

Language Planning and Policies

Language Practices in Rwandan Primary Schools

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Abstract

This research examines the effects of the new language policy and language planning in Rwanda where English has replaced French as the medium of instruction in education. The main aim is to study the impact of this change in the language policy in primary education, looking particularly at the practice of this policy and attitudes of the affected stakeholders in different school systems (public and private) in Kigali, with the final purpose of determining the effect this change has on the education of pupils. The data in this comparative case study has mainly been gathered through participant-observation, semi-structured interviews and a review of policy documents and literature. The main finding is that the socio-cultural and –economic background of the stakeholders influence the interpretation of the language policy, affecting the way in which it is being practiced, and gradually also influencing the success of the implementation. This research discusses and concludes that a language policy would need to be better adapted to the realistic and specific circumstances of a school type, which includes teaching methodology, teaching conditions and motivation of the stakeholders.

Keywords: Language Policy; Language Planning; Medium of Instruction; Implementation; Teaching Conditions; Primary Education.

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List of Abbreviations

MOI	Medium of Instruction
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
EAC	East African Community
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
School A	The private school
School B	The public school
P	Primary
RWF	Rwandan Franc(s)
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Overview Research

According to Baldauf and Kaplan (2004), “Africa constitutes an area that is significantly under-represented in the language planning literature and yet is marked by extremely interesting language policy and planning issues” (p. 1). Rwanda, an African country, which has received little attention up until now in the scheme of language planning, decided to implement a new language policy at the end of 2008 and has been undergoing change since. The aim is to study why and how the new Rwandan language policy (change from French to English as medium of instruction or MOI) is being implemented in primary education and how this has affected and still affects the education of the Rwandan pupils in both private and public schools. The data in this research was gathered through various interviews with the teachers, directors, parents, other third parties and on occasion some pupils, as well as through observations of the lessons. This first chapter will introduce an overview of the theoretical background and the inspirations of the research, and will cover the research variables, the research gaps, the research questions, the hypotheses and the main purpose of this research.

1.2 Overview of Previous Research

The two theories on language planning and language policies were an inspiration when writing this research. There are various authors who have given definitions regarding these two theories, which will be given as an overview in this section and can be found in more detail in Chapter 2. Baldauf and Kaplan (2004) and Mesthrie et al. (2009) make a clear distinction between the terminologies ‘language planning’ and ‘language policies’. Kennedy (2011) and Mesthrie et. al (2009) also point out that changes brought about by language policies are not natural language changes but generally an intentional change made by the ones who decide to implement such a policy. Trudell and Piper’s (2014) definition focuses more on who formulates a policy and the purpose of a policy. The

combination of these definitions will reveal that a language policy is generally implemented by the government with various socio-economic and political motives more than linguistic motives.

This research will also look at the differences in various types of language planning, such as corpus and status planning as studied by Fishman (2006), Liddicoat (2007) and Mesthrie et al. (2009). Cooper (1990) discusses a third type of planning known as acquisition planning, which is quite relevant to this research as it refers to the planning of language policies for specifically learning languages with an emphasis on education. Next to this, Spolsky (2004) gives a clear account on who acts out the most influence when a new language policy is formed and implemented, but also on who is actually necessary for the success and lasting duration of a new language policy. Following this, Simpson and Muvunyi (2012/13) stress the importance of the teachers as they are the people who need to implement this policy in the classroom and their attitudes and beliefs towards a new policy will affect the learners.

Finally, two recent case studies will be looked at before introducing my own research and the results in order to gain more insight on possible outcomes on the practice of the new language policy in Rwanda. The first is an ethnographic research by Pearson (2014) which looks at primary schools with the main focus on the teachers, trying to understand how they interpreted the policy and how they are implementing it. The second is a research by Jones (2014) focusing on the use of the mother-tongue and English and the actual practice of the teachers in lower and upper primary levels in Kenya. This study was chosen as Kenya is one of the neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Rwanda has a high regard for the English education system of its surrounding countries. All the above mentioned topics will receive more attention in Chapter 2.

1.3 Research Variables

The research will mainly take place in two primary schools: one public and one private school. In this research I would not only like to see if the language policy is coherent with the practice of it, but also whether there will be a difference between the public and private schools. Differences in

the private and public domain have been discussed in previous studies, for example, in Jimenez et al. (1991) where they found that private schools tend to have more financial resources, giving more room for better trained teachers and a more efficient use of materials. The pupils at private schools tend to perform better and come from a better background than those from a public school.

For this reason, the status of the school will function as the independent variable. Whether the school is a public or a private school will then function as the variants, with an angle looking at social class, as the parents who send their children to private schools generally come from an elite background and also expect their children to have quality education regarding teachers, directors and so forth (Baldauf and Kaplan 2004). In both schools various stakeholders will be studied in order to distinguish the differences which can be divided up into the dependent variables, namely: a) the attitudes of the director(s); b) the attitudes of the teachers; c) the attitudes of the parents; d) the attitudes of the learners.

In addition to my independent and dependent variables, I will also look at various situational variables, such as: the differences in background information of these participants, financial resources, materials, school conditions, school results and anything else that can influence outcomes of each school. I will further look at two other groups: government officials and development organisations. The first because they are the ones in charge of the policy and instructing the directors and teachers on how to implement this policy; the latter because these give extra aide and can give me an outside point of view. These variables will receive more attention in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

1.4 Research Gaps

In the literature on language planning and policies in Africa, there are African countries that receive considerably more attention than others, for example: South Africa and Kenya. In this paper I wish to address Rwanda, a country that has not received much attention. As will be discussed later, it is common for many African countries to have officially adopted their former colonisers' language.

However, it is not too common for an African country to adopt a western language with no ties leading back to the colonial period. How will the population of a country cope with a language they have had minimal or no exposure to in the past which has been implemented as the medium of instruction?

Another research gap I wish to address is based on a similar and recent research to mine which is Pearson's (2014) earlier research in Rwanda. Whereas Pearson chose the Southern Province in order to see the effects of the new language policy in a more rural local surrounding, I chose to do my research in the capital Kigali. Pearson (2014) writes:

Southern Province was chosen as the backdrop for this study, as it is located outside the capital and administrative center, Kigali, where many international non-governmental organizations have 'adopted' area schools and are actively involved with in-service teacher training, and curriculum and materials development (p. 42).

I wish to find out whether schools located in the capital city, even with the help of non-governmental organisations or a more resourceful surrounding, will not be struggling with the new policy just like schools outside of Kigali. I do not wish to make a comparison with Pearson's research due to the fact that our researches were both conducted differently and under different conditions/circumstances, but I merely wish to focus on the situation in the capital and show that they have struggles of their own.

1.5 Research Questions and Provisional Hypotheses

Following the above information, my main research question is: How is the Rwandan language policy – the transition from French to English as medium of instruction – being implemented in private and public primary schools and how does this affect the education of the pupils? In order to answer this question I will look at the following sub-questions: (1) Is there a clearly formulated

and disseminated government policy towards the language transition?; (2) How is the language policy understood by the actors in charge of education?; (3) How is the language policy being implemented and is there a difference in the strategy of public and private schools?; (4) Are pupils likely to receive support from home regarding the language transition and if not do they receive support from the school?; (5) How does the language policy affect the quality of education and learning?

At this point there are three provisional hypotheses which will be studied further in Chapter 2, by linking them to the relevant literature. As a first provisional hypothesis, I expect that there will be a considerable difference between the private and public school due to financial resources – meaning that the private school will have the ability to employ better teachers, better materials, better learning conditions and have more support from their parents – and better management (Baldauf & Kaplan 2004; Jimenez et al. 1991). My second provisional hypothesis concerns the interpretation of the policy by the actors in charge of the education. I expect that a certain amount of information was passed from the government to the ones who were responsible for implementing the new policy however; I presume this was not done thoroughly leading to different interpretations and inappropriate practices (Jones 2014; Pearson 2014; Spolsky 2004; Trudell & Piper 2014). My third provisional hypothesis is that this policy has been implemented in too short a period of time, which will as such have a negative effect on the quality of education and learning (Jones 2014; Pearson 2014). These three provisional hypotheses will receive more attention in the next chapter, where they will be linked to relevant literature.

1.6 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to show that the ideals and goals behind a language policy do not necessarily mean that these ideals and goals can be realised in practice. I wish to shed more light on Rwanda's situation, where the government took a brave step to implement a language which only a minority of the country can speak, as the sole medium of instruction.

1.8 Thesis Overview

In the remainder of this paper I will first give a more extensive literature background on the theories, the language policy, and necessary specifications about Rwanda concerning language and history in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will give a detailed explanation of my methodology focusing on the difficulties faced during the field research and how I managed to conduct my research step-by-step. In Chapter 4 the results will be revealed leading to Chapter 5 where I will have a discussion and end with my conclusion.

Chapter 2 – Literature

2.1 Background to the current language transition in Rwanda

Rwanda is a peculiar country compared to many other African countries as it only has one indigenous language: Kinyarwanda. Many African countries adopted one or more languages for an official status after the colonial era, with careful consideration, in order to create unity (Frydman 2011; Liddicoat 2007; Trudell & Piper 2014; Spolsky 2004). One would expect that a country which only has one indigenous language would not be dealing with a lack of unity. Yet, regardless of this, Rwanda is often known for its history of genocide between two ethnic groups – and the aftermath of this genocide has created an interesting language situation in Rwanda. In order to understand the background and the implications on the language situation in the Rwanda of today, a brief historical overview is needed, an explanation on the status of the languages and an analysis of the new language policy.

2.1.1 A brief history of Rwanda and its languages

Rwanda, known as the ‘land of a thousand hills’, is a landlocked country bordered by Uganda in the north, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the west, Burundi in the south and Tanzania on the east (World Bank, 2003). Rosendal (2010), Steflja (2012) and Samuelson and Freedman (2010) give an account of the period of colonialism up to the genocide and the introduction of English as an official language. The following information in this section is based on their writing.

Rwanda was first colonised by the Germans in the 1890s and the Belgians took over in 1916 until independence in 1962. During this period, the educational system in Rwanda was shaped according to the Belgian Francophone system. This educational system remained the same after independence, when the majority Hutu population took over power from the Belgians, and when many Belgian priests stayed on to run the many Catholic Francophone schools of the country. For political reasons, the Hutu regime started atrocities against the minority Tutsi population just before and after independence, which resulted in hundred thousands of them fleeing the country

to neighbouring countries, such as the DRC, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda. In particular the group that went to Uganda was of a significant number. Between independence in 1962 and the genocide of 1994, the Tutsis in Uganda created the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and started attacking Rwanda and eventually won the war after the perpetrators of the genocide were conquered in 1994 and chased out (more than 2.000.000 Hutus fled to neighbouring DRC/Zaire). From the 850,000 refugees that returned to Rwanda, the majority had come from English-speaking countries and at this point the RPF – also an English speaking party – were in power in Rwanda. Due to living in Anglophone countries for a long period of time, many of these refugees had little to no proficiency in French. As a result, the RPF introduced English with the status of an official language alongside Kinyarwanda and French in 1996. At a later stage, millions of Hutu refugees who had lived in other Francophone countries returned to Rwanda: a country that had now transitioned from a French to an English educational system.

In October 2008 the government decided that English would become the sole MOI after the first three primary school years which would be taught in Kinyarwanda, eliminating French from the school curriculum as a MOI. This change was meant to commence in the new school year in January 2009. Kagwesage (2013) points out that: “Many factors hinder the socio-economic development in Rwanda. (...) Rwanda’s great challenge was lack of sufficient skilled human capital both to attract foreign direct investment for infrastructure development and manage the investment development projects” (p. 10). Simpson and Muvunyi (2012/13) explain that Rwanda became a member of the East African Community (EAC) and that Rwanda’s main goal was to develop skilled human capital in order “to transform Rwanda from being largely agrarian to a middle-income country and regional leader in information and communication technology (ICT)” (p. 152). The EAC is currently made up of Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (East African Community 2014), of which the English speaking countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) have more powerful economies, thus Rwanda’s proficiency in English and literacy of English

became a necessity. This is said to be the main reason why Rwanda decided to implement English as MOI (Simpson 2012).

So the main reason for changing to English as MOI already started in 1996, when the RPF became the new government. They were English-speaking and had lost touch with their French roots, therefore English was introduced as the third official language in the country. With time, Rwanda joined the EAC, which resulted in English receiving an even higher status. English was and still is seen as the language of socio-economic development and success. This was the ultimate reason for changing the education system, only offering education in English as MOI from upper primary level onwards.

2.1.2 Status of English, French and Kinyarwanda

Despite the policy of national reconciliation and inclusion, this change to English as a sole MOI from upper primary levels onwards, creates an even further division which can have an effect on socio-cultural and -economic distinctions. In a syntheses based on the analysis of the 2002 census of Rwanda, Republic of Rwanda (2005) claimed that about 99.7% of the population were able to speak Kinyarwanda in 2002, 3.9% French, 1.9% English and 3% Swahili. They also report that in the urban capital Kigali 97.7% spoke Kinyarwanda, 17.7% French, 16% Swahili and 9.2% English, showing that the use of each language varies greatly when comparing rural to urban areas. Rosendal (2010) states: “The census registered the reported knowledge of English, French, Rwanda and Other language alone or in combination with another language. Thus, the language(s) spoken by each family member was/were registered without separating L1 or specifying proficiency” (p.78). In that sense, the numbers provided by the 2002 census do not indicate the exact level of the four languages discussed above, but they give a rough indication of the status of the languages in 2002.

2.1.3 The language policy of Rwanda

Orekan (2010) explains that promoting a language to a national status in education should be quite straightforward in a mono- or bilingual country in Africa. Rwanda falls under this category, so one

would expect that the new policy is being implemented without too many obstacles. The changes in the policy can be found in Republic of Rwanda's (2008) *Nine Year Basic Education Implementation*, where the main objectives were the "Reduction of courses", "Specialization" and "Double Shifting" (p. 9). With 'reduction of courses' the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) literally wanted to reduce the number of courses the pupils had before this new act, giving them more time to focus on less subjects; 'specialization' refers to the teachers needing to specialise themselves in either one or two subjects with the purpose of becoming an expert in those subject and as a result being able to pass on more knowledge to the pupils; and, 'double shifting' has the purpose of reducing the teacher/pupil ratio by teaching half of a class in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. In Appendix A the curriculum of P1 until P6 prior to the change to English as MOI is presented, whilst in Appendix B the new curriculum of P1 until P6 is shown. It can be seen there that P1–P3 study the following subjects: Kinyarwanda, English, French, Maths, General Paper and Extra Curriculum Activities. Contrary to the younger classes, P4–P6 receive an additional two subjects next to the ones already mentioned: Sciences and Technology and Social Studies. Republic of Rwanda (2008) specifies:

In this proposal, English language shall be a medium of instruction. English shall be taught as a second language while French is taught as an optional language at all levels except in lower Primary (P.1, P.2 and P.3) where the medium of instruction shall be Kinyarwanda (p.11).

As can be seen from this statement, from P4 onwards all lessons are to be taught in English as MOI, whilst P1–P3 are taught in the mother-tongue Kinyarwanda. P1–P3 can also follow French as an optional language just like P4–P6.

The main differences between the old and the new curriculum regarding languages as subjects which can be seen when comparing Appendixes A and B are the following: (1) in the old

curriculum P1-P3 are taught seven hours of Kinyarwanda weekly whilst in the new curriculum Kinyarwanda is taught for only three hours weekly, reducing the mother-tongue by more than 50% lesson hours; (2) in the old curriculum P1-P3 are taught five hours of English weekly whilst in the new curriculum English is taught six hours weekly; (3) in the old curriculum P1-P3 are taught five hours of French weekly whilst in the new curriculum French is taught three hours weekly, reducing French as a language to the same level as Kinyarwanda; (4) in P4-P6 the hours of Kinyarwanda and English taught in the old curriculum remain exactly the same in the new curriculum; and, (5) in the old curriculum P4-P6 are taught five hours of French weekly, whilst this is reduced to two hours of French weekly in the new curriculum.

2.2 Literature Background to Language Policies

2.2.1 Defining language planning and policies

There are various definitions when looking at language planning and policies from different angles. One angle that will be discussed here looks more at language planning as a whole and the various aspects that fall under this, of which language policies is one. Kamwangamalu (2004) defines “language planning as a body of ideas, laws, and regulations (language policy), change, rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities” (p. 243), which shows that language policy does indeed fall under language planning. Mesthrie et al. (2009) make a clear distinction between both terms stating that: “Language policy is sometimes used as a synonym for language planning. However, more precisely, language policy refers to the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process” (p. 371). On top of that, the implementation of a language policy is known as an unnatural change, often referred to as a deliberate attempt at changing the use of a language or various languages within a community or a nation (Kennedy, 2011; Mesthrie et al., 2009).

The other angle looked at is which party or parties are responsible for this deliberate language change. Trudell and Piper (2014) describe a language policy “as the set of principles formulated and legally established by the state, intended to guide language use particularly in public domains” (p. 5). This definition indicates that generally speaking governments are responsible for the implementation of a new language policy. There are various categories governments can look at when planning a new language with its necessary policy. When talking about language planning generally there are “two basic types of language planning: **corpus planning**, which is concerned with the internal structure of the language, and **status planning**, which refers to all efforts undertaken to change the use and function of a language (or language variety) within a given society” (Mesthrie et al., 2009, p. 372). Corpus planning could be used in the future if Rwanda decides to introduce Rwandan English, but at the moment status planning applies more to the current situation in Rwanda, as the main purpose is to change the use and function of a language in the country. In addition to this, Cooper (1990) distinguishes a third type of planning called “acquisition planning, which refers to organized efforts to promote the learning of a language” (p. 157) with an emphasis on how language is distributed through education, which is what this research mainly looks at.

2.2.2 Language planning and policies in Africa

Back in the 1960s, the study of language planning became a new field in sociolinguistics after the independence of many African or Asian countries, which resulted in these countries being faced with the decision of choosing their national and official languages (Frydman, 2011; Mesthrie et al., 2009). Due to the fact that most African countries are made up of a large variety of ethno-linguistic groups, favouring one ethnic-linguistic group by choosing their language as the official language of the country, could have been perceived as social preference by the remaining ethnic groups. It was feared that this would create tensions between the ethno-linguistic groups and even threaten the newly found peace within a nation (Frydman 2011; Trudell & Piper 2014). A central objective for many countries when the colonial era came to an end was uniting the nation peacefully as one

whole, and choosing the right language as a national and official language – which did not bring up any negative sentiment from the past and thus united the nation rather than causing more friction – played a big part in this (Baldauf and Kaplan, 2004; Frydman, 2011; Spolsky, 2004). However, when it comes to language policies and planning there are many more factors than unity that influence the process of planning and implementation. As Baldauf and Kaplan (2004) point out:

It is important to point out that, in some of the polity studies, so little sociolinguistic work is actually available, and the economic and social conditions are such (e.g. the civil wars currently raging or recently concluded in a number of African polities), that contributors are significantly constrained (...) In some African states, the costs (monetary, human, and temporal) of civil war, rapidly varying commodity prices, human resources shortages, the AIDS epidemic, etc.) are so great that the relative priority of language planning is necessarily lowered (p. 7).

In Africa there are so many other social, economic or political factors that affect any language policy or language planning initiative, which generally leads to sole language factors being neglected. It is hard to look at language planning and policies solely in sociolinguistic terms because the ones in charge of this tend to prioritise socio-economic and political factors.

2.2.3 Implementing a language in education and the influenced stakeholders

The government is responsible for implementing a new language policy, but it is not their task to carry out this action. Spolsky (2004) makes an interesting statement, writing: “As Stalin realized, a strong centralized language policy enhances the power of the central government, but as became clear after the breakup of the Soviet empire, once the central power is removed, the only forces keeping the former imperial language in place come from language practices and beliefs” (p. 40). This implies that the government – no matter how powerful – can implement a new policy, but at the end of the day the ones carrying out the task of implementation, their attitudes and beliefs

gradually decide whether this implementation succeeds or not. Simpson and Muvunyi (2012/13) point out that in, what Cooper refers to as acquisition planning, the “Teachers are the most important educational resource, as quality education cannot happen without them” (p. 154). The teachers play a crucial role in the success of the implementation of a new language and whether this language is kept in place and survives come from the ‘language practices and beliefs’ of these teachers. Yet the teachers are not the only concerned party. As Trudell and Piper (2014) state:

Local appropriation of national language policy tends to reflect the language attitudes and goals of the population of speakers, which may be either compliant or antagonistic to state national policy goals; the attitudes and priorities of headmasters, teachers and parents about language and education generally hold the deciding influence on school language practices. Thus, where national policy upholds a child’s right to education in a language the child speaks, the reality in classrooms may be otherwise if local decision-makers prefer the use of other languages (p. 4-5).

For this reason, the attitudes and priorities of the school directors, teachers and parents are essential to the success of the implementation of a new language policy and will accordingly play a key role in this research.

2.3.4 Difficulties encountered with the use of foreign languages in African countries

As the school directors, teachers and parents are essential for the success of the implementation of a new language policy, it is important to understand the factors that affect these stakeholders. Ouane and Glanz (2010) reported that: “Africa is the only continent where the majority of children start school using a foreign language. Across Africa the idea persists that the international languages of wider communication (Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish) are the only means for upward economic mobility” (p. 4-5). It has been argued that the use of foreign languages for schooling in Africa is the cause of the slow economic growth of this continent (Williams, 2011),

and there are various researches that give an explanation for this lack of development and the problems encountered.

One such problem is the proficiency in the MOI. Many teachers are obliged to teach in a language they do not fully or even barely command. Diarra (2003) looks at the situation of Portuguese as MOI in Angola and states:

No in-depth study is required to see that the indifferent results generally obtained in the teaching of Portuguese are due in very large measure either to an inadequate command of the language on the part of both teachers and pupils or to confusion between it and the national languages, from the phonetic level to that of syntax and semantics. As a result, the rate of learning is slowed down and the quality of teaching is noticeable affected. (pp. 186-187).

Teachers are the ones who are responsible for teaching their learners the differences between their local languages and the new language, but if the teachers cannot even explain these differences to themselves, it will be impossible to explain them to the children. This results in the rates of learning decreasing drastically. Diarra (2003) suggests that “it would perhaps be advisable to give teachers in the basic education system a grounding in the comparative study of Portuguese and the locally dominant national language” (p.187). Like this, teachers have more insight in how to teach and a better understanding in the teaching methods which are more appropriate with second language teaching. This does not only apply to Portuguese, but to all international languages used for wider communication.

Another problem arises when language policies are made, but various stakeholders do not agree with the language policies and decide to practice teaching in the ways that suite them best. Many language policies in Africa generally include an indigenous mother-tongue for the first few years before switching over to the official language (Baldauf and Kaplan 2004; Jones 2014; Pearson

2014; Trudell & Piper 2014). According to Ouane and Glanz (2010) parents tend to view education in the mother-tongue negatively: it holds their children back from a bright future and it is viewed as “second class education” (p. 45). What will be seen is that in many countries teachers introduce the foreign language earlier as MOI in schools (Jones 2014; Kamwangamalu 2004; Trudell & Piper 2014). Though elite parents generally support the use of mother-tongue education, they tend to send their children to schools where a foreign language is taught, even where an indigenous language has a high status – for example in Tanzania (Kamwangamalu 2004). This attitude creates a big gap between the small percentage of elite children who generally go to private schools, and the high percentage of the rest of the children in a country, who have to go to public schools.

The first and second problem added together leads to a poor outcome in study results of the learners in public schools. In Francophone Burkina Faso, Alidou (2003) conducted a research on the effect that teaching in a foreign language can have on learners. Alidou claims:

The majority of students in both urban and rural schools come from poor, non-literate families where French is not the means of daily communication. Unfortunately, the educational experience of this group of students is characterized by class repetition and a high drop-out rate between fourth and sixth grades. (...) In Francophone Africa, the majority of primary school students experience exclusion in the classroom. Owing to a lack of proficiency in French, they are silenced and spend most of their time listening to the teacher and the very few students who can speak French. Most of the non- French-speaking students experience academic failure owing, in part, to the lack of proficiency in the LOI and, in part, to the use of inappropriate language teaching methods by their classroom teachers (p. 107).

The problem described by Alidou is not only applicable to Francophone Africa, but also to Anglophone and Lusophone countries (Baldauf and Kaplan 2004; Jones 2014; Ouane & Glanz

2010; Trudell & Piper 2014). If the first problem mentioned of teachers who are not competent enough in the MOI is applicable to the majority of the population, while a small elite minority enjoys private education, the problem that Alidou describes will occur frequently, where only a small number of learners in the public schools will actually succeed in their education. Hence, the social class and background of all the stakeholders (learners, parents and teachers) play a prominent role in education in Africa regarding the MOI. In sociolinguistics, social class is generally determined by background factors such as the income, education and occupation of the participant or participants of a research (Mallinson 2007). Parents from a higher social class tend to have better education and occupations than parents from a lower social class, giving them more choice in the quality of education of their children

2.3 Case studies on language implementation in Africa

In this section two case studies in Africa will be discussed featuring English as MOI in primary education. The first case study was written by Pearson (2014) taking place in Rwanda and the second was written by Jones (2014) featuring the language situation in Kenya. The two case studies look at the use of English as MOI in Rwanda and Kenya in primary education and are an important guideline for the expectations and hypotheses of this current research. These two case studies will also be used to help explain results found in this research.

The first research by Pearson focuses on four public schools in the Southern province of Rwanda. The main purpose of her research was to illustrate the interpretation and implementation of local teachers regarding the national language policy in education. Her research goal was comparing the actual practice of this policy to the theory of ‘ethnography of language policies’. Pearson approached the research from two angles: bottom-up and top-down. The bottom-up focused on teacher interviews and classroom observations, whilst the top-down approach focused on an analysis of the official policy. Her research was conducted for a period of ten months by looking at a more urban primary school and a rural primary school. The same was done in two

secondary schools. Eight teachers participated in the research (two from each school) and they were selected based on their experience (teaching continuously at least since 2007), having a Rwandan nationality, being reflective on their teaching skills and a will to participate. Pearson observed each teacher for two weeks and conducted two-hour-long interviews with each teacher. The main finding was that the outcome of the policy was unpredictable due to the layers of stakeholders it has to travel through and the variation in ideologies of these different stakeholders. There was a lack of support from the government: the teacher trainings were too short and the knowledge of the English language gained by the teachers was insufficient. Furthermore, the government failed to provide the schools with proper English teaching materials at the start of the transition and once the schools received these materials, they were not enough to provide for the whole school. The English curriculum was unclear and due to the lack of support and guidance from the government, the school directors and teachers decided to use other languages (Kinyarwanda and French) to make the language transition easier. The new policy did not just have an impact on the teachers but also on the achievements and results of the learners, who now had to pass their tests using English, a language that they barely commanded.

The second case study was conducted by Jones (2014) looking at the MOI in Kenya at different grade levels in primary school. The school curriculum of Kenya is similar to the Rwandan one advocating the use of mother-tongue as MOI in lower primary, whilst English as MOI in upper primary. Unlike Rwanda, Kenya has many indigenous languages and generally has three languages in the school curriculum: the mother-tongue depending on the catchment area, Kiswahili as the main official indigenous language and English. This research looked at a school where Sabaot was the catchment area language. Jones looked at the 'ideal' versus the 'reality' of the languages used in the school curriculum. She conducted a seven-month research by means of participant and lesson observations (focusing on mathematics and science), interviews and document analysis looking at: (a) the policy statement; (b) the 'ideal' of the perception of the teachers of the language policy; and, (c) the 'reality' of the language policy in practice. The main idea in using the mother-tongue for

Kenyan schools in lower primary relates to the theory that a child needs to master their first language if he/she is to be successful in any other language. However, the ‘ideal’ of the school was to teach in Sabao and Kiswahili in the first year, and then slowly integrating English. The teachers believed that by including English earlier in the curriculum and a mixed use of the mother-tongue, Kiswahili and English that the transition to English in upper primary would be easier, preparing the learners for the final tests which are conducted in English. The study found that even though teachers wished to introduce English earlier in lower primary, the ‘reality’ was that they had difficulties using English in full dialogue in upper primary – frequently using Kiswahili, which generally replaced the use of the mother-tongue. The teachers were also more focused on single English words, where children would just simply repeat the teacher or respond with a simple ‘yes’. Rather than learning how to use English for actual communication and comprehension, the children were limited to only understanding basic phrases or words. There had been inadequate planning on how to act out the policy so that the school faced problems such as lack of teaching methodology, materials, inaccurate curriculum and other resources.

2.4 Conclusion and hypotheses

Following the literature discussed in this chapter, socio-cultural and –economic factors will play a prominent role in the results between the public and private school that will be studied. In the introductory chapter three possible hypotheses were mentioned.

The first hypothesis states that there will be a considerable difference between the private and public school, mainly due to a lack of financial resources on the side of the public school. Parents of the children attending private schooling have more financial resources, as they have the means and financial abilities to afford the private sector education for their children (Jimenez et al. 1991). It is to be expected that these parents will have received better education and likely have occupations with better income than the parents of the children from a public school. Section 2.3.4 discussed the difficulties that are encountered in language in education in Africa. The main

problems lead to the use of a foreign language, which is even foreign to the teacher and requires teachers to be trained properly. Only teachers with proper financial resources will be able to do this and those teachers will want to earn a higher salary and thus work in the private sector. It is thus more likely that the teachers working at a private school have a better command of the MOI and that they are better qualified to correctly implement a new MOI than teachers working at a public school. Further, this will give the children at a private school a greater advantage than those at a public school and due to the fact that the children at the private school do not come from “poor, non-literate families” as Alidou (2003, p.107) describes, they can also practice their language at home. This leaves all untrained or limited trained teachers for the public sector. Further the pupils attending private schools receive less support from home, resulting in devastating outcomes for the learners.

The second hypothesis looks at how the new policy travelled from the enforcers of this policy to the ones who actually have to implement it in practice. Various aspects play a role in how the implementers interpret the policy. In section 2.3.3 the actors of the policy were discussed and generally the attitudes, ideals and priorities of the school directors, parents and teachers have a stronger hold over how this policy will be implemented than what the policy states. This can also be seen in both case studies by Pearson (2014) and Jones (2014) where directors and teachers either have limited resources, materials, or a lack of knowledge in the language, which forces them to adjust the policy to their circumstances. The introduction referred to incorrect interpretation of the policy and inappropriate practices; nevertheless, if the circumstances provided by the government do not allow for appropriate practices of the policy, the planning of the policy needs to be done more thoroughly, leading to the third hypothesis.

The third hypothesis claims that the language policy was implemented with too much haste which will affect the quality of education and especially the results of the learners, increasing the failure rates. Pearson (2014) concluded in her research that the Rwandan language policy lacked proper planning in how to implement English successfully. Jones (2014) looks at classroom

situations and discusses the ‘ideals’ of a policy and the actual ‘reality’ of it, which are usually not coherent. In this case the Rwandan policy and the practice of it in the classrooms will be studied. If the policy was implemented too hastily, the research results will show that adjustments need to be made in order to make the ‘ideal’ (the policy) a reality in practice.

My expectations are that the language policy has been implemented in too much haste, that the private domain has many advantages over the public domain and that the education of the learners in the public domain is affected drastically due to the implementation of English as MOI.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will give an overview of how the research was conducted. The main research locations were a public and a private school in Kigali, with the main focus being on the teachers and the pupil-teacher interaction in the classrooms with English as MOI. The information was obtained through interviews with the school directors, available teachers willing to participate and classroom observations, focusing on the teachers' teaching methods and the reaction of the learners to the teachers. Further, informal interviews were held with parents, two government officials were interviewed and conversations were held with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Next to these participants an analysis was made of; 1) the teaching conditions; 2) the materials used at the schools; and, 3) results obtained in the sixth grade for the national exams. In the ensuing sections all these matters will be explained in more depth.

3.2 Location

3.2.1 The Schools

The research took place in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. Two primary schools were selected whose names shall remain anonymous due to privacy reasons. Rwandan primary schools have six grades which are referred to as Primary 1 (P1) up until Primary 6 (P6).

School A was a private school and was funded by a group of financial investors who founded the school and received further financial help from school fees and additional funding from the school owners. School A consisted of approximately 500 pupils, of which grade one up until five were divided into three classes and grade six was divided into two classes. Each grade would have three to four teachers with their own specialised school subjects which they would teach. Averagely, a class had the total of 30-35 pupils.

School B was a public school funded by the government. Just like School A and all the other primary schools following the Rwandan curriculum, School B was also made up of six grades. School B consisted of approximately 2,500 pupils, with averagely five teachers and 45-55 pupils per class.

3.3 Participants

3.3.1 Teachers

The teachers were mainly influenced by the change in policy as most of them were used to teaching in French before 2009 and suddenly had to switch to teaching in English in 2009. They were expected to follow compulsory trainings for teaching in English and expected to switch from French to English over the Christmas holidays. In addition to changing the MOI in the new policy, another phenomenon was introduced in which teachers needed to specialise in one or two primary school subjects. Due to the new system of teachers specialising, the participation of more teachers was necessary than anticipated at the start. In addition to this there were also differences between the two schools, which required the participation of more teachers from School B than School A. Below, in Table 3.1, the teachers of School A are specified in sex, age, the grades they teach, the subjects they are specialised in, the beginning of their teaching career, the beginning of their teaching career at this school and their educational background. The same has been done for the teachers of School B in Table 3.2.

In School A, seven teachers participated, whilst in School B ten teachers participated. This difference in number of participants was mainly caused by studying three grades instead of two, the specialisations of the teachers and which teachers were available to contribute to the research. In School A three P3 teachers, two P4 teachers and two P6 teachers were studied, whilst in School B three P3 teachers, four P4 teachers and three P6 teachers were studied. Initially the teachers were meant to be selected by their age to see if there was a difference in age group and teaching in

English, however, this was not an option as there was limited choice in teachers available, and gradually the teachers' specialisations were more relevant to the research than their age. The teachers at School A ranged from 27 to 34 years in age, whilst at School B they ranged from 25 to 59 years in age. When looking at Table 3.1 it can be noticed that all the teachers at School A were only employed after the implementation of English as MOI, which was initiated in January 2009. When looking at Table 3.2 it can be observed that with the exception of three teachers, all of the teachers studied at School B were already employed before the transition to English as MOI and also remained employed at this school after the transition.

Table 3.1

Background of teachers in School A

Teacher	Sex	Age	Grade and subject(s)	Started Teaching	Employed at this school	Highest level of education completed
A1 ¹	M ²	33	P3 Mathematics Science	2006	2012	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)
A2	M	30	P3 English	2008	2014	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)
A3	M	33	P3 Social Studies French	2006	2012	Degree in Education (English as MOI from 2008-2011)
A4	M	27	P4 English Social Studies	2008	2011	Degree in Education (English and French as MOI from 2010-2013)
A5	M	34	P4 Mathematics Science	2003	2014	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)
A6	M	30	P6 English Social Studies	2006	2010	Degree in Accounting (English as MOI from 2008-2012)
A7	M	31	P6 Mathematics Science	2007	2010	Teacher Training Centre: Psychology and Methodology (English as MOI, 3 years)

¹ 'A' refers to 'School A' and the number indicates the teacher from the lower grades to the highest grade

² 'M' stands for Male and 'F' stands for Female

Table 3.2
Background of teachers in School B

Teacher	Sex	Age	Grade and subject(s)	Started Teaching	Employed at this school	Highest level of education completed
B1	F	25	P3 English Social Studies	2008	2013	Basic Teaching (English and Kinyarwanda as MOI from 2011-2013)
B2	F	30	P3 English Mathematics	2005	2007	University – Finance (English as MOI from 2009-2013)
B3	F	42	P3 Social Studies Kinyarwanda	1998	2008	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)
B4	M	27	P4 English	2008	2008	University – Development Studies (English as MOI from 2009-2013)
B5	M	27	P4 Social Studies	2011	2012	Computer training (English as MOI, 1 year in 2013)
B6	F	48	P4 Science & Technology	1982	1996	University – Sociology (French as MOI from 2006-2010)
B7	M	38	P4 Mathematics	2005	2009	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)
B8	M	37	P6 Social Studies English	2000	2008	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)
B9	M	45	P6 Science & Technology Kinyarwanda	1999	1999	University - Clinical Psychology (French as MOI from 2006-2010)
B10	F	59	P6 Mathematics	1976	2007	Secondary school (specialisation in teacher training in upper secondary)

3.3.2 Learners

Initially only P4 and P6 would be studied as, according to the policy, P4 is the year where transition to English takes place and P6 is the final grade. At both schools the transition to English as MOI is introduced earlier than is required by the policy. School A already uses English as MOI in P3, and School B combines Kinyarwanda and English in P3. Due to School B not fully using English

in P3, and wanting to compare the same levels in the two schools, the decision was made to study three grades: P3, P4 and P6.

3.3.3 Directors

Each school had one director who were both approached at the beginning of the research. The director at School A was female being 50 years of age. She has thirty years of teaching experience, a university degree in Pedagogy and is currently finishing a degree in Education. She has been the director at this school since January 2008. The director of School B was female being 52 years of age. She also has thirty years of teaching experience, studied 'School Management' in college and completed a university study in Pedagogy. She has been working as a director for five years in total, meaning she started her job when the transition took place. Both directors gave the necessary background information on the schools and their functioning. They continued providing information throughout the process of the research. The directors also initiated the introductions with the teachers and assisted in the organisation of the interviews with the teachers and classroom observations.

3.3.4 Parents

As parents are one of the stakeholders, their opinion was of importance. The parents interviewed at School A were ex-refugees, who had spent their refuge years in Francophone countries during the Genocide, as they were all French-speakers. The parents of School A were highly educated, ranging from job descriptions such as: engineers, bankers, jurist, lecturers, business men, doctors, government officials, lawyers, a pilot etc. Four fathers and one mother were interviewed in order to gain insight on their viewpoints regarding the new policy. In School A five parents who came to pick up their children were randomly selected and asked what their opinion was on the new policy.

Unfortunately parents at School B were never present at school, and as the director and teachers had limited contact with the parents, it was impossible to interview them. Most of these

parents had low income jobs, working in: pottery, agriculture, small business in hardware or food and salespeople at markets, streets and in shops. This information was mainly obtained through the director and the teachers. In order to understand the viewpoints of the parents regarding the new policy in School B, the teachers and director were asked how the parents felt in their opinion.

3.3.5 Government Officials

Two government officials were interviewed whose identities will remain anonymous. One of the government officials had a higher position at the Rwanda Education Board (REB) and the other was one of the many English Language School Based Mentors.

3.3.6 NGOs or Development Organisations

Many of the NGOs or Development Organisations are involved in the transition to the use of English as MOI. Three employees at three different organisations were interviewed to gain more background knowledge from an outsider perspective.

3.4 Materials

3.4.1 Interviews

Two interviews were prepared for the teachers and the directors, which can be found in Appendix C and D. The interviews with the teachers had the purpose of gathering background information, personal teaching methods and attitudes towards the new policy. The interview with the directors was important for the background information of the school and how the new policy was being managed in the school. Further, interviews with the government officials and NGOs had the purpose of answering remaining questions after the studies were conducted at the schools. These interviews were not prepared beforehand as contact with the NGOs and the lady working in the School Based Mentors programme were generally unplanned interviews. The interview with the Rwanda Education Board (REB) official was prepared, however, from the beginning his responses

to the questions were evasive and the only information he would release was the information he wanted to release, making the prepared questionnaire irrelevant.

3.4.2 Classroom Observations

The purpose of classroom observations was to verify whether what the teachers were claiming about their teaching behaviour in interviews, was also put into practice in their actual teaching. Classroom observations were a convenient way of studying the pupils in their learning environment and to see how they reacted to the English lessons.

3.4.3 School Subjects

Four subjects were chosen to be examined: English, Maths, Science and Social Studies. School A was different from School B in that the MOI in School A was French in P1 and P2, Kinyarwanda was always taught just as a subject and once the transition to English as MOI took place from P3 until P6, French gained the status of just a subject as well. School B on the other hand used Kinyarwanda as MOI in P1 and P2, mixing English and Kinyarwanda in P3 and using only English from P4 until P6. French was not present in the curriculum of School B. For this reason Kinyarwanda and French were excluded from the subjects that were studied, as the main interest here was how English was taught as a subject, and also how technical subjects were taught in English, such as Maths, Science and Social Studies. School B did not teach Science as a subject in P3 whilst School A did, so it was not possible to observe Science lessons in School B at the level of P3.

3.4.4 Books and Materials

Another point of interest was whether the books and materials used at School A were the same as those used at School B. In addition to this it was important to know whether these books and materials pre-dated the implementation date of English as MOI, or whether they were published after this implementation had already taken place.

3.4.5 National Exam Scores P6

At first the intention was to compare the results of the pupils in P3, P4 and P6 of both schools over the past three years, unfortunately neither of the schools had stored these results. Comparing the national exam scores between the two schools for P6 was a concrete manner in which the level of pupils could be estimated.

3.3 Procedure

Before approaching the schools, it was important to have a thorough understanding of the new language policy of Rwanda and background information on the country. Once this was accomplished, both schools were approached and agreements were made for the research. From the beginning it was clear that the schools had adjusted the policies, generally introducing English at an earlier stage. This was a reason to include an extra grade and more teachers in the research. In addition to this, teachers were specialised in specific subjects, and sometimes one teacher would only teach one subject, which was another reason for including more teachers in the research.

The private school, School A, was first studied. The director was interviewed first, as it was necessary to gain more knowledge about the school and how it functioned. In addition to this the director's assistance was necessary to plan classroom observations and teacher interviews. It was important to build a friendlier relationship with the teachers for them to feel comfortable to open up in the interviews. Initially the teachers were meant to fill in the interviews, so a test interview was done to see their level of understanding and responses. It became clear after that first interview that there was frequent confusion with the way questions were formulated and many times the teacher of the test interview needed help with the vocabulary. For this reason, the interview was adjusted as thought appropriate and all the interviews were held in person with a bonus that more honest information could be gathered through this method. Due to hectic schedules, it was not always possible to interview teachers before observing their classes. At times the classes would first have to be observed, followed by the interviews. In total two and a half weeks were spent at School

A conducting interviews, observing classes and when necessary, following up on interviews. The same procedure was applied at School B.

After having gathered the information on the schools, NGOs and the government officials were approached. By coincidence a lady who worked as a mentor in the School Based Mentors programme was available for a conversation at that moment, so an interview was improvised with her. Further a few NGOs were approached as they worked in English as MOI programmes and could shed more light on their observations whilst working with the government.

Finally, School B was approached once more as new knowledge was gained regarding the School Based Mentors programme. This was important to understand whether what the REB official was stating was actually happening and also to see whether the School Based Mentors programme was being applied as was claimed by the government. In total it took six weeks to gather this information.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the locations, participants and materials needed for the research. Further the procedure of the study was discussed. It was necessary to frequently adjust the approach along the way as sometimes the situation was not as expected and in order to receive relevant information, changes needed to be made. The choice in materials, participants and flexibility in approach has generated the necessary results to answer the main research question, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 – Results

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the research results will be revealed. Firstly, the observations of the school environments and materials will be reported. Secondly, the results of the interviews and observations in School A, the private school, and School B, the public school, will be revealed. Thirdly, the interviews with the NGOs and government officials will be presented. The purpose of this section is to give an overall analysis of the observations and interviews.

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Observations of environment and materials of School A and School B

The observations of the environment and materials of both schools are of importance to discuss in the results, as these observations reveal the condition of the schools and the resources of the schools. The expectation here is that the better the conditions of the school, the more likely they are to have more success with the implementation of English as MOI.

Observations of environment and materials of School A

School A was an organised, tidy school. The buildings were of good quality, with plentiful classrooms. The classrooms had enough windows for natural light and electricity. The classrooms were supplied with sufficient equipment, such as blackboards, chalk, posters, tables, chairs and so forth. The pupils had notebooks for each subject, neatly wrapped and piled on their table and there was a classroom supply of textbooks with one book per learner. These books were school property and remained in the classrooms though some children's parents would have purchased the school books so that their children could learn at home. All the books were dated after the implementation, either being from 2010 or more recent, though the teachers did claim that the language in the books was too complicated for the levels the children were at. Each classroom had an average of 33 pupils.

The director had a tidy, spacious office, with good furniture and another room attached to hers, which belonged to the secretary. Both the director and secretary had their own computers, printers and phones installed in the offices. Next to these rooms, there was a spacious staff common room and two staff toilets. The toilets of the children were located elsewhere, and these were divided in boys and girls toilets. All toilets were hygienic and in good condition. The school also had a theatre room with a stage and library, which was used for assemblies, choirs, plays and workshops. Both children and teachers were provided with an energising porridge drink during the small break and a warm lunch during the big break.

It was clear this school had money to create a healthy, hygienic environment, where there was also space for creative development. The conditions at this school created a contented atmosphere for everyone: director, teachers, parents and learners.

Observations of environment and materials of School B

The buildings of School B were in a bad condition. The walls and floors had big cracks in them and a small amount of natural light entered the classrooms. This created a dark environment in the classrooms, as there was also no electricity. The classrooms' boards were worn out, with boards at the back and front of the class. Sometimes the children would be seated uncomfortably as the teacher would use the board at the back of the classroom whilst the tables and chairs were facing the front. There was enough chalk in the classroom, but not as many classroom supplies as in School A. The tables and chairs were uncomfortable, made of wood in an old fashioned form of a wooden bench stuck to the platform of the table. Sometimes these benches were overcrowded not giving the children space to study properly. About 1 in 4 learners had a notebook and the teachers claimed there would be 16 to 20 textbooks per class. The books were the same books that School A used with an occasional book in French the teachers liked translating from because they thought the other books lacked information. The class size was around 44 to 54 children.

The director had a tiny office, with little light and uncomfortable chairs. There was no sign of a secretary nor any computer, phone or printer in the office. The school did have a computer

room on campus, but this was a computer room which was used for anyone outside the school for special trainings. The director and teachers could use this room as well when needed. There was no actual staff common room, though there was a library where teachers would be found. In the library many textbooks were present, which had not been taken out of their wrappings. The toilets were shared by teachers and pupils at school, though extremely unsanitary and in terrible conditions. The children were not provided with any food or drinks, but would go home around lunch, as half of the learners at this school had morning lessons and the other half afternoon lessons, indicating they applied the ‘double shift’, as mentioned in section 2.2.3 when discussing the policy. The purpose of double shifting is to decrease the class sizes. The teachers were provided with sandwiches and milk.

4.2.2 Interviews with the teachers of School A and School B

Interviews with the teachers of School A

Seven interviews were held with the teachers at this school: three teachers from P3, two teachers from P4 and two teachers from P6. A more detailed analysis of the teachers’ interviews can be found in Appendix E. The teachers studied at this school seemed to be ambitious and well educated. They were all content at this school even though three wanted to get out of education as soon as possible, two wanted to gradually leave education and two enjoyed education. They came across as being motivated and all of them found their job important. The main reason why the teachers wanted to leave education was because of the low income. When asked which language they enjoyed using the most, five teachers gave socio-economic reasons, saying that they enjoyed English the most. The reasons for this were that English is necessary for work, it facilitates life, it is compulsory or requested by the government to use this language and it is necessary to survive. One teacher said that he enjoyed using both French and English, pointing out that Kinyarwanda is a complicated language. The other teacher said he prefers English, however, no one at home understand English forcing him to speak Kinyarwanda.

The three main benefits of English as MOI according to the teachers were: English is a worldwide, internationally used language being easier than French and giving more access to books, internet etc.; it creates more job and career opportunities; and, it makes it easier to understand issues in the EAC and other countries. Their main complaints regarding the transition were that: it was too abrupt, with too little time to prepare; and, they still encounter difficulties in grammar, spelling and pronunciation. Accordingly, they believed that the main benefits for the pupils were the better future and international possibilities regarding their careers (in and outside of Rwanda), scholarships, travelling and freedom to go where they want to. They do still observe difficulties in the transition year in P3, however, according to the P3 teachers this problem automatically resolves by the end of the year.

All teachers viewed the transition as a positive change which would help the economy of the country grow, however, the comment ‘it is requested by the government’ is mentioned frequently in conversation. Many teachers claimed that at the start of the transition there was a lack of books and teaching materials in English and that the transition for them as teachers was tough. One teacher said that he believed the children should be learning in their mother-tongue, whilst another one said using a foreign language is hiding your own culture. Regardless of this, all teachers claim at this point in time that they have gotten accustomed to the new situation and do not encounter problems anymore with the new policy, including the lack of books and materials.

Interviews with the teachers of School B

In total, ten teachers participated in the research and were interviewed: three P3 teachers, four P4 teachers and three P6 teachers. A more detailed analysis of the teachers’ interviews can be found in Appendix F. The teachers studied at this school seemed to be struggling with the new policy. The teachers were comfortable with Kinyarwanda and generally quite loyal to the mother-tongue, whilst one teacher (B9) still had a strong preference for French. All teachers claimed to like the environment at their school, except for one, who believes there are too many children and there is too much noise. Three teachers claimed to love the occupation of teaching, another three enjoyed

teaching but would rather work in another field and four of the teachers did not enjoy teaching at all. When asked which language they enjoy the most, six teachers at this school remained loyal to their mother-tongue, whilst the remaining four preferred English as this language is a symbol of success, an internationally used language and the language of politics.

The main three benefits with English being the MOI according to these teachers were: more opportunities regarding work and travelling; possibility of more communication with foreign countries, with an emphasis on the EAC; and, it is good to know an additional language. The teachers of School B named many downsides to English being the MOI of which the two biggest reasons were that the teachers do not have enough knowledge of the English language to teach in it and the learners do not understand English. The lack of possibilities for them and the learners to communicate in English outside of school and the lack of financial resources to properly introduce this language seemed to concern the teachers as well. The first response of the teachers was that the children would have a brighter future with English as MOI, though when asked how it was beneficial with all the downsides they named, teachers believed this transition was not really benefitting the learners. Three teachers even suggested various changes such as: teaching English as early as P1; or, teaching in Kinyarwanda and having French and English as subjects. One teacher even claimed how the results of the students were far better when French was the MOI, another teacher said they are hiding their own culture and another one actually said there is no benefit knowing English in Rwanda.

The findings of the teachers of School B show that there are teachers who believe that the current teaching situation is not working. In addition to this, it seems that School B needs to resolve many other problems before introducing a new language as MOI, such as the lack of nursery education for many learners, a lack of financial resources and materials or learners not being able to write in their own tongue, let alone English.

4.2.3 Interviews with the directors of School A and School B

The two sections below reveal the information obtained from the interviews with the directors.

The questions from the interviews of the directors can be found in Appendix D.

Interview with the director of School A

According to the director, School A received a letter from the government with instructions on the required changes for the implementation of the new policy. In order to realise the implementation, the owner of the school used his own financial resources for a part of the changes and the school fee was increased almost in threefold, going from 35,000 Rwandan Francs (RWF) to 110,000 RWF (€37.7 increased to €118.4) per trimester to help defray remaining costs. The choice of being an English/French school was made in consultation with the parents as this is a private school.

A problem the school faced was that the teachers at that time were already quite old and had trouble making the change to English, even with the required training. Fortunately this school managed to assign the older teachers to P1 and P2, where they would still teach in French as MOI, whilst new teachers were hired for the positions from P3 to P6. The new teachers were tested on psychology, teaching methodology and English before being assigned to the job. The school decided to increase the English lessons in P1 and P2, doubling the amount of English the pupils were meant to have according to the curriculum. This was done to prepare them for the transition from French to English. In additions to trainings organised by MINEDUC, teachers were trained at this school as well with the help of a mentor or overseas voluntary workers.

Even though the transition was feared at the beginning, the results have turned out well. The teachers are content with their work because they receive better pay for their hard work and investment in learning English well, with a starting salary of 100,000 RWF (€107.7) per month. Many parents studied English themselves, which allows them to assist their children well from home. The school has an active and committed Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), which has an important say in the events of the schools. In addition, once per term there is a ‘school day for parents’, where parents are informed about how they can support their children efficiently and well.

The majority of the parents are educated, though some children are there on a scholarship and come from poorer homes.

Interview with the director of School B

Like School A, School B received a letter regarding the change of MOI. As this is a public school, the main financial source is the government, yet the school did not receive any additional financial support for the transition from the government except for new textbooks. The school fees did not increase and remained at 3,000 RWF (€3.2) per trimester, and though this amount seems minuscule compared to School A, many parents struggle to pay this. This school was also required to follow the curriculum as decided by the government, meaning that the MOI in lower primary was Kinyarwanda, and in upper primary English. However, this school is already using English as MOI in P3 in combination with Kinyarwanda.

School B kept all the old teachers and did not recruit any new teachers when the new language policy was implemented. The teachers were obliged to attend MINEDUC English teacher trainings and the school has received additional help from NGOs. Further, since 2012 the government started a mentor-based programme, where a mentor who speaks English well will be at school three days per week to assist teachers where necessary.

A big problem at this school is that almost all the parents do not speak English. They cannot assist the children with their homework and it is hard for them to get involved with their children's education. There is a functioning PTA which organises meetings every three months, but out of the 800 parents generally only 300 or less show up. Communicating in and understanding English is a big problem, but as of next trimester a new system will be introduced where learners can hear recordings of native speakers, and they hope that this exposure will improve this situation.

Furthermore, the salary of a beginning teacher in a public school is around 44,000 RWF (€47.4) per month, which can be increased to a maximum of 80,000 RWF (€86.1) per month, depending on experience. The director also feels that the government does not control the schools regularly enough to keep up a good, resourceful learning environment. Many teachers need to

spend their personal money on materials for teaching. The limitations in financial resources, the support from the government and adequately trained teachers show that the main concerns of the stakeholders, especially the government, are not on implementing the language. The focus of School B is thus put on other matters, whilst School A has dealt with those challenges and can solely focus on improving the use of English.

4.2.4 Interviews with the parents of the children of School A and School B

Interviews with the parents of the children of School A

The parents at this school were extremely involved with their children. Every day at least three parents would consult one of the teachers asking questions concerning their child's education. All the parents tended to be supportive of the change. The main benefit in their opinion was that English is an international language and being the lingua franca of the world, knowing this language offers good career and life opportunities for their children. However, the main reason that the parents did not mind this change seemed to be because the children could still learn French in this school system, making it a unique and wanted school system in Kigali. The interviewed mother stressed however, that she believed French in P1 and P2 was not enough, and wanted her children to be taught in French until at least P3, showing a clear preference for French as MOI.

Next to the supportive attitude, there were some concerns. The main concern seemed to be that the teachers were all educated in the French system and were used to working with the French language. Several parents believed this causes a gap in their abilities to teach adequately in English. One parent also believed that this change also affected the rate of his children's education, in the sense that the transition from French to English would make his children lose momentum in their studies as they first need to adjust to the new language.

Even though the parents had a positive attitude towards English and no objections to the new policy, they made it clear that they would not be happy with a system where their children were forced to solely learn English, without there being any space for French. They pointed out

that they have neighbouring countries that are French speaking, such as Burundi and Congo, and in order to maintain ties with them French is a necessary language. The parents also feel that Kinyarwanda as MOI leads to poor education with one of them stating that: 'The mother tongue is not necessary at school as they already speak it at home with the maids and out on the streets. They have more possibilities knowing French and English'.

Interviews with the parents of the children of School B

Unfortunately, the parents at this school were never present at school and as the teachers rarely had contact with the parents, interviewing the parents was not an option. Merely the fact though that they were not present already showed their level of involvement with their children, compared to the parents of School A. Teachers commented that they rarely saw parents, and most teachers would have contact with one or two parents via phone on occasion. The main reason for the lack of interest had to do with the parents being uneducated and due to the parents not being able to assist their children in English, as parents did not speak English in most cases. If the learners at the school had older siblings, these would generally help them with English. Regardless of this though, the teachers claimed that the parents were happy that their children were learning English, as they believed it would bring a brighter future for them.

What can be concluded here is that the children do not have the right support from home, which impacts their attitudes and motivation in learning the English language. Unlike the parents in School A, the parents in School B do not have a choice regarding the language used as MOI. This gives the smaller percentage of the population who can afford to send their children to private schools more opportunities over those who cannot, diminishing the chances of a brighter future for the children of the majority of the population.

4.2.5 Classroom observations in School A

The pupils

In P3, P4, and P6 several lessons of four subjects were observed: Mathematics, Science, Social Studies and English. All learners at this school were energetic, active and eager to learn. Their behaviour came across as children who were strongly motivated to deliver well in their education and also seemed quite content when in class. There was a competitive atmosphere at school between the learners and this could be noted in all grades that were observed.

A few differences could be observed between the three grades. In P3 the learners could understand and communicate with the teacher. They would correct the teacher if he made a mistake on the board and would pick up mistakes among one another which were ridiculed by the rest. Even if the children had difficulties with English structure, vocabulary or other features of the language, they would frequently ask critical questions and not be afraid to do so either. When speaking amongst one another, the learners would speak French and not English, showing their preference for French. The learners could be defined as pro-active, competitive, competent in English and eager to improve this language. The learners of P4 could be described precisely as the learners of P3, also still preferring to communicate in French amongst each other with the exception that they could communicate easier and with less mistakes when addressing the teacher.

On the other hand, whilst the P6 pupils had the same traits as P3 and P4 pupils, they were different in the sense that they communicated with each other in English. They had greatly advanced in their ability of critical and analytical thinking and questioning, so much that the teachers could not answer their questions at times. Even though the children felt comfortable enough to communicate with each other and were capable of critically thinking and expressing themselves in English: when the children were asked to answer questions, structural and grammatical mistakes were still present. This means that understanding and communicating at this level was almost flawless, yet small mistakes such as sentence structure and incorrect use of vocabulary remain a minor problem.

School A – The teachers

Compared to the learners, the teachers seemed to be the ones with more problems. All teachers managed to teach in English. Once or twice a teacher in P3 would use a French word that was closely related to the English word if the learners had trouble understanding it. However, most of the time the teachers would re-phrase sentences, use gestures, drawings or objects to show what they meant. The teachers were also observed to not only teach in English, but when correcting a child's behaviour or when communicating with a child with no regard to the lesson, the teachers continued using English rather than switching to French. The main problems the teachers all seemed to encounter were pronunciation as well as not commanding grammatical features. The teachers expressed that they frequently encountered interference from Kinyarwanda in their English. For example, all teachers had trouble using the letter 'r' and tended to replace it with 'l'. Grammatical problems were mostly seen in the use of singular/plurals, articles, sentence construction, incorrect use of vocabulary and teachers also experienced trouble with spelling. Interestingly enough, pupils managed to pick up on some mistakes and corrected the teachers.

Further, in all grades the teachers encouraged the learners to write their answers on the board, saying it out loud. If they made a mistake the teacher would ask what was wrong, letting another learner respond with the correct answer, yet never explain why that was the correct answer. In P3 and P4 much of the lessons would be spent on repeating sentences on the board several times. The teachers in the two lower grades, especially in P3, regularly commented on the lack of vocabulary of the learners, due to the switch from French to English. In P3 the learners also seemed to have the greatest difficulty expressing themselves in English when the teachers addressed them, having slightly improved by P4.

In P6 the teachers never made learners repeat sentences on the board several times and most of the time the learners would remain seated while the teacher would write the answers on the board. In a sense the lessons were less interactive, where the teacher would be talking most of the time and the pupils sat, listened and responded when asked.

Even with the minor problems with the English language, no motives for failure of the implementation were noted at this school. No big difference was seen in teaching between the four studied subjects; from both the teachers' or learners' observations. Being a private school, School A just had all the possibilities to promote a new language and adapt it.

Table 4.1

Summary main features pupils and teachers of School A

Grade	Pupils	Teachers
P3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Energetic, active, eager and competitive in class. • Can communicate in English with teachers regardless of the occasional mistakes that are made. • Prefer speaking French amongst each other. • Already capable of asking critical questions. 	<p>All teachers in P3, P4 and P6 showed the same teaching characteristics.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occasional pronunciation and grammatical problems. • Difficulties expressing themselves in English at times. • Mostly use of gestures, drawings and re-phrasing to explain unknown English vocabulary. • Much repetition was used of English phrases to teach the children English. • The teachers commented that the learners had a lack of vocabulary at this level. • Capable of communicating in English effortlessly regardless of mistakes.
P4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Energetic, active, eager and competitive in class. • Can communicate in English with the teachers and make less mistakes than children in P4. • Still preferred speaking French amongst each other. 	
P6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Energetic, active, eager and competitive in class. • Communicated flawlessly with teachers, mistakes that were noticed generally were mistakes they had learned from the teachers. • Could ask critical questions beyond the scope of the teachers. 	

4.2.6 Classroom observations in School B

School B – The pupils

Contrary to School A, the majority of the learners in the classes P3, P4 and P6 in School B were extremely shy, unresponsive and uninterested in all four subjects. The attitudes of the children

came across as closed and unmotivated as opposed to the children of School A. The children in School A were extremely competitive and eager to be the best, whereas the children in School B were struggling immensely and too afraid of answering incorrectly which affected their participation. Most of the time less than half of the class would react to questions asked by the teachers.

When observing the three grades in School A, clear progress in the comprehension and communication was found between the earlier grades and the last grade. In School B there was no clear progress or difference between the three grades. The children in P3, P4 and P6 generally could not understand the teachers, nor could they communicate in English with the teachers. All grades needed to be taught with an excessive use of Kinyarwanda in order for the learners to comprehend the lesson. Most learners would only speak English when the teacher asked them to repeat words or a phrase, with the exception of some learners in P6, who would try to construct sentences during English lessons. Not once at this school did a learner utter a grammatically correct phrase except for: 'how are you'.

Furthermore, due to the lack of notebooks, learners would work in groups of a minimum of four to a maximum of six learners, where only one would actually write and the rest would just sit quietly and stare around. In all classes, and even in English, learners were allowed to react in Kinyarwanda, not stimulating them to use English. Even at the level of P4, children had no knowledge of the days of the week in English and there was no level of individual, analytical or critical thinking in any grade. What could be noticed was that the children would become more active when something was repeated continuously in the lesson. It seemed that the children finally would have some level of understanding which would make them more confident. However, such repetition would usually mean repeating single words or small phrases ten times.

School B – The teachers

The teachers at this school were interesting to study. The teachers at School A all seemed to cope with teaching in English, and mostly had trouble with grammatical aspects, expressions or

vocabulary in English. The teachers at this school had poor English and also lacked knowledge of didactics and pedagogy compared to the teachers of School A,. What was interesting about these teachers is that it was impossible to have a conversation with eight out of ten teachers in English. Yet they could teach their lessons as if they were trained to only conduct their lessons in English by the book.

All the teachers used an oral form of teaching, mostly based on teacher talk, indicating: a minimum use of the blackboard; when the blackboard was used in language subjects numbers would be written in numerals, many abbreviations were used and no full sentences were written; use of notebooks and writing from the learners side was not stimulated; there was a minimum stimulation of critical, individual learning from the teachers towards the learners; textbooks were rarely used in the classroom; and, all learners were required to do was repeat the teacher when asked. The only exception to this was the P6 teacher of English/Social Studies, who would make use of textbooks and did his best to stimulate the children to talk and think for themselves. This shows how important motivated teachers are, which seemed to be lacking at this school.

In addition to this, in all grades, Kinyarwanda was the main language used for communicating. It was used to introduce new lessons, to correct behaviour of learners and to give instructions for exercises. The teachers would try to explain old topics in English, yet due to the lack of comprehension from the children, the teachers had to translate almost every sentence in Kinyarwanda repeatedly. Due to this, the teachers could only supply the children with extremely limited information, as they would not grasp more than three sentences. Often the teachers would not make an effort of communicating with the pupils in any other way than direct translation to Kinyarwanda. This problem was observed in P3, P4 and P6.

Further, they would also stimulate their learners to respond in Kinyarwanda as English was too hard. After explaining a topic throughout the whole lesson, with constant repetition, the teacher would question the learners about this topic, but only 10-15% of the pupils would react. The teachers would frequently make an attempt at repeating the correct answer three times, but if the

children would not have grasped it by that time, they would just continue their lesson. The teachers also tended to answer most of the questions they asked. The easiest subject to teach in English seemed to be Mathematics in all three grades, as this subject greatly revolved around numbers rather than words.

Table 4.2
Summary main features pupils and teachers of School B

Grade	Pupils	Teachers
P3/P4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shy, unresponsive, struggling and afraid to answer incorrectly so they tend to not participate. • Could not communicate with the teachers in English; Kinyarwanda and excessive translation was necessary for the learners to understand the lesson. • No striking differences between the P3 and P4. 	<p>All teachers in P3, P4 and P6 showed the same teaching characteristics.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor English speaking skills, lacked in didactics and pedagogy. • Lessons were given in oral form with a minimum use of the blackboard and textbooks. • The teachers repeated new information several times and continue the lesson whilst the learners would not grasp the information. • The teachers were trained in English to solely give their specialised subjects in English, but they were not trained on how to use English beyond the school subjects that they taught. • Pupils were stimulated to respond in Kinyarwanda if they did not know the answer in English and the lessons were mainly conducted in Kinyarwanda.
P6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shy, unresponsive, uninterested, struggling and afraid to answer incorrectly so they tend to not participate. • Could not communicate with the teacher in English, Kinyarwanda and excessive translation was necessary for the learners to understand the lesson. • The only striking difference to P3 and P4 is that the brighter students would try to construct sentences in English, though never a grammatically correct phrase. 	

4.2.7 Results National Exams P6

In Table 4.3 the average National Exam results are given of the first 35 students of School A and School B. These average numbers were calculated by adding up all the grades per subject and dividing that number by 35 students. The aggregate is made up of the grades of all five subjects of one student added up together. The average aggregate per school was calculated by adding up the aggregates of all the students and dividing it by 35 students. In Appendix G and H a more detailed overview is given of how these results were calculated. The highest result that can be achieved in Rwandan primary schools is a 1, whilst the lowest result is a 9. School B had a total of 280 students in P6 in 2013. In order to compare the same amount of students in both schools, the first 35 students of School B were selected. In School A the students averagely scored the highest in English, followed by Maths/Social Studies, followed by Science and followed by Kinyarwanda as the lowest grade. In School B the students scored the highest in Kinyarwanda followed by Social Studies, Science, English and Math, respectively.

Table 4.3

Average results of the first 35 pupils in the National Exam 2013 in Schools A and B

School	Maths	Science	Social Studies	English	Kinyarwanda	Aggregate
A	1.8	2.4	1.8	1.7	2.7	10.5
B	5.5	4.8	4.4	4.9	3.6	23.3

Furthermore, the aggregate also decides which secondary school pupils go to, which are divided into four divisions. Table 4.4 illustrates the aggregates and divisions in further detail, looking at all the pupils of P6 from both schools, showing what percentages of each school go to what division. The third and fourth columns compare the first 35 students of both schools. Whilst 100% of the students of School A qualify for the first division, only 8.6% of School B qualifies for this division. The remainder qualify for the second division. However, when looking at all students in School B,

only 15.7% qualifies for the first two divisions, 68.6% qualify for the third and fourth division and 15.7% fail.

Table 4.4
Aggregate, division and percentages per school

Aggregate	Division	Percentage School A	Percentage School B ³	Percentage School B Total ⁴
1-15	I	100	8.6	1.1
16-30	II		91.4	14.6
31-37	III			38.6
38-41	IV			30
42-45	U ⁵			15.7

4.2.8 Interviews and observations with NGOs and government officials

Non-governmental Organisations

The NGOs did not reveal too much information that was not already known. They mainly spoke about their specific projects, which were not too relevant for the purpose of this research. They did claim however that what was stated in the policy and the statements government officials tended to give on the current situation concerning the implementation of English as MOI, was not always consistent with what was happening in practice. Further, an NGO worker revealed that the textbooks used at the schools were thoroughly studied, and they found that the books taught to P2 in Kinyarwanda actually had the level of a book that would be taught to grade 5 in American education.

Mentor

While waiting for an interview with the Rwanda Education Board official, an unexpected encounter with a mentor working in the School Based Mentors programme resulted into an interview. She revealed that this is a programme that started in 2012 as teachers needed more assistance at schools

³ First 35 students of School B

⁴ All 280 students of School B

⁵ Unqualified

with teaching methodology and teaching in English. A school based mentor is defined as a facilitator, guider and supporter of teachers and pupils. The mentor revealed that many old teachers seem to find the transition to English as MOI complicated and a mentor's job is to observe lessons, give feedback to the teachers and prepare lessons with the teachers. A mentor works at two schools, spending ten days per month at each school. During the holidays this mentor is required to give workshops on the four language skills: writing, reading, listening and speaking. Each holiday one skill will be dealt with, with a total of a month extra training per year. The mentor also revealed that P1 and P2 will be introduced to audio-visual lessons in the future, so that they can be exposed to native English. The mentor only works at public schools and said that parents are sympathetic towards the new policy. An interesting observation was that this mentor, who is meant to promote English at schools, preferred being interviewed in French, as that mentor felt more comfortable with that language.

Rwanda Education Board Official

Finally the REB official was interviewed. Unfortunately the REB official would not release much information, avoiding many questions and changing the topics. He gave an account on the School Based Mentor programme, which was consistent with the explanation of the mentor. Further he elucidated that since the implementation of English as MOI, the teachers have had one month of training per year, meaning that by the end of the third year (2011) they completed sixteen weeks of training.

When asked about private and public schools, he clarified that private schools do not necessarily have to follow the government curriculum and are free to follow international programmes. Public schools are required to follow the government curriculum and he claimed that the government provides the schools with everything: from buildings to computer labs. This did not coincide with the information uncovered in the interview with the director of School B, where she said the government does not assist or control enough. He further claimed that French was still taught and was compulsory at primary level, but that learners were not tested on it. Again this

was not consistent with the reality at School B, where French had been eliminated from the curriculum. He did mention that teachers do not earn enough and that generally there is minimum participation from the parents, which the government tries to encourage more. The main goal for the government is to have teachers content and motivated.

Further, he stated that the reaction of the Rwandan population was mixed. Generally the older generations did not directly embrace the change, whereas it was easier for the younger generations to embrace this change. This was not necessarily true, as the oldest teacher in School B seemed to be very happy with English as MOI (see Appendix F). However, the main point he made is that this change was about the future. The REB official stated that: ‘The stakeholders not liking it is not a good enough reason in my opinion. If people will not embrace it, they will be left behind’.

Chapter 5 – Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This qualitative research has looked at the implementation process of a new language policy in a Rwandan public and a private school, where English became the new MOI from upper primary onwards. The main purpose was to uncover the difficulties various stakeholders face during the complex procedure of introducing and implementing a language that is foreign to the majority of the population in this country. In addition to this, the purpose was to unfold the advantages and disadvantages concerning the policy in School A (the private school) compared to School B (the public school). This chapter will look at the summary of the main findings, followed by a discussion and some final words in the conclusion.

5.2 Summary of the main findings

In order to answer the main research question, five sub-questions were formulated. This section will answer the five sub-questions, finally answering the main research question, by linking the results of Chapter 4 back to the literature.

5.2.1 Was there a clearly formulated and disseminated government policy towards the language transition?

The language policy was discussed in section 2.2.3 and the main changes in the curriculum are given in Appendix A (Republic of Rwanda, 2008). From the theory on the new language policy one can derive that there was a clearly formulated policy for the language transition. However, the government failed to explain how these schools were meant to implement this new policy. The fact that the School Based Mentors programme was only introduced three years after the implementation shows that the process of the implementation and the challenges that would arise were not considered carefully before enforcing the new language policy (see sections 4.2.8.2 and 4.3.8.3). Both directors received letters informing them about the new policy (see section 4.2.3).

Yet in the interviews it became clear that they were not instructed on how these changes were to be made. Also based on the interview with the government official (see section 4.2.8.3), one could observe that the given explanations and reasoning were mainly based on the policy with some additional personal information, but this information did not always correspond with the information obtained from the director of School B (see section 4.2.3.2). These findings resemble those of Pearson's (2014) research where she discussed the different layers (from the government to the actors) that a policy travels through, and the misunderstandings that can occur in this process. The government official and school director of School B had different perceptions regarding the policy indicating the misconceptions between them as stakeholders. Different perceptions of the policy influence the way in which this policy is applied in practice and will also lead to different outcomes.

5.2.2 How is the language policy understood by the actors in charge of education?

Upon receiving the instructions in the letter both schools decided to adjust the policy to what they perceived as being a better approach for their learners (see section 4.2.3). School A established a plan of action with the parents and decided to use French as MOI in P1 and P2, making the transition to English as MOI a year earlier in P3. The interview with the director of School A revealed various steps they took to make a strong transition (see section 4.2.3.1). This included an increase of English lessons to increase the learners' vocabulary by the time they arrived at P3 and hiring teachers who could cope with the transition. School B on the other hand, had to follow the policy using Kinyarwanda as MOI in lower primary. However, they did decide to use Kinyarwanda as MOI in P1 and P2, introducing English in combination with Kinyarwanda in P3 (see section 4.2.3.2), in order to facilitate the transition to English as MOI in P4. It is a common feature for African schools to introduce the foreign language that is being taught in the country (in this case English) at an earlier stage where the mother-tongue should still be used (Jones 2014; Kamwangamalu 2004; Trudell & Piper 2014). Even though School B made similar attempts as

School A in adjusting the policy, they were not successful in this attempt (see sections 4.2.6 and 4.2.7).

5.2.3 How is the language policy being implemented and is there a difference in the strategy of public and private schools?

Both schools showed different strategies in implementing the language policy. One strategy was adjusting the policy in a way that the learners of the schools could profit the most from it, however there were also other strategies.

The observations in School A showed that the learners were ambitious, curious and eager to learn with the ability of thinking critically (see section 4.2.5.1). Even though learners would still be shy to use English in P3 and P4, by P6 the learners were seen to be communicating with each other effortlessly in English. The main strategy that lead to this result was the hiring of new teachers who were qualified to teach in English (see section 4.2.2.1). The teachers of School A had a few difficulties when teaching in English, such as interference with their mother-tongue, grammatical and pronunciation problems (see section 4.2.2.2). Yet they did manage to teach in a motivating manner and influence the children positively. The findings of School B on the other hand showed that the learners struggled with the English language and education in general (see section 4.2.6.1). The teachers struggled teaching as well and the comprehension levels between them and the learners were extremely low (see section 4.2.6.2). A possible result of scarce to no comprehension between the teachers and learners in School B, is the slowing down of the learning rate, decreasing the teaching quality, which gradually can affect the school results drastically (Diarra 2003). The teachers did not stimulate or motivate their learners to speak English and their attitudes towards the new language policy were not as positive as the attitudes of the teachers in School A (see section 4.2.2).

Another strategy School A had was involving the parents. Once per term School A would organise a school day for the parents and teach them how to support their children academically (see section 4.2.3.1). This school also had an active and committed PTA, which was the opposite

for School B (see section 4.2.3 and 4.2.4). The parents of School B were rarely in touch with the teachers and were not too committed or as actively involved in the PTA. What can be seen in the different strategies when comparing the private and public school is that an access to financial resources and influential parents can have benefits on the quality of education (Jimenez 1991). School A did have more financial resources than School B, but also gave the children more support by hiring motivated and qualified teachers and stimulating the parents to properly support their children.

The government also attempted to aid School B through the *Nine Year Basic Education Policy* (Republic of Rwanda 2008). Three main steps in the policy were the reduction of core courses, specialisation of teachers in specific subjects and double shifting. The main purpose of these changes was improving the quality of teaching. By reducing courses, learners would be taught more hours per course, giving them more time to study core subjects. Also, if the teachers were specialised in one or two subjects, they would be able to invest more time in those specific subjects, improving the quality in which these subjects could be taught. These two steps combined with double shifting would reduce the number of learners in a class and thus improve the learning situation for the pupils. Unfortunately the classes in School B still remained overcrowded with at times a maximum of 54 learners (see section 4.2.1.2). This affected the success of these children learning English, leading to exclusion in classrooms and partly being the cause of academic failure (Alidou 2003).

5.2.4 Are pupils likely to receive support from home regarding the language transition and do they receive support from the school?

When comparing the interviews with the teachers, directors and parents (see sections 4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 4.2.4) the learners in School A received more support from the school and from home than the learners in School B. The attitudes, beliefs and stimulation of these three stakeholders are very important for the success and process of the implementation of the new language policy (Spolsky 2004; Trudell & Piper 2014). The findings also show that due to the support of their parents and

school, the learners in School A have better learning conditions and many more opportunities to improve their English. This is also a reason why the educational achievements of the learners in School A greatly surpass the achievements of the learners in School B. For example, learners in School A can practice English at school, but also practice it outside of school, exposing them more and creating better learning opportunities (Alidou 2003). Another example relates to qualified teachers who have to take an exam in English, psychology and teaching methodology before being accepted to work at the school (see section 4.2.3.1).

The parents of School B were unable to assist their children with their schoolwork due to their lack of knowledge in English and having a limited education themselves. The majority of the parents even seemed indifferent concerning their children's education. According to Alidou (2003), many children who come from illiterate, poor families do not have the right exposure to learn a foreign language taught at school, which combined with the high number in teacher-pupil ratio, excludes learners even more in class (see section 2.3.4). The background of the children tends to increase the drop-out rates to an even higher extent. Eight out of ten teachers that were interviewed and observed struggled with the English language and tough working conditions which were made up of: long hours, overcrowded classrooms and low income (see section 4.2.2.2 and Appendix F). This situation made it hard to keep teachers motivated and teachers are one of the most important educational resources (Simpson & Muvunyi 2012/13). Their working conditions are not helping the successful implementation of English as MOI. The director commented that the school needed more control and support from the government. What can mainly be observed in School B is a lack of support and motivation on the part of the parents, teachers and director, which affects the motivation of the learners (Trudell & Piper 2014).

5.2.5 How does the language policy affect the quality of education and learning?

The National Exam results from 2013 of both schools were studied (see section 4.2.7). These exams are taken at the end of every year by P6 pupils. Both schools conducted the same exams, yet the difference in results is tremendous. All children at School A receive top grades and will

enter secondary schools rated as first division secondary schools. However, as can be seen in Table 4.4 a small percentage at School B enters the higher divisions, whilst the majority enter the lower divisions or fail. Section 4.2.4 further shows that the pupils cannot understand or communicate in this language. The effects of English as MOI on School A are very minimal, except for minor grammatical errors which are passed from the teachers to learners (see section 4.2.5). The effects of English as MOI on School B however, do not improve the situation for the learners, causing extremely low results in the National Exams.

5.3 Hypotheses, outcomes and possible solutions

At the beginning of this research three hypotheses were formulated and discussed in more detail in section 2.5. The three hypotheses were: (1) there will be a considerable difference between the private and public school, as the private school has more resources and will thus be more successful in the implementation of English as MOI; (2) the main problems with the implementation revolve around different interpretations between the government and the actors, leading to miscommunication, which again leads to a difference between the policy and the practice of it; and, (3) this policy has been implemented in too short a period of time, which will as such have negative effect on the quality of education and learning.

Initially it was expected that the main problem between School A and B would be linked to the lack of financial resources in School B. This would lead to the more qualified teachers working at private schools whilst the less qualified work at public schools. This expectation was based on Diarra's (2003) and Alidou's (2003) researches, where a lack of comprehension between teachers and learners leads to bad school results and high drop-out rates. The assumption where the private school would have many benefits over the public school was correct. Unfortunately many more factors influenced this outcome, which were based on the strategies of School B (see section 5.2.3). Two main problems were a limited support from home and a lack of motivated teachers. Further the children at School B experienced a lack of exposure to English outside of

school. The biggest problem however, still seems to be the teacher-pupil ratio. It is already hard enough that the pupils have to be taught in a language they barely understand, leading to exclusion (Alidou 2003; Diarra 2003). Yet being in such a large group seems to diminish the effects of core subject reduction, as they still do not receive enough attention. This creates even larger exclusion and a low motivation for the children as their parents and teachers already lack in giving the right support for the benefit of the pupils' education. A possible solution would be to work towards reducing the teacher-pupil ratio. Another solution would be to focus less on acquisition and status planning, but look at possibilities of corpus planning (see section 2.2.1). The majority of the Rwandans are not exposed to English, and the country seems to be so concerned implementing the English of the western world as it is a form that already exists. However, if more time was invested in studying the internal structure of Kinyarwanda and how this relates to English, a new English could be created: Rwandan English. It would be good if more focus is put on the role of language in a new language policy, rather than the socio-economic and political factors which are generally prioritised when introducing a new language to a country (Baldauf & Kaplan 2004).

My second and third hypothesis had the outcome that I expected them to have. Thanks to the researches of Jones (2014) and Pearson (2014) I was able to look at earlier case studies and form an idea of what I could expect. Both research outcomes showed that generally misinterpretations occur between the policy in writing and the policy in practice. My research outcomes are consistent with this. Additionally I looked at government officials to discover whether their interpretations are the same as in the policy. The explanations of government official who was interviewed were consistent to what is stated in the policy. However, what is written in the policy is not realised in practice at School B. This shows that the reality of the situation should be accepted, studied and changed.

My research also confirms the conclusions of Pearson (2014): that the implementation of the new language policy was too abrupt and with too little thought put into the planning of the implementation. It took the government a year to introduce the school books and according to

teachers in School A (see section 4.2.2.1) and the NGOs (see section 4.2.8.1), these school books are too advanced for the grades they have been printed for by at least three years. It also took the government three years to introduce the School Based Mentor programme (see section 4.2.8.2). Further the government has many plans at this moment to improve the situation, such as audio-visual lessons, but at this moment the plans are only in theory (see section 4.2.8.2). These factors show that there was too much haste in the implementation. One difference between the research of Pearson (2014) and the current research is that she believed the schools in the capital would have less problems as they are located in the administrative centre with many NGOs in the surroundings to help. This research shows that this one public school is in high need of more help, meaning that other public schools probably need more assistance as well.

5.4 Conclusion

The main research question was: How is the Rwandan language policy, change from French to English as medium of instruction, being implemented in private and public primary schools and how does this affect the education of the pupils? There was a considerable difference in the approach of implementation, teaching conditions, backgrounds and outcomes of the exams between the two schools, which shows that the public school needs more assistance with implementing a new language into their education system. This research showed that being located in the capital does not necessarily mean that the implementation of the policy is carried out better than for example in the Southern provinces as Pearson (2014) implicated. The main problem seems to be that the government appeared to have a clearly formulated policy and plan, focusing on the goals and future achievements. Yet they did not put enough emphasis on the steps that needed to be taken to reach that goal. Not only was this policy implemented with too much haste, as there was a lack of materials at the beginning of the change, but not enough thought went into the complications that can arise throughout the process of implementing a new language. From the interview with the government official it could be seen that there are differences in interpretations

between the schools and the intention of the government. However, there are also many other factors that influence the success of teaching in School B, such as: parental support, motivated teachers, the learning environment, level of books and teacher-pupil ratio. A possible solution could be to invest time in corpus planning, looking at the possibilities of Rwandan English, adjusting the books to the correct levels and reducing the teacher-pupil ratio. This way the children of Rwanda might have a better chance of progressing in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix A⁶

These two tables show the old curriculum before the implementation of English as language of instruction for primary 1 – 3 and primary 4 – 6.

Current Subjects in Primary 1 - 3	Number of hours		
	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃
Core subjects (all compulsory and examinable)			
Kinyarwanda	7	7	7
English	5	5	5
French	5	5	5
Maths	5	5	5
Moral Education	1	1	1
Science and Technology	5	5	5
Religious Studies	1	1	1
Civic Education	1	1	1
Art	1	1	1
TOTAL	27	27	27

Current Subjects in Primary 4 - 6	Number of hours		
	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
Core subjects (all compulsory and examinable)			
Kinyarwanda	3	3	3
English	5	5	5
French	5	5	5
Maths	5	5	5
Political Education	1	1	1
Science and Technology	5	5	5
Religious Studies	1	1	1
Civic Education	2	2	2
Art	1	1	1
History	1	1	1
Geography	1	1	1
TOTAL	31	31	31

⁶ Retrieved from Republic of Rwanda (2008). Nine Year Basic Education Policy. *Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.mineduc.gov.rw/spip.php?article30>. Accessed 20 December 2013. pp. 10

Appendix B⁷

These two tables show the proposed changes for the new policy with English as language of instruction for primary 1 – 3 and primary 4 – 6.

Changes to Curriculum Subjects in Primary 1 – 3	Number of hours		
	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃
Core subjects (all compulsory and examinable)			
Kinyarwanda	3	3	3
English	6	6	6
French	3	3	3
Maths	5	5	5
General Paper	2	2	2
Extra curriculum activities – compulsory			
<i>Sport, culture activities, Clubs, spiritual activities, study, music, drama, dance, etc...</i>	2	2	2
TOTAL	21	21	21

Changes to Curriculum Subjects in Primary 4 – 6	Number of hours		
	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
Core subjects (all compulsory and examinable)			
Kinyarwanda	3	3	3
English	5	5	5
French	2	2	2
Maths	5	5	5
Sciences and Technology	4	4	4
Social Studies	3	3	3
Extra curricular activities – compulsory			
<i>Sport, culture activities, Clubs, spiritual activities, study, music, drama, dance, etc...</i>	2	2	2
TOTAL	24	24	24

⁷ Retrieved from Republic of Rwanda (2008). Nine Year Basic Education Policy. *Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.mineduc.gov.rw/spip.php?article30>. Accessed 20 December 2013. pp. 11

Appendix C

The questionnaire for the teachers existed of two parts: 1) Open Questions – Background information, which had 21 questions; and, General Questions, based on ‘yes’, ‘neutral’ and ‘no’ answers.

Pre-questionnaire

Open Questions – Background information

1. Sex M / F

2. How old are you?

.....

3. How old were you when you started learning:

1. Kinyarwanda.....

2. English

3. French.....

And what other languages do you frequently speak?

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

5.....

6.....

4. Please fill in yes/no to the forms of education you had and please add additional trainings, courses or studies that you have/are following with the year you followed these in.

Did you complete Primary School? Yes No

Year:.....until.....

Did you complete Secondary School: Yes No

Year:.....until.....

Any additional trainings, courses or studies can be filled in below:

1. Course/Training/Study:.....

Language of instruction:.....

Complete / Incomplete

Year:.....until.....

2. Course/Training/Study:.....

Language of instruction:.....

Complete / Incomplete

Year:.....until.....

3. Course/Training/Study:.....

Language of instruction:.....

Complete / Incomplete

Year:.....until.....

4. Course/Training/Study:.....

Language of instruction:.....

Complete / Incomplete

Year:.....until.....

5. Where did you grow up? If in various places, which years of your life did you spend there?
(for example: from my birth until 12th year in Kigali)

1. Country:.....

Year:.....until.....

2. Country:.....

Year:.....until.....

3. Country:.....

Year:.....until.....

6. Which language(s) did you speak while growing up at home? (if it was more than one,
please indicate with whom: mother, father, siblings etc.)

.....
.....
.....
.....

7. Which language or languages do you use currently when:
1. Going to Church:.....
 2. Busy with your hobby (sport, cooking etc.):.....
 3. Work:.....
 4. At home / around the house:.....
 5. Studying:.....
8. If you were to speak for 24 hours on a day: how many of those hours would you speak Kinyarwanda, how many hours French and how many hours English?
- I sleep:..... hours, so I have hours left. Of these hours I will speak:
1. Hours of English
 2. Hours of French
 3. Hours of Kinyarwanda
9. Of the languages that you speak, which do you enjoy using the most? Why?
-
-
-
10. Have you always wanted to be a teacher? If no, what would you like to do instead and do you have plans of doing this?
-
-
-
-
-
-
11. How long have you been practicing teaching (in years and months)? And how long have you been teaching at this school?
- I started teaching in
- I have been teaching at this school since.....
12. Which subject(s) do you teach?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

13. Did you receive any special training for these subjects? If yes, what?

.....
.....
.....

14. If you teach more than one subject: which of the subjects mentioned above do you enjoy teaching the most, and why?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

15. In October 2008 the language of instruction for years 4-6 in primary school and 1-3 in secondary school became English (whilst years 1-3 of primary school are taught in Kinyarwanda).

a. What language did you teach in before this new policy was implemented for which age groups?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

b. Did you receive any extra English training as to how to instruct in English? If yes, what? If yes, did you also complete these courses and receive qualifications for it?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

c. If your answer to b. was “yes”: Who financed your extra courses?

.....

d. What is your class size? What books do you use?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

e. Do all the pupils have their own books and materials? If not, how many do and how many do not have their own books and materials?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

16. In your opinion, what are the benefits of English being the language of instruction?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

17. In your opinion, what are the downsides of English being the language of instruction?

.....

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.....

.....

.....

18. How do the parents feel about English being the language of instruction? Do parents ever express that they would want their children to learn in French? If so, how many pupil's parents prefer French and how many English?

.....
.....
.....

Amount of parents who prefer French as language of
instruction.....

Amount of parents who prefer French as language of
instruction.....

19. Do you think the pupils benefit from being taught in English? Please explain why they do and why they do not:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

20. What other difficulties do you face in the class with the pupils regardless of the language of instruction which might influence the performance of the pupils?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

21. How do you personally feel about English being the language of instruction? And why?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

General Questions

Please answer the following questions with a Y (yes)/ Neu (neutral)/ N (no)

1. I enjoy teaching Y Neu N
2. I enjoy my work Y Neu N
3. I enjoy the environment at the school I teach at Y Neu N
4. My students have difficulties completing tasks I have assigned them to do
Y Neu N
5. I need to switch to another language at times to make students understand me
Y Neu N
6. Sometimes it is easier to explain something in French Y Neu N
7. Sometimes it is easier to explain something in Kinyarwanda Y Neu N
8. Sometimes it is necessary to explain something in French Y Neu N
9. Sometimes it is necessary to explain something in Kinyarwanda
Y Neu N
10. My students are sufficient enough in English to be taught in it
Y Neu N
11. My students are sufficient enough in English to understand full English dialogue
Y Neu N
12. When my students do not understand what I am saying I will re-phrase it in English
Y Neu N
13. When my students do not understand what I am saying I use gestures in combination
with English words to explain it
Y Neu N
14. When my students do not understand what I am saying I use pictures and symbols to
explain it
Y Neu N
15. I feel that I often need to re-phrase what I am saying for the students to understand me
Y Neu N

Appendix D

The directors at both schools were asked 12 questions to gain more background information on the school situation.

Interview questions: Director

1. When the government decided to shift the language of instruction from French to English, did you receive an additional budget to manage the necessary changes for the implementation of English? What did you spend the extra budget on?
2. Do you receive inspections from the government officials working in the education sector?
3. Who pays for the materials and books, tuition fees, uniforms, teachers and any other financial costs that need to be made?
4. Does the school have a PTA (Parents Teacher Association) and if so, what role does the PTA play in the school?
5. What were you instructed to do when the new policy was constructed? Where the instructions clear?
6. Did you have the resources to carry out these instructions? (materials, teachers with proficient English, trainings)
7. How were the teachers trained for this transition?
8. How did the parents react to this transition? Think of traditional parents, who still wanted/want their children to speak French fluently, as opposed to the parents who wanted their children to learn English?
9. Do the pupils receive support from home regarding the language transition?
10. How does the language policy affect the quality of education and learning?
11. Which language is the language of instruction before shifting to English in the later years of primary school?
12. Is it possible to see results from the past years until recent years?

Appendix E

When looking at the current use of languages the teachers had different answers. They were asked the frequency of usage of English, French and Kinyarwanda in various scenarios (church, hobbies, work, at home and studies). Teachers A2 until A6 claim to generally use Kinyarwanda when going to church and during their hobbies such as sport. Teacher A1 occasionally speaks English in church and sometimes uses English or French while sporting depending on the group he is with. Teacher A7 occasionally uses French in church and stated that he and his group of friends tend to code switch during sports. All seven teachers said English was the language that was mainly used at school. All teachers claim that they speak French with the colleagues except for A5 and A7, who said they only speak English. French is also the preferred language when communicating with parents, but this is due to the preference of the parents. Teachers A1 and A5 claimed to only speak Kinyarwanda at home, whilst the other five teachers said it depended on whether they had visitors and so forth, in which case they would tend to use all three languages. Regarding studying, five teachers said that they solely used English. Teacher A2 said it was a mix of all three languages and teacher A4 said that both English and French were used. Again here the point is to establish the use of each language in the lives of these teachers to see how much they are exposed to it.

The teachers were also asked to give the amount of hours that they would speak each language on a day which are illustrated in Figure 4.1. These hours were completely subjective but interesting for the purpose of the research to understand the importance of each language in the lives of the individual teachers. The teachers were asked how many hours on a day are spent awake and how many of those hours would be spent on English, French and Kinyarwanda. The hours of English tend to be high but that is partly because of the need to speak English at work, which takes up most of their days. Kinyarwanda and French are spoken less than English with every teacher, except for A5, who claims to speak more Kinyarwanda than English. Four out of seven teachers speak more Kinyarwanda on a day, two out of seven speak more French on a day and one speaks both French and Kinyarwanda equally on a day.

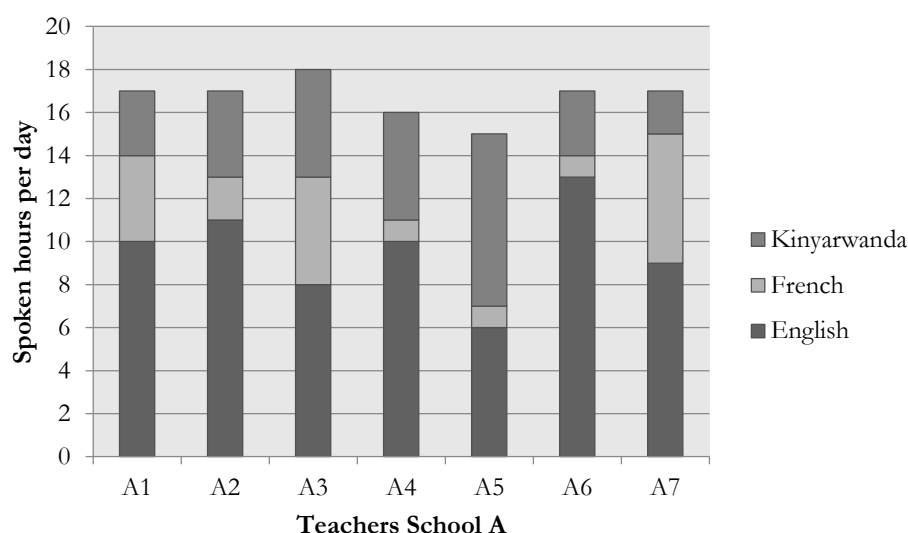


Figure 1 Estimated hours of languages spoken on a day by individual teachers School A

When asked which language they enjoyed using the most, five teachers said that they enjoyed English the most and the reason for this was because it was necessary for work, that it facilitates life, it is compulsory or requested by the government to speak in this language and it is necessary to survive. A2 added that he would be ashamed if he could not speak English with the people he lives with, A4 added that he is interested in the language as well and A7 added that he also finds it easier than French. Teacher A3 said he enjoys both English and French reasoning that the mother tongue is a complicated language, making communication easier in the two other languages. Teacher A5 said he prefers English only the problem is that at home no one understands English, though he does use it with his younger siblings.

After discussing attitudes, feelings and use of the three languages, the teachers were asked what the benefits and downsides are of English as MOI in their personal opinion. The majority of the teachers said that the main benefits are that English is a worldwide internationally use language, being good for communication and that it is easier than French. The next important reason was related to career perspective: even though job opportunities are slimmer if English is not spoken, it also increases job opportunities on international levels, which seemed to appeal to many teachers. Other reasons are that there is more access to knowledge and books, more access to the internet,

it is easier to understand issues in the EAC of which Rwanda is now part, it is easier to teach in English than French, it is always good to know an additional language and one teacher said that it is easier for the children to learn. The main downsides are that the initial transition was too abrupt and the teachers were expected to go from Francophone speakers to native Anglophone speakers overnight. At the beginning of the transition the teachers did not receive new books and materials from the government and were forced to work out of French books and translate from those. Many teachers find English spelling, pronunciation and the difference between British and American English a challenge. Two other teachers believe that their English receives interference from Kinyarwanda making it difficult. Due to the difference in culture comprehension can also be a problem, especially with English expressions. One teacher also believed that using English hides their Rwandan culture and that it is hard to meet the requirements of the government.

Further the teachers were asked what the benefits and downsides are for the pupils having English as MOI. The benefit most agreed upon is that children have more future and international possibilities regarding their career (in and outside of Rwanda), scholarships, travelling and freedom to go where they want to. In addition to this as Rwanda is part of the EAC the children can also understand the issues more and be a part of it and knowing an additional language can always be a benefit. Other reasons are that generally the children find Kinyarwanda difficult and they can also share experiences with others by learning this new language. Downsides for the pupils are that the transition in P3 is tough as they switch from French as MOI to English as MOI and especially with subjects such as science, mathematics or social studies; the children still lack a lot of vocabulary. Apparently teachers of P4 notice that the children still have trouble with vocabulary in various subjects. The children are also expected to know three languages which the teachers view as hard. Further, the parents are from a French background. English is a complete different language and culture, thus at times parents experience difficulties aiding their children as best as they can. English as MOI also results into problems of comprehension due to typical English expressions being

unknown in French or Kinyarwanda, creating a cultural barrier. In addition teachers still feel they have insufficient materials to teach the children properly.

The last questions were what the parents think of English as MOI and how they being the teachers personally feel about it. Most teachers claimed that parents generally appreciate English as it does lead to more future possibilities and the language is used more than French globally. Initially parents were afraid of the change in policy because they believed their children would suffer because of it, however, now they tend to be content with it as it does not influence the results too much. However, some teachers also said that there are plenty parents who prefer French but had to accept the policy as the government decided to implement it and they have no say against it. The teachers themselves view it as a positive change, mainly due to an increase in international communication and more possibilities in foreign countries workwise. This change will help the economy of the country grow in the sense of brighter children will lead to a brighter future. Teachers tend to appreciate the language and are even proud to be able to teach in English. Two teachers prefer Kinyarwanda however, mainly because it is the language of the country, the mother tongue of the children, leading to less focus on trying to understand the actual language, and more focus on the actual school material and topics.

At the end the teachers were asked some general questions, related to their motivation for teaching and difficulties they encounter in practice. Teachers A1, A2 and A7 claim that they do not enjoy teaching and would rather work in another field, their main motivation being an easy income. Teachers A5 and A6 both enjoy teaching, but would like to work in another field in the future. The main reason for this is due to the low income as a teacher. Teacher A5 taught at a public school before moving to School A and the working hours were long and tough in the public school with extreme little pay, so he feels more at ease and is enjoying the work more at School A. Teachers A3 and A4 both love teaching and want to remain teaching. All teachers however enjoy the working environment and are content being at this school for the moment. Further they were asked how the pupils react to the lessons in English. Occasionally pupils have difficulties completing tasks but

most of the time they manage and otherwise they ask. All teachers generally make use of re-phrasing, pictures, symbols and gestures to explain English words or phrases when not understood by the learners. Five out of the seven teachers say that sometimes French explanation is necessary, but this happens on rare occasions. They also believe that the understanding of English by the learners is sufficient enough to be teaching in English, except for teacher A4. All three teachers in P3 feel that re-phrasing is needed frequently, one teacher in P4 needs to re-phrase a lot (the science teacher), the other P4 teacher feels that he does not need to re-phrase often and both P6 teachers never need to re-phrase.

Appendix F

Analyses teachers School B

The teachers in School B were asked the same questions as the teachers in School A. In contrary to the teachers in School A, the School B teachers tend to use Kinyarwanda and French more frequently in the various scenarios (church, hobbies, work, at home and studies). All teachers claim to only use Kinyarwanda at church, except for teacher B3 who uses French as well on occasion. All teachers use Kinyarwanda when undertaking sports or other hobbies, though B1 and B8 occasionally use French and English. At work all teachers use Kinyarwanda and English, even in the lessons that are meant to be solely in English, or else the learners will lack in understanding. Teacher B4 is the only teacher claiming that he uses French at school too, however the children do not speak French, so this would most likely be in dialogue with his colleagues. At home all teachers speak Kinyarwanda, teachers B7 and B9 also speak French at home and teacher B8 uses both French and English next to his mother tongue. Finally, nine out of ten teachers claim to carried out their studies in English, teachers B4, B6 and B8 did their studies in French and English, and teacher B9 did his study solely in French.

The teachers in School B were asked how many hours per day would be spent speaking in English, French and Kinyarwanda. Figure 4.2 shows the estimated hours of English, French and Kinyarwanda spoken on a day per teacher. The highest hours of English spoken on a day are by teachers B5 and B8, being eight hours. The other teachers speak a significantly lower amount of English on a day, ranging from one hour to five hours. French is only used by teachers B1, B3, B5, B7 and B9, ranging from half an hour to a maximum of three hours on a day. Kinyarwanda on the other hand, is used excessively by all teachers, with a minimum of six to a maximum of fourteen hours on a day. As stated with the results of School A, these outcomes are estimated individually and subjectively by each teacher. If looking back at the results of the teachers of School A in Figure 4.1, there is a clear difference in the amount of use of each language, which also indicates the importance of the languages to the teachers of the two schools. The language used the most by the teachers of School A is English with an average of 9,6 hours, followed by Kinyarwanda being 4,3 hours and then by French being 2,6 hours. In contrary to School A, the language used the most by

the teachers of School B is Kinyarwanda with an average of 10,6 hours, followed by English with 4,7 hours and with the least use in French being used 1 hour. Also, all three languages are used by every teacher on a daily basis in School A, whilst French is only used by half the teachers of School B. All teachers do know how to speak French however.

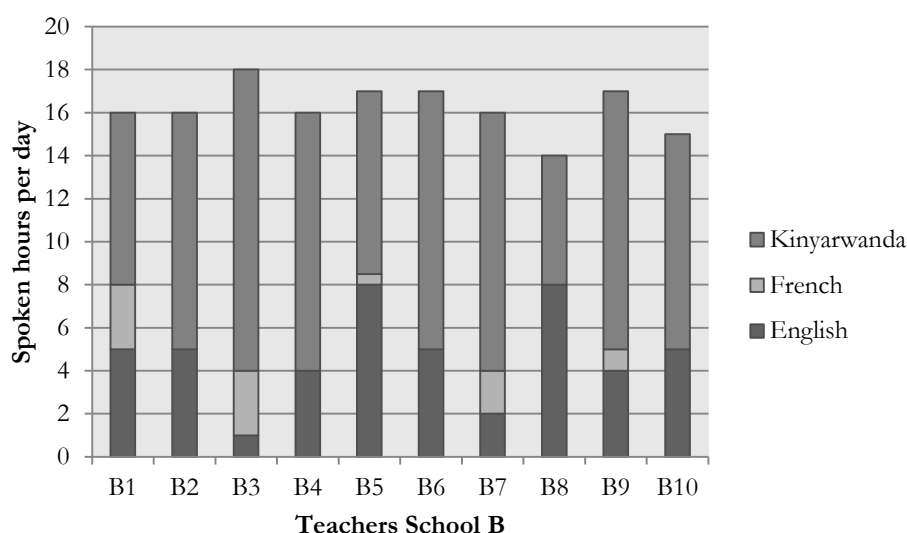


Figure 2 Estimated hours of languages spoken on a day by individual teachers School B

Another interesting difference between the teachers of both schools was the preference in languages. Six teachers in School B had a clear preference for Kinyarwanda, as it is the mother tongue, the language of the country and everyone understands it. Four teachers claimed to prefer English with reasons such as: curiosity to the new language; English being the political and international language, so a symbolism of success; English being easier than French; and, English being a language that is in fashion. In contrary to School B, the teachers of School A avoid naming Kinyarwanda as a preference and the main reason seems to be that English seems to be the language for upward mobility in their opinions, while the majority of the teachers in School B tend to be more loyal to the language of their country and have a higher preference for it.

As well as having a preference for Kinyarwanda and using Kinyarwanda more frequently than the other languages, the teachers at School B also comment differently on the benefits and downsides with English as MOI. The majority of the teachers point out the main benefit being the

possibility of more communication with the outside world and more international opportunities travel and work related, including opportunities in the EAC but also beyond the EAC. Further, a plus point of English is that it is a world language and that it is good to know an additional language. For the rest there were single comments made by various teachers such as it being an easy language, it eases the way to university, that it is necessary for work, political reasons and that many white people speak English. The last comment regarding white people speaking English is another indication of the status of the language as 'whites' are generally viewed as wealthy and successful amongst the locals there. The teachers of School A were more outspoken on the benefits, being more specific and also more analytic in their answers. The teachers of School B named many downsides to English being MOI of which the two biggest reasons were that the teachers do not have enough knowledge of the English language to teach in it and the learners do not understand English. In addition, some of the teachers commented on the fact that it was and still is hard to switch to a different MOI, as they were used to teaching in French and the transition to English still is very tough on them. Other reasons were matters such as the lack of resources in the public school, learners not having gone through nursery school before entering primary school, learners not being able to write, the parents of the pupils do not speak English so cannot help at all, there are not enough opportunities to speak the language outside of school, the switch from Kinyarwanda to English is hard on the children, it is necessary to take a test in English when applying for a job, Kinyarwanda has to be used in the lessons where only English should be used due to the lack of comprehension encountered with the learners and understanding English and its pronunciation is difficult. So the problems encountered with English increase drastically in School B compared to School A, even to an extent that pupils already have enough problems regardless of the MOI being English, and basically that it only adds as another problem.

Even though the teachers already mentioned many downsides which refer to the pupils, the additional question regarding the benefits and downsides towards the pupils with English as MOI was asked. Regardless of the problems mentioned, a minority of the teachers do believe there

are some benefits. Three teachers believed it will lead to a brighter future for the pupils. Another teacher believed it would be beneficial as children do not speak Kinyarwanda well. However, when receiving these answers the teachers were confronted with the earlier mentioned downsides and if the learners cannot understand or have trouble writing, how does English as MOI truly benefit them. At that point one teacher pointed out that it will benefit the few who do understand. Two other teachers commented on the transition being too big and that the learners should be taught in English as early as P1. Another teacher thought it would be better to teach in Kinyarwanda and teach English and French as subjects. Next to this a teacher thought there is no benefit within Rwanda knowing English, but it will be beneficial outside of Rwanda. So generally the attitudes towards English as MOI in the public school are not that positive. When asked on the downsides for the pupils receiving lessons in English as MOI in addition to the ones already mentioned, five teachers kept insisting on the learners' lack of understanding the English language is the main problem. Further there is a lack of teaching materials, books and financial resources, as well as the learners just not being motivated to learn English. According to the teachers, instead of learning, pupils are struggling with the language. The fact that there is a lack of materials means that the teachers have to prepare their own didactic materials, and they already struggle enough with the transition from French to English themselves. As can be seen, whilst in School A the problems are matters such as a tough transition from French to English, that it is tough to know three languages, cultural misunderstanding between the languages and so forth, School B struggles with learners who do not understand English at all (and not just a lack of vocabulary), whose parents speak no English at all and whose learners are not motivated.

The teachers of School B were asked the parents viewpoints on English as MOI and their own personal opinions. Four teachers referred to the parents reacting well to English as MOI, whilst six teachers believed parents reacted badly to it. The parents who react positively to it hope that English will allow their children to lead a better life in the future, whilst the ones who do not view it as positive have difficulties with the fact that they do not understand the language, nor speak

it, and cannot assist their children in their education. Again the comments were not too analytic concerning the parents opinions. The personal opinions on the teachers were mixed, half of the teachers believing the English language policy is good, the other half believing it is not good. Positive reasons were similar to the ones mentioned in the benefits of English as MOI, mainly focusing on international communication, improvement in life and job opportunities and so forth. However, two of the teachers who were positive did point out that it would be nice if the students could actually understand the language and were more motivated. The other five teachers were in less favour of English: one being more in favour of teaching in French, two being more in favour of teaching in Kinyarwanda, another teacher preferring English just as a subject and the last one pointing out that the grades were better when French was the MOI. The personal opinions of the teachers of School B do have some resemblance of those of School A: it is viewed as positive, even though School A teachers have a clear preference over School B teachers, but all teachers still see the children suffer with the transition of either French or Kinyarwanda to English. However, School A teachers say that P3 children have generally filled the gap of vocabulary and understanding by the end of P3.

Also, the teachers were asked some general questions at this school. Teachers B7, B8 and B10 claim to love teaching as an occupation and would not want to do anything else, teachers B1, B3 and B4 enjoy teaching but do want to move on to a different field later in life and teachers B2, B5, B6 and B9 do not enjoy teaching. Of the teachers who do not enjoy teaching, B6 said she wanted to be a sociologist but it was hard to find work and she just got used to teaching, whilst B9 refers to him ending up in teaching as a ‘mistake’. All teachers enjoy the environment they teach in, except for teacher B6, who complains that there are too many children and too much noise. The teachers also claimed that all students have difficulties completing tasks instructed in English and that they all have to switch to another language to make sure the learners understand them. It is easier and necessary for the teachers to explain things in Kinyarwanda, but French is never used as the learners do not speak it anymore. All teachers believe that the learners are not sufficient

enough in English to be taught in it, nor that they manage to understand full English dialogue. Half of the teachers try to re-phrase in English, and the other half say they do not even bother and just translate in Kinyarwanda instead. All teachers use gestures, pictures and symbols to explain material and one teacher even mentioned using daily life situations that the children encounter to explain things.

Appendix G

The table below shows the National Exam results of the 2013 P6 class of School A (the private school). The grades range from 1 to 9: 1 being the highest and 9 the lowest. The aggregate shows the total of the grades and the division indicates which secondary school division these learners went to. At the bottom the average score of each subject and the aggregate is indicated.

Student	Math	Science	Social Studies	English	Kinyarwanda	Aggregate	Division
1	2	2	1	2	1	8	I
2	2	3	1	1	2	9	I
3	1	3	2	1	2	9	I
4	3	2	1	1	2	9	I
5	1	2	2	1	3	9	I
6	2	2	2	1	3	10	I
7	1	3	2	2	2	10	I
8	1	2	2	2	3	10	I
9	4	2	2	1	2	11	I
10	1	2	2	2	4	11	I
11	1	2	2	2	4	11	I
12	1	3	2	2	3	11	I
13	1	2	2	2	4	11	I
14	2	2	2	2	3	11	I
15	2	3	2	2	3	12	I
16	2	3	2	2	3	12	I
17	2	3	2	2	3	12	I
18	3	4	2	2	2	13	I

19	2	2	1	2	1	8	I
20	2	3	1	1	2	9	I
21	1	3	2	1	2	9	I
22	3	2	1	1	2	9	I
23	1	2	2	1	3	9	I
24	2	2	2	1	3	10	I
25	1	3	2	2	2	10	I
26	1	2	2	2	3	10	I
27	4	2	2	1	2	11	I
28	1	2	2	2	4	11	I
29	1	3	2	2	3	11	I
30	1	2	2	2	4	11	I
31	2	2	2	2	3	11	I
32	2	3	2	2	3	12	I
33	2	3	2	2	3	12	I
34	2	3	2	2	3	12	I
35	3	4	2	2	2	13	I
Average score	1.8	2.4	1.8	1.7	2.7	10.5	

Appendix H

The table below shows the National Exam results of the 2013 P6 class of School B (the public school). The grades range from 1 to 9: 1 being the highest and 9 the lowest. The aggregate shows the total of the grades and the division indicates which secondary school division these learners went. At the bottom the average score of each subject and the aggregate is indicated.

Student	Math	Science	Social Studies	English	Kinyarwanda	Aggregate	Division
1	4	2	2	3	2	13	I
2	6	2	2	2	3	15	II
3	3	3	3	4	2	15	II
4	4	3	4	4	3	18	II
5	4	3	4	5	3	19	II
6	4	5	3	4	3	19	II
7	4	4	5	4	4	21	II
8	4	4	4	6	3	21	II
9	4	5	4	5	4	22	II
10	7	3	4	5	3	22	II
11	2	5	5	6	4	22	II
12	6	5	3	5	3	22	II
13	4	5	5	5	3	22	II
14	3	4	5	6	5	23	II
15	4	5	5	5	4	23	II
16	6	5	5	5	2	23	II
17	6	5	4	5	3	23	II
18	3	5	6	6	4	24	II
19	6	4	5	7	2	24	II

20	9	5	3	3	5	25	II
21	4	7	5	6	3	25	II
22	4	5	6	6	4	25	II
23	6	5	5	5	4	25	II
24	7	7	1	7	4	26	II
25	7	6	5	5	3	26	II
26	6	6	6	5	3	26	II
27	9	4	3	3	8	27	II
28	6	6	6	4	5	27	II
29	6	5	5	6	5	27	II
30	7	6	5	5	4	27	II
31	9	5	4	4	5	27	II
32	5	7	6	6	3	27	II
33	8	6	5	5	4	28	II
34	9	5	4	6	4	28	II
35	8	6	6	5	3	28	II
Average score	5.5	4.8	4.4	4.9	3.6	23.3	