qualitative data in this study. In order to develop the three themes of the study, 'core questions' for these interviews were prepared to elicit teachers' and students' Language Experiences in Section 1; Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Section 2; and General Comments in Section 3. More particularly in Section 1, respondents were led to identify themselves as language users in the context of Rwanda; and in Sections 2 and 3, respondents elaborated on their Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English, and their Attitudes and

Motivation toward English as MoI respectively. Following are some of the most representative responses related to these themes as developed in interviews.

4.3.1 Presentation of the Data from Interviews and Group Interviews.

4.3.1.1 Qualitative Data Related to Language Experiences

In response to questions prepared for Section 1 of interviews and group interviews, teachers and students gave many answers ranging from the list of languages they know to the way they got to know these languages. Some of the responses deemed most pertinent to the theme of ‘Language Experiences’ are the following:

Language Experiences in TTC1

a. Teachers’ ‘Knowledge’ and ‘Use’ of Languages

1. Anglophone teachers who mainly depend on English for communication in Rwanda

- ‘OK Luganda, very little Kinyarwanda, but mainly here, because I am from Uganda, I use English’.
- ‘Yes, [Lutolo] as my mother language; then English, as a language which I learned from school. Those are the only languages ... I know a little Kinyarwanda because when I came, I also started learning Kinyarwanda.’
- ‘Of course there is English, but there are other languages: There is Luganda, and I have been trying to learn Kinyarwanda, and some French’.
- ‘If I try to rank the languages I know, English comes first.’
- ‘Well, I studied it; because from P1 to the highest institutions, because I am a degree holder, I’ve been studying in English’.
- ‘I am calling [English] “my language” because it’s the language I use when I am here; because I can’t use any I can’t communicate with other people: Me, Kinyarwanda I know very little ...’
- ‘Actually, I have started to learn some Kinyarwanda’.
- ‘In Rwanda, it is not easy to learn English, because people speak a common language: All of them speak Kinyarwanda’.

2. Anglophone teachers who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and English

- ‘Me? Any language that I know? Oh! Kinyarwanda, English, then followed by foreign languages: Luganda, Lunyankole, Lukiga, Lutolo. Among these languages, the one that I know best, of which I know many words and perhaps many proverbs, is English. I have already ‘socialized’ it very much’.
- ‘In terms of everyday conversation, I try to use Kinyarwanda because in my family where we live, they don’t know English. Kinyarwanda is the language that allows us to speak to whoever we want [...]’

3. Francophone teachers who depend on French for communication in Rwanda

None

4. Francophone teachers who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and French

- ‘Kinyarwanda, French, English’; ‘I was never interested in Kiswahili’
- ‘In fact, I personally communicate in Kinyarwanda with many people I interact with in society; perhaps because they didn’t study. Then recently, when I switched to a foreign language, I used French. [...] Today, however, I feel that having an opportunity to use English is the thing that I was badly lacking [...]’

b. Students’ *‘Knowledge’ and ‘Use’ of Languages*

1. Anglophone students who depend on English for communication in Rwanda

- None.

2. Anglophone students who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and English

- ‘The reason why people feel that they like English is due to where they come from. For example, where I come from people mix languages, including English; and when they say something, they put in some English; so that in the end you find that you know English even before you go to school. English then helps when you go to school.’
- ‘Personally, I feel that to study in English is good, and it is easy for me. Perhaps because I grew up using it because I started with it in Primary School throughout O’ Level until now, I feel that it is a language that I like, to study in it really gives me real courage; so that I feel that, if possible, I would continue with it up to the end of my studies.’

3. Francophone students who depend on French for communication in Rwanda

- None.

4. Francophone students who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and French

- ‘It makes me happy. I grew up in the Francophone system; but now I am in the Anglophone system: Now I feel it is easier as compared to the way we used to study in French’.
- ‘An old man who lived near our home couldn’t allow anybody to speak to him in another language than Kiswahili. And we also learn it at school.’

Language Experiences in TTC2

a. Teachers’ *‘Knowledge’ and ‘Use’ of Languages*

1. Anglophone teachers who mainly depend on English for communication in Rwanda

- ‘Here in Rwanda? Luganda, Lusoga, and I pick some Kinyarwanda.’
- ‘For English, all my education was in English, and we even use it at home’.

2. Anglophone teachers who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and English

None

3. Francophone teachers who depend on French for communication in Rwanda

- ‘I speak Kiswahili, Lingala, French, English ... and very little Kinyarwanda’.

4. Francophone teachers who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and French

- ‘Kinyarwanda is my first language; French and English are from school’.

- 'I could rank the languages I know as follows: Kinyarwanda, French, Kiswahili, English.'

b. Students' 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of Languages

1. Anglophone students who depend on English for communication in Rwanda

- None.

2. Anglophone students who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and English

- 'English is the easiest language for me. I learned it from the neighborhood. Even at home, we use it. I feel that it is even easier for me than Kinyarwanda.'

- 'I started with Kinyarwanda, but I speak English better than Kinyarwanda'.

3. Francophone students who depend on French for communication in Rwanda

- None.

4. Francophone students who can communicate in Kinyarwanda and French

- 'I know Kinyarwanda, English, French, and Kiswahili.'

- 'I avoid Kinyarwanda because I have enough notions of Kinyarwanda. On the contrary, I need to increase my knowledge of English, because we need to use it in many places, be it on the field while teaching, be it for communication with various people'.

4.3.1.2 Qualitative Data Related to Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

Teachers did not generally elaborate on how they go about learning English, mainly because many of them considered themselves as already knowing the language. Rather, they spoke about learning English in Rwanda in general. Still, their opinions as shown below reveal their motivation to learn English. Students, on the other hand, gave details of their effort and desire to learn English; their attitudes toward learning English; and their motivational orientations. Some examples from both teachers' and students' responses follow.

Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English in TTC1

a. Examples of Responses from Teachers

Effort to learn English

- 'Even when now I teach, there are many things that I know in French, for which I don't find English translations. ... all those books I read (in French) contain knowledge that I sometimes don't know how to translate in English.'

Attitudes toward Learning English

- 'In Rwanda, it is not easy to learn English, because people speak a common language: All of them speak Kinyarwanda'.

- 'It is a good idea [to learn English] because now English as a medium of instruction language ... here we normally use English because even I was ... When we are trained, so we are trained that English is the best language; because

me I am proud of my language when I speak English I become free; I am talking; I even interact with many people; I am going with English, happy to communicate with different people ...’

Motivational Orientation

- ‘... to learn English will help Rwandans, including myself, to go on the job market like other people; to compete in terms of applying for jobs. Also, they might be able to do what ... ? to settle in those countries, to adopt the culture of the people they might find there [...] You may for example go in England having studied here in an English system; then getting there, you might quickly fit in the society there. Then, it would even be easy for you to establish relationships with the people there, it would help very much.’

- ‘For me personally, I find that [to learn English] is very useful. I feel I am lucky to have a background in French. Then English too enables me to be more knowledgeable and at the same time, to be marketable. This means that, rather than being limited to the market of French, if I went to the market of English, I would work without any hindrance. I would take things from French and put them in English. Then, when I also get in the English system, I would work well’.

b. Responses from Students

Effort and Desire (=strong wish) to Learn English

- ‘I take an English dictionary and read it, which increases my vocabulary in such a way that I can make a sentence.’

- ‘[To know English] I use books like the dictionary. Dictionaries contain many words. To know vocabulary is the way to go deep into the language. Furthermore, in order to know something, you go in contact with people who know better. Therefore I relate to people who know English better than I do’.

- ‘[When I see a person who knows English] I greet him/her, I talk to him/her, of course I speak to him/her in English. In that way I gain something.’

- ‘[...] I may not have anything to say ... I may not even have a high opinion of him/her at all. This means, I may not need to ask him for advice or talk about a certain subject. But because of his articulation or his way of speaking English ... I am prompted to communicate with him/her. It is in this sense that ‘interest’ comes in. Otherwise, if it is not that ... there might be nothing else that I want from you, except listening to your ‘articulation’ or the way you speak English.’

Attitudes toward Learning English

- ‘I would say that English to somebody who knows it can liberate him from the feeling of inferiority, and give him the feeling of confidence.’

- ‘English is easier than French.’

- ‘I feel happy about [English]. I feel that it is a beautiful language, and even when you go elsewhere, you find that it is easy.’

Motivational Orientation

- ‘To study English for me is essential. Considering the orientation of our country, it is very useful. English is at the forefront. It is a marketable language. I attach great value to it’.

- ‘For me the way I see it, the use of English is immense; because the English language is used by many countries; they use it in commerce because it is a language which is shared by many people.’

- '[...] English is a language which is very much used everywhere in the world. This motivates me to use it because I could also use it to communicate with the people I may meet abroad, in Africa and outside of Africa. We all converge on English.'
- '[Studying English] helps us to learn how to communicate with people from other countries when they don't speak our language.'

Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English in TTC2

a. Examples of Responses from Teachers

Effort to learn English

- 'So personally, I had problems at the beginning. Now I have the pronunciation and the meaning of these words, and I gradually incorporate them in my language ... I have a whole stock of them; now I already know them, thanks to teaching them many times'.
- 'We have dictionaries all the time. The words we don't understand we consult the dictionary. At times you don't even find the exact term you want ... in speaking you sometimes don't see the exact French word... especially the technical terms.'

Attitude toward Learning English

- 'Considering our feelings [about English]; it is in French that we feel at ease ... more than in English: Precisely because of the system we were educated in. But we see that gradually we are progressing; without problem.'
- 'It is good; we are gaining by learning English, and we like it as well as we need it. However, it is not easy for us, because we don't have enough "facilities": e.g. books.'

Motivational orientation

- 'The time people will get to know English, particularly if the teacher masters it well, we found that English is the language which is easy to use in teaching.'
- 'Actually, [teaching in English] can help to master English well ...' "Because it is an international language which most countries use.'

b. Examples of Responses from Students

Effort and Desire (= Strong wish) to Learn English

- '[to learn English] I listen to songs in English and try to write the words in them.'
- 'I also listen to the news in English.'
- 'Sometimes when I am with colleagues of my class, we talk in English in a bid to try to know it; without any other objective.'

Attitudes toward Learning English

- 'I would ask you if possible to request the Ministry of education to put in place a way of enforcing the rule of speaking English in all schools in Rwanda. The school itself is trying, but unsuccessfully. But it would be good if it were a rule to make compulsory use of English like in Uganda, and not use Kinyarwanda or any other language.'
- 'Knowing English makes one feel proud. Because you can see for example White people and, as we think that they are superior to us, to see that you can speak the language they speak makes you happy; and confident.'

Motivational Orientation

- 'English will also help me to live in harmony with other people, talking and understanding each other.'
- 'It is good to learn English, [...]; it helps me to establish relationship with other people like Ugandans.'
- '[To study English] is something that helps very much because it allows me to adapt to different domains, and it may help me to understand many [not clear here] from different countries, and I may also talk with other foreign people who speak English. Also I feel that it makes me happy.'
- 'I think that to learn English will help me in my job where I will be using it.'
- 'English is the language of our time, because our country changed its system, and it joined the East Africa Community. I learn English because it is useful and because I will use it in my job'.'

4.3.1.3 Qualitative Data Related to Attitudes toward English as MoI

As explained earlier, attitudes toward using a L2 as MoI can be either 'specifically' or 'generally' related to English as MoI depending on whether one is directly or indirectly involved in the process of using the language to teach/learn. TTC teachers and students expressed these two types of attitudes as follows:

Attitudes toward English as MoI in TTC1

a. Examples of Responses from Teachers

General Attitudes toward English as MoI

- 'But I think the only issue is that teachers should be enforced to start speaking English in class, instead of explaining lessons in Kinyarwanda all the time'.
- 'Personally, I grew up in the system of teaching in English and when I was on campus that is the system I studied in. Then, since I arrived here, I see that it is a good factor which helps me, because for me it is very easy to teach in English'.
- 'Teaching in English here according to Rwanda's program and problem, it would be better to teach in English, because they acquire more through listening, through speaking and through writing [...]'

Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

- 'When I am with students, for me the teacher, the one speaking, it is easy. But for those I am giving instruction, it is a problem because they have a 'bad background'; they studied in a 'bad place', where there is no English environment. That is why there are problems ... Some students have 'a basis,' and others have 'a bad background'.'
- 'Most of the ... books that are available are in French. ... Then for a person like me who has never learned French, to translate them into English would be hard'.

b. Examples of Responses from Students

General Attitudes toward English as MoI

Cognitive Aspect

- '[Studying in English] can increase learning of English very well because the more you learn everything in English, the more you improve English language'
- 'Studying in English helps us to know English more as students, and the teacher also to be more competitive in English'
- '[...] what I want to say is that to study all lessons in English ... Like for example now there are 'scientific terms', if you learn only the language, you may not know those terms. [But] if I learn all those subjects in English, it facilitates my knowledge of all those terms, and thus I 'widen' my intelligence, then it improves my way of speaking 'the language of the White man' (= uruzungu)'.

Affective Aspect

- 'Because English is not our mother tongue, it is difficult for us. Even if it is not as difficult as other languages, it is a challenge. We have difficulties mainly as students who come from the 'Francophone system'.
- '[To study in English] makes people give more value to that language that they pursue.'
- 'To use English to study makes me very happy, especially that even when I see someone who is speaking English I feel jealous. My strategy is to study the language without reserve.'

Conative Aspect

- 'When you don't understand things in your mother tongue, you have difficulties to remember them. When you learn things, you are sure you have understood them only when you have put everything in Kinyarwanda: You get the information from the source language, but you have to put it in Kinyarwanda. Even if we are studying in English, it is not our language. So when you revise, you must put in Kinyarwanda to be able to remember afterwards.'

Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

Cognitive Aspect

- 'In Mathematics, sometimes you find that you know the 'formula' in French but not in English.'

Affective Aspect

- 'We do well in Social Studies; these subjects can't be a problem for us. We do Social Studies well because we know English.'
- 'To study in English is good for me. In O' level I started in French, now we are studying in English: I feel that it is good because I know all (= French and English) the languages'.

Conative Aspect

- 'For example, you don't memorize things in Foundation of Education. You have to say things to yourself in Kinyarwanda before you can answer. You even receive the ideas in Kinyarwanda. You put the ideas in your mind in Kinyarwanda. The time to answer, you translate in English.'

Attitudes toward English as MoI in TTC2

a. Examples of Responses from Teachers

General Attitudes toward English as MoI

- ‘Actually, I think teaching in English it can help both the teachers and the learners who are new to the language. Actually it can help them to master it very well ...’
- ‘I noticed that to teach in English as such is not bad, because English is a language which allows people to have access to communication in the world in general. I found that there is no harm in it’.
- ‘At the beginning I felt uncomfortable to teach in English, because I was not used to; I was unstable in the action, lacking content for the lessons, ... briefly, I was not sure of what I was doing, and I was not in control of the situation ... But at this stage now, I feel at ease; I have no problem at all’.
- ‘There is no problem in studying through English either, because ... if you consider it, it is an easy language as compared to French’.

Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

- ‘Personally, I had problems at the beginning. Now I have the pronunciation and the meaning of these words, and I gradually incorporate them in my language ... I have a whole stock of them, now I already know them, thanks to teaching them many times’
- ‘I think it is good; because we have noticed in science that there are concepts which we find in English while they could not be found in French; and we had to work hard to translate them: Because there are instances, especially in sciences, where thorough explanations are not available, whereas in English they are expanded, and thorough analyses of certain topics are available’.

b. Examples of Responses from Students

General Attitudes toward English as MoI

Cognitive Aspect

- ‘Studying in English will help country to communicate with others and to have best trade. And it will help to manage our natural resources’.
- ‘What I can say about studying in English is that the content has become short (small); normally in French we used to study very many things, but when you consider it, now in English you find that things are shortened. [...] In English the content is poor, whereas in French you learn many things. Even the books in English are summarized. But in French you really find content ... I don’t know how I can express it! But it is wide and clear’.
- ‘I am in 5th year, but I am having a problem. I see you are comparing French and English: Couldn’t we compare [English] and other languages, and say for example that to study in our traditional language could help us understand what we are learning better, since it is our parents’ language, so that we learn everything, and at the same time understand? For me I feel that studying in English could sometimes be a problem’.

Affective Aspect

- 'For me, I feel that French is easier than English. Even if we have abandoned it, it is not because it is difficult. Rather, it is easier because when you study in French, you really go deep into the content of the lesson'.
- 'It makes me feel that I'm civilized because when I know English language I can go to the other countries which speak English and it can help me for easy communication with them'
- 'It makes me happy. I grew up in the Francophone system; but now I am in the Anglophone system: Now I feel it is easier as compared to the way we used to study in French'.
- 'I don't feel comfortable studying in English. Our use of English to study doesn't go smoothly because teachers don't know English well. This means that I am not confident that I will know English as I should. This worries me...'
- 'Sometimes the teacher is explaining something, but you don't understand. Then it becomes a problem for you. Normally, it would be better if you could ask a question in Kinyarwanda, the language that you understand, and the teacher would answer you; perhaps in English, as long as you have been able to ask him in Kinyarwanda. Only, you find that maybe your teacher doesn't understand Kinyarwanda. Then in your poor English, [...] you try to find a way to formulate a question, but it is difficult: So you just choose to leave it. Thus you go back home without the knowledge you came to look for. You will find that this problem really happens.'

Conative Aspect

- 'When the teacher comes with new vocabulary, I try to translate it in Kinyarwanda depending on the way I understand it.'
- 'When I look at it carefully, I find that studying in English amounts to studying English. I often meet with different children [here he means students]. To learn English is really good; however, you find that people are more interested in learning English, and they overlook what they are learning. In lower classes for example, you find that they insist on teaching English; and they have difficulties in 'things like science'.

Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI

Cognitive Aspect

- 'In Mathematics, sometimes you find that you know the 'formula' in French but not in English.'
- 'Concerning exercises on the blackboard, I studied in the Francophone system; but I noticed that doing mathematics in English is easier. In French, you have to go through many steps before you get to the final answer; if for example you have to go through 6 steps in French, in English you will only need 3 steps.
Consequently, when for example you are explaining on the blackboard ..., by the way, mathematics even uses very easy English with very easy terms. Then you explain easily in English, better than you would do it in another language.'

Affective Aspect

- 'I don't really feel happy because when for example we are doing Physics and the teacher puts up a problem there to be solved, it is not easy to find 'information data' to resolve the problem, or even in Chemistry, it is really a challenge to find the information data. So personally I am not really happy as compared to the way I could directly find information data in French without too many difficulties. But perhaps we have to wear perhaps to wear a dictionary, I don't know!!!!'

Conative Aspect

- 'In order not to get zero out of ten (0/10) in tests or exams, there is a way to proceed [...] you might find people simply memorizing the notes given by the teacher: Let's say, it is like photographing them. So you photograph the notes, and when the teacher asks you questions on them, you take the notes from the head and you pour them on the paper; you give him back his notes. Thus the way you put them in the head is the way you take them out; without leaving anything inside. You crammed them and got perhaps 8 out of 10, but you crammed the notes without knowing what they mean. You memorize the title so that even if they changed just one word in the question ... (general laughter).'

4.3.2 Descriptive Summary of the Data from Interviews and Group Interviews

4.3.2.1 Language Experiences

From the above responses (and many more that haven't been reproduced here), interesting information on Language Experiences could be inferred from teachers' and students' responses. Concerning Knowledge of Languages, it was firstly easy to classify TTC teachers and students as Anglophones or Francophones who know Kinyarwanda or Anglophones or Francophones who do not know Kinyarwanda. Thus for example, to a follow-up question to know why one respondent constantly refers to English as "my language", he answered:

'I am calling [English] 'my language' because it's the language I use when I am here; because I can't use any I can't communicate with other people: Me, Kinyarwanda I know very little ...'

Secondly, those who don't know Kinyarwanda feel the need to learn it. This can be seen in direct expressions of the determination to learn it (e.g. *'Actually, I have started to learn some Kinyarwanda'*) or though comments denoting regret of poor knowledge of Kinyarwanda (e.g. *'I speak Kiswahili, Lingala, French, English ... and very little Kinyarwanda'*).

Apart from 'knowledge of languages', another piece of information obtained is about 'use of languages'. Firstly, from the participants' responses, it was possible to have an idea of the extent to which TTC teachers and students struggle between the use of Kinyarwanda and the use of English: This appears for example in the following remark from one Anglophone teacher:

'In Rwanda, it is not easy to learn English, because people speak a common language: All of them speak Kinyarwanda'.

This kind of remark is likely to nuance the claim by the TTC community (from survey data) that they mostly use English at school. At the same time, whereas Kinyarwanda might be used in the school context more than acknowledged, another remark shows that many members of the TTC

community deliberately force themselves to use English and make an effort to shun Kinyarwanda because they think that doing so would be useful for increasing proficiency in English. This appears for example in a remark like:

'I avoid Kinyarwanda because I have enough notions of Kinyarwanda. On the contrary, I need to increase my knowledge of English, because we need to use it in many places, be it on the field while teaching, be it for communication with various people'.

Another aspect of 'use of languages' revealed through interviews is the feeling of pride that goes with knowledge of English. This is particularly shown by the way some participants hasten to affirm that English is the language they know best. One participant for example declares:

'Among these languages, the one that I know best, of which I know many words and perhaps many proverbs, is English. I have already 'socialized' it very much'.

Another respondent even said that he was taught that English is the best language. He states it thus:

'When we are trained ... so we are trained that English is the best language; because me I am proud of my language when I speak English I become free; I am talking; I even interact with many people; I am going with English, happy to communicate with different people.'

Finally those who evolved in a Francophone environment think that it is an advantage to learn English in addition to French, and they find it relatively easy to adapt to the new situation. Such kind of happy statements came from both teachers and students. One student for example says:

'It makes me happy. I grew up in the Francophone system; but now I am in the Anglophone system: Now I feel it is easier as compared to the way we used to study in French'.

As a whole, these are the most frequent testimonies of Languages Experiences as expressed in interviews. Remarks related to Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English were also made. Following is a summary thereof.

4.3.2.2 Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

Many interesting responses were obtained from Section 2 of the interview which focused on Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English. Some of them refer to respondents' involvement in Learning English or their opinions about learning English in general; and others are directly related to attitudes and motivation. Thus, concerning 'effort' to learn English, teachers (particularly Francophone teachers) report that they are doing really hard work to learn

the language, and apparently, they are satisfied that they are succeeding. This is what one of them points to when he/she says:

‘So personally, I had problems at the beginning. Now I have the pronunciation and the meaning of these words, and I gradually incorporate them in my language ... I have a whole stock of them; now I already know them, thanks to teaching them many times’.

Another declares:

‘When we come across technical or complicated terms that we don’t know, we look them up in the dictionary trying to know the meaning and the pronunciation. Personally after doing all this, I note them in a book, so that I always have them with me. This means that if I am preparing lessons, I have all this information in a book, and I repeat them all the time, so that when I go to teach I don’t need to carry a dictionary ...’

Still another respondent lauds the effort:

‘We did our best; we augmented our previous knowledge. And even teaching proper – to be in contact with the class – you progressively ameliorate your work when you have the will. So now I don’t see any problem.’

All these are responses from teachers. Students on their part recount the same kind of successful effort, most of the time emphasizing the fact that they constantly resort to the dictionary. Concerning the desire to learn English, visibly most of the student participants seem to have a strong wish to learn the language. One student says for example this:

‘[When I see a person who knows English] I greet him/her, I talk to him/her; of course I speak to him/her in English. In that way I gain something.’

Attitudes are also favorable and most of the student respondents who spoke showed that they were favorable to learning English. Thus for example students’ positive attitudes toward English can be seen in a remark such as:

‘I would say that English to somebody who knows it can liberate him from the feeling of inferiority, and give him the feeling of confidence. I feel happy about [English]. I feel that it is a beautiful language, and even when you go elsewhere, you find that it is easy.’

Some even want to emulate English speaking people, sometimes equating them to White people. One for example remarks:

‘Knowing English makes one feel proud. Because you can see for example White people and, as we think that they are superior to us, to see that you can speak the language they speak makes you happy and confident.’

The student respondents are also both ‘integratively’ and ‘instrumentally’ motivated. This is apparent in opinions like the following: English would be useful

‘to settle in those countries, to adopt the culture of the people they might find there [...] You may for example go in England having studied here in an English system; then getting there, you might quickly fit in the society there. Then, it would even be easy for you to establish relationships with the people there, it would help very much.’

This is an example of a remark that shows both ‘instrumental’ and ‘integrative’ motivation. Others like the following focus on the usefulness of English:

‘I think that to learn English will help me in my job where I will be using it.’

Still another says:

‘Considering the fact that we are studying in a Teacher Training College, since we will be teachers, if we plan for the future, learning English will help us to teach in that language.’

Many more ideas directly related to ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English’ were expressed, showing that both TTC teachers and students are sensitized to the necessity of learning English. Following are now views focused on using English to teach and learn.

4.3.2.3 Attitudes toward using English as MoI

Practically all ideas expressed about Attitudes toward using English as MoI showed that people consistently view the use of English as MoI as a way to learn English. In substance, many of the responses expressed convey the following ideas extracted from various students’ responses:

‘The more you study in English, the more you improve your English’; ‘studying in English helps teachers to know English’; ‘studying in English helps gain knowledge of English’; ‘studying in English helps improve the way of speaking English’; ‘studying in English results in knowledge of French and English’; ‘studying in English makes people give more value to English’.

As can be inferred from these phrases, most students think that the most important advantage to be drawn from studying through English is to know English. Teachers also said practically the same thing, meaning that they also think that using English as MoI is good because it helps in learning English. Some of their responses are the following:

‘Studying in English is helpful because it is a language used for international communication’.

‘Studying in English can help gain knowledge of the language; there is no problem in using English’.

'Actually, I think teaching in English it (sic) can help both the teachers and the learners who are new to the language. Actually it can help them to master it very well ...'

'I noticed that to teach in English as such is not bad, because English is a language which allows people to have access to communication in the world in general. I found that there is no harm in it'.

As can be seen from all these quotes, studying through English is invariably seen as useful **because it helps both teachers and students to learn English**. Some other ideas, however, revolve around the fact that teaching/studying in English might be easier. Thus, some Francophone teachers claim that, though they had enormous problems at the beginning, they soon managed to solve them. Here is an opinion of one teacher who affirms that he/she managed to solve his/her problems of expression in English:

'There is no problem in studying through English either, because ... if you consider it, it is an easy language as compared to French'.

Another respondent echoes the same feeling of relief after a certain time of uncertainty:

'At the beginning I felt uncomfortable to teach in English, because I was not used to; I was unstable in the action, lacking content for the lessons, ... briefly, I was not sure of what I was doing, and I was not in control of the situation ... But at this stage now, I feel at ease; I have no problem at all'.

Understandably, on this issue, Anglophone teachers are happy that their task is easy in English. One Anglophone teacher for example says:

'Personally, I grew up in the system of teaching in English and when I was on campus that is the system I studied in. Then, since I arrived here, I see that it is a good factor which helps me, because for me it is very easy to teach in English'.

Generally, as illustrated in the above quotes, both Francophone and Anglophone teachers were satisfied with their efforts, and on the whole they affirmed that they are currently doing well. From the students' point of view, however, it appears that the opinions are divided. On the one hand, many students contented themselves with the claim that learning English is easy, and others compared English and French (and even English and Kinyarwanda) saying that English is easier than the other languages. Thus for example one student remarks

'Owing to individuals' intellectual capacity, English is quickly 'understood' because it is an easy language.'

And another:

‘When I compare with the way French was difficult for me, I find that English is good; it can help people to learn fast; it would be good for learning’.

On the other hand, however, a number of other students complained of difficulties of adaptation; expressed frustration because of the inability to express what they really want to say in class; mentioned difficulties to resolve problems in Mathematics or physics reasoning through English; and voiced worries about the perceived paucity of the content delivered in English as compared to the content which used to be delivered in French. And most importantly, some student participants expressed the concern that people too often consider that studying in English is useful because it helps in studying English and neglect the content.

Finally, another important theme tackled is the use of Kinyarwanda to cope with the situation. Some student participants affirmed that any attempt to understand the lessons passes through the MT; that to make sure they have understood they have to say things to themselves in Kinyarwanda; and that it is often necessary to translate into Kinyarwanda in order to make sure they understand the lesson.

As a whole, these are the ideas expressed during interviews with TTC teachers and students. These interviews performed the role they were meant to play because many of the participants’ views; either confirmed the findings from ‘Closed-ended Questions’ in the Survey Questionnaires, or explained, clarified, and expanded them.

4.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, I have considered the three sets of data collected for the study of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI and attempted to explain them. As two of these sets were Qualitative data meant to complement the Quantitative data, I have firstly examined the latter. Thus, using simple statistical methods, I have tabulated the numerical values of the different aspects of TTC teachers’ and students’ Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI; and the resulting presentation of the data in Tables 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; and 9 has allowed for the description of TTC teachers and students as a multilingual community; characterized by a diversity of Language Experiences; motivated to learn English; and holding positive attitudes toward using it as MoI. Also and more specifically as has been highlighted through Quantitative data, categorization of the TTC community in relation to the three most important languages used in Rwanda (viz. Kinyarwanda, English, French) as ‘Anglophone’ and ‘Francophone’ was added to

the picture; and language use among TTC teachers and students has been characterized as ‘diglossic’, meaning that the use of Kinyarwanda and other African languages tends to be restricted to the home social environment, whereas English appears to dominate the school academic environment.

Concerning the second set of data, responses to Open-ended Questions of the Questionnaires were considered. By analyzing the content of these responses, more subtle characteristics of the TTC community with regard to English as MoI were identified. Thus TTC teachers and students were still depicted as a multilingual community motivated to learn English and holding positive attitudes toward English as MoI; but closer examination of these Qualitative data revealed finer differences between members of the community in terms of self-confidence in knowledge and use of English; unveiled students’ acknowledgement of weaknesses in English; and showed that TTC teachers’ and students’ ultimate reason for positive attitudes toward using English as MoI is not generally ‘subject content learning’, but rather; ‘English language learning’.

Finally, this Chapter has examined the third set of data (i.e. the Qualitative data from Interviews), which has also depicted TTC teachers and students as a multilingual community. More particularly, however; the analysis of participants’ responses during interviews revealed characteristic views, needs, and challenges that the different categories of language users entail in terms of language learning and use in Rwanda. Furthermore, again and most importantly, the ultimate reason to favour English use as MoI was revealed to be ‘learning English’ rather than ‘subject content learning’.

All in all, these are the highlights of the analysis of the data collected in this study. Many details are not taken up here, but the general impression created is that there appears to be differences and overlaps between the three sets of data. In the following Chapter, these sets of data and the findings they yield are compared (1) to establish mutual corroboration between them; and (2) to ascertain their significance to the process of English use as MoI in the context of the new language in education policy in Rwanda.

Chapter 5

CORROBORATIVE AND INTERPRETIVE DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In the preceding Chapter, the data were analyzed with a view to drawing a general picture of TTC teachers' and students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda. These data, however, were collected in two different schools; from both teachers and students; and using different data collection methods. In this Chapter, these factors are given more attention as they are important for 'legitimation and interpretation' (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003: 373) of the data. Thus, Section 5.1 below discusses convergence and corroboration (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004) of the findings from the different methods used in the study, and Section 5.2 focuses on the significance of these findings to the use of English as MoI in the context of Rwanda.

5.1 CORROBORATION OF THE DATA

As suggested earlier, one of the objectives of collecting quantitative and qualitative data in the context of Mixed Method Research is corroboration between the two types of data. In this study,

the major findings ensuing from the Quantitative Survey were supported by data from Open-ended Questions and from Interviews. For a discussion of this corroboration, I firstly recapitulate the main finding(s) from the quantitative data as pertinent to the different themes of the study, and follow them with relevant evidence from qualitative data for support.

5.1.1 Findings on Language Experiences

Among the major findings about Language Experiences in TTCs, the most important is that TTC teachers' and students' 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of Languages are diverse. Hence, in relation to the three most important languages in Rwanda (Kinyarwanda, English, and French), they fall into 2 categories and 6 sub-categories of language users as presented in the table below.

Table 10: Categories of TTC users of Kinyarwanda, English, and French

Category	Description	Sub-category
1. Anglophone teachers	- Trained through English from Primary school to University - No knowledge of French	1) Anglophone teachers who do not know Kinyarwanda. - They depend only on English for communication in Rwanda.
		2) Anglophone teachers who know Kinyarwanda. - They communicate either in Kinyarwanda or in English.
2. Francophone teachers	- Trained through French from Primary school to University - They also learned English	1) Francophone teachers who do not know Kinyarwanda - They depend only on French or English for communication in Rwanda.
		2) Francophone teachers who know Kinyarwanda. - They communicate in Kinyarwanda, in French, and in English.
3. Anglophone students	- Started learning in English from primary School through O' level up to now	- They are sufficiently fluent in English - All of them know Kinyarwanda - Some of them know some French
4. Francophone students	- Used French to study up to O' Level - Started learning in English in A level	- All of them know Kinyarwanda - All of them know some English

This classification of TTC teachers and students into categories is based on languages reported to have been used by participants to study. Whereas the concepts of Anglophone and Francophone in the context of Africa is disputable (Brock-Utne, 2007: 512), this categorization proved to be a reality in the mind of respondents as evidenced by the various views they expressed while answering written open-ended questions, and during interviews and group interviews. Also, these views allowed for a finer characterization of the different categories in

terms of their attitudes toward Kinyarwanda, English and French. Some attitudes and highlights of participants' views reflecting these aspects are textually reproduced below:

5.1.1.1 Views of respondents from an Anglophone background²⁶

Examples of responses reproduced here unmistakably show opinions, feelings, difficulties from an Anglophone point of view. Some refer to colleagues or schoolmates, others refer to personal feelings of satisfaction, and still others recount the possible difficulties for Anglophone teachers to use English to teach in the context of Rwanda. Following are some specimens from written answers to Open-ended Questions.

'Of course English makes me proud of myself and I call upon teachers also to use it inclusively in teaching.' (A teacher's feeling arising from knowledge of English)

'Sometimes I am disappointed when I come through students whose levels are not common. Some are intermediate and [...] others pre-intermediate.' (A teacher's impression of students' knowledge of English)

'To use English in our subjects is very good because it is a good language; for me I can use it in my subjects' (Anglophone student's satisfaction)

'English is a better language, but to someone who studied in French, English is a difficult language compared to French. But for us English is a better language.' (A student sympathizing with 'Francophone' students' difficulties)

In parallel to these views drawn from open-ended answers, examples from interviews showing characteristic opinions from an Anglophone point of view are also many. Some of them are provided below.

'But I think the only issue is that teachers should be enforced to start speaking English in class instead of explaining lessons in Kinyarwanda all the time.' (Opinion from a teacher referring to colleagues)

'When I am with students, for me the teacher, the one speaking, it is easy. But then, for those I am giving instruction, it is a problem because they have a bad background; they studied in a bad place, where there is no English environment. That is why there are problems. ... Some students have a basis, and others have a bad background.' (Opinion from a teacher referring to his/her students)

'Personally, I grew up in the system of teaching in English and when I was on campus that is the system I studied in. Then, since I arrived here, I see that it is a good factor which helps me, because for me it is very easy to teach in English' (Teacher's feeling of ease)

²⁶ Views have been reproduced as faithfully as possible

‘Personally, I feel that to study in English is good, and it is easy for me. Perhaps because I grew up using it because I started with it in Primary school throughout O’ level until now, I feel that it is a language that I like, to study in it really gives me real courage; so that I feel that, if possible, I would continue with it up to the end of my studies’. (Student’s feeling of ease)

‘Most of the ... books that are available are in French. ... Then for a person like me who has never learned French, to translate them into English would be hard’. (Difficulty related to materials as experienced by a teacher)

These are views from an Anglophone point of view. On the other hand, responses from ‘Francophone’ participants also reflected typical opinions about the situation created by the new language in education policy from a francophone point of view. Most of them concerned difficulties encountered in using English as MoI; but very often, they were followed by an expression of satisfaction resulting from having overcome the difficulties. Some examples from written open-ended answers are given below.

5.1.1.2 Views of respondents from a Francophone background

Firstly, from a teachers’ point of view, Francophone teachers commenting on the issue of subject content presentation in English think that success is conditional on other things. It

‘depends on the creativity of the teacher because we teach in contexts. I use English to teach in context.’ (Teacher recounting how he/she manages to use English)

‘depends on the books which are present or available in our school. If possible we continue to need other text books.’ (Teacher on the problem of resources)

Francophone student respondents also wrote about how it feels to study in English which is not the same way as Anglophone students feel it. One student for example expresses the need for support from the MT in the following terms:

‘Studying in English is sometimes good depending on the teacher when he/she mixes with Kinyarwanda while teaching.’

Still another student recounts the difficulties he/she encountered:

‘At first it was difficult for me to study in English. The teacher could speak but I couldn’t understand. But I am getting to know little by little.’

More students (especially in the 4th years) wrote about their difficulties in using English to study, and teachers also commented on their experiences from a ‘Francophone’ point of view while answering open-ended questions. Many of their stories were also echoed during interviews, and

thus, 'Francophone' participants (both teachers and students) elaborated on their use of English as MoI as shown in the following examples.

'I think it is good; because we have noticed in sciences that there are concepts which we find in English while they could not be found in French; and we had to work hard to translate them: Because there are instances, especially in sciences, where thorough explanations are not available, whereas in English they are expanded, and thorough analyses of certain topics are available'. (Teacher overcoming difficulties)

'There is no problem in studying through English either, because ... if you consider it, it is an easy language as compared to French'. (Teacher feeling at ease)

'At the beginning I felt uncomfortable to teach in English, because I was not used to; I was unstable in the action, lacking content for the lessons, ... briefly, I was not sure of what I was doing, and I was not in control of the situation ... But at this stage now, I feel at ease; I have no problem at all'. (Teacher overcoming anxiety)

'Personally, I had problems at the beginning. Now I have the pronunciation and the meaning of these words, and I gradually incorporate them in my language ... I have a whole stock of them, now I already know them, thanks to teaching them many times' (Teacher overcoming challenges)

'It makes me happy. I grew up in the Francophone system; but now I am in the Anglophone system: Now I feel it is easier as compared to the way we used to study in French'. (Students' satisfaction)

'To study in English is good for me. In O' level I started in French, now we are studying in English: I feel that it is good because I know all (= French and English) the languages'. (Students' satisfaction)

As can be seen in these examples, efforts to use English as MoI are eventually rewarded. This is not always the case, however, as shown below:

'I studied in French, but now that I am in the 4th year I started with English. When I consider the way I study in English, I feel that it is really difficult: Because it is a language that I can't speak well. I don't know the pronunciation; I can't say and refer to something properly: I am never sure of it. I have emotions...' (Students' dissatisfaction and failure)

'I don't really feel happy because when for example we are doing Physics and the teacher puts up a problem there to be solved, it is not easy to find 'information data' to resolve the problem, or even in Chemistry, it is really a challenge to find the information data. So personally I am not really happy as compared to the way I could directly find information data in French without too many difficulties. But perhaps we have to wear ... perhaps to wear a dictionary, I don't know!!!!' (Students' feeling of dissatisfaction and need to struggle)

From all these testimonies, it is clear that TTC teachers and students are a multilingual community now focused on the challenges of using English as MoI. What can be concluded on the issue of Language Experiences therefore is that, in the context of Rwanda where the population is virtually monolingual and where most of communication is in Kinyarwanda, the TTC population constitutes a special community in relation to English, Kinyarwanda, and French. More particularly with regard to English; to differing degrees, teachers and students all depend on English; a significant number of teachers even depend solely on it for communication; and in general, teachers and students use English with different degrees of difficulty, but they all use it. It could be argued, therefore, that the dynamics of the linguistic context in TTCs are relatively conducive to English use.

5.1.2 Findings on Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

To recapitulate the findings on teachers' and students' Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English, following are the overall scores obtained in Section 2 of the questionnaire used in this study.

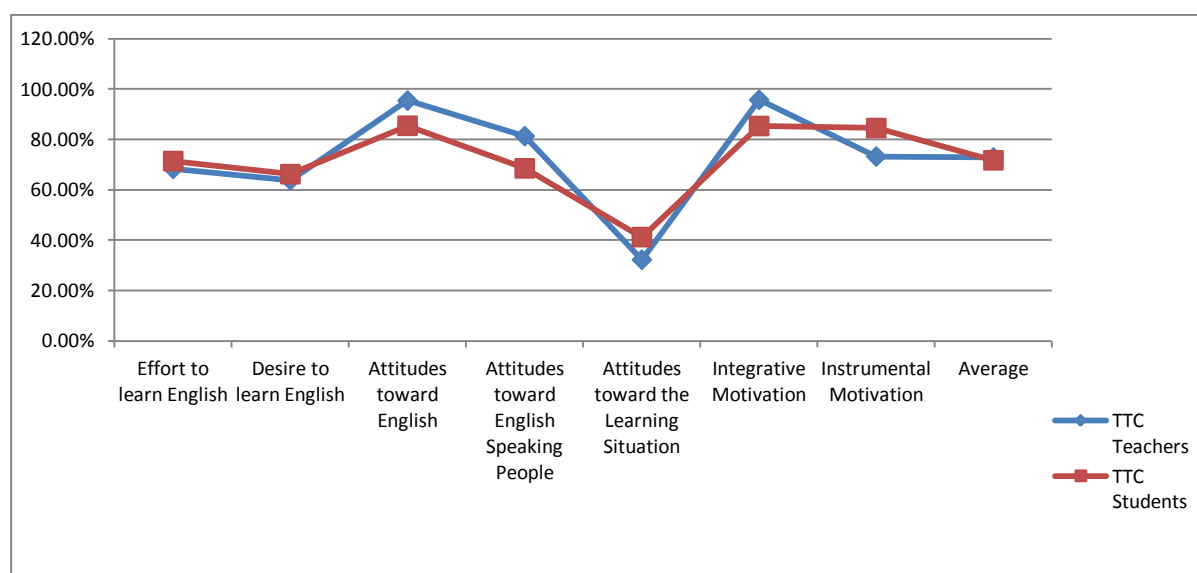
<i>Motivational Components</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Students</i>
1. Effort (= Motivational Intensity) to learn English	68.3%	71.4%
2. Desire (= strong wish) to Learn English	63.8%	66.2%
3. Attitudes toward Learning English		
3.1. Attitudes toward English itself	95.5%	85.4%
3.2. Attitudes toward English speaking people	81.3%	68.5%
3.3. Attitudes toward the learning situation	32.2%	41.2%
4. Motivational orientation		
4.1. Integrative Motivation	95.7%	85.3%
4.2. Instrumental Motivation	73.2%	84.5%

Mean score	72.8%	71.7%

The scores presented in this figure are numerical values of (i.e. data on) the attributes of individuals who are motivated to learn English. These scores show that TTC teachers make effort to learn English (68.3%); have the desire to achieve the goal of learning it (63.8%); and hold positive attitudes toward English itself as a language (95.5%) and toward English speaking

people (81.3%). Furthermore, they are both integratively (95.7%) and instrumentally (73.2%) motivated to learn the language. On the other hand, TTC students also make effort to learn English (71.4%); have the desire to achieve the goal of learning it (66.2%); hold positive attitudes toward English itself (85.4%) and toward English speaking people (68.5%); and are motivated to learn English, both integratively (85.3%) and instrumentally (84.5%). In other words, both TTC teachers and students are, on the whole, motivated to learn English (72.8% and 71.7%) even though they (32.2% and 41.2% respectively) do not seem to have a good opinion of their learning situation. TTC teachers and students are thus generally comparable in spite of the differences illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 1: Summary of Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English



As shown in this figure, the average scores characterizing TTC teachers' and students' motivation are 72.8% and 71.7% respectively, which means that generally the two groups are equally motivated to learn English. However, even though they are fairly similar in terms of 'effort' (68.3%; 71.4%) and 'desire' (63.8%; 66.2%) to learn English, they are also different with regard to attitudes toward English itself (95.5%; 85.4%), attitudes toward English speaking people (81.3%; 68.5%), attitudes toward the learning situation (32.2%; 41.2%); and further, in terms of integrative motivation (95.7% and 85.3% respectively), and in terms of instrumental motivation (73.2% and 84.5% respectively). Therefore, these data clearly show that TTC teachers and students are equally motivated to learn English, but at the same time, there are significant differences between the two groups, and these findings have been confirmed by data from Open-ended Questions and Interviews. In the section below, I am not discussing

specifically the differences which I shall come back to later in Section 5.2.1. Rather, I focus on corroboration of the above findings by qualitative data from open-ended question and interviews.

5.1.2.1 Testimonies from Open-ended Answers

Open-ended questions were meant to elicit respondents' attitudes toward using English as MoI. However, some of the responses also pointed to Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English. One of the students for example writes:

'I practice English through conversing with my fellows after classes and even in classes using English language. I make my own research through looking for new words'.

Likewise, another writes:

'[...] in order to know English you must read many books, then you check in the dictionary for the difficult words you find in the books'.

These examples from TTC students are evidence of 'effort' and 'desire' (=strong wish) to learn English. Others such as the following illustrate positive "Attitudes toward English"

'English is a better language, but to someone who studied in French, English is a difficult language compared to French. But for us English is a better language.'

'English is a very good language because English is a very interesting language and for students/teachers, it helps them to develop their knowledge.'

Still others are related to 'motivational orientation':

'English is the best language to learn and to teach because it is a language which is usable in many countries.' (Integrative motivation)

'English is the best language because many countries use English in communication and commerce and in other activities; when you know English you can use it where you go in other countries.' (Integrative and instrumental motivation)

As illustrated in these examples, open-ended answers support results from Quantitative data which showed that TTC teachers and students are generally motivated to learn English. Further evidence is from interviews; and it is noteworthy that, all the data do not only suggest that respondents are motivated to learn English: In addition to this, they bear witness to the ultimate reason for respondents to want to learn English, viz. they want to learn it because it is used in many countries. Here below evidence for this is provided:

5.1.2.2 Examples from interviews

One of the themes most readily found in interview responses is ‘Motivational Orientation’. This is evident in examples like:

‘To know English helps me to be open, so that I can establish relationships with people’.

‘What I would like to add is that English is a language which is very much used everywhere in the world. This motivates me to learn it because I also could use it to communicate with the people I may meet abroad, in Africa and outside of Africa. We all converge on English. English would help us in commerce and in exchanging goods’.

‘English is the language of our time, because our country changed its system, and it joined the East Africa Community. I learn English because it is useful and because I will use it in my job’.

These views suggest ‘integrative motivation’. Others refer to Instrumental Motivation since they are related to prospects for employment. They read:

‘Considering the fact that we are studying in a Teacher Training College, since we will be teachers, if we plan for the future, learning English will help us to teach in that language’.

‘To study English for me is like a ‘weapon’ to use in order to progress because English is the language that is used by the international community of countries. This means that I can leave here and go to foreign countries where they use that language, and be able to do business using that language as a link between us’.

‘To study English for me is essential. Considering the orientation of our country, it is very useful. English is at the forefront. It is a marketable language. I attach great value to it’.

Still others concern individuals’ personal feelings, and more particularly, Attitudes toward English.

‘I would say that English to somebody who knows it can liberate him from the feeling of inferiority, and give him the feeling of confidence’.

‘Knowing English makes one feel proud. Because you can see for example White people and, as we think that they are superior to us, to see that you can speak the language they speak makes you happy; and you feel confident’.

The examples given in this section are only a small sample of views that confirm the prevalence of Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English by pointing to TTC teachers’ and students’ Effort and Desire to Learn English; to their Attitudes toward Learning English; and to their Motivational Orientations. It could be thus concluded that TTC teachers and students do not only evolve in a linguistic context which requires that they make effort to learn and use English: Even more, both Quantitative and Qualitative data on Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English suggest that they are also likely to learn and use English because they are motivated to

learn the language. However, what appears to be the case is that, as the quantitative data have shown; they are definitely enthusiastic about English, and they are favorable to English speaking people; but they are reserved about the learning situation.

5.1.3 Findings on Attitudes toward English as MoI

As mentioned earlier, many theories have been constructed to explain the process of L2 learning motivation. Conversely, it seems that there is no theory explaining the process of motivation to use English as MoI. On the other hand, attitudes are one of the components of motivation as a construct since attitudes are ‘motivational antecedents/determinants’ (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995). In this study, TTC teachers’ and students’ attitudes towards English as MoI have been investigated through Section 3 of the Survey Questionnaires. The template for the analysis of the data is informed by the multi-componential (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970) nature of attitudes, and the investigation is about ‘General Attitudes’ and ‘Specific Attitudes’. Following are the overall scores obtained from Section 3 of the questionnaire used to investigate teachers’ and students’ Attitudes toward English as MoI (see Tables 8; 9).

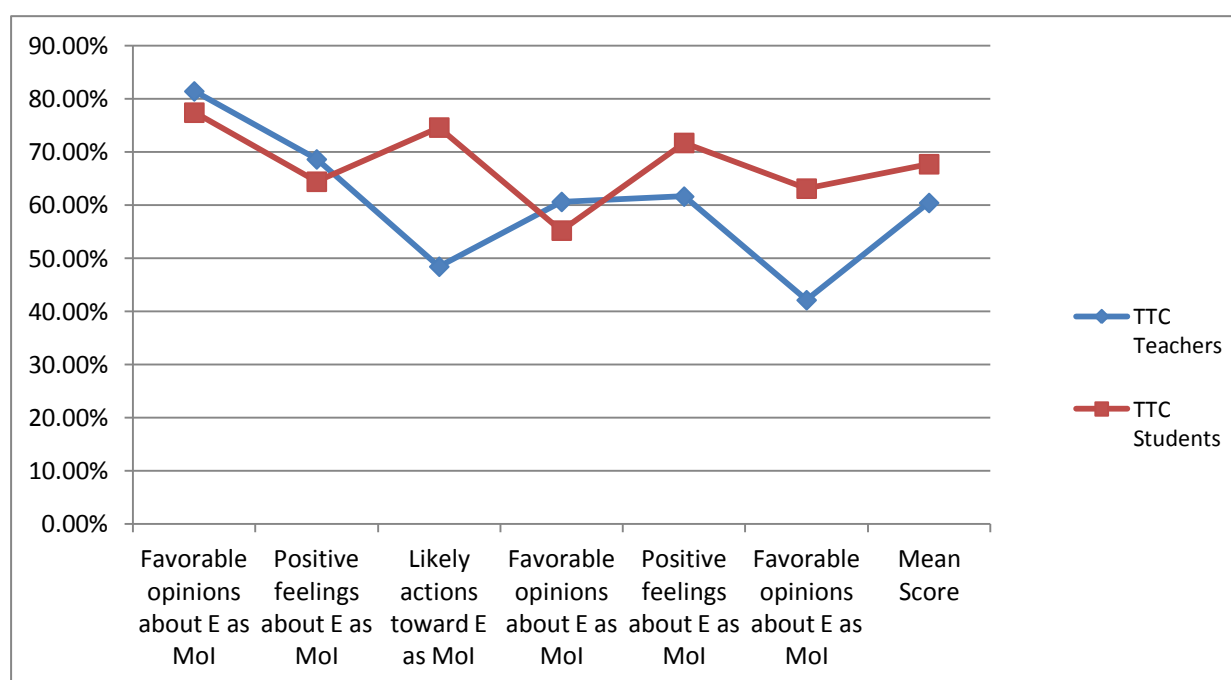
<i>Attitude Aspect</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Students</i>
A. GENERAL ATTITUDES		
1. Favorable opinions about English as MoI	81.4%	77.4%
2. Positive feelings about English as MoI	68.6%	64.4%
3. Likely actions toward English as MoI	48.4%	74.6%
B. SPECIFIC ATTITUDES		
1. Favorable opinions about using English to teach/learn specific subjects	60.6%	55.2%
2. Positive feelings about using English to teach/learn specific subjects	61.6%	71.7%
3. Likely actions toward using English to teach/learn specific subjects	42.1%	63.1%
Mean score	60.4%	67.7%

The scores presented in this box are about TTC teachers’ and students’ ‘general’ and ‘specific’ attitudes toward using English to teach and learn. In terms of ‘general attitudes’, they suggest that TTC teachers hold favorable opinions about using English as MoI (81.4%) and that their feelings about using it as MoI are positive (68.6%). Similarly, TTC students’ opinions about English as MoI are also positive (77.4%) and their feelings about using it are favorable (64.4%).

However, as concerns likely positive actions toward English as MoI, TTC students are in favor of such actions (74.6%), whereas their teachers do not seem to favor actions toward using English to teach (48.4%).

As regards ‘specific attitudes’ on the other hand, it appears that TTC teachers hold favorable opinions (60.6%) and have positive feelings about using it to teach their specific subjects (61.6%). Likewise, TTC students also hold favorable opinions (55.2%) and positive feelings (71.7%) about using English to learn specific subjects. However, as concerns likely actions toward using English to teach and learn specific subjects, again TTC students appear to be favorable to positive actions toward using English (63.1%) whereas their teachers do not seem to be favorable to these actions (42.1%). It appears then that there are significant difference between TTC teachers and students, even though in both cases, the overall attitudes toward English as MoI can be characterized as positive (60.4% and 67.7% respectively). Following is a figure to helps visualize these findings.

Figure 2: Summary of data on Attitudes toward English as MoI



As appears in this figure, ‘general’ opinions and feelings about English as MoI are fairly the same between teachers (81.4%; 68.6%) and students (77.4%; 64.4%), but likely actions toward using the language are widely different (teachers: 48.4% as compared to students: 74.6%). On the other hand, ‘specific’ attitudes toward English as MoI are different all through from teachers’

(60.6%) and students' (55.2%) **opinions** about English as MoI, to their (61.6% for teachers' and 71.7% for students) **feelings** and **likely actions** toward using English to teach and learn specific subjects (42.1% and 63.1% respectively). Therefore, there seem to be many significant differences. However, putting the scores together, the overall conclusion is that TTC teachers (60.4%) and students (67.7%) hold positive attitudes toward English use as MoI in specific subjects, and this finding was confirmed by qualitative data collected in this study. In the subsection below, I discuss this corroboration, and reserve the important differences observed between teachers and students to later consideration in Section 5.2.1.

5.1.3.1 Views from written Open-ended answers²⁷

The first body of data presented here as supporting the finding that TTC teachers and students hold positive attitudes toward English as MoI is from open-ended answers. In addition, all these data seem to indicate that the aim of 'using English as MoI' is to 'learn English'. The following examples go even further to indicate that using English as MoI is good for learning English. Thus for respondents,

'Studying in English helps us to know English more as students, and the teacher also to be more competitive in English'

'[it] can increase learning of English very well because the more you learn everything in English, the more you improve English language'

Also, using English as MoI ultimately helps in using it for wider communication. Thus, students wrote,

'English as a language, used to teach and learn because we are in EAC. We want to know it very well in order to facilitate us to communicate with others, especially the countries which are together in East African Community (EAC)'

'Studying in English will help country to communicate with others and to have best trade'.

'[it] makes me feel that I'm civilized because when I know English language I can go to the other countries which speak English and it can help me for easy communication with them'.

'[it] will help me to be sociable with stranger people; it will help me to ask job where there is to develop my English knowledge'

Finally, using English as MoI

'prepares your future to be good when you will be free to live in any country where English language is used'

²⁷ Views have been reproduced as the authors have written them without any attempt to correct the phrasing.

'helps a learner to understand rapidly. It helps a country in communication on the international level'.

Thus the list of students' opinions like these is very long. On the other hand, teachers' written opinions on the issue were not many. Nonetheless, the rare answers obtained go in the same sense as the students' answers. They indicate that English use as MoI

'Increases understanding between different categories of people'; '[makes communication] easier, quicker and live'; 'helps ... to improve written and communication skills'

It is interesting to note that the language used to talk about teaching and studying through English almost invariably contains qualifiers like *good/better/very good; important/very important; easy/easier; etc.* Also verbs such as *helps/will help/can help; enables; facilitates; increases/can increase; etc.* show approval of the use of English as MoI. It is also important to emphasize that in all the examples given above; reference to **'understanding subject content'** is made only twice. This is not only in this sample; even in the whole bulk of open-ended answers from students, reference to use of English as MoI for knowledge acquisition is rare. Clearly, this indicates that TTC teachers and students think that using English as MoI is good because it helps teachers and students to know English. Thus, reasons like:

'the more you learn everything in English, the more you improve English'; '[Using English as MoI] makes me feel that I'm civilized'; '[Studying in English] will help me to be sociable'; 'English is used to teach and learn because we are in EAC'; 'Using English to teach and learn helps our country to communicate with others'

are all ultimate reasons linked with language learning. Therefore, it could be concluded that TTC teachers and students hold positive attitudes toward English as MoI; and that these attitudes are not oriented toward subject content learning, but rather to English language learning. As I argue below, this important finding was also corroborated from interview data.

5.1.3.2 Views from Interviews

Thus far, the present study has established from quantitative data that TTC teachers' and students' attitudes toward English as MoI are positive. On the other hand, the qualitative data from open-ended questions have shown that these positive attitudes are due to the belief that the use of English as MoI is likely to enhance English language learning. Still more evidence for this is from interviews. Following are views from teachers for examples:

'Actually, I think teaching in English it (sic) can help both the teachers and the learners who are new to the language. Actually it can help them to master it very well ...'

'I noticed that to teach in English as such is not bad, because English is a language which allows people to have access to communication in the world in general. I found that there is no harm in it'.

Students also expressed the same views in group-interviews as encapsulated in the following statement from one of them who thinks:

'To study in English helps me to gain knowledge in English'

And this view is held by practically all of the students. As a result of this common view, to study through English adds value to the language. In this regard, students pertinently remark:

'[To study in English] makes people give more value to that language that they pursue'.

'What I think about using English to study, for example when one learns all lessons in English it helps to know English well; one is different from somebody who learns English from time to time, or who learns the language without using it'.

As was the case with written data from open-ended questions, therefore, the constant information that is conveyed in these responses is that participants in this study approve of the practice of using English as MoI. More importantly, however, they also add a reason why they are in favour of the use of English to teach/learn, and invariably that reason is not related to subject content teaching/learning, but rather to language teaching. Thus for TTC teachers and students,

'Teaching in English helps to master the language'; 'to teach in English is not bad because it helps people to have access to communication'; 'when one learns all lessons in English, it helps to know English well'; 'to study in English helps to gain knowledge in English'; 'to study in English makes people give more value to English'.

These are typical views from interviews on the issue of English use as MoI. On close consideration, there is indeed some truth in all of them. However they are not directly concerned with using English as MoI: They are related to learning English. This finding thus adds to the preceding ones which have been confirmed across methods of investigation used in this study. What these findings mean for English learning and use as MoI is the object of the following Section.

5.2 INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The process of interpretation of research findings consists of highlighting their significance to the situation under study. In this Section, I discuss the significance of the above findings by considering the differences and similarities between teachers and students in terms of Language Experiences and Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI; and by drawing a comparison between the two TTCs investigated in this study.

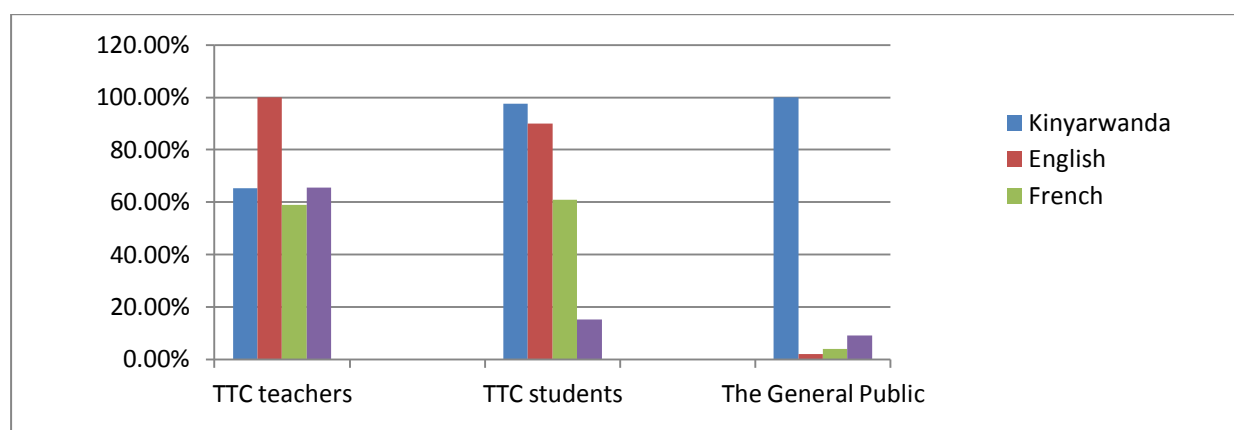
5.2.1 TTC Teachers' and Students' Language Experiences and Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI Compared

As has been argued throughout this study, one of the most important elements in the dynamics of English language learning and use as MoI is 'Language Experiences'. Thus, a comparison between TTC teachers and students is tackled in terms of Language Experiences.

5.2.1.1 Language Experiences and the Dynamics of English Language Learning and Use as MoI

Language Experiences were analyzed as 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of Languages in two selected TTCs. An important finding about 'Knowledge of Languages' as characterized by mother tongues (MTs) and additional languages (ALs) is that, to differing degrees, TTC teachers and students know a wide variety of languages. What this important feature implies can be understood by drawing a comparison between teachers and students, with reference to the general context of Rwanda. The following chart helps visualize TTC teachers' and students' linguistic diversity as compared to 'Knowledge of Languages' among the 'General Public'.

Figure 3: TTC teachers' and students' Knowledge of Languages contrasted with Knowledge of Languages among the general public



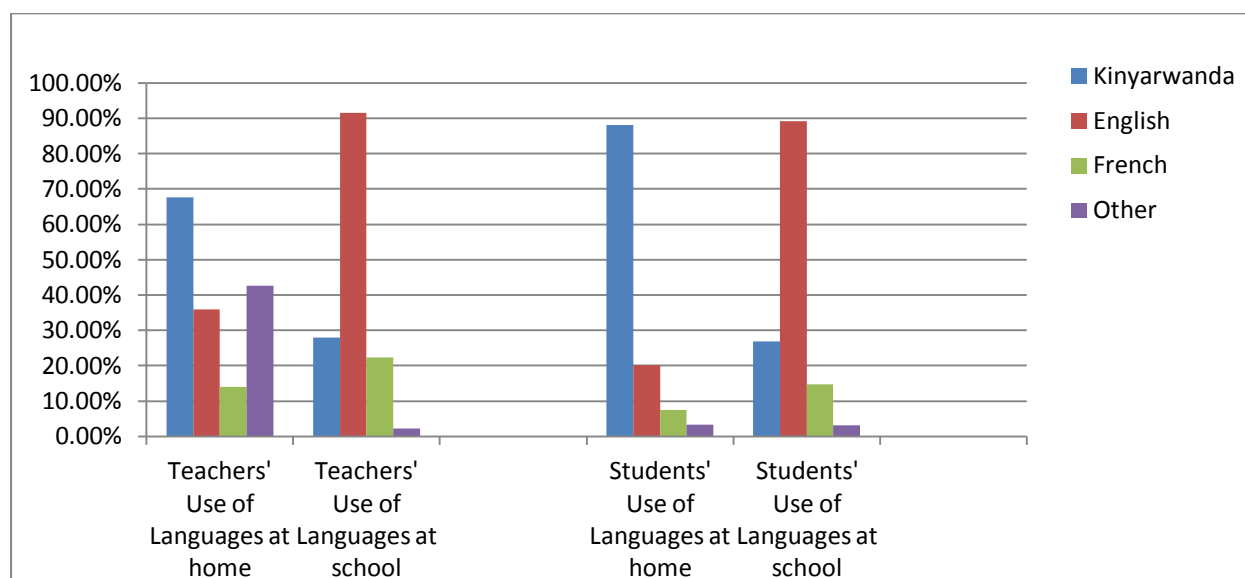
As shown in this Chart, TTC students are in the medial position between the 'General Public' and their teachers in terms of Language Experiences. From the point of view of knowledge of languages, nearly all of them know Kinyarwanda (about 97.5%) as MT. This means that TTC students resemble the general public which is quasi monolingual with the universal use of Kinyarwanda as the MT, suggesting that they inherit from it a stock of knowledge, 'set of cognition and schemata etc. acquired through (Moodley, 2003: 131)' Kinyarwanda. This inheritance constitutes an important resource to be taken into account if TTC students' fully-fledged psyche and intellect are to blossom.

Another aspect of TTC students' similarity with the general public is Knowledge of ALs. These students resemble the general public in the sense that a big majority of them know *some* English (about 89.9% recognize it and 100% learned it); a significant number of them (60.9%) know *some* French; and about 15.3% know other African languages. These languages are found among political; intellectual; and business elite (Lamb, 2004) who can use them in addition to Kinyarwanda. This means that, to a certain extent, TTC students also bring to the school; ideas, aspirations, and ambitions linked to these ALs which are inherited from their home environment. Again, this is an important psychological asset which is likely to have a bearing on learning and using ALs at school, and more particularly, learning English and using it as MoI.

On the other hand, TTC students are also similar to their teachers because some of these teachers (about 65.4%) share the same MT with the students; and because (to differing degrees) they know some English (100%), some French (59.0%), and other languages (65.6%). At the same time, however, TTC students are different from their teachers not only because the latter have

more experience with the languages; but most importantly, because they have the knowledge to express through those languages. What this means is that, with the help of these teachers, TTC students who are already endowed with the common MT heritage and the psychological disposition to learn ALs, should be able to gain knowledge in different disciplines, to develop full proficiency in Kinyarwanda, and to improve their proficiency in ALs, among which the most important is English. In other words, linguistic diversity in TTCs is potentially beneficial to students' knowledge acquisition and language skills development. For these beneficial effects to be achieved, however, certain conditions must be fulfilled. To reflect on these conditions, I consider the findings on the second aspect of Language Experiences, namely: Use of Languages. The following Chart helps gain insight into the significance of TTC teachers' and students' 'Use of Languages' (Data from Table 4).

Figure 4: TTC Teachers' and Students' Use of Languages at Home and at School



As can be seen in this Chart, there seems to be a clear demarcation between use of languages at home and use of languages at school. More particularly with regard to use of languages by students, it appears that English is mainly used at school (89.1%), whereas Kinyarwanda is mainly used at home (88.1%). As a corollary, the use of Kinyarwanda at school is relatively small (26.8%) just as the use of English at home is minimal (20.2%)²⁸. What this suggests is that knowledge is likely to be acquired only in English, and that academic work (assignments,

²⁸ Occasional use of English mixing with Kinyarwanda and French, particularly when visited by classmates on weekends or holidays, may have been reported as 'use of English' by students. In this sense, the 20.0% use of English at home reported by students might be too high as compared to the real situation.

homework etc) is likely to be done almost exclusively in that language. On the other hand, as is the case in all contexts where a L2 used as MoI comes into contact with other languages (e.g. Moodley, 2003; Heine, 1992), Kinyarwanda is also likely to be restricted to social conversations and to domains related to the home environment and culture, and thus not to have much to do with domains related to academic work. In other words, TTC students' use of languages appears to be mainly 'diglossic'. What this means for the use of English as MoI can be analyzed with reference to Cummins' (1979; 1980; 1999) distinction between conversational and academic language proficiency.

According to Cummins (1980, 1999), there are two levels of language proficiency. These are the 'Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS)' and the 'Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)'. As Cummins rightfully argues, BICS is related to everyday use of language for social interaction, and it is to be distinguished from CALP which is about the use of language for cognitive skills, academic content learning, and critical language awareness development (Cummins, 1999). One major difference between the two is that language proficiency for social communication in a L2 can be achieved in about 2 years whereas proficiency in the same L2 for cognitive/academic purposes takes between 5 and 10 years (Cummins, 1999). This suggests that people can acquire Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills in their MT and never have a chance to use the language academically, which amounts to saying that they know it partially. Similarly, the implication is that people may acquire BICS in their MT; and when it comes to CALP development, they use a L2. This is what happens in most of the contexts throughout the world where indigenous languages are not involved in academic work because a L2 takes over the role of MoI.

In the context of this study, the analysis of the data has shown that English and Kinyarwanda share two important domains of activity, the domain of education being reserved for English, whereas the social domain is reserved for Kinyarwanda. It follows then that students' development of competence in English is likely to be oriented to school life and academic domain; whereas competence in Kinyarwanda is likely to remain confined to the social and home environment. As a corollary, students' knowledge of the two languages is likely to be partial; and the end result is likely to be that neither English nor Kinyarwanda will aptly help students to function efficiently in both academic and social domains of communication. In other words, English learning is likely to be incomplete since it does not go beyond academic life; and knowledge of Kinyarwanda might not grow to encompass the academic domain.

Another side of the issue of Knowledge and Use of Languages concerns the acquisition of subject content knowledge. Still referring to the data represented in the above Chart, teachers inform through the Survey Questionnaires used in this study that the rate of use of Kinyarwanda at school both for academic and conversational purposes does not exceed 27.80%. Similarly, students do not exceed 27.20% of use of Kinyarwanda for the same purposes. What this means is that, whereas a plethora of evidence (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2004; Auerbach, 1993; Phillipson, 1992; Atkinson, 1987; Cummins, 1979) shows that MT use is necessary to supplement teaching/learning through a L2 as MoI, Kinyarwanda which would be expected to be an important resource in a context like Rwanda where both teachers' and students' competence in English are still limited, is not sufficiently exploited. This explains why to an item in the Teacher's Questionnaire which enquires whether to teach their subjects efficiently in the context of Rwanda they resort to all languages that students know in addition to English, about 40% of teachers say they don't. Similarly to the question to know whether students also use other languages, about 55% of students said they don't.

This implies that, faced with the difficulties of using English to teach, some teachers might feel the need to put emphasis on developing students' skills in English, and hence; devote less energy than they should on subject content teaching. Such a strategy, whether deliberate or unconscious, is not likely to fully lead to the prime objective of English use as MoI for subject content teaching; and, as evidenced by data from interviews in this study, it might be the source of dissatisfaction with subject content learning expressed during interviews through remarks like:

'We study in groups so that during debates we put our ideas together, because the way we used to study our notes in French ..., when they are in English, you find that they are reduced as compared to what they used to be in French.'

Or

'... for me French is easier, the content you learn in French is not the content you learn in English: In French it is detailed. In English the content is poor, whereas in French you learn many things. Even the books in English are summarized. But in French you really find content ... I don't know how I can express it! But in French, it is wide and clear ...'

Likewise, some students might also feel obliged to concentrate more on learning English and lose focus on content learning. This is what their fellow schoolmates must have noticed as shown by remarks like:

'[What I would like to add is that] when I look at it carefully, I find that studying in English amounts to studying English. I often meet with different children [here he means students]. To learn English is really good. However, you find that people are more interested in learning

English, and they overlook what they are learning. In lower classes for example, you find that they insist on teaching English; and they have difficulties in things like science.'

In both the case of teachers who might feel the need to emphasize English language learning and the case of students who might focus on learning English and forget to learn the content, linguistic diversity in TTCs is not likely to produce the expected effect because the teachers' and students' linguistic repertoire is not fully used as a resource. In that case, linguistic diversity is likely to be a barrier to learning. This theme, however, needs to be investigated further to establish what use is made of TTC linguistic diversity in the real classroom situation.

Still another effect of Knowledge and Use of Languages can be observed from the point of view of in class content delivery by teachers, and revision of notes by students. As has been established in this study, owing to the fact that knowledge of languages in the TTC community is diverse, some teachers have difficulties expressing themselves in English, and hence, they wisely resort to Kinyarwanda or French as a timely strategy to get their message across to the students. One teacher explains this as follows:

'... As I was saying, we studied in French. All the years in University up to 'licence' we studied in French. That is why we are not yet the way ... [unclear] in English. That is also why the way we felt in French is not the way we feel in English. Because ... there are occasions where you feel that words are like ... missing! This makes us resort to ... when you explain [in English], children don't understand, because you are not able to explain properly. Consequently, you resort to Kinyarwanda or French...'

And these difficulties do not only occur during content delivery. Even for lesson planning, there are problems, but again for preparing lessons, many teachers cope with the situation as follows:

'When planning lessons, we consult books. There are some books, even though of course they are not enough ... All the content that we draw from French, we put it in English. But, currently there are some books in English that we use; they help us in preparing our lessons. ... Because at least reading ... asking us to read those books ... we read them and we understand the content. And we prepare the lessons. Then, in the process of delivering the lessons, it happens that a student asks questions about whatever vocabulary hinders understanding of explanations. That is where I said that you prepare using the books; ... then when you explain in class, children don't understand well.'

On the part of students too, what linguistic diversity means is that, whereas some of them are enthusiastic about using English to learn, others have problems understanding their lessons; and some even have to resort to rote memorization. This is what one of them honestly explains:

‘In order not to get two out of ten in tests or exams, there is a way to proceed ... (even when people are not studying in groups) ... you might find people simply memorizing the notes given by the teacher: Let’s say, it is like photographing them. So you photograph the notes, and when the teacher asks you questions on them, you take the notes from the head and you pour them on the paper; you give him back his notes. Thus the way you put them in the head is the way you take them out; without leaving anything inside. You crammed them and got perhaps 8 out of 10, but you crammed the notes without knowing what they mean. You memorize the title so that even if they changed just one word in the question.... (general laughter).’

All in all, linguistic diversity in the context of this study means that some teachers and students have no problem using English as MoI, whereas others have to face many challenges. However, judicious use of the linguistic repertoire in TTCs should aptly help teachers to deliver the content; make it easier for students to study efficiently through the new MoI; and facilitate the acquisition or improvement of competence in English.

5.2.1.2 TTC Teachers’ and Students’ Motivation to Learn English

The second major finding of this study is that TTC teachers and students are motivated to learn English. This important attribute was investigated in terms of ‘effort’ and ‘desire’ to learn English; ‘attitudes’ toward learning English; and ‘motivational orientation’. For ease of reference for comparison between teachers and students, Table 11 below summarizes the data on Attitudes and Motivation to Learn English (Data from Tables 5, 6, 7).

Table 11: Summary of Data on TTC Teachers’ and Students’ Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

Motivational Aspect	Effort to learn English	Desire to learn English	Attitudes-Learning English	Integrative motivation	Instrumental motivation	Total score
Teachers	68.3%	63.8%	69.6%	95.7%	73.2%	72.8%
Students	71.4%	66.2%	65.0%	85.3%	84.5%	71.7%
Differences	3.1	3.6	4.6	10.4	11.3	1.1

This Table shows that teachers in the two TTCs investigated make effort to learn English (68.3%), have a strong wish to know it (63.8%), have positive attitudes toward learning it (69.6%), and hold both integrative (95.7%) and instrumental (73.2%) types of motivation. On the other hand, students also expend much effort on the task of learning English (71.4%), have a strong wish to know it (66.2%), have positive attitudes toward learning it (65.0%), and wish to be able to communicate through the language (85.3%) and to benefit from knowledge of the language (84.5%). In other words, taken as a whole, teachers and students in the two TTCs have

practically the same level of motivation to learn English (72.8% and 71.7% respectively); and where they seem to differ significantly is in terms of ‘motivational orientation’ since teachers (95.7%) appear to be more ‘integratively’ motivated than students (85.3%).

This motivation both on the part of teachers and on the part of students is good for English language learning in Rwanda: As many scholars (e.g. Gardner, 1960, 1985, 2001; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Dornyei, 1994; Spolsky, 1990; Lambert, 1977) assert, motivation is essential for L2 learning, and hence; English language learning in TTCs is likely to be effective; provided that other conditions related to the learning situation (Dornyei, 1994: 280) are put in place.

As related to the process of teaching/learning other subjects through English, however, the effects of motivation to learn English appears to be ambivalent. On the face of it, anything that helps L2 learning should also contribute to enhancing L2 use as MoI. However, a close consideration of the situation elsewhere as illustrated in the literature shows that, motivation to learn English does not always signify effective teaching/learning through the language. This is the case for example in Tanzania where English is reported to be a barrier to learning (Brock-Utne, 2007; Arthur, 2001; Rubagumya, 1991 and Roy-Campbel & Qorro, 1997 in Brock-Utne, 2007), even though students are highly enthusiastic about it (Arthur, 2001). Also students in South Africa unreservedly want to learn English and flock to English-medium schools (e.g. Moodley, 2003; Granville et al. 1997; De Klerk, 2002). Despite this enthusiasm, however, English is reported to be a hindrance to learning; because it is ‘in every respect a foreign language (Neville, 1995: 2-3)’ for students; because they do not understand it (Heugh, 2000); and because it prevents interaction in the classroom (Brock-Utne, 2007). Similarly, English in India is not a usable MoI because of ‘poor teaching and interaction in that language (Phillipson, 2000: 18)’ even though students earnestly want to study in English-medium schools; and in Ghana, English hinders learning because students do not understand it (Opoku-Amakwa, 2009). Many other examples like Botswana (Arthur, 2001) and Hong Kong (Tung et al, 1997) can be cited where the discrepancy between the enthusiasm to learn English and the effectiveness of using it as MoI has been observed. What all of these examples seem to suggest is that in all these contexts, motivation to learn English is not always a guarantee for effective use of English as MoI. For the case of Rwanda, it is too early to draw definite conclusions about the effectiveness of English use as MoI. However, a close examination of the practice of English teaching/learning itself in light of the literature can provide clues on how teachers’ and students’

motivation to teach/learn English may affect English use for subject content learning. Auerbach (1993) for example traces the move from bilingual education to English only practice.

According to Auerbach (1993), English teaching is still governed by a monolingualist view that English is the only acceptable medium of communication in English lessons. And yet, L2 language teaching has not always been conducted monolingually. As Auerbach (1993: 12) indicates, English teaching in the 19th century in America ‘allowed for bilingual education in accordance with the political power of particular ethnic groups’. However, with increased immigration following World War I, a sentiment of xenophobia developed through the early 20th century and resulted in a movement of Americanization. As Auerbach (1993) still notes, employees had to take Americanization classes; children were taught to be loyal to English, and in fact; speaking ‘good’ English was equated with being a good American. This Americanization movement resulted in ESL instruction in the early 20th century with emphasis on oral English through direct methods, and ‘gained favour over methods which allowed the use of the students’ native language (Auerbach, 1993: 13)’.

Following this move, the English only practice became the norm, and the exclusive use of English in teaching English came ‘to be seen as [...] natural and commonsense (Auerbach, 1993: 9)’. And yet, rather than being pedagogical, it was ideologically meant to discourage the use of other languages in favour of English. Such an ideology, according to Phillipson (1992), is mainly prevalent in ‘core English-speaking countries’, but a close examination of the situation in ‘periphery-English countries’ shows that the policy is practiced there too; and one of the reasons the policy prevails is that the practice seems natural and commonsense; and because of the widespread motivation to learn English.

In the present study, it has been established that TTC teachers and students are motivated to teach/learn English. Also the qualitative data from interviews suggest that attempts to establish the English only policy are prevalent. Testimony to this are views from student participants in this study. While explaining how students communicate with teachers for example, one student says that there is ‘some kind of rule’ to address teachers in English in the following terms:

‘Let’s say it is like a rule. But it is meant to help us to learn English. So you go [in the staff room] and you speak in English. Then you can say something, and perhaps you say it badly; then the person [there] tells you the right way to say it.’

Also in closing comments after an interview session another formulates the following request:

'For me it is like a modest idea or a request. You may perhaps be in a position to reach certain milieus, and say something better than I would be able to do it. We have seen the usefulness of English and the good in it. I would ask you if possible to request the Ministry of Education to put in place a way of enforcing the rule of speaking English in all schools in Rwanda. The school itself is trying, but unsuccessfully. But it would be good if it were a rule to make compulsory use of English like in Uganda, and not use Kinyarwanda or any other language.'

What this suggests is that in some institutions it is obligatory for students to speak English. Understandably, this is even more compulsory in the classroom, and it applies not only to English as a course, but also to other subjects. What 'motivation' to learn English (and to teach it) in the context of the new language in education policy in Rwanda means, therefore, might be that people are guided by monolingual principles. In this sense, whereas numerous scholars (e.g. Auerbach, 1993; Phillipson, 1992; see also overview of related literature by Moodley, 2003: 127-141) assert that judicious and timely use of the students' MT is beneficial to the students' personal and intellectual development, high motivation to learn English may dictate some kind of rejection of other languages and, paradoxically, be detrimental to efficient use of English as MoI. This is perhaps what causes complaints such as the following:

'To study in English is very difficult for me, because even now I can't understand what the teacher means when he/she speaks. And even when he/she explains, he/she doesn't explain in French or in Kinyarwanda, he/she says it in English in another way...'

In like vein, another student worries about the future because of the problems she/he is experiencing with English as MoI:

'I don't feel comfortable to study in English. Our use of English to study doesn't go smoothly because teachers don't know English well. This means that I am not confident I will know English as I should. This worries me; and I ask myself: There are people who grew up using French, and now we have problems with English. So I wonder: 'Shall I finish my studies with the capacity to use English well?'

What can be concluded from all this is that these problems are not insurmountable. In Rwanda, there is one common MT to the whole population. Also, it is good that TTC teachers and students are motivated to learn English as this study has established. Drawing on experiences elsewhere in the world, and on the huge body of literature on the role of the students' MT in L2 learning and use as MoI, it could be asserted that the aim to additive bilingualism with Kinyarwanda as the L1 and English as the L2 rather than 'monolingualism' with English is likely to enhance English language learning in Rwanda, and concomitantly; lead to efficient use of English as MoI.

5.2.1.3 Significance of TTC Teachers' and Students' Positive Attitudes toward English Use as MoI

As explained earlier, TTC teachers' and students' attitudes toward using English as MoI were found to be positive. This result obtained from Section 3 of Survey Questionnaires is important for understanding the process of teaching and learning in the context of the new language in education policy in Rwanda. For an analysis of this significance, I consider the data from Section 3 of the Questionnaires. Table 12 below provides a summary thereof (Reference: Tables 8 and 9 in Chapter 4).

Table 12: Summary of Data on TTC Teachers' and Students' Attitudes toward English as MoI

Attitudinal Aspect	General Attitudes				Specific Attitudes				Total score
	Cognitive Aspect	Affective Aspect	Conative Aspect	Sub Total	Cognitive Aspect	Affective Aspect	Conative Aspect	Sub Total	
Students	77.4%	64.4%	74.6%	72.1%	55.2%	71.7%	63.1%	63.3%	67.7%
Teachers	81.4%	68.6%	48.4%	66.1%	60.6%	61.6%	42.1%	54.7%	60.4%
Difference	-4.0	-4.2	26.2	6.0	-5.4	10.1	21.0	8.6	7.3

Considering the overall scores, both teachers' (60.4%) and students' (67.6%) attitudes toward English as MoI are positive. However, it appears clearly that teachers' scores are lower than students' scores, and more particularly, the biggest differences are registered under the rubric of '*conative aspect*'. This difference can be interpreted by considering the items on which teachers obtained the lowest scores. These items (numbered 3.1.1 and 3.2.3 in the Questionnaires) were designed to investigate what respondents are likely to do in order to efficiently teach through English in the context of Rwanda. More specifically, in accordance with the literature (e.g. Cummins, 1999; Aeurbach, 1993; Atkinson, 1987) which suggests that students' MT can be judiciously used when necessary, these items focused on the possibility of resorting to all the languages that students know, in case communication in English becomes impossible. The fact that teachers in the two TTCs investigated obtained particularly low scores on these items can be interpreted at least in two ways:

Firstly, as established through Section 1 of the Questionnaires, some teachers exclusively depend on English for communication in Rwanda. Understandably, these teachers are likely to have indicated that they use English exclusively because it is the only language they can communicate

in. On the other hand, other teachers might have indicated that they only use English, because they believe that it is the way it should be done. This appears for example in the following answer by one teacher to the question to know how he/she manages to get the message across when students do not seem to promptly understand what he/she is trying to explain:

'I do manage through just explanations and after explanations, I put them together and they discuss. So I listen to them whether they are really discussing in that language, and they have understood what they are discussing. Two, when I find that there is a new word; I can even tell them that I'll wait tomorrow. I bring something of that nature'.

This response shows how important it is for the teacher that the students discuss in English. It implies that no other way than speaking in English can be envisaged; to the extent that explanations can 'wait tomorrow'. What this suggests is that positive attitudes toward using English to teach might make teachers primarily focus on knowledge and use of English, and development of that knowledge. The following quote adds to the preceding one as testimony to this.

'Teaching in English here according to Rwanda's program and problem, it would be better to teach in English, because they acquire more through listening, through speaking and through writing, because if the instructions are in English, they listen to different people teaching different subjects; and at the same time, they write contexts from different subjects, and still, they improve and, at the same time, they answer in English; and that answering in English they are practicing the speaking of it'.

Even though this quote is from a teacher who does not teach English, it seems to convey the idea that using English as MoI is more about helping students to acquire proficiency in English than learning subject content. This perception of English use as MoI as primarily a way to teach English often parallels students' views of using English to study as primarily a way to study English. This is probably the behaviour that one student respondent emphatically explains in the following argument:

'... I may not have anything to say ... I may not even have a high opinion of him/her at all. This means, I may not need to ask him for advice or talk about a certain subject. But because of his articulation or his way of speaking English ... I am prompted to communicate with him/her. It is in this sense that 'interest' comes in. Otherwise, if it is not that ... there might be nothing else that I want from you, except listening to your 'articulation' or the way you speak English.'

If some students are likely to want to speak to somebody just to listen to the way he/she speaks English, this probably means that; while studying through English, some students might be looking for all means to learn English, more than they would be trying to learn knowledge

through English. Such an unconditional pursuit of knowledge of English can be interpreted from a more general point of view, to understand the influence of English worldwide, and more particularly, the influence of English in Rwanda.

Firstly teachers and students in general seem to adhere to English as MoI wholeheartedly. This is shown by the fact that, whereas numerous scholars (e.g. Brock-Utne, 2007; Bangbose, 2004; Skutnab-Kangas, 2004) affirm that MT is preferable to L2 use as MoI, nowhere during interviews did any teacher respondent wonder why English should be used as MoI and not Kinyarwanda. The only issue raised was the rush in which the new policy was implemented. On this note, one respondent explains:

'I noticed that to teach in English as such is not bad, because English is a language which allows people to have access to communication in the world in general. I found that there is no harm in it. Rather, as I noticed, what didn't go well is the way the process was brutally launched. To change overnight while children are studying in a system without waiting for it to be completed, and then to take a teacher without preparing him and tell him/her...: "Go to the classroom"... We were not even ready ..., then, you hurry home, and you immediately try to see how to manage ... That kind of brutality is...'

On the side of students, the same unreserved enthusiasm for using English to study is observed. This is firstly apparent in the way some of them describe the experience of studying through English. One respondent for example says:

'I feel it is good because anything I learn, or anything I want to learn, I get to know it; not simply knowing English only as a language. I also know lessons in English. Because sometimes you may know something in another foreign language; but then, to know it in English, which adds to knowing English as a language, makes one happy.'

Also, many of them repeatedly opine that it is easier to study in English than in French. Some even seem to suggest that studying in English is almost a guarantee for success:

'... I can't say that I know all the words in English, but whatever the case, when it is necessary for me to answer a given question (in English), I obtain more marks in English (than in French) in spite of the long time I spent learning French; this means that for me to study in English is very easy.'

This does not mean that students do not have problems using English as MoI: Indeed, in the face of difficulties, some of them complained in terms like the following:

'Because English is not our mother tongue, it is difficult for us. Even if it is not as difficult as other languages, it is a challenge. We have difficulties mainly as students who come from the

'Francophone system'. Except that sometimes it is easy because there are many French words in English, which only differ from French because of pronunciation.'

In spite of these difficulties, however, very rare are occasions when students really objected to using English as MoI. One faint objection against using English rather than Kinyarwanda was raised as follows:

'I am in 5th year, but I am having a problem. I see that you are comparing French and English: Couldn't we perhaps take the English language which concerns us now and compare it with other languages, and say for example that to study in our traditional language could help us understand what we are learning better, since it is our parents' language, so that we learn everything, and at the same time understand? For me I feel that studying in English could sometimes be a problem.'

In the same vein, another regretted that it is impossible to use Kinyarwanda in certain circumstances:

'Sometimes the teacher is explaining something, but you don't understand. Then it becomes a problem for you. Normally, it would be better if you could ask a question in Kinyarwanda, the language that you understand, and the teacher would answer you; perhaps in English, as long as you have asked him in Kinyarwanda. Only, you find that maybe your teacher doesn't understand Kinyarwanda. Then in your poor English, because you don't know it, you try to find a way to formulate a question, but it is difficult: So you just choose to leave it. Thus you go back home without the knowledge you came to look for. You will find that this problem really happens.'

Some other contentions turned around 'French which was easier to use than English'; 'content which was better delivered in French than in English'; 'difficulties to cope with the new situation' etc. but none really articulated any objection against English, nor did any student really strongly argue for Kinyarwanda as a possible MoI instead of English. Only one respondent laconically demanded: *Let them bring French back!* and contented himself with just that.

What this explains is that English has no rival even in a country like Rwanda which has been using another international language like French as MoI for nearly a century. This is firstly rooted in the history of formal education in Rwanda which, as explained earlier, has used a L2 as MoI from its early days up to the present, to the point that people feel that formal education goes hand in hand with the use of a foreign language as MoI. Another explanation is the influence of English worldwide as already suggested: Owing to the forces of globalization, English imposes itself since globalization works through English (Kamwangamalu, 2010). In any case this overwhelming influence may adversely impact on the process of teaching and learning if it

materializes in the tendency to equate ‘use of English as MoI’ and ‘English teaching/learning’, and apparently, this confusion between the two processes has taken hold. Some student respondents seem to have noticed the resulting adverse effect of this confusion on content delivery, and this is perhaps what one of them expresses in the following words:

‘What I can say about studying in English is that the content has become short (small); normally in French we used to study very many things, but when you consider it, now in English you find that things are shortened.’

In like vein, another says in more detail:

‘I differ from my friends who have been saying that it is easy to study in English. I think that it all depends on ‘an individual’s head’ [=his/her intelligence]. If your ‘head’ understood English better before you came to A’ level, it is understandable that A’ level is favourable to you. But for me French is easier, the content you learn in French is not the content you learn in English: In French it is detailed. In English the content is poor, whereas in French you learn many things. Even the books in English are summarized. But in French you really find content ... I don’t know how I can express it! But it is wide and clear. Because even now if you read French, you find that you have to refer to those books; I don’t know how to say it...! Those big books of biology called [unclear title]. We often refer to them even if there are other books written in English. In those books there is a wide, detailed and understandable (digestible) content. For me French makes life easy. Perhaps it makes life difficult because we are students who want marks, but French is rich in content. So I don’t know ..., but I don’t share their opinion.’

Whereas more research is needed to know exactly what student respondents meant by ‘poor content’, the following comment points to the tendency for some students to focus on ‘learning English’ instead of ‘learning through English’.

‘When I look at it carefully, I find that studying in English amounts to studying English. I often meet with different children [here he means students]. To learn English is really good; however, you find that people are more interested in learning English, and they overlook what they are learning. In lower classes for example, you find that they insist on teaching English; and they have difficulties in ‘things like science’.’

More examples pertaining to the likely adverse effect of the enthusiasm for learning English to the detriment of subject content learning can be given. Suffice it to say for the moment that TTC teachers’ and students’ positive attitudes toward English as MoI added to their motivation to learn the language are likely to bring about confusion between learning English, and using it to teach and learn; and this is likely to be detrimental to both language learning and subject content learning. Nonetheless, positive attitudes toward English as MoI are a good starting point for motivation to use English to teach/learn, and again, further studies are necessary to determine

exactly what motivation to use English as MoI in the context of Rwanda entails. At this stage, a comparison between the two TTCs investigated in the present study will give more insight still into the situation of English use as MoI in Rwanda. A brief discussion of the differences and similarities between the two TTCs follows.

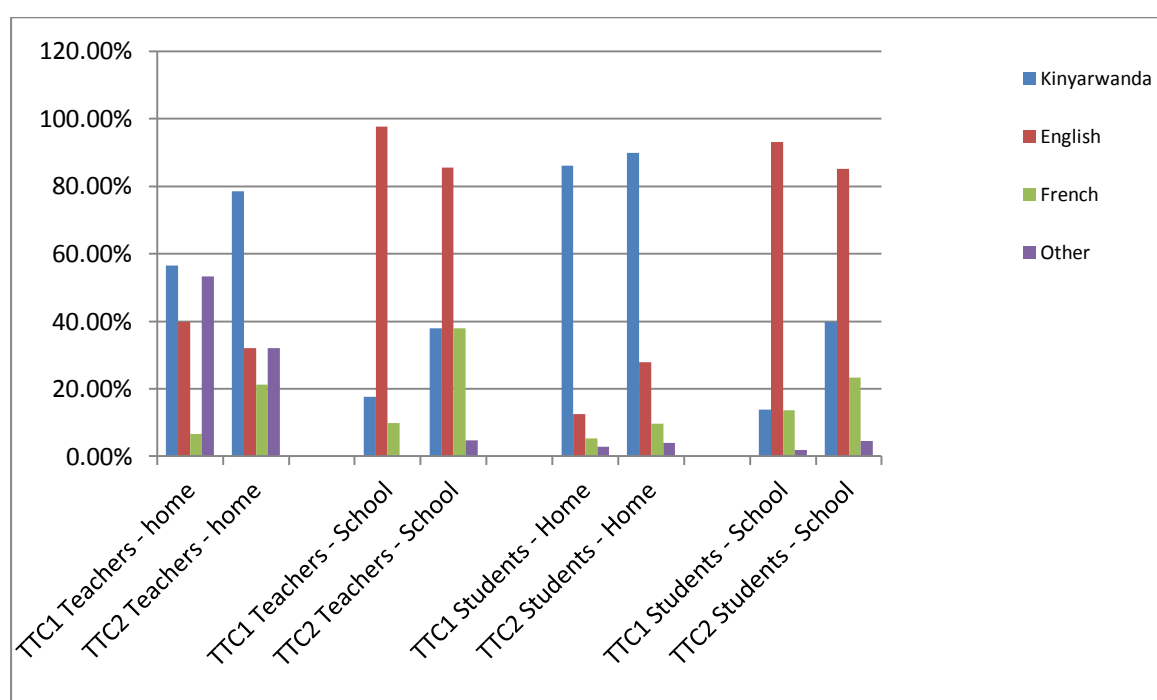
5.2.2 Language Experiences and Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in TTC1 and TTC2 Compared

One of the premises of the present study which sought to identify TTC teachers' and students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as a new MoI replacing French is that language background is crucial for understanding these attitudes and motivation. On the other hand, Rwanda's geographical position exposes it to Anglophone and Francophone influences as earlier mentioned (2002, 3rd General Census, 2005). Consequently, the present study was conducted in two TTCs selected deliberately to represent the Anglophone language background and the Francophone language background respectively. Comparison of findings in the two TTCs therefore, is necessary for explaining the situation of English language learning and use in TTCs.

5.2.2.1 Comparison between TTC1 and TTC2 in Terms of Language Experiences

The following Chart helps visualize the differences between the two TTCs concerned in this study in terms 'Use of Languages', one of the aspects of 'Language Experiences', the first theme developed in the present study. For the different values represented in the Chart, I refer to Table 4 in Chapter 4.

Figure 5: Use of Languages in TTC1 compared to Use of Languages in TTC2



Starting by the languages used at home, this Chart shows that teachers in TTC2 (78.5%) use Kinyarwanda, more than teachers in TTC1 (56.6%). Also more TTC1 teachers (53.3%) than TTC2 teachers (32.1%) have other MTs than Kinyarwanda. Moreover, in TTC2 French (21.3%) seems to play a bigger role in family communication than in TTC1 (6.6%), even though this role is small if compared to use at school.

Concerning particularly the use of languages at school, the first most striking difference between TTC1 and TTC2 concerns the use of English for communication. In TTC1 nearly all teachers declare that they (97.7%) regularly use English for communication, and surprisingly their use of Kinyarwanda is limited (17.7%), and their use of French is still more restricted (9.9%) in this institution. On the contrary, teachers in TTC2 also use English at school for communication at a significantly high rate (85.6%), and still use French (about 38.0%) and Kinyarwanda (about 38.0%) considerably for communication at school. In other words, there is a certain balance in teachers' use of languages in TTC2, while in TTC1 English is presented as dominating practically all communication.

Another important difference between the two TTCs concerns the languages used to teach before the inception of the new language in education policy (= before 2009). As can still be seen in Table 4, Chapter 4, while in TTC1, 66.6% of teachers used English to teach before 2009, only

about 42.8% of TTC2 teachers had that experience. As a corollary, only 6.6% of TTC1 teachers against 14.2% in TTC2 used Kinyarwanda to teach, and 13.3% of TTC1 teachers as opposed to 50.0% in TTC2 used French as a MoI before 2009. Therefore, again TTC1 teachers' experiences in teaching seem to be concentrated on using English as a MoI while in TTC2, there is a balance between experiences with English (42.3%), French (50.0%), and Kinyarwanda (14.2%). Taken as a whole, it could be reiterated that a general comparison of TTC1 and TTC2 teachers' language experiences suggests that TTC1 teachers' experience is dominated by the use of English. On the contrary, TTC2 teachers have more experience with French than TTC1 teachers; they use Kinyarwanda more often in their activities; and English is also used to a satisfactorily high rate.

This remark is not only valid for teachers' 'Language Experiences' since it can also be made about the students' 'Language Experiences' in the 2 TTCs. Indeed, very much like their teachers, TTC1 students report having more experience with English than TTC2 students for having used it to study even before 2009 (62.4% against 42.4% in TTC2) and for using it more in their daily communication at school (93.1% against 85.2% in TTC2). On the contrary, TTC2 students, like their teachers have had a more balanced use of languages: At school, 39.9% report using Kinyarwanda for general communication while only 13.8% use it in TTC1; 23.3% use French while in TTC1 only 13.6% use it; and about 78.9% of TTC2 students (compared to 42.3% in TTC1) know some French, while at the same time they all (100%) possess a certain level of competence in English. Like in the case of their teachers therefore, 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of languages by TTC2 students appears to be more diversified than in TTC1, since all the languages are used when necessary.

For both teachers and students, the difference in 'Language Experiences' between TTC1 and TTC2 is significant when one takes into account the fact that TTC2 is located in a province sharing borders with Francophone countries, while TTC1 is located in a province sharing borders with Anglophone countries. Firstly, TTC1 is required by the new language in education policy to use English as MoI. Then the influence of nearby Anglophone countries may be increasing possibilities and occasions to use English; and the end result is that language practices are likely to tend to higher levels of English use and significantly reduced use of other languages. Conversely, whereas TTC2 is also required to use English as MoI as per the new language in education policy, the influence of nearby Francophone countries may be adding some kind of diversity, and the result is that language practices are likely to be eclectic, albeit

still with English dominance. Moreover, the differences are not limited to the use of foreign languages: Even Kinyarwanda seems to have a bigger role in TTC2 than in TTC1.

All in all then, there is a significant difference between Use of Languages in TTC1 and Use of Languages in TTC2, and what is observed in TTC1 is an increase of English use and a concomitant decrease in the use of all the other languages including Kinyarwanda itself. On the contrary, there seems to be in TTC2 a certain balance between all the languages. What this suggests is that, as hypothesized in the present study, proximity to Anglophone as opposed to Francophone countries constitutes a real source of influence. However, ascertaining the actual effect of this influence on learning English and using it as MoI is beyond the scope of the present phase of my study. Further comparative research will be necessary to determine the differential outcome of English as MoI in TTC1 and TTC2 teaching/learning conditions.

5.2.2.2 Comparison between the two TTCs in terms of Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English

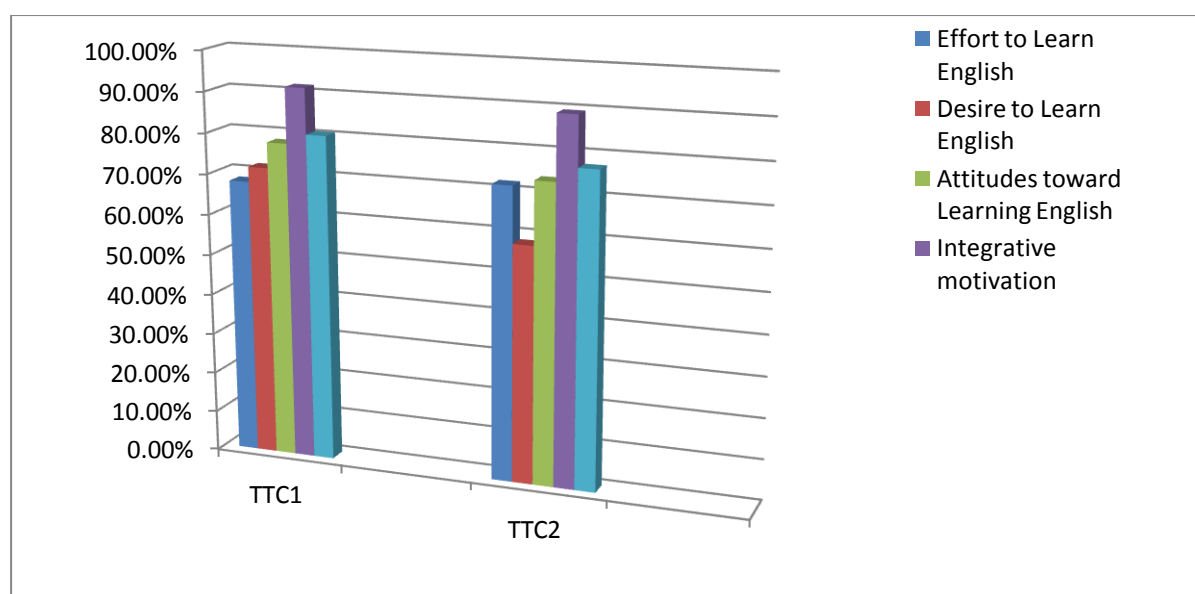
For a comparison of Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English in the two TTCs, I refer to the data presented in Table 14 below as summarized from Tables 5, 6, and 7.

Table 13: Summary of the Data on Attitudes and Motivation to Learn English in TTC1 and TTC2

Motivational Aspect	<i>Effort to learn English</i>	<i>Desire to learn English</i>	<i>Attitude - Learning English</i>	<i>Integrative motivation</i>	<i>Instrumental motivation</i>	<i>Total score</i>
TTC1 (teachers&students)	68.0%	71.7%	78.0%	91.6%	80.5%	77.9%
TTC2 (teachers&students)	72.0%	58.3%	73.6%	89.4%	77.2%	74.1%
Difference	-4	13.4	4.4	2.2	3.3	3.8

For ease of reference, the following Chart presents the same data to help visualize the differences and similarities between the two TTCs.

Figure 6: Comparison of Attitudes and Motivation to Learn English in TTC1 and TTC2



As can be seen in this Chart, the two TTCs differ on all the components of Attitudes and Motivation to Learn English. Indeed, what appears firstly from looking at the above Chart and Table is that TTC1 population seems to be more motivated to learn English (77.9%) than TTC2 population (74.1%). More particularly, it is noteworthy that ‘desire to learn English’ is much higher in TTC1 (71.7%) than it is in TTC2 (58.3%) (differential: 13.4), and that ‘Attitudes to Learn English’ are also more favorable (differential: 4.4) in TTC1 than in TTC2. At the same time, however, it also appears that TTC2 population (72.0%) expends more effort to learn English than TTC1 population (68.0%) (differential: -4). What these major differences between the two TTCs suggest can be interpreted as follows.

Firstly, the fact that TTC2 teachers and students expend more effort to learn English is understandable since TTC2 counts relatively less ‘Anglophones’ than TTC1 (42.8% -teachers and 10.2% -students as compared to 66.6% -teachers and 67% -students in TTC1). In other words, the fact that more people in TTC1 than in TTC2 are Anglophone logically justifies the fact of more effort to learn English in TTC2.

Secondly, the fact that ‘Attitudes toward Learning English’ in TTC1 appears to be more favorable than in TTC2 can again be explained by the Anglophone background of a bigger number of teachers and students in TTC1. Since people’s ‘Attitudes toward Learning English’ is defined as what they think, feel, and do about learning English, it could be speculated that

people with an Anglophone background are more likely to have positive attitudes toward English itself and English speaking people to whom they often identify themselves.

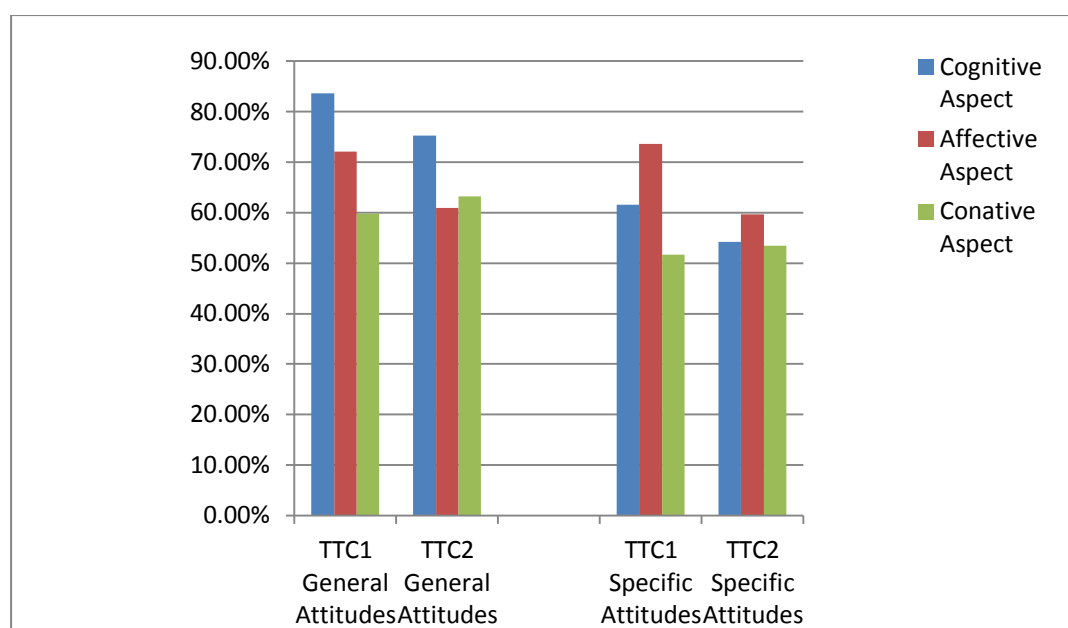
Thirdly, on the question of ‘Desire to learn English’, it appears that this feature represents the biggest difference between the two TTCs. This is particularly significant for two reasons: On the one hand, selection of the two TTCs was based on the linguistic environment in which they are located, and as already mentioned, TTC1 is located in a province sharing borders with Anglophone countries, whereas TTC2 is located in a province sharing borders with Francophone countries. On the other hand, the items which were used to measure ‘Desire to learn English’ were composed specifically to evoke an environment which is conducive to English use (i.e., neighborhood with an English club, choice of films in English, English-speaking families, etc.). The big difference between the two TTCs on ‘Desire to learn English’, therefore, suggests that linguistic environment has an influence on Attitudes and Motivation to learn English as hypothesized. At the same time, however, the fact that the overall score on motivation to learn English in TTC2 is still high (74.1%) in spite of the low score on items related to ‘environment for English use’ (58.3%), is an indication of the status of English in Rwanda today where even in the remotest corners of the country people hear about English from the simple fact of its spectacular introduction as MoI in all schools from Primary to Tertiary levels.

These are some of the possible meanings of the difference between TTC1 and TTC2 in terms of ‘motivation to learn English’. As mentioned above, the discussion on the significance of these differences can only be speculative at this stage, and further comparative study of the outcome of English language learning and use in the two TTCs would cast more light on the impact of an Anglophone influence on English as MoI in Rwanda.

5.2.2.3 Comparison between the two TTCs in Terms of Attitudes toward English as MoI

The differences between TTC1 and TTC2 in terms of Attitudes toward English as MoI are analyzed with reference to the data in Tables 8 and 9 featuring ‘General Attitudes toward English as MoI’ and ‘Specific Attitudes toward English as MoI’. The values presented in Chart 4 and Table 14 below are a summary of the values representing TTC teachers’ and students’ attitudes toward English as MoI in the respective TTCs.

Figure 7: **Comparison of Attitudes toward English as MoI in TTC1 and TTC2**



As this Chart shows, the differences between TTC1 and TTC2 in terms of Attitudes toward English as MoI are relatively big. For a clearer idea of these differences, the following Table shows the data represented in the Chart and the differentials between them.

Table 14: Summary of the Data on Attitudes toward English as MoI in TTC1 and TTC2

Motivational Aspect	General Attitudes				Specific Attitudes				Total score
	Cognitive Aspect	Affective Aspect	Conative Aspect	Total	Cognitive Aspect	Affective Aspect	Conative Aspect	Total	
TTC1 (teachers & students)	83.6%	72.1%	59.8%	71.8%	61.6%	73.6%	51.7%	62.3%	67.0%
TTC2 (teachers & students)	75.2%	60.9%	63.2%	66.4%	54.2%	59.7%	53.5%	55.8%	61.1%
	8.4	11.2	-3.4	5.4	7.4	13.9	-1.8	6.5	5.9

As can be seen from reading this Table, TTC1 and TTC2 are mainly different in terms of what teachers and students in these institutions think (*Cognitive*) and feel (*Affective*) about English as MoI (For ‘General Attitudes’, the differentials are 8.4 and 11.2; and for ‘Specific Attitudes’ they are 7.4 and 13.9). In order to interpret these differences, it could be again speculated that the reason for more favorable opinions and feelings about English as MoI in TTC1 is firstly that this institution hosts more teachers and students with an Anglophone background than TTC2. In this sense, as it is easier for Anglophones to teach/study in English, it could be understandable that opinions and feelings about English as MoI in TTC1 are more favorable than in TTC2. Furthermore, as TTC1 is located in a province bordering Anglophone countries, the environment itself could be an explanation of the fact that there seems to be more positive attitudes toward

English as MoI in TTC1 than in TTC2. Having said this, however, one thing is to explain the possible reasons for the differences between the two TTCs in terms of Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI; and another is to determine the significance of these differences to the process of English use as MoI.

To reflect on the importance of the above differences, I refer once again to Cummins' (1999) seminal theory of the nature of 'Language Proficiency'. As mentioned earlier, language proficiency according to Cummins (1979, 1999), entails two different, but interrelated, constructs namely: CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) and BICS (Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills). Whereas CALP is the kind of language proficiency that is necessary for academic work, BICS is the kind of language proficiency which is necessary for social conversation. Also, whereas BICS in a L2 could be developed in about 2 to 3 years, CALP may take between 7 and 10 years to be achieved (Ibid, 1999). In other words, it might be possible for a person to develop BICS in a language, without necessarily developing CALP, just as it might be also possible to develop CALP without really having a chance to develop BICS properly owing to the particularities of different learning situations. In other words, CALP and BICS are clearly distinct, and this distinction seems to make some of the differences between TTC1 and TTC2 the more meaningful.

Firstly, as this study has found, English dominates all activities in TTC1 more than it does in TTC2. Also TTC1 counts more so called 'Anglophone' teachers and students; and it is located in proximity to Anglophone countries, which is likely to offer more opportunities for communication in English. On the other hand, TTC2 is located in proximity to Francophone countries, and it hosts more so called 'Francophone' teachers and students. Also other languages (viz. Kinyarwanda and French) are used more in this institution, even though English still dominates all the activities; and, most importantly, TTC2 population seem to make more effort to learn English than TTC1 population.

What these differences seem to suggest in light of Cummins' (1999) distinction between BICS and CALP development is that Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills are likely to be developed more in TTC1 than in TTC2. On the contrary, owing to the tremendous efforts to learn English in the context of using it as MoI, TTC2 is more likely to develop Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency than it develops Basic Interpersonal Conversation Skills. In

other words, both in TTC1 and TTC2, development of proficiency in English is likely to follow different patterns, TTC1 emphasizing BICS, and TTC2 stressing CALP.

Whereas it would be difficult to indicate which of the two patterns would be more conducive than the other for Language Learning and for Subject Content Learning through English in the particular context of Rwanda, a comparative study of the outcome of the application of the new language in education policy in the two institutions would yield useful insight into L2 learning and use as MoI. In addition, since the present research has uncovered differences between TTC1 and TTC2 in terms of ‘Attitudes toward English as MoI’, further understanding of the impact of these attributes on effective use of English to teach/learn could be gained from such a comparative study.

Finally, drawing on Tremblay & Gardner’s (1995) observation that attitudes are only one component of ‘motivation’; still more comparative studies to determine whether the difference between TTC1 and TTC2 in terms of Attitudes toward English as MoI correlates with differences in the outcome of English use as MoI in the two institutions would contribute to an understanding of the construct of Motivation to Use English as MoI.

5.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Throughout this Chapter, the discussion of findings on Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI has been guided by a double purpose to demonstrate corroboration between Quantitative and Qualitative data; and to illustrate the significance to English use as MoI in Rwanda of the findings of the study.

With regard to data corroboration, I have firstly identified the main findings of the study and thence, have argued that these findings are supported by qualitative data. More particularly, to show the reality of ‘Diversity of Language Experiences’ and ‘Categories of Language Users in TTCs’, typical opinions from Anglophone and Francophone experiences were quoted from Open-ended answers and Interviews. Also, to illustrate support to findings about Motivation to Learn English and Positive Attitudes toward English as MoI, views conveying, Effort, Desire, and Positive Attitudes to Learn English as well as Motivational Orientation, were explored to show convergence between Quantitative and Qualitative data.

On the issue of the significance of the data, attempts to interpret the findings have proceeded by considering the differences and similarities between teachers and students; and between TTC1 and TTC2. Thus a comparison between teachers' and students' 'Language Experiences' with reference to the general public has highlighted the necessity to take account of the students' linguistic repertoire if efficient language and subject content learning is to be achieved. Similarly, attitudes and motivation to learn and use English as MoI between teachers and students were compared to come to the conclusion that confusion between 'learning English' and 'using it as MoI' amongst both teachers and students can be detrimental to both language learning and subject content learning.

Finally a comparison between TTC1 and TTC2 seems to have raised more questions than it has offered answers. Nonetheless, the differences and similarities between knowledge and use of languages in TTC1 and TTC2 suggest that proximity to Anglophone as opposed to Francophone countries constitutes a real source of influence on knowledge and use of languages. In addition, comparison between attitudes and motivation toward learning and using English in the two TTCs has shown that the Anglophone background influences attitudes toward English as MoI.

In view of all these interpretations, however, it still remains the task to consider the outcome of English use as MoI to determine whether differences in Language Experiences; Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English; and Attitudes toward English as MoI materialize in effective differences in English language learning and use.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Coming now to the end of this dissertation, I firstly sketch an overview of the preceding Chapters; and, basing on the ensuing general description, I present a summary of the most pertinent findings as related to the research questions of the study. Thereafter, I discuss future directions for my research on Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda. Thereafter, before closing the Chapter, I put forward recommendations to different stakeholders in the education enterprise in Rwanda.

6.1 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

In an attempt to prepare the ground for the formulation of conclusions and recommendations, I briefly review the present study chapter by chapter. In Chapter 1, I provided a general introduction to the study, briefly outlining the linguistic context in which the new language in education policy is implemented; presenting English as the most important language in education as per the new policy; and describing Kinyarwanda as the universal language among the Rwandan population. Another emphasis was laid in the Chapter on the geographic position of Rwanda which exposes it to the influence of both Anglophone and Francophone countries, a situation which resulted in the necessity to investigate teachers' and students' attitudes and motivation toward English as MoI in two TTCs likely to fall under both these influences. Concerning the issue of English use as MoI, the fact that L2 use as MoI automatically implies L2 learning was also highlighted. The aim of the study was thus presented as a double one,

simultaneously investigating Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English, and Attitudes and Motivation toward English use as MoI. Finally, the questions set out to be answered in the study were posed in accordance to this double aim.

Chapter 2, on the other hand, reviewed the literature that is pertinent to the above agenda. Firstly, it cleared the ground for the study, by pointing out the multi-componential nature of ‘attitudes’ and the relatedness of ‘attitudes’ and ‘motivation’, and thereby; orienting the study to an enquiry into what teachers and students think (cognitive), what they feel (affective), and what they are likely to do (conative) about English as MoI. One of the most outstanding theories of L2 motivation (i.e. Gardner’s 1985 theory of L2 motivation in the context of his socio-educational model of L2 learning) was then presented as the theoretical framework of the study. Further, the Chapter also highlighted the numerous controversies surrounding theorization of L2 motivation, one of which being ‘adaptability’ of Gardner’s theory to different L2 learning contexts. Drawing on Phillipson’s (1992) division of the English speaking world into ‘core-English speaking’ countries and ‘periphery-English’ countries, the Chapter noted that a political decision has placed Rwanda among the first category ‘periphery-English’ countries where English is at the helm of activities of high domains like education, notwithstanding its limited presence among the general public, a factor which is highly significant to the respective roles of Kinyarwanda and English in the country. Another controversial issue discussed is the use of a L2 as MoI as opposed to MT instruction. The Chapter drew on the literature to emphasize the importance of MT instruction to intellectual, psychological, and linguistic development of the student; and noted the paradoxical option for L2 use as MoI worldwide. Furthermore, the Chapter highlighted the multitude of problems inherent to L2 use as MoI, among which the detrimental effect on academic development, the psychological insecurity of the student as an individual and the class at large, and the threats that L2 use as MoI (and more particularly English use as MoI) represents for other languages and cultures. Finally the necessity to do with the paradox of L2 use as MoI and its negative effects weighed against positive effects like avenues of participation into the world economy was discussed. It was argued that countries worldwide experience serious problems with L2 use as MoI, but the forces of globalization doom them to abide by the practice of L2 use as MoI, and particularly more and more today, the practice of using English as MoI.

After Chapters 1 and 2, Chapter 3 (i.e. Research Methodology) took stock of the situations they presented and planned a methodology to investigate Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI in Rwanda. Hence, the strategies of enquiry adopted take account of the fact that teachers

and students have to *learn* English and simultaneously, to *use* it to teach/learn. Methodologically, this implies that teachers and students were part of the research population, and that the focus of the study was not only ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward English as a MoI’, but also ‘Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English’. Also, two Secondary Schools called Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) were selected because they are located in provinces respectively sharing borders with Anglophone and Francophone countries: Assuming that proximity to Anglophone as opposed to Francophone countries influences language background and hence, attitudes and motivation, these colleges were chosen deliberately for purposes of coverage of the whole reality of the country and, eventually, for comparison. Concerning the methodological approach, ‘Mixed Methods Research’ was employed combining quantitative and qualitative elements of enquiry. Thus, the first method used in the study was the ‘Survey Questionnaire’. Using two questionnaires (one for the 33 teachers and another for the 625 students in the two schools investigated), the survey aimed at describing general attitudinal and motivational patterns toward learning English and using it as the new MoI in Rwanda. At the same time, to corroborate the survey findings, and to achieve a deeper and broader understanding of the results, written open-ended questions were proposed to all the participants, and interviews as well as group interviews were conducted respectively with core course teachers (18 in all), and with a sample of 90 students (5 randomly selected in each of the 18 classes of the 2 selected schools).

Next, Chapter 4 concerned the analysis of the data collected for the study. Basically, the data were analyzed following the principles that guided the organization of their collection. Thus the same themes around which the questionnaires and the interviews were organized guided the analysis of the data, and the findings were presented according to these themes. It is important to note that, among the methods proposed for the analysis of the data, “Descriptive Statistics” has hitherto been used. As this is the first phase of my study corresponding to my **MA by Research and Dissertation program**, further analyses of the data will employ “Qualitative Content Analysis” for Interviews and Group-interviews, and “Concept Mapping” for Written Open-ended Questions. At this stage, in order to analyze the data from Questionnaires, I classified and quantitatively interpreted the responses in terms of the different themes reflected in each section. Thus interesting findings were drawn according to the themes of the study as follows:

Theme of ‘Language Experiences’: TTC teachers’ and students’ Language Experiences are diverse; and more particularly, this implies that they fall into different categories of

Anglophones and Francophones; that Kinyarwanda is common to all students but not to all teachers; and that English is shared by the whole TTC community even though teachers and students use it with different degrees of difficulty.

Theme of Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English: TTC teachers and students are motivated to learn English. This implies that they make effort to learn it; that they have a strong wish to know it; that they hold positive attitudes toward learning it; and that they have clearly defined motivational orientations.

Theme of Attitudes toward English as MoI: TTC teachers' and students' attitudes toward English as MoI are positive. This means that in terms of 'general attitudes' they have positive opinions and feelings about the use of English as MoI, and that they are ready to take action to use the language to teach and learn. Similarly, in terms of 'specific attitudes', they have positive opinions and feelings when actually using English to teach/learn their specific subjects; and they are likely to take action to effectively use the language in their subjects.

Still in Chapter 4, Qualitative data from interviews and open-ended questions were also analyzed. Generally, these data elaborated, expanded, and explained the main lines of the Quantitative data, and therefore, they were factually presented since the task of discussing their corroborative role was reserved to Chapter 5 which in fact had two objectives, namely: Discussion of corroboration between the Quantitative data and the Qualitative data; and interpretation of the findings.

With regard to data corroboration, Chapter 5 proceeded by recapitulating the above findings and showing evidence from qualitative data to support them. Some of the evidence provided in this Chapter is that, whereas Quantitative data merely pointed to the fact that 'knowledge' and 'use' of languages in TTCs are diverse, Qualitative data enriched the information by showing that different categories of English users hold specific attitudes like self-confidence in English use while other users demonstrate less self-assured attitudes. Also whereas Quantitative data led to the general conclusion that TTC teachers and students are motivated to learn English, Qualitative data gave details of their effort and desire to learn English; informed on their attitudes toward learning English; and pointed to their ultimate reasons for wanting to learn English. Finally, whereas Quantitative data showed that TTC teachers and students hold positive attitudes toward using English as MoI, Qualitative data revealed that this enthusiasm is not necessarily fuelled by a yearning for subject content learning, but rather by a desire to learn English.

Concerning the interpretation of the data, Chapter 5 also illustrated the significance of the above findings by firstly comparing teachers and students; and thereafter drawing a comparison between TTC1 and TTC2. Briefly, the interpretation stemming from a comparison between teachers and students pointed to a number of issues to be taken into account. Thus, one of the most important issues is that TTC students have a linguistic heritage from the general public which has to be taken into account if effective subject content learning and English language learning are to be achieved. Another important point is that due to the fact that Kinyarwanda is mainly reserved for home and social communication whereas English is used for the academic domain, students are likely to acquire English partially and their knowledge of Kinyarwanda is likely to remain partial since neither of the two languages covers the social and academic domains simultaneously. Still another point is that TTC teachers and students converge on positive attitudes toward English use as MoI, not for effective subject content learning, but in order to learn English; and this is potentially detrimental to both English language learning and subject content learning.

On the other hand, from a comparison between the two TTCs, many similarities were found, but the most significant differences were the following. Firstly concerning Language Experiences, it appeared that 'Knowledge' and 'Use' of Languages in TTC2 is more diversified than in TTC1 where it is reported to be dominated by English, and where the use of other languages is reduced. With regard to Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI, a comparison of the two TTCs showed that TTC1 population seems to be more motivated to learn English than TTC2, and that the two TTCs differ particularly in terms of Effort and Desire to learn English. And as concerns Attitudes toward English as MoI, a comparison between the two TTCs showed that TTC1 teachers and students have more positive attitudes toward English as MoI. Generally, these differences could be explained by the fact that proximity to Anglophone countries is indeed a real source of influence as hypothesized, and by the presence of more teachers and students with an Anglophone background in TTC1 than in TTC2. Briefly, these are the main lines of the present study as reported in the five preceding Chapters. As explained from the outset, five research questions stemming from the aim of the present study were posed to guide the enquiry. At this juncture, I use these questions as a guideline for a discussion of the extent to which the most pertinent among the above findings constitute the achievement of the aim of the study.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The overview presented in the preceding section was a general account of the proceedings of the present study. In this section, I recapitulate some of the most pertinent points thereof to check the extent to which the research questions of the study have been tackled.

Firstly, attention was drawn to the question of TTC teachers' and students' language experiences. As hinted at in the preceding Section, TTC teachers' and students' language experiences were found to be simultaneously *diverse* and *diglossic*. On the one hand, what 'diversity' means is that, from the point of view of 'Knowledge of Languages', members of the TTC community fall into different categories of language users in Rwanda owing to their language background; and that these categories converge on English. On the other hand, 'diglossic use of languages' suggests that Kinyarwanda is mainly used in the home context, whereas English monopolizes the academic domain. This study has established that both these features of language experiences give a powerful boost to the value of English among the TTC community. Thus, TTC teachers' and students' 'Language Experiences' were found to exert a powerful influence on their Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI.

The second question posed from the outset was about the identified Attitudes and Motivation towards English as MoI. After ascertaining that TTC teachers and students hold positive Attitudes toward English as MoI and that they are motivated to learn it; simple logic suggests that these Attitudes and Motivation are likely to enhance English language learning as numerous scholars (e.g. Lambert, 1967; 1974; Gardner 1960, 1972, 1985, 2007; Spolsky, 1990; Dornyei 1990, 1994, 2000, 2001) predict. In this particular case, however, the way in which the identified Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI are likely to enhance English language learning is conditional on other factors pertaining to the double focus on learning English and simultaneously using it to teach/learn; and to the role that Kinyarwanda as the MT of practically all the students plays in the whole process. More pointedly, the present study has found that there is a stubborn confusion between *learning English* and *using it as MoI* in TTC teachers' and students' motivational orientation. In addition, principles of English-only policy are persistently reported among TTC teachers; and both these characteristics are likely to be a serious problem for English language learning (see Atkinson, 1987; Auerbach, 1993) and even for full development of Kinyarwanda as the students' MT (see Cummins, 1979, 1999, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Concerning the third question about the Attitudes and Motivation of TTC teachers and students towards English as MoI; again, the present study found that it is good that TTC teachers' and students' Attitudes toward English as MoI are positive and that they are motivated to learn English. From the qualitative data, however, it appeared that this enthusiasm for English as MoI does not necessarily imply motivation to use English as MoI in the proper sense, since using English to teach/learn is for most of the respondents useful; not because it helps in teaching/learning subject content, but because it is a way to teach/learn English. Again, like in the preceding case, this confusion between the aim of *Learning English* and the aim of *Using English as MoI* is likely to make it difficult to efficiently use English for subject content learning.

The fourth question was about how Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI between TTC teachers and students compare. In the present study, teachers and students in the TTC community were found to be similar in many ways, especially in the sense that they are all multilingual and that they converge on English. However, differences were identified, especially in terms of the level of knowledge and use of English, and in terms of knowledge and use of Kinyarwanda. In this respect, whereas a significant number of teachers depend solely on English for communication in Rwanda because they do not know Kinyarwanda, practically all students have Kinyarwanda as their MT. Also, whereas other teachers depend on French and English because they do not know Kinyarwanda, some students do not know French. In other words, whereas communication amongst students could generally use Kinyarwanda; communication between teachers and students is generally dependent on English. Yet, as established through qualitative data, teachers consistently note that their students are weak in English, and even a significant number of students themselves recognize this weakness. As a corollary, communication between teachers and students is often likely to be difficult. In such a situation, what would be necessary is to judiciously use the other linguistic resources at the students' disposal in order to avoid communication breakdown, and to boost both English language and subject content learning (Auerbach, 1993; Atkinson, 1987; French, 1963). In the present case therefore, dependence on English (and in some cases on English and French) between teachers and students for communication in Rwanda is likely to have a negative impact on the teaching/learning process.

Finally, the fifth question was about how teachers' and students' Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI between a TTC located in proximity to Anglophone countries and a TTC

located in proximity to Francophone countries compare. In the present study, differences and similarities between TTC1 and TTC2 were identified as already mentioned. Among the similarities, it was found that teachers and students in both TTCs are motivated to learn English; and that they hold positive attitudes toward using it as MoI. However, differences were also found since English is reported to be used more in TTC1 than in TTC2; and that the role of other languages is reduced in TTC1 as compared to TTC2. Also, the study established that TTC1 teachers and students appear to be more motivated to learn English than TTC2 teachers and students; and that they hold more positive attitudes toward English as MoI than in TTC2.

What this signifies is firstly that, as hypothesized, proximity to Anglophone countries constitutes a real influence on English language learning and use. However, owing to the fact that attitudes toward English use as MoI is only the motivational determinant (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) of 'Motivation to use English as MoI' as a construct, it remains to ascertain whether TTC1 and TTC2 teachers and students are effectively 'motivated' to use English as MoI in the full sense of the construct. Moreover, in view of the differences between TTC1 and TTC2 in terms of 'Use of Language', it would be telling to compare the outcome of the use of English to teach/learn subject content in the two TTCs. From such a comparative study, it would be possible to determine the advantages/or disadvantages of the dominance of English use for subject content learning (tendency to monolingualism) as opposed to a balanced use of all the languages present (encouragement of additive multilingualism).

These are generally the main lines of the answers to the questions set out to guide this study. As can be seen from their formulation, most of them are not definitive answers, but rather further questionings, and they point to further potential avenues of research. Hence, in the following section, I briefly discuss new research directions likely to stem from the findings of the present research.

6.3 FURTHER STEPS IN THE PRESENT RESEARCH

As can be seen from the above overview, interesting findings pertaining to the themes of 'Language Experiences'; 'Attitudes and Motivation toward Learning English'; and 'Attitudes and Motivation toward English as MoI' have been recorded throughout this study. In discussing the importance of these findings, I have relied on the relevant literature and on a comparison between teachers and students, and between the two TTCs investigated in this study. However,

even though it is my hope that these interpretations have provided useful insight into the new situation of English as MoI in Rwanda, further understanding of the implementation of the new language in education policy would be gained from real classroom observation. In addition, more specifically with regard to the significance of the differences and similarities between the two TTCs investigated, a comparative study of the outcome of the use of English as MoI in the two TTCs would cast more light on the influence of the environment on effective use of English as MoI, and on the significance of the different language practices of the two schools. Also, as attitudes represent only one component of motivation, further analyses of the qualitative data collected in this study could be useful for an understanding of ‘Motivation toward English as MoI’ as a construct.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the conclusions of the present study and their likely significance for English use as the new MoI in the context of Rwanda as outlined in this Chapter, it would be appropriate to make recommendations regarding L2 learning and use as MoI to different people concerned with education in Rwanda.

6.4.1 To Students

The first recommendation addresses the students since they are at the centre of the whole education enterprise.

The present study has established that the TTC population are motivated to learn English, and that they hold positive attitudes toward using English as MoI. At the same time, however, it has been noted that this enthusiasm for English language learning tends to overshadow the prime objective of English use as MoI which is knowledge acquisition. It is highly recommended that students always bear in mind that whereas it is good to know a L2 language, it is even better to know the language and simultaneously to have knowledge to express through that language.

6.4.2 To Teachers

The second recommendation addresses the teachers since they are the ones to accompany students in their journey toward knowledge.

Scholars ascertain that multilingualism is a resource for learning, and not a hindrance. The present study has established that, in the face of challenges of communication through English, some teachers judiciously resort to French or Kinyarwanda. Scholars assert that this is a wise move to take when necessary. However, they also warn against being tempted to overuse the MT. So, it is highly recommended that teachers do not forget that the official MoI is English. Nonetheless, they should not feel guilty to use Kinyarwanda ‘... when (it is) inevitable, when (it is) helpful, when (it is) quicker (French, 1963: 94 in Moodley, 2003: 142)’.

6.4.3 To School Authorities

The third recommendation addresses the school authorities since they have the responsibility to see to it that the new language in education policy is observed in their institution.

From the very early days of formal education, attempts to enforce the use of a second/foreign language both in and out of the classroom have been made, notably through prohibition of the use of Kinyarwanda. Those who went through such as a practice of L2 use enforcement remember that it does not really work since it entails abandonment of one’s prime means of communication. Some scholars even rightly go as far as to warn against such actions, opining that it amounts to depriving the student of his/her basic rights. In any case scholars affirm that L2 learning benefits from firm and thorough knowledge of one’s MT (e.g. Cummins, 1999), and therefore, rather than prohibiting the use of Kinyarwanda, better strategies of English language teaching should be used, and Kinyarwanda should be regarded as a resource and not a hindrance to English learning nor to subject content learning.

6.4.4 To the Ministry of Education

The fourth recommendation addresses the Ministry of Education since it is the policy making body and the provider of the means for policy implementation.

One of the objectives of education in Rwanda is to enable young Rwandans to be competitive on the national and international job market. What people take to the job market is mainly the ‘know how’. It is highly recommended that policies that clearly emphasize the prime role of knowledge dispensation/acquisition in education be put in place; and that all possible conditions be created to ensure efficient teaching and learning of both subject content and L2. Otherwise, the high motivation to learn English and the positive attitudes to use English as MoI are likely to

make people pursue the aim of English language learning and forget the primary aim of subject content learning.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, I have presented an overview of the preceding Chapters, describing the general context of the present study; reviewing the literature as pertinent to the study; presenting Mixed Methods as the appropriate approach for the study; and summarizing the findings from the data collected for the study. In a word, the analysis of the data revealed that TTC teachers' and students' Language Experiences are diverse; that TTC population are motivated to learn English; and that they also hold positive attitudes toward English use as MoI. Further analysis of the significance of these results in light of the relevant literature and the qualitative data collected in this study, however, has suggested that the linguistic resources available among TTC teachers and students need to be sufficiently and judiciously tapped; that laudable unreserved enthusiasm for English language learning coupled with positive attitudes toward English as MoI have often overshadowed the primary aim of subject knowledge dispensation/acquisition, and that in the present context, such a confusion between English learning and English use as MoI is a reality. Though further research is needed for more definite understanding of the nascent situation of English use as MoI in Rwanda, awareness of these primary insights by different stakeholders in the education enterprise in Rwanda is likely to pave the way for concomitant English language learning and subject content learning.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: APPENDICES RELATED TO QUANTITATIVE DATA

APPENDIX A1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

Note: As an introduction to Questionnaires, the following note was addressed to the Respondents:

Dear Respondent,

Please find herewith attached a questionnaire meant to explore attitudes and motivations of teachers towards English as a medium of instruction. Many theorists and researchers have demonstrated that attitudes and motivations are crucial to enhancing language learning and use.

We hope that exploring them will help in the transition from French to English as a medium of instruction in Rwanda.

People have different attitudes and motivations. Therefore, you have full right to have your own ideas and views on the different questions asked. Feel free to express them as they are. There is no right or wrong answer as such. The right answer is the one you honestly think corresponds to what you genuinely think, feel and believe. Notice that you ARE NOT required to provide your name anywhere.

This questionnaire is divided into 4 sections and 19 sub sections. As you go through them indication of how you should respond is given to you. Please answer them all. Do not take too much time to think. If you respond to each question spontaneously, it may take you about 30 minutes to complete the whole questionnaire.

=====

ELEMENTS OF IDENTIFICATION (Please, answer in the space provided)

1. Your school: TTC.....
2. Your qualification:
3. Area of specialization:
4. Subject(s) that you teach:
-
-

SECTION 1: TEACHERS' LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES

Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice	Kinya rwanda	French	English	Other (please Specify)
1.1. Knowledge of Languages				
1. What is your mother tongue/first language?				
2. What other language(s) did you learn after your mother tongue/first language				
1.2. Use of Language(s) at Home				
3. Which language(s) do you use at home when you speak to your family members?				
4. Which language(s) do you use at home when you speak to friends who visit you at home?				
1.3. Use of Language(s) at School for General Communication				

5. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to school administrators?	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to your colleagues?	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Which language(s) do you use at school to speak to students?	.....	.....	.....	.....
1.4. Use of Language(s) at School to Teach				
8. Which language did you use to teach before 2009 Academic Year?	.....	.....	.....	.....

SECTION 2: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD LEARNING ENGLISH

2.1. Motivational Intensity (=Effort) (Please, circle a, b, or c depending on your choice).

1. I actively think about the English I have to use in class:
 - a) Very frequently
 - b) Hardly ever
 - c) Once in awhile
2. When I have a problem finding the good English for something during the lesson,
 - a) I am sure to find out how to say it as soon as I get some free minutes
 - b) I only try the next time I come across the problem
 - c) I just forget about it
3. When I prepare my lessons,
 - a) I put some effort into the content, but not so much into the language to use
 - b) I work very carefully, making sure I know how to say everything
 - c) I just leave it to the good luck
4. Considering how I make effort to better my English, I can honestly say that
 - a) I do just enough to get along
 - b) I manage to communicate with students on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence because I do very little to know English
 - c) I really try to learn English
5. When Rwanda TV is broadcasting in English,
 - a) I never watch it
 - b) I turn it on occasionally
 - c) I try to watch it often carefully and try to understand all the words

2.2. Desire to learn English (Please, circle a, b, or c depending on your choice).

1. When I am outside of school where English is used,
 - a) I never speak English
 - b) I take the opportunity to speak English, using the other languages only if really necessary
 - c) I speak English very little, using other languages whenever possible
2. If there were an English club in my neighborhood, I would
 - a) attend meetings once in awhile
 - b) be most interested in joining

- c) definitely not join
3. *I find learning English:*
- a) Helpful
 - b) No more helpful than any other languages
 - c) Very helpful
4. *When I go to a film rental house,*
- a) I choose a film in English only when I can't find any interesting one in French
 - b) I definitely choose one in English
 - c) I simply don't choose any if I don't find one in French
5. *If there were English-speaking families in my neighborhood, I would*
- a) never speak English with them
 - b) speak English with them sometimes
 - c) speak English with them as much as possible

2.3. Attitude toward Learning English

2.3.1. Attitudes toward English (Please, Mark x in the space corresponding to your choice).

Do you agree with the following proposition?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. <i>English is really a beautiful language</i>				
2. <i>Learning English is really great</i>				
3. <i>Learning English is enjoyable</i>				
4. <i>Everyone should learn as much English as possible</i>				
5. <i>Most people who start learning English end up really loving it</i>				

2.3.2. Attitudes toward English speaking people (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

English speaking people are	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. <i>admired people</i>				
2. <i>friendly and hospitable</i>				
3. <i>trustworthy and dependable</i>				
4. <i>cheerful, agreeable and good humored</i>				
5. <i>very kind and generous</i>				

2.3.3. Attitudes toward the learning situation (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

Do you agree with the following proposition?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
--	----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

1. There are many good opportunities to learn English in my neighborhood	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. When I try to speak English outside of school, I wonder how people interpret my effort.	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. I often think of taking some private English lessons, but I am not sure to find good places that teach English well.	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. In many contexts in Rwanda, one feels awkward to try and practice speaking English.	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. I often think of making more effort to learn English, but there are so many other things to do.	.....	.....	.....	.....

2.4. Motivational Orientation

2.4.1. Integrative Motivation (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

To know English will allow me	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. To be more at ease with other speakers of English wherever I meet them in the world				
2. To meet and converse with more and varied people				
3. To better understand and appreciate art and literature in English				
4. To participate more freely in the activities of other cultures that use English as a medium of communication				

2.4.2. Instrumental Motivation (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

I need to know English because	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I'll need it to maintain my job				
2. it will make me a more knowledgeable person				
3. it may help me to get a better job				
4. other people will respect me for knowing English				

SECTION 3: ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH AS MoI

3.1. General Attitudes toward English as MoI

3.1.1. Cognitive Aspect (What Teachers Think about English as MoI)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

Teaching through English	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. helps teachers increase their knowledge				
2. is the best way to help students learn English				
3. helps students learn other subjects better				
4. is good for our country at large				
5. hinders students' intellectual development				
6. enhances teachers' professional development				
7. helps teachers learn English fast				
8. Write here any other comment about using English as a MoI (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda).....				

3.1.2. Affective Aspect (What Teachers Feel about English as MoI)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

Teaching through English makes me feel	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. proud				
2. annoyed				
3. that I am developing my communication skills in English				
4. frustrated				
5. happy				
6. unsure of myself				
7. that I haven't taught as much as I wanted				
8. confident				
9. that my task is easier in English				
10. Other feeling(s) (Please specify) (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)				

3.1.3. Conative Aspect (Teachers' Actions toward English as MoI)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

To teach through English efficiently, I do the following:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
---	----------------	-------	----------	-------------------

1. I use a dictionary that I often carry with me	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. I rely very much on having students write down notes and rarely speak because of my poor English	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. I use two books (one in French and another in English) to prepare my lessons	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. I switch to French or Kinyarwanda when students don't understand what I am explaining	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. I encourage fluent students to explain to their peers	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. I ask my colleagues before class to help me with some difficult words in English	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Other actions (Please specify) (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)				
.....				
.....				
.....				

3.2. Specific Attitudes toward Using English to “Mediate Different Types of Knowledge”

3.2.1. Cognitive Aspect. (What Teachers Think of the ‘Factual’, ‘Conceptual’, and ‘Procedural’ Aspects of their Subject(s), and Mediation of Knowledge through English)

(Please mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

The subject(s) I teach contain(s)	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. basic elements (e.g. terminologies) which are difficult to explain in English				
2. complex notions (e.g. classifications, principles, theories ...) which are well expressed in English.				
3. techniques and methods which are easy for students to understand in English				
4. Write here whatever else you think about presenting the content of your subject in English (You may use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)				
.....				
.....				
.....				

3.2.2. Affective Aspect. (What teachers Feel when Mediating ‘Factual’, ‘Conceptual’, and ‘Procedural’ Knowledge in their Subjects through English)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

How do you feel about the following activities in English?	Enjoyable	Annoying	Satisfying	Frustrating
--	-----------	----------	------------	-------------

1. To teach basic elements (e.g. terminologies) in my course through English	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. To explain the complex notions (e.g. classifications, principles, and theories) in my course through English.	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. To teach techniques and methods in English	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Write here whatever else you feel when you use English to teach your subject (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)				
.....				
.....				
.....				

3.2.3. Conative Aspect. (What teachers Do to 'Mediate Knowledge' through English)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

To teach my subject efficiently in our context, it is necessary	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. to use not only English but also the other languages that students know.				
2. to make tremendous efforts to learn more English.				
3. to speak very little and have students take many notes from the blackboard				
4. to prepare lessons using various resources (in French, Kinyarwanda etc,) and translate them in English				
5. Write here whatever else you think should be done to teach your subject in English (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda).....				
.....				
.....				
.....				

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX A2:
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

ELEMENTS OF IDENTIFICATION (Please, answer in the space provided).

1. Your school: TTC.....
2. Level of study:
3. Option: (Just mark X in the appropriate square)
- Maths&Sciences ☐ Social Science ☐ Languages ☐

SECTION 1: STUDENTS' LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES

Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice	Kinya rwanda	French	English	Other (please Specify)
1.1. Knowledge of Languages				
1. What is your mother tongue/first language?				
2. What other language(s) did you learn after your mother tongue/first language				
1.2. Use of Language(s) at Home				
3. Which language(s) do you use at home when you speak to your family members?				
4. Which language(s) do you use at home when you speak to friends who visit you at home?				
1.3. Use of Language(s) at School for General Communication				
5. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to school administrators?				
6. Which language(s) do you use at school when you speak to your teachers?				
7. Which language(s) do you use at school to speak to your schoolmates				
1.4. Use of Language(s) at School to Study				
8. Which language did you use to study in 'Tronc Commun' (=O' Level)				
9. Which language did you use to study in 2009 Academic Year?				
10. Which language did you use to study in 2010 academic year?				

SECTION 2: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD LEARNING ENGLISH

- 2.1. Motivational Intensity (=Effort)** (Please, circle a, b, or c depending on your choice).

1. *When I have a problem understanding something we are learning in English,*
 - a) I immediately ask the teacher for help
 - b) I only seek help just before the exams.
 - c) I just forget about it.
2. *When it comes to English homework,*
 - a) I put some effort into it, but not as much as I could.
 - b) I work very carefully, making sure I understand everything.
 - c) I just read through it and quickly get rid of it.
3. *If my teacher wanted someone to do an extra English assignment,*
 - a) I would definitely not volunteer.
 - b) I would definitely volunteer.
 - c) I would only do it if the teacher asked me directly.
4. *When I get my English assignments back,*
 - a) I always rewrite them, correcting my mistakes.
 - b) I just look at the marks, throw them in my desk and forget them.
 - c) I look them over, but don't bother correcting mistakes.
5. *When I hear an English song on the radio,*
 - a) I listen to the music, paying attention only to the easy words
 - b) I listen carefully and try to understand all the words
 - c) I change the station

2.2. Desire to learn English (*Please, circle a, b, or c depending on your choice*).

1. *During English class, I would like*
 - a) to have a combination of English and French and Kinyarwanda spoken
 - b) to have as much English as possible spoken
 - c) to have only French spoken
2. *If I had the opportunity to speak English outside of school,*
 - a. I would never speak it
 - b. I would speak English most of the time, using other languages only if really necessary
 - c. I would speak English occasionally, using other languages whenever possible
3. *If there were an English club in my neighborhood,*
 - a. I would attend meetings once in awhile
 - b. I would be most interested in joining
 - c. I would definitely not join
4. *Compared to my other courses, I like English:*
 - a. the most
 - b. the same as all the others
 - c. least of all
5. *If it were up to me whether or not to take English,*
 - a. I would definitely take it
 - b. I would drop it
 - c. I don't know whether I would take it or not

2.3. Attitude toward Learning English

2.3.1. Attitudes toward English Itself (Please, Mark x in the space corresponding to your choice).

Do you agree with the following proposition?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. English is really a beautiful language				
2. Learning English is really great				
3. Learning English is enjoyable				
4. Everyone should learn as much English as possible				
5. Most people who start learning English end up really loving it				

2.3.2. Attitudes toward English speaking people (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

People who speak English are	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. admired people				
2. friendly and hospitable				
3. trustworthy and dependable				
4. cheerful, agreeable and good humored				
5. very kind and generous				

2.3.3. Attitudes toward the learning situation (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

Do you agree with the following proposition?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. There are many good opportunities to learn English in my school				
2. When I try to speak English outside of the classroom, I wonder how other students interpret my effort.				
3. It is difficult to find reading materials written in English.				
4. When I am not at school, I feel awkward trying to practice my English.				
5. I often think of making more effort to learn English, but there are so many other things to do.				

2.4. Motivational Orientation

2.4.1. Integrative Motivation (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

To know English will allow me	Strongly agree	agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. To be more at ease with other speakers of English wherever I meet them in the world				
2. To meet and converse with more and varied people				
3. To better understand and appreciate art and literature in English				
4. To participate more freely in the activities of other cultures that use English as a medium of communication				

2.4.2. Instrumental Motivation (Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

I need to know English because	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I'll need it when I start my teaching career				
2. it will make me a more knowledgeable person				
3. it may help me to get a good job				
4. other people will respect me for knowing English				

SECTION 3: ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH AS MoI

3.1. General Attitudes toward English as MoI

3.1.1. Cognitive Aspect (What Students Think about English as MoI)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

Studying through English	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. is good for our country at large				
2. helps teachers learn English fast				
3. helps students' intellectual development				
4. facilitates learning				
5. is the best way to teach students English				
6. makes students' work more complicated				
7. facilitates teacher's work				
8. Write here any other comment about English as a MoI (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda)				
.....				
.....				

3.1.2. Affective Aspect (What Students Feel about English as MoI)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

Studying through English makes me feel	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. proud				
2. annoyed				
3. that I am developing my communication skills in English				
4. frustrated				
5. happy that I have an opportunity to use English				
6. unsure of myself				
7. that I haven't learnt as much as I wanted				
8. confident				
9. that learning is made easier because of English				
10. Other feeling (Please specify) (You can use English, French or Kinyarwanda).....				
.....				
.....				

3.1.3. Conative Aspect (Students' Actions towards Using English as MoI)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

To study through English efficiently, I do the following:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I use a dictionary that I often carry with me				
2. I rely very much on notes written down in class				
3. I make effort to learn more English.				
4. I ask the teacher while we are still studying the lesson				
5. I try to read as many books written in English as I can				
5. Other actions (Please specify) (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda).....				
.....				
.....				
.....				

3.2. Specific Attitudes toward Using English to “Process Different Types of Knowledge”

3.2.1. Cognitive Aspect. (What Students Think of Using English at Different Levels of Knowledge Processing.) (Please mark X in the space corresponding to your choice).

Do you agree with the following propositions?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

1. Generally, the basic elements (e.g. terminologies) in the subjects we study are difficult to remember because of English	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. The complex notions (e.g. classifications, principles, theories ...) that are presented in our subjects are easy to understand in English.	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. The techniques and methods that we learn are difficult to apply because they are described in English	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. The texts we use in our subjects are difficult to analyze because of English	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. Write here whatever else you think applies to using English to study your subjects (You can use English, French or Kinyarwanda)				
.....				
.....				

3.2.2. Affective Aspect. (What Students Feel when Using English at Different Levels of Knowledge Processing)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

How do you feel about the following activities in English?	Enjoyable	Annoying	Satisfying	Frustrating
1. To remember the content of our subjects in English.				
2. To understand complex notions (e.g. theories) in English.				
4. To analyze the information presented in the subjects we study in English.				
4. Write here whatever else you feel when using English to study your subjects (You can use English, French, or Kinyarwanda).....				
.....				
.....				

3.2.3. Conative Aspect. (What Students Do to 'Process Knowledge' through English)

(Please, Mark X in the space corresponding to your choice)

To study more efficiently in English, it is necessary	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. to use not only English but also to resort to the other languages that we know.				
2. to ask my colleagues to explain to me in French or Kinyarwanda to make sure I understand my lessons				
3. to translate my notes into French or Kinyarwanda to see if I can understand better.				
4. Write here whatever else you do to study your subjects in English (You can use English, French, and Kinyarwanda).....				
.....				
.....				

APPENDICES B:

APPENDICES RELATED TO QUALITATIVE DATA

Note:

The qualitative data presented in this Section were obtained through “semi-structured” interviews. The following questions were therefore prepared in advance to serve for the orientation of the interviews. However, the interviews were not limited to answers to these questions: Respondents were free to elaborate on their answers and many ‘follow up questions’ (symbolized as FQ) were asked during the interviews.

APPENDIX B 1: CORE QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS (English Version)

SECTION 1: LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES AND PROFESSIONAL DETAILS

1.1. Self-identification as Users of Languages in Rwanda

- Q1. Which language would you prefer to use for this interview?
- Q2. Which other languages do you speak? Please, rank these languages in terms of your competence in them? (Which one(s) do you use best? Which do you use less well?)
- Q3. How did you get to know these languages?

1.2. Professional Training and Experience

- Q4. Which subject(s) do you teach?
- Q5. Did you train to teach those subject(s)? What is your qualification?
- Q6. Which language(s) did you study in?

SECTION 2: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD ENGLISH AS MoI

2.1. General Attitudes toward English as MoI

- Q7. What do you think about teaching in English?
- Q8. How do you feel about teaching in English?
- Q9. What do you do to perform the following tasks: a- to plan lessons?
b- to deliver the content in class?

c- to set exams, assignments, and homework?

2.2. Specific Attitudes toward Teaching Specific Subjects

- Q10. Are there any particular challenges in using English
- a- to deliver basic elements (e.g. terminologies, basic notions etc.) in your subject?
 - b- to explain complex notions (e.g. principles, theories etc.) in your subject?
 - c- to apply techniques and methods in your subject?

SECTION 3: GENERAL COMMENTS ON ANY OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING ENGLISH USE AS A MoI.

Q11. Do you have anything else to add to what we have just discussed?

APPENDIX B2:

CORE QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS (Kinyarwanda version)

SECTION 1: LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES AND PROFESSIONAL DETAILS

1.1. Self-identification as Users of Languages in Rwanda

- Q1. Urahitamo ko tugira iki kiganiro mu ruhe rurimi?
- Q2. Ni izihe ndimi uzi? Watondekanya izo ndimi uzi uhaye ku zo uvuga neza kurusha izindi?
- Q3. Indimi uzi wagiye uzimenya ute?

1.2. Professional Training and Experience

- Q4. Wigisha ayahe masomo?
- Q5. Ayo masomo se wize kuyigisha? Wayize kugeza ku ruhe rwego?
- Q6. Wize mu ruhe rurimi?

SECTION 2: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARDS ENGLISH AS MoI

2.1. General Attitudes toward English as MoI

- Q7. Kwigisha mu cyongereza ubibona ute/ubitekerezaho iki?
- Q8. Kwigisha mu cyongereza wumva bikumereye bite?
- Q9. Ubyifatamo ute kugira ngo
- a- Utegure amasomo mu cyongereza?
 - b- Wigishe neza amasomo yawe mu cyongereza ku buryo abanyeshuri bagira icyo bamenya?

- c- Utegurire abanyeshuri imikoro, amasuzumabumenyi, cyangwa se ibizamini neza mu cyongereza?

2.2. Specific Attitudes toward Teaching Specific Subjects

- Q10. Hari ingorane zihariye uhura na zo mu gukoresha icyongereza
- a- utanga icyigisho (subject) kikiri mu ntango (urugero: terminologies)?
 - b- usobanura ubumenyi bwimbitse (urugero: theories)?
 - c- abanyeshuri bashyira mu bikorwa ibyizwe mu isomo (urugero: application)?

SECTION 3: GENERAL COMMENTS ON ANY OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING ENGLISH USE AS A MoI.

- Q11. Hari ikindi tutavuze wumva wakongeraho?

APPENDIX B3:

CORE QUESTIONS FOR GROUP INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS **(English Version)**

SECTION 1: LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES

1.1. Self-identification as Users of Languages in Rwanda

- Q1. Which language would you prefer to use for this interview?
- Q2. Which other languages do you know? Please, rank these language in terms of your competence in them? (Which one(s) do you use best? Which do you use less well?)
- Q3. How did you get to know these languages?

SECTION 2: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD LEARNING ENGLISH

- Q4. What do you think about learning English?
- Q5. How do you feel about learning English?
- Q6. What do you do to learn English?

SECTION 3: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARDS ENGLISH AS MoI

3.1. General Attitudes toward English as MoI

- Q7. What do you think about studying through English?
- Q8. How do you feel about studying through English?
- Q9. What do you do to perform the following tasks:
- a- to revise your notes in English;

- b- to attend class in English;
- c- to write homework, assignments, and exams in English;

3.2. Specific Attitudes toward Using English to Study Specific Subjects

Q10. Are there any particular challenges involved in using English to study the following subjects?

Option	Subject	Particular challenge
Maths & Science	<i>Entrepreneurship</i>	
	<i>Integrated science</i>	
	<i>Mathematics</i>	
Social Studies	<i>Teaching Methods and Practice</i>	
	<i>Social Studies</i>	
	<i>Creative Performance & Physical Education</i>	
Languages	<i>Teaching Methods & Practice</i>	
	<i>Foundations of Education</i>	
	<i>English</i>	

Q11. Are there any challenges involved in using English to perform the following ‘Cognitive Processes’?

- a- To **remember** the basic content (basic elements; terminologies, etc.) of your subjects;
- b- To **reflect on** and **understand** concepts and theories in your subjects;
- c- To **apply** theories and notions (e.g. using teaching/learning theories in school practice);
- d- To **analyze** the information you get from your subjects.

SECTION 4: GENERAL COMMENTS ON ANY OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING ENGLISH USE AS A MOI.

Q12. Do you have anything else to add to what we have just discussed?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX B4:
CORE QUESTIONS FOR GROUP INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS
(Kinyarwanda version)

SECTION 1: LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES

1.1. Self-identification as Users of Languages in Rwanda

- Q1. Murahitamo ko tugira iki kiganiro mu ruhe rurimi?
Q2. Ni izihe ndimi muzi? Mutondekanye indimi muzi muhereye ku zo muvuga neza kurusha izindi.
Q3. Indimi muzi mwagiye muzimenya mute?

SECTION 2: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARD LEARNING ENGLISH

- Q4. Kwiga icyongereza ubitekerezaho iki?
Q5. Kwiga icyongereza wumva bikumereye bite?
Q6. Ukora iki kugira ngo wige kandi umenye icyongereza?

SECTION 3: ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION TOWARDS ENGLISH AS MoI

3.1. General Attitudes toward English as MoI

- Q7. Kwiga mu cyongereza ubitekerezaho iki?
Q8. Kwiga mu cyongereza wumva bikumereye bite?
Q9. Ubyifatamo ute kugira ngo
a- Usubiremo ‘notes’ zawe mu cyongereza?
b- Ukurikire amasomo mu cyongereza?
c- Wandike neza imikoro, amasuzumabumenyi, cyangwa se ibizame?

3.2. Specific Attitudes toward Using English to Study Specific Subjects

- Q10. Hari ingorane ziterwa no gukoresha icyongereza mu kwiga amasomo akurikira:

Option	Subject	Particular challenge
Maths & Science	<i>Entrepreneurship</i>	
	<i>Integrated science</i>	
	<i>Mathematics</i>	
Social Studies	<i>Teaching Methods and Practice</i>	
	<i>Social Studies</i>	
	<i>Creative Performance & Physical Education</i>	
Languages	<i>Teaching Methods &</i>	

	<i>Practice</i>	
	<i>Foundations of Education</i>	
	<i>English</i>	

Q11. Hari ingorane muhura na zo iyo mukoresha icyongereza mu mirimo ikurikira ijyanye no kwiga?

- a- Kwibuka ibyo mwize mu cyongereza;
- b- Kumva no gusobanukirwa amasomo mu cyongereza;
- c- Gushyira mu ngiro ibyo mwize mu cyongereza;
- d- Gusesengura ibyo mwiga mu cyongereza.

SECTION 4: GENERAL COMMENTS ON ANY OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING ENGLISH USE AS A MoI.

Q12. Hari icyo twaba twibagiwe mwumva mwakongera ku byo twavuze kugeza ubu?

Ndashimiye cyane kuba mwitabiriye iki kiganiro.