

**AN EVALUATION OF THE RWANDAN TRILINGUAL POLICY
IN SOME NURSERY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS
IN KIGALI CITY**

by

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DECLARATION

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“I declare that AN EVALUATION OF THE RWANDAN TRILINGUAL POLICY IN SOME NURSERY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN KIGALI CITY is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references”

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Date

10 June 2010

SUMMARY

This research study aims to evaluate how the trilingual policy (Kinyarwanda, French and English) is implemented in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools in terms of facilitating learners' cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) development, in both the pre-2008 and post-2008 language policies. It is an exploratory-qualitative-interpretative research study, which analyses the language preference, the age of change-over and the multilingual models adopted and how they contribute to learners' CALP development. It also analyses the implications of the post-2008 policy.

The findings indicated that initial bilingualism, initial trilingualism, early total immersion and gradual transfer models were implemented in the pre-2008 policy; while the post-2008 policy implements early total immersion. The learners' CALP in both the MT and the AL could be more developed in public schools under the pre-2008 policy due to exposure to Kinyarwanda instruction from the start but it may not be developed fully under the post-2008 policy, because English is used as MOI from the onset of education.

Key terms:

Language policy; additional languages (ALs); mother tongue (MT); Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS); bilingualism; trilingualism; multilingualism; medium of instruction (MOI), Rwanda.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. General introduction to the research study

The present research study is an exploratory qualitative research study that aims to investigate and evaluate how the trilingual policy is implemented and how it contributes to learners' Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) development in Rwandan nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City. The study will also focus on the implications of the new language policy (adopted on 8th October 2008) for nursery and primary schools. The evaluation includes two periods: from 1994 to 8th October 2008, and from this date up to the present.

1.1. The context of the research study

An implementation of a language policy involves several parameters. Brann (1981) who analysed trilingualism in Sub-Saharan Africa enumerates several factors involved in the language planning and implementation process, and these include linguistic, geographic, demographic, ethnic, social, psychological, cultural, political and economic factors. Barkhuizen and Gough (1996, 461-465) indicate that an effective and successful implementation of a language-in-education policy has to take into account the syllabus, the teacher education, practice and attitudes on teaching and school administration, the testing process and the resources involved. All these factors are interwoven and interact in any language implementation process, and that is the reason why Liddicoat and Bryant (2000, 303) indicate that “languages are not isolated systems but have interactions with other systems outside what is usually considered strictly to be linguistics, including culture, politics and environment”.

The analysis of the implementation of the trilingual policy in Kigali nursery and primary schools is mainly oriented in socio-political, linguistic and economic contexts. Kinyarwanda, French and English have different social statuses in Rwanda. Article 5 of the New Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda (4th June 2003) stipulates that “The national language is Kinyarwanda; the official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English”. As it can be observed, Kinyarwanda is a predominant language, and it is likely to be the reason why the Rwandan government attributed a double role to Kinyarwanda, while English and French have a single role. The status given to Kinyarwanda implies that each society selects a language depending on its political orientations, and that is why Annamalai (2003, 115) states that “Differences in the social and political relationship between languages relate to the nature of the society and policy of the country”. As an example of language selection and preference in Africa, Brann (1981, 10) cites the case of Bantu languages

where communities may prefer and choose a standard language to be schooled in depending on close contact or symbiosis between speakers, or linguistic affinities. An example of this is the spread of Swahili in East Africa, specifically in Tanzania (Saleh 1971, in Brann 1981, 11).

The fact that Kinyarwanda is a predominant language and the mother tongue of almost all Rwandans motivated the Rwandan government to attribute to it the status mentioned above. Gupta (1997, 496) states that governments often choose to privilege one or several languages within a country. The privileged language has special prominence socially and officially. All these aspects demonstrate how socio-political and linguistic contexts push governments to accord special privileges to some languages. In the African context, Brann (1981, 12) indicates that nation-building through a common language or common languages is a salient element in language planning in most of Sub-Saharan States. For this reason, many African states have a tendency to emphasise social factors in their educational language policies, i.e. underlining socialisation through metalect or community or national languages (Brann 1981, 12).

In the Rwandan context, the social factors described above dictated the government to attribute double privileges to Kinyarwanda. However, there are other factors which contribute in attributing privileges to languages, including the economic context. For example, the October 2008 language policy modifications which were made by the Rwandan Government followed after the integration of Rwanda into the East African Community where English is the predominant language. The economic factor stimulated by regional sociopolitical integration has probably motivated the Rwandan Government to modify the previous trilingual policy.

Language planning and modifications are decided upon by political leaders who are the policy-makers. For this reason, Francis and Kamanda (2001, 225) believe that language planning is generally top-down in many developing multilingual policies. Kaplan et al. (2000, 142) reiterates that ‘‘Language policy and planning are both inherently political and deeply personal by nature’’. A thorough description of different types of language policy planning including status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Francis and Kamanda 2001, 225) will be given in § 2.4.1.

A trilingual policy has been implemented in Rwandan schools but it recently underwent modifications. The question that arises is whether the implementation of these changes will create challenges in terms of learners’ CALP development, and if so what kind of challenges. Kamwangamalu (2001, 119) indicates that working out any new language policy is not an easy task; it involves complex decision making, assessing and committing valuable resources. Brann (1981, 18) states that it requires a coordinating body which monitors the corpus planning, the training of

language teaching personnel and the production of pedagogical materials. Bourdieu (1991, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 120) indicates that it involves "...regulating the power relationship between languages and their respective speakers in the linguistic market place...". Barkhuizen and Gough (1996, 453) who analysed the role of English within a new language-in-education policy in South Africa indicate that a new language policy builds on the historical context, taking into account the past policies and their effects.

Even if the implementation of a language policy is decided by political leaders, input from language experts, (i.e. linguists or language technicians described in § 2.6.5.4) should be considered, as their views on the elaboration and implementation of status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (described in § 2.4.1) are invaluable. The implementation should take into account the needs of language learners, who are the first beneficiaries of the language policy that is being implemented. The actual implementers of the adopted language policy are schools. Even so Francis (2005, 212) asserts that the policy decisions on languages to be designated as media of instruction are far beyond the boundaries of schools. That is why he suggests that both bottom-up and top-down efforts aiming at implementing a language policy must be synchronised for better success of the language policy. This synchronisation seems to reinforce what Darder (2004, 236) calls "the inextricable relationship of language, culture and power".

This research study seeks to explore the above-mentioned issues by investigating how the trilingual policy is implemented in some schools located in Kigali City.

1.2. Key concepts defined

In this section, key concepts of the study are defined. These are language policy; additional language (AL) or additional languages (ALs); mother tongue (MT); Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS); bilingualism; trilingualism; multilingualism and medium of instruction (MOI).

1.2.1. Language policy

The term 'language policy' is closely related to language planning and the two terms are interconnected. Weinstein (2001) defines language policy as "government choices of language form and function" and Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, 159) define language planning as planning, usually by a government or a government agency, concerning the choice of national or official language(s), ways of spreading the use of a language, spelling reforms, the addition of new words to the language, and other language problems.

Weinstein, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, in Kamwendo 2005, 144) believe that language planning is usually a government-initiated or government-controlled activity, and that it is not uncommon to find language policies that are promulgated and implemented in a top-to-bottom manner. Francis and Kamanda (2001, 225) share the view that “...in many developing multilingual polities, LP [language planning] is generally top-down, a form of social engineering through which different ethnolinguistic groups are manipulated by policy makers – the politicians – for gaining and retaining power and control of patrimonial resources...”. This statement is mainly related to political planning, which refers to “the process of socio-political and economic engineering, through the promulgation and implementation of government policies” (Francis and Kamanda 2001, 225).

Political planning can be explained as an ordered and well-arranged system of activities, which is initiated, implemented and monitored by the state or the government. These activities can be oriented in various domains, such as the social, economical, educational and linguistic domains. In terms of language policy, political planning may involve the Government’s plan, initiatives and implementation of language use in the country. A language policy will identify the language(s) to be used, how to use it (them), when to use it (them); for which purpose and by whom. Political planning is in fact an inclusive term, embedding both the status planning (decisions about official and national languages and their use) and the corpus planning (decisions about standardisation of language forms including standard spelling and standard writing rules of a particular language). Political planning involves political motivation. Decisions are often made by political leaders who are sometimes guided by political orientations. For example, the decision of the South African government to use 11 official languages, including 9 African languages had a political orientation. It is likely that decisions were made on using them in public domains and in education to promote education for all, to change the history and to promote the betterment of the population. It is clear that several aspects (linguistic, social, political, economical, etc) are interwoven in this process of political planning. Concerning the modification of the existing trilingual policy, there might be political motivations which persuaded the Rwandan government to modify this policy for the betterment of the Rwandan population. Section 2.4.1 provides further details on types of language policy planning, while section 2.3 gives further insights on the types of motivation for learning and favouring a particular language.

1.2.2. Additional language (AL)

The term additional language (AL) is an inclusive term for terms like second language (SL or L2), foreign language (FL) and exoglossic language. These terms are often classified in the category of foreign language and second language and are often used to mean the same, but linguists make a distinction between them. A language is classified as a FL when it is only heard in the classroom and pupils have little exposure to that language outside the classroom. A language is classified as a L2 or

SL when most of learners receive input from radio, television broadcasts, newspapers, etc, in that language, in addition to input from the classroom. However, the general definition given to all these terms is a language which is not a native language in a country but which is widely used as a medium of communication (for example in education and in government) and which is usually used alongside another language or languages (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, 108). As the term Additional Language (AL) includes one or many second languages, it is used throughout the dissertation, other terms will be used only when quoting from the original text.

In Rwanda, English and French are regarded as ALs and not necessarily as foreign languages because they are both used in all official documents; radio and television broadcast in those two languages in addition to Kinyarwanda, and newspapers are published in each of those three languages. Rwandan people receive input in all three languages in addition to the fact that they are used as MOI or taught as subjects in schools. However, the new language policy does favour English. Using Brann's (1981) categorisation of languages, French and English are ALs which belong in the metalect group, and they are both exoglossic languages in Rwanda. An AL is called exoglossic when it is not the native language of all or most of the population of a region (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, 99).

1.2.3. Mother tongue (MT)

A 'mother tongue' (MT) is defined as "...a first language which is acquired at home" (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, 184) or "the language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication" (UNESCO 1968/1953, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 121). A MT is given several terms, it is called the first language (L1), the native language (NL), the primary language (PL) which is used for daily communication, a home language or a vernacular language. Brann (1981, 3) called the MT a *language-of-the-soil* or *chthonolect*, to indicate that it is an indigenous language (consonant with the frequent African expression of 'son-of-the-soil, or indigene of a particular place). Gupta (1997, 500) indicates that many children in cities do not have one single mother tongue; they have several mother tongues as they are products of intermarriage where more than one language are used at home. The term mother tongue will exclusively be used throughout this dissertation; other terms will only be used while quoting.

A mother tongue is called endoglossic when it is the native language of all or most of the population of a region (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, 92). For example Kinyarwanda is endoglossic because it is the MT of almost all Rwandans and it is spoken by almost every Rwandan citizen.

Mother tongue education is defined as “education which uses as its medium of instruction a person’s mother tongue” (UNESCO 1968/1953, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 121).

1.2.4. CALP/BICS development

CALP is an acronym which stands for Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency, while BICS is an acronym which stands for Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills. The concepts CALP and BICS were introduced by Cummins (1979, 1980, in Brown 1994, 227). The two acronyms are used to distinguish between academic language or language used at school for academic purposes and language skills needed for social interactions and daily communication. CALP is related to formal academic learning, including listening, speaking, reading and writing about subject area content material (Haynes 2007); while BICS refers to the day-to-day interactions between people (Haynes 2007), which is associated with speaking. The development of CALP and BICS is discussed in § 2.1.

1.2.5. Bilingualism

Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, 29) define bilingualism as “...the use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers, such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation”. A bilingual policy is therefore a policy that advances bilingualism. Bilingualism has several sub-categories such as early bilingualism, simultaneous bilingualism, successive bilingualism, subtractive bilingualism, additive bilingualism and some others. As some of these sub-categories, especially subtractive bilingualism and additive bilingualism are pertinent to this study, while others might be used in the description of language implementation models, a brief description is necessary.

McLaughlin (1984, in Barnes 2006, 9) describes early bilingualism by making a distinction between simultaneous and successive acquisition of two languages. Simultaneous acquisition occurs when a child is exposed to two languages before the age of three while successive acquisition occurs when exposure to the additional language has taken place after the age of three. According to Padilla and Lindholm (1984, in Barnes 2006, 9) and Meisel (1989, in Barnes 2006, 10), simultaneous bilingualism refers to exposure to two languages from birth. Collier (1989, 511) explains successive bilingualism with an example showing that preschool children who begin the additional language acquisition between the age of 3 and 5 years are successive bilinguals.

Subtractive bilingualism is described by Lambert (1984, in Collier 1989, 511) as the lack of continuing cognitive development in the mother tongue during additional language acquisition, which may lead to lowered proficiency levels in the additional language and in cognitive academic growth. Cummins (1981b, in Collier 1989, 511) describes subtractive bilingualism as ‘limited

bilingualism', which refers to a lower threshold level of the mother tongue, with which negative cognitive effects are associated. Lockett (1993, in Meyer 1995, 258) explains subtractive bilingualism by opposing it to additive bilingualism. When a language policy supports subtractive bilingualism, an additional language is developed at the expense of the mother tongue, and additive bilingualism develops when an additional language and a mother tongue are complementary and benefit each other. For this reason, Lockett (1993, in Meyer 1995, 258) claims that an additional language should not be developed at the expense of the mother tongue since it may lead to what Lemmer (1993, in Mabiletja 2008, 17) describes as semilingualism where neither the mother tongue nor the additional language is mastered.

1.2.6. Trilingualism

According to Hoffman (2001, in Barnes 2006, 9), trilingualism is, in many cases, explained as an extension of bilingualism. Hoffman and Widdicombe (1999, in Barnes 2006, 9) make it clear that in the absence of any theoretical underpinning of their understanding of trilingualism as a distinct linguistic configuration, they simply work within the theoretical framework of bilingualism. Such an assertion implies that most bilingualism theories are applied to trilingualism. Sharwood 1994, and Cenoz (2000, in Barnes 2006, 28) indicate that there are relatively few studies on trilingualism, and that the term second language acquisition (SLA) has been widely used as a cover term for all types of language learning other than mother tongue acquisition, which has much in common with trilingual and multilingual acquisition. Ogechi (2002) who analysed trilingual code-switching in Kenya also cites Hoffman's (2001b, in Ogechi 2002, 5) statement that "...trilingualism is the presence of three languages in one speaker". Ogechi's (2002, vii) research study revealed that trilingual participants who share a first language and speak the same second and third languages can produce both trilingual and bilingual code-switching projection of the complementisers whose matrix language can be the L1, L2 or the L3.

Trilingualism (trilingual acquisition, learning and use) is also considered to be multilingualism. For the purpose of the present research study, trilingual refers to specific cases involving three languages, and multilingual is a general term for language situations that are not bilingual and may involve three or more languages.

Early trilingualism is described by McLaughlin (1984, in Barnes 2006, 10) as a broad term indicating that children are exposed to three or more languages from birth; while Quay (2001, in Barnes 2006, 10) describes early trilingualism or trilingual first language acquisition (3L1) as exposure to three languages, before the first two words in those languages are produced. In Rwanda, early trilingualism (Kinyarwanda, English and French) does exist, especially in families of intermarriage

where for example a predominantly English-speaking father and a French-speaking mother, with a Kinyarwanda-speaking caretaker are in constant interaction with the child from birth. Such cases are similar to the ones described by the Belgian linguist Jean Marc DeWaelle (2000) in § 2.6.1.

1.2.7. Multilingualism

Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, 185) define multilingualism as the use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group of speakers such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation, while Corson (1990, in Mabletja 2008, 9) defines it as the recognition and the use of more than two languages in every sector of the community.

Multilingualism is common in many countries of the world, and Wurm (1999, in Mabletja 2008, 10) confirms that multilingualism is a common phenomenon in Africa. South Africa, for example, has eleven official languages, while the number of languages spoken in Cameroon is estimated to be 250 (Tadadjeu 1975, 54). Webb (1998, 143) notes that multilingualism may occur both at the societal and individual level. Societal multilingualism, according to Webb (1998, 143), occurs where three or more languages are present and used in a community, and individual multilingualism occurs where one person speaks or knows three or more languages. According to Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, 185), a multilingual person does not necessarily have to know all the languages equally well, he or she can speak, write and understand one language best, or he or she can use each language in different situations and for different communicative purposes.

1.2.8. Medium of instruction (MOI)

Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, 174) define medium of instruction as “the language used in education”. It is the language used for teaching subjects other than languages. The MOI is also called a language for learning and teaching (LoLT). Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, 174) also indicate that the standard variety of the main language or the national language is the one used as a medium of instruction in many countries, but in multilingual settings, a choice is made as to the language to be used as a MOI. Sometimes, more than one language is used as MOI. In the past, Kinyarwanda, French and English were used as media of instruction at different stages of education in Rwanda.

1.3. The research problem

1.3.1. Problem formulation

The research problem analysed in this survey has its root in the policy governing the use and the management of Kinyarwanda, French and English in both the old and the new language policies. These three languages have been used as media of instruction or as subjects interchangeably. The research seeks to find out if their systematic use supports the most quoted axiom which states that “...pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue...” (UNESCO 1951, in Gupta 1997, 496) or if it just follows the common belief that children who start learning an AL at an early age are more successful in acquiring an AL (Asher and Garcia 1969; Oyama 1978; Krashen 1979 and Patkowski, 1980, in Singleton 1989, 117). The research study investigates therefore how the above-mentioned three languages are adopted in Kigali City nursery and primary schools to fully develop CALP in pupils.

On the 8th October 2008, the policy governing the use of three languages in the Rwandan education system was modified by a cabinet decision. The new policy states that English is the sole medium of instruction at all levels of education, from nursery to university level, with Kinyarwanda and French being taught only as subjects (Cabinet Meetings, 2008). This research establishes why this decision was reached and spells out the implications of the new policy. It also describes the relationship between status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning in the Rwandan educational context. The evaluation also has to verify if what is stipulated in the Rwandan policy is actually what is implemented in the classroom, because Mabiletja (2008, 6) warns that there is sometimes a mismatch of policy formulation and practice in real situations. The main goal, however, is to check if classroom practice promotes or hampers learners’ CALP development.

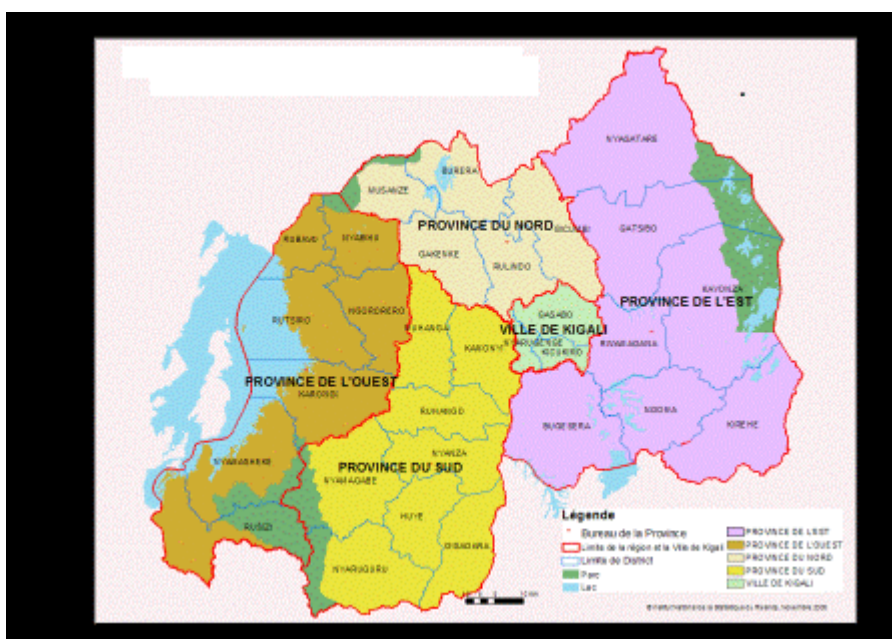
Therefore, the study addresses the following important language issues, namely:

- The language preference for a MOI in Kigali City’s nursery and primary schools and the types of motivation dictating their choice in both the old and the new language policy;
- The age of change-over between Kinyarwanda, French and English medium and their implications for learners’ CALP development;
- Multilingual implementation models adopted in Kigali City’s nursery and primary schools and their role in developing learners’ CALP in both the old and the new policy, and
- The type of language planning policy in practice from 8th October 2008 and opportunities and challenges introduced by this new language policy.

The investigation has as its aim to establish if Kinyarwanda is given enough opportunity in the educational system to ensure proper CALP development among Kigali City's pupils or whether Kinyarwanda is engulfed in the trilingual policy, which might cause subtractive trilingualism in pupils. The official policy formulation described in MINEDUC (2002, 14) on the use of the three languages at primary school level stated the following: Kinyarwanda will be used as a language of instruction from P1 (primary grade 1) up to P3 (primary grade 3), with the introduction of French and English as subjects; while English and French will be used as languages of teaching and learning from P4 up to P6, with Kinyarwanda taught as a subject. MINEDUC (2003, 14) also stipulates that "Kinyarwanda, French and English have been introduced in all schools as curriculum subjects and as languages of instruction from primary grade 4 upwards". The new policy instructs that English should be used as a medium of instruction at all levels of education, from nursery to university level, with Kinyarwanda and French taught as subjects (Cabinet Meetings, 2008). The evaluation seeks to find out if all categories of nursery and primary schools (i.e. public, government-assisted and private) respected and implemented the policy in the same way, within the context of full CALP development among nursery and primary school pupils.

1.3.2. The background of the problem

Kigali City is one of the five provinces constituting the Republic of Rwanda. It covers a total area of 313 square kilometers, according to Statistics from 2002 Population Census. Kigali City is located in the center of the country and shares borders with the Northern Province, the Southern Province and the Eastern Province. Its location can be observed on the map below.



Source: <http://minaloc.gov.rw>

According to the last national census held in 2002, Kigali City had 603,049 people and Kigali Rural (formerly called Kigali Ngali) counted 789,330 people. The current Kigali City is a fusion of the former Kigali City and the main part of former Kigali Ngali. Concerning its demographical development, Kigali City covered a total area of 250 ha in 1962 and had a population of 6,000. It grew tremendously and had 603,049 inhabitants in 2002, in an area of 313 km². The population living in Kigali City constitutes 44% of the total urban population of Rwanda (MINECOFIN, Population Census, 2002). The 2002 Population Census indicates that the total population of Rwanda was 8,128,553 people in 2002, and the number was projected to reach 9,309, 619 people in 2007 and 14,300,00 in 2020.

Statistics concerning schools and universities at the national level indicate that the total number of primary schools in Rwanda in 2008 was 2,432; the total number of primary school pupils in the same academic year was 2,190,270 and the number of primary school teachers and head teachers was 35,672. At secondary school level, the number of students in Rwanda in 2008 was 288,036, the number of secondary school teachers was 16,105 and the number of secondary schools was 689. At higher education level, the 2008 statistics showed that there were 22 institutions of higher learning nationwide including 11 public institutions and 11 private institutions. The estimated number of students in all universities and institutions of higher learning was 45,128 and academic staff totaled 1,543 (Source: MINEDUC/Statistics 2008, <http://mineduc.gov.rw>).

Kigali City is described as a multilingual setting where several languages such as Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili, Lingala, Luganda, Kirundi and others are used. This state of affairs is attributed to the Rwandan history in which several languages were introduced in 1994 with the massive return of Rwandans who were repatriating from exile from different countries. Those Rwandans had fled the country in 1959, in 1963, 1973 and subsequent years due to political upheavals and massacres. The return of Rwandans from exile introduced several languages used in different countries which had hosted the Rwandans. For this reason, the above-mentioned languages are used by different strata of the Rwandan population, and their use is predominantly found in urban areas, including Kigali City. Rwanda can therefore be described as a multilingual setting, where three languages are officially recognized (MINEDUC, 2004, 2 and Kabanza, 2003, 23).

With regard to the recent statistics of the speakers of the three languages under study, the 2002 census indicated that Kinyarwanda was known and spoken by 99.4% of the population of Rwanda; French speakers constituted 3.9% of the population and English was known by 1.9% of the total population. Swahili was known by 3% of the total population (Rwanda 2005b).

The Rwandan trilingual policy is seen as an important element in maintaining successful interactive relations with its neighbours (who mainly speak English and French), in competing for trade, education and employment opportunities in the country, in the region and beyond. According to Kabanza (2003, 4), Ntabajyana (2004, 12) and MINEDUC (2002, 2), the trilingual policy in Rwanda started to be implemented fully after 1994, with the recognition of English as official language besides French and Kinyarwanda. As explained in MINEDUC (2002, 2), such a decision was taken by the Rwandan Government of National Unity after the Rwandan war and genocide of April to July 1994, for full integration of Rwandans who were repatriating from exile from English and French-speaking countries in neighbouring countries and further afield.

Concerning the status of the three languages in schools, Kabanza (2003, 26) states that before 1994, English was only taught as a subject in selected schools and in selected specialisations at university in Rwanda. English was taught only from secondary school onwards and never in nursery and primary schools. It was never used as a medium of instruction.

Fourteen years later in October 2008, the Rwandan Government modified the existing trilingual policy, and English was proposed to be the sole language of instruction in schools from 2009 onwards. The implications of the trilingual policy implementation during the two periods will be reported on, from the point of view of policy-makers, teachers, parents and pupils.

1.3.3. Research questions

Wiersma (1986, in Nunan 1992, 215) maintains that research questions should be broadly stated in the first instance, and then be refined progressively into many other questions. Based on the background to the research problem mentioned above, this study addresses the following research questions with regard to the implementation of the trilingual policy before and after October 2008:

1. Which language was chosen by Kigali City's nursery and primary schools as a MOI and what was the motivation for this choice?
2. Which trilingual implementation models are implemented in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and how do they promote pupils' CALP?
3. When does the change-over between the three languages occur in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and how does it affect learners' CALP development?
4. What are the implications of the modifications made to the trilingual policy on 8th October 2008 and what type of language planning policy was adopted?

1.4. The aim of the study

The specific objectives of this research study are to:

- a. Identify the type of motivation (instrumental, integrative, intrinsic or extrinsic) which influenced schools to choose one of the three languages as a MOI in both the old and the new language policy;
- b. Describe the multilingual implementation models adopted in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and their roles in developing learners' CALP and learner's bilingualism;
- c. Identify the age of change-over between the three languages as MOI and the implications of this for learners' CALP development;
- d. Describe and investigate the type of language planning policy adopted on 8th October 2008 and its role in CALP development for learners.

Even though the verb “describe” is repeated several times in the research aims, this study is not a mere description; it is a combination of several aspects from Bloom's (1956) taxonomy of cognitive objectives, which are involved in identifying the pertinence of any research study. Bloom's taxonomy has 6 levels. These levels are, from the most complex to the simplest, (i) evaluation, (ii) synthesis, (iii) analysis, (iv) application, (v) comprehension, and (vi) knowledge, which includes description.

This research study is a combination of four levels of Bloom's taxonomy, namely evaluation, analysis, comprehension and knowledge (description). Observing the nature of the research aims described above, the nature of the questions guiding data collection, the interpretation and analysis of the research findings, it is clear that several levels of understanding are involved.

1.5. The scope of the study

1.5.1. Time frame

The evaluation of the implementation of the trilingual policy in nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City spans the period between July 1994 and 8th October 2008 for the use of French, English and Kinyarwanda; while the introduction of the new policy covers the period from 8th October 2008 up to the present.

1.5.2. The area to be investigated

The research study was carried out in nursery and primary schools located in the three districts constituting Kigali City, as well as in three Government language-policy-making institutions. The three districts which are covered in this research study are Nyarugenge, Gasabo and Kicukiro. Each of the three districts has all categories of nursery and primary schools, i.e. public, government-assisted and private schools. The statistics on the number of schools and pupils in each district is described in § 1.3.2 above.

1.6. Structure of the study

Chapter 1 identifies the context of the research study, the problems to be addressed in this study and provides brief explanations of the key terms used in the study. It also outlines the aim of the study as well as the scope of the study.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of existing theories regarding the impact of language policy on learners' academic achievement. CALP/BICS development is discussed, together with views from researchers about the most suitable age for introducing an AL in order to achieve successful acquisition as well as academic achievement in all content subjects. Different types of language policies for multilingual societies, together with their multilingual implementation models are discussed in terms of their support to the introduction of an AL, at either early or late stages, as well as their support to CALP development in both the MT and the AL. Successful trilingual acquisition is outlined, with illustrative examples from Cameroon and Luxembourg. Trilingualism in Rwanda is also described.

In Chapter 3, the research methodology of the present study is outlined. The different research methods and techniques that were used in the data collection process and data analysis are outlined. Specifically, the qualitative method is discussed, and the combination of semi-structured interviews, focus groups, site visits and non-participant observations are used in data collection.

The findings of the research study and discussion of the results are presented in Chapter 4. Detailed findings on how the pre- and post-2008 language policy implementation affect learners' CALP development are discussed.

Chapter 5 provides the conclusion of the research and contains a summary of the chapters, a summary of the findings, the contribution of the research, the limitations, the recommendations, as well as suggestions for further research in the area of language policy and their better implementation in Rwandan nursery and primary schools.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE IMPACT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY ON LEARNERS' ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

2.0. Introduction

According to Mouton (2001, 87), a researcher may not embark on scientific research without reviewing the existing scholarship to see what other scholars have done in the area he or she is investigating. This chapter provides an overview of research studies and findings on language policy implementation and how it affects learners' academic achievement. Various language implementation models for multilingual societies are described in this chapter, which reports on the effect of the introduction of an AL at various stages of learners' lives.

The chapter begins with discussions of CALP/BICS development, followed by views on when an AL should ideally be introduced. An overview on trilingualism is then presented, with examples from countries which have implemented the trilingual model as well as literature on academic achievements in a trilingual setting. Lastly, the trilingual policy in Rwanda is described, together with its recent modifications.

2.1. Debate on CALP/BICS impact on AL acquisition

2.1.1. Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) development

The term BICS was introduced by Cummins (1979, 1980, in Brown 2000, 246) in reaction to Chomsky's (1965) theory of competence. The term communicative competence was used as early as 1967 by Dell Hymes (1967, 1972, in Brown 1994, 227) to explain the language ability which enables people to convey and interpret messages as well as to negotiate meanings within a specific context. Communicative competence enables people to communicate in an interactive manner, while linguistic competence refers to knowledge about language forms.

In the sixties, Chomsky (1965, in Brown 1994, 31) developed a theory on competence. His theory portrays the speaker and the hearer as entities who do not display memory limitations, shifts of attention, errors, hesitations, false starts, omissions, etc. For Chomsky, the notion of competence refers to the abilities of an "idealised speaker-hearer", devoid of any performance variables such as slips of the tongue, hesitations, etc. (1965, in Brown 1994, 33). It is an ideal as it involves perfect mastery where no language error is made. Chomsky's (1965) notion of competence was later criticised to be limited. Hymes (1967, 1972, in Brown 1994, 227) indicates that Chomsky's "rule-governed creativity" which describes the child's rapid development of grammar at the age of 3 or 4

did not account for social and functional rules of the language. He therefore introduces the term “communicative competence” as explained above. Hymes (1967) and Paulston (1974, in Brown 1994, 227) provide a clear difference between knowledge about language forms and knowledge which enables people to communicate interactively. Later, Cummins (1979, 1980, in Brown 1994, 227) takes the notion of communicative competence further by proposing a distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive / academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS is that communicative capacity acquired by children which enables them to take part in daily interpersonal exchanges (Cummins 1979, in Brown 2000, 246).

In the eighties, Canale and Swain (1980, 1983, in Brown 2000, 247) expanded their discussions of communicative competence by dividing it into four categories, namely i) grammatical competence which is the knowledge about lexical items and rules governing morphology, syntax, grammar and phonology; ii) discourse competence which is the ability to connect sentences in a discourse or an utterance; iii) sociolinguistic competence which is the knowledge about socio-cultural rules and social contexts in which the language is used and iv) strategic competence which involves verbal and nonverbal communication strategies. Based on Cummins’s definition mentioned above, it is clear that BICS entails those language skills which are used in social interactions. Haynes (2007) makes it clear that it involves the day-to-day interactions where people socially interact with other people and he gives an example where English language learners use BICS when they are on the playground, in the lunch room, on the school bus, at parties, when they are playing sports and talking on the telephone, etc. These skills are not specialised or very demanding cognitively, and they occur in a meaningful social context. Cummins (1979) gives another example, comparing two monolingual English-speaking siblings, aged 12 and 6. He indicates that their phonology or basic fluency presents minimal differences, but that their ability to read and to write is very different. The 6 year-old child could understand almost everything which is said to him / her in everyday social contexts, and could use the language effectively in those contexts, just as the 12 year-old. The fact that the 6 year-old child understands everything said to him / her explains why Collier (1989, 510) describes skills which are developed from birth to age 5 where a child acquires the MT phonology, vocabulary, grammar, semantics and pragmatics. All these skills are acquired quickly and are seemingly not demanding to acquire.

BICS develops quickly not only in the MT but also in an AL. Cummins (1989, in Rodseth 2005, 5) explains that BICS is less formal and additional language learners can quickly acquire considerable fluency in the AL when they are exposed to it in the environment or at school; he indicates that conversational fluency is often acquired within about two years of initial exposure to the AL.

BICS has a feature of being context-embedded. Brown (1994, 227) explains the term context-embedded with an example showing that face-to-face communication with people is context-embedded in the sense that it refers to the context of people's use of language. All these characteristics indicate that BICS is not as cognitively demanding as CALP. The next section explores the development of CALP, which is required to manage academic tasks.

2.1.2. Cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) development

The term Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) was also introduced by Cummins (1979, 1980, in Brown 2000, 246). Cummins (1980, in Singleton 1989, 112) defines CALP as "those aspects of language proficiency which are closely related to the development of literacy skills in L1 and L2". Cummins (1979, 1980, in Brown 1994, 227) explains that CALP is that dimension of proficiency where the learner has to come to grips with what is required for academic purposes. These tasks are cognitively more demanding than interpersonal communication. He indicates that they are the language skills which learners use at school, such as reading textbooks, writing answers and essays and answering questions which require a thorough mastery of the language.

Cummins and Swain (1986, in Collier 1989, 512) indicate that CALP is context-reduced. The term context-reduced was introduced by Cummins (1981, in Brown 1994, 227) to explain that school-oriented language does not pay much attention to the context in which the language is used, rather it focuses on different content-area tasks such as language arts, mathematics, science and social sciences (Collier 1989, 512). The context is subject-oriented since the information is read from a textbook or presented by the teacher (Haynes 2007). As it requires high cognitive skills from various subject-areas, Haynes (2007) indicates that it cannot be limited to the understanding of subject-area vocabulary only, it rather involves other skills such as comparing, classifying, synthesizing and evaluating.

With regard to the period for CALP development in an AL, Cummins (1989, in Rodseth 2005, 6) indicates that CALP generally takes a minimum of about five to seven years for additional language learners to catch up to native speakers in academic aspects of the language. As for the development of CALP in the MT, McLaughlin (1984) and De Villiers and De Villiers (1978, in Collier 1989, 510) indicate that from age 6 to 12, children still have to develop complex skills of reading and writing, together with complex rules of morphology and syntax in their MT. This explains clearly why McLaughlin (1984) and De Villiers and De Villiers (1978, in Collier 1989, 510) maintain that the MT has to be developed cognitively up to 12 years when it is said to be developed fully. In the

Rwandan context, this implies that Kinyarwanda should ideally be used as a MOI at least for the first five to seven years of education. As formal education in Rwanda starts at age three (for nursery schools), Kinyarwanda should be taught as a MOI up to age 12 (i.e. up to grade 6 of primary school) before changing over to English and French as MOI.

2.1.3. Impact of CALP development in AL acquisition

CALP and BICS are developed in both the MT and the AL, and their development in both languages is complementary. Cummins expresses this complementarity when he indicates that it is necessary for a child to acquire CALP in his or her MT in order to transfer those skills to the AL and his two hypotheses, namely the threshold hypothesis and the interdependence hypothesis explain this dependence between the MT and the AL for academic achievement in the AL (Cummins 1978, in Mabiletja 2008, 15).

The threshold hypothesis states that a child must have a minimum level of competence in his MT in order to gain cognitive development in case he is exposed to an AL. Cummins (1978, in Mabiletja 2008, 15) indicates that a high level of competence in the MT leads to a high level of competence in the AL and lower level of competence in the MT leads to lower level of competence in the AL. This implies that the level of CALP in the MT will determine the level of mastery of CALP in the AL.

The interdependence hypothesis almost resembles the threshold hypothesis, and it states that the child's level of CALP in an AL depends on his or her level of competence in the MT before exposure to the AL (Cummins 1978, in Mabiletja 2008, 15). The hypothesis clearly indicates that students' better AL performance in academic settings is strongly related to thorough development of their MT skills (Cummins 1978, in Collier 1989, 516). This implies that if the MT competence is developed thoroughly before introducing a child to instruction in an AL, both the MT and the AL will develop and will allow the child to attain high academic achievement; but if it is the other way round, the child will not attain high academic achievement, and the consequence is likely to be what Luckett (1993, in Meyer 1995, 258) calls subtractive bilingualism. Subtractive bilingualism leads to lowered proficiency levels in the AL and in cognitive academic growth due to the lack of continuing the mother tongue cognitive development during AL acquisition. An example of such lowered proficiency is Macdonald's finding (1990, in Mabiletja 2008, 15), which indicates that Black South Africans suffer because of the effect of subtractive bilingualism caused by a sudden change-over to AL before they have reached CALP in their MT. As a result, pupils fail to acquire CALP in either their MT or in the AL. The consequence of this is "semilingualism" (explained in § 1.2) where individuals are not proficient in any of the languages they have acquired (Lemmer 1993, in Mabiletja

2008, 17). This consequence is in line with Cummins's statement (1998, in Rodseth 2005, 6) that students who are forced to give up their MT and switch to English as a MOI, suffer retardation of their academic progress in the AL and are likely to underachieve in both languages. Hartshorne (1995, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 122) is of the same opinion because he warns that any abrupt switch from the MT to an AL as a MOI, with inadequate linguistic preparation of the pupil and with the pupil's lack of exposure to the AL outside the classroom generally results in high failure rates and drop-outs. According to various recent studies, including Cummins (2000); Baker (2000) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, in Cummins 2003), there is no doubt that "The level of development of children's mother tongue is a strong predictor of their second language development" and that "Children who come to school with a solid foundation in their mother tongue develop stronger literacy abilities in the school language".

As multilingual education is likely to be successful when young learners successfully achieve CALP in both the MT and the AL, people have to take this aspect into consideration when adopting and implementing any language policy and when deciding to shift from one language to another as a MOI. The policy makers of the Rwandan trilingual policy in schools have to take cognisance of Cummins's findings on CALP when replacing Kinyarwanda with French and English as MOI.

2.1.4. The important role of MT education

Education in the MT is highly recommended. UNESCO (1951, in Gupta 1997, 496) recommends that the use of the MT in education should be extended to as a late stage as possible. The NEPI report (1992, 7) indicates that MT instruction is advantageous for learners because initial literacy and numeracy as well as basic concepts are learnt in the MT. Therefore, the transition from home to school is easier because the same language is used in the two settings (NEPI 1992, 7). The learner's identity and cultural heritage is maintained since the MT continues to be used by pupils at school and at home. The NEPI report (1992, 7) indicates that the MT instruction model has been largely successful in Russia. Bamgbose's (1984, 87) findings indicate that it is crucial to start formal learning and teaching in the pupil's MT. Even though his experiment is criticised for using one specialised teacher, his study remains definitive in demonstrating the important role of the MT for successful learning of an AL and other subjects. His experiment demonstrates that the group which used Yoruba (which is the MT) as a MOI for six years of primary school performed better than the group which used Yoruba for the first three years (from P1 to P3) and then changed over to English medium from P4 to P6. The first group had better results than the other group, not only in English, but also in other subjects such as mathematics, in verbal tests and in promotion examinations. This outcome supports Cummins's (1978) statement that sufficient development of CALP in the MT boosts academic achievement not only in the AL but also in other subjects.

Although MT instruction is important and advantageous, there are people who are against it. Gupta's (1997, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 123) argument against MT education indicates that it is divisive: "Promoting it will result in extensive separation of ethnic groups in the education system". This problem may arise in countries which have many indigenous languages. For example, Tadadjeu (1975, 54) indicates that the number of indigenous languages spoken in Cameroon is estimated at 250 and one may wonder how a country may provide necessary teaching materials written in all those languages if the MT instruction model is implemented. Kamwangamalu (2001, 123) states that people who oppose MT education maintain that research on the merits of MT education is inconclusive and countries cannot provide each child with education in his or her MT due to financial constraints. Phillipson (1992, in Gupta 1997, 497) states that "An apparently sound focus on the mother tongue as medium of education does not in itself provide a guarantee of enlightened education".

Even if MT education is challenging in multilingual settings, Bamgbose's (1984, 87) findings mentioned above indicate that it is advisable to use the MT medium in the first seven years of a child's education. Kamwangamalu (2001, 119) describes how the South African Government adopted a new language policy in 1994 giving official recognition to 11 languages, including 9 African languages, within the context of promoting MT education. Kamwangamalu (2001, 131) informs the policy-makers that in Africa, there is an urgent need to rethink language-in-education policies with a view of revitalising MT education, since MT education is the surest way to reach a great number of people and integrate them into the national and democratic process. Political will, availability of human and financial resources and people's attitudes based on rewards attached to MT education are the best variables for success of MT education in African countries, according to Kamwangamalu (2001, 132).

Following Brann's (1981, 3) terminology, Kinyarwanda is at the same time chthonolect and demolect in Rwanda. Chthonolect refers to a language-of-the-soil, an indigenous language or a mother tongue, while demolect refers to a community or national language (Brann 1981, 3). Based on the importance of the MT medium mentioned above, Rwandan schools should endeavour to use Kinyarwanda as a MOI for at least the first 7 years, i.e. from nursery school up to P6.

2.1.5. CALP development in a multilingual setting

In a multilingual classroom, academic achievement and the full development of an AL is, according to the threshold hypothesis and the interdependence hypothesis, dependant upon the full development of a MT in a bilingual individual (Cummins 1978, in Collier 1989, 516).

Multilingualism is a common phenomenon throughout the world. People learn and use several languages, and profit from this mastery. Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995, 225) view multilingualism as a source for learning and teaching, as a means of improving opportunities in business and better understanding of different ethnolinguistic groups. Crawford (1996, in Mabletja 2008, 17) indicates that different languages constitute a resource because they open up the world's windows and prepare individuals to participate in a multilingual world. Even though there are people like Tokuhama-Espinosa (2003, in Mabletja 2008, 16) who believe that children can suffer brain overload by learning more than one language, the truth is that many people master and use more than one language. Genesee and Cloud (1998, in Mabletja 2008, 18) indicate that multilingualism provides an opportunity to understand and appreciate the differences; an opportunity for learners to know and respect other ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups they interact with. Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995, in Mabletja 2008, 18) view it as a means for ensuring equality in education for all.

The role of CALP in promoting multilingualism is summarised by Cummins's (1978, in Collier 1989, 517) assertion that there is common underlying proficiency which enables the transfer of academic skills across a student's two languages. He confirms that "When children continue to develop their abilities in two or more languages throughout their primary school years, they gain deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively" (Cummins 2003). He even indicates that more than 150 research studies conducted during the past 35 years strongly support Goethe's claim that "The person who knows only one language does not truly know that language". All these arguments really indicate that learners' academic achievement in a multilingual classroom will be reached when CALP in the MT is developed thoroughly in order to contribute in the development of CALP in the AL. Policy-makers in Rwanda have to bear this principle in mind for successful learning of French and English and for the development of academic performance in all content subjects.

2.2. Debate on age factor in AL acquisition

There are many factors which influence the choice and implementation of a language policy in education, as well as the successful acquisition of an AL. The age of the learners is one of the key

factors influencing policy-makers to adopt a particular language policy for schools. For successful acquisition of an AL, other factors such as language aptitude, social-psychological factors, personality, cognitive factors, learning strategies (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991, 153); learners' motivation (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 2); teacher's competence (Cohen 1998, 97); teacher's and learner's characteristics such as intelligence, learning and teaching style, previous experience and attitudes (Oxford and Ehrman 1993, 196) and psychomotor or neurological factors (Brown 2000, 54) play an important role. This section mainly analyses the age factor in AL acquisition and how that influences the choice and the implementation of a language policy. The role that motivation plays is analysed as well. Within the debate around age and the acquisition of an AL, we notice a paradigm shift: earlier research found that younger children are the best acquirers of an AL, while recent research refutes this claim and indicates that adults are the best acquirers of an AL.

2.2.1. Research on the early introduction of an AL

There are people who still believe that younger children acquire an AL more effectively than adults, while other scholars feel that this is an old-fashioned belief. According to Abdelilah-Bauer (2006, 42), it is well known that language acquisition is predetermined in our genes and every human being acquires language as long as he or she is in contact with people who use language. Within this school of thought, human beings are believed to have an innate device called Language Acquisition Device (LAD) (Chomsky, 1965), and which enables a child to develop and construct a language intuitively (Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 42). This is applicable to MT acquisition but there is a tendency to believe that it is also applicable to AL learning. Asher and Garcia (1969), Oyama (1978), Krashen (1979) and Patkowski (1980, in Singleton 1989, 117) also believe that people who are exposed to an AL during childhood achieve higher proficiency in the AL than those who acquire an AL during adulthood. Selinker (1972, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 19) claims that adults' skills in the AL eventually fossilise and plateau at some point before reaching native-like proficiency. Kim et al. (1997, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 16) indicate that young AL acquirers have more advantages than adults in achieving native-like proficiency.

These scholars support a *critical period*. This term was introduced by Penfield and Roberts (1959, in Marinova-Todd et al. (2000, 10) who state that "language acquisition is most efficient before age 9, when 'the human brain becomes... stiff and rigid'". The critical period is also supported by Lenneberg (1967, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 10) who indicates that the human brain becomes lateralized during the critical period and claims that post-pubertal language acquisition is far more difficult and far less successful than acquisition occurring during the pre-pubertal period. Lenneberg (1967) and Bickerton (1981, in Brown 2000, 53) strongly support the *Critical Period Hypothesis* which states that there is a critical period for language acquisition, i.e. 'a biologically determined

period of life when language can be acquired more easily and beyond which time language is increasingly difficult to acquire' (Brown 2000, 53). This hypothesis is also supported by Scovel 1988; Jacobs 1988; Long 1990b; Johnson 1992; Patkowski 1982; Cummins 1980; Thompson 1991, in Brown (1994, 53), especially to the AL contexts, where they confirm that a critical point for AL acquisition occurs around puberty, beyond which people have difficulties and are unlikely to attain a native-like accent in the AL.

The description above clearly indicates that people thought that there was a critical period not only for MT acquisition but also for an AL. Brown (2000, 53) indicates that the concept of a critical period was initially connected only to MT acquisition. Abdelilah-Bauer (2006, 44) demonstrates that many researchers confirmed, thirty years ago, that young children's facility in language acquisition is due to brain plasticity, conditions of brain maturation as well as brain lateralisation which occurs during childhood. Bley-Vroman (1989, in Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 43) states that the grammar of the mother tongue is an "ersatz" of Universal Grammar which will ensure approximate attainment of native speakers' language skills. Therefore, we have to suppose that the time for acquiring a MT as well as an AL is limited (Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 43). The best time for language acquisition seems to be from birth to puberty (Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 44).

It seems clear that there is a lot of support for the critical period hypothesis, which calls for the introduction of an AL at an early age, specifically before puberty. However, Abdelilah-Bauer (2006, 44) indicates that the critical period hypothesis was criticised since its publication. The recent research on age factor and early AL learning by Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006, 236) state that "Although the existence of age effects is widely accepted, many applied linguists disagree on whether age effects are consistent with a CP [critical period]".

Recent conclusions also indicate that ideas about the existence of a single critical period up to puberty are almost abandoned; rather, current studies are interested in several stages of a person's development at which language aptitude is appropriate (Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 45-46). The critical period hypothesis influenced a number of people and led them to incorrectly believe that by the age of 12 or 13, children cannot acquire an AL successfully (Brown 2000, 54). Such an influence of the critical period hypothesis is commented on by Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006, 236) who clearly indicate that some authors such as DeKeyser, 2003; DeKeyser and Larson-Hall, 2005; Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson, 2003 interpret studies in favour of the existence of the critical period hypothesis; while others such as Bialystok, 2001; Birdsong, 2005; Marinova-Todd, Marshall and Snow, 2000, 2001; MacWhinney, 2005 and Moyer, 2004 are against it; whereas others such as Munoz, in press; Scovel, 1988, 2000; Singleton, 1989, 2001 and Singleton and Ryan, 2004 maintain a balanced view

about the critical period hypothesis. A number of empirical studies were conducted over the last few years to challenge this version of the critical period hypothesis and have identified highly proficient adult learners of an AL who started AL acquisition after the critical period and who are undistinguishable from native speakers (Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 236). Such cases are explored in the next section which explains the view that adults are the best acquirers of an AL.

2.2.2. Research evidence that supports the introduction of an AL at a later stage

Several researchers have indicated that adults are the best acquirers of an AL. McLaughlin (1985); Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 12) believe that older learners are generally faster and more efficient in the initial stages of AL learning. Genesee (1987, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 12) reports that older students are more efficient AL learners than younger students. The study by Ervin-Tripp (1974, in Harley 1986, 26 and in Singleton 1989, 103) on the performance of 4 – 9 years old English-speaking children learning French in Switzerland revealed that older learners outperformed the younger ones on French syntax and morphology, and this dominance was attributed to the cognitive maturity of the older learners. Politzer and Ramirez (1978, in Harley 1986, 30) had similar findings in children of Spanish background who were learning English as an AL. In this case, the success of the older children was attributed to their memory storage capacity.

Bialystok and Miller (in press, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 24) indicate that older learners perform better in written tests. Other studies, including Adiv (1980), Genesee (1979), Harley (1986) and Snow (1983) confirm that people who start AL learning after five years and as adults generally outperform those who start earlier. Ekstrand's (1976, in Collier 1989, 514) experiment with 2,189 immigrants in Sweden aged between 6 and 14, after 2 years of residence, found that older students performed better than younger students in all tests of listening, pronunciation, oral production, reading, dictation and free writing. Lapkin, Swain, Kamin and Hanna (1980, in Collier 1989, 515) compared late French immersion programme students who had accumulated 1400 hours of instruction in French in the 10th grade, with early immersion programme students who had accumulated 4,000 hours of French instruction in the 10th grade, and found that their scores on tests in oral and written skills in French were roughly equivalent. This shows how mature children who start an AL instruction late easily catch up with children who start at an early age. Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978, in Collier 1989, 514) tested 5 groups of children of different ages who were acquiring Dutch in the Netherlands. The age range was 3 to 5 years old; 6 to 7; 8 to 10; 12 to 15 and adults. Their findings revealed that adults and 12 to 15 years olds performed better in all measures in

the initial test; the 8 to 10 years olds and 12 to 15 years olds outperformed the adults in the long run; while the 3 to 5 years olds lagged behind in all tests.

This sample of research evidence support Nelson, Camarata, Welsh, Butkovsky and Camarata's (1996, in Marinova-Todd et al. 2000, 12) belief that older learners are generally faster and more efficient in AL learning. They also support Snow's (1983, 149) conclusion that: "It does not surprise me that adults turn out to be better second language learners than children. After all, adults are better than children at almost every learning task". Stern's (1976, in Harley 1986, 38) conclusion also states that "early age school instruction of an additional language does not in itself guarantee success" and this implies that other factors such as motivation, attitudes, language aptitude, and social-psychological factors contribute and play a significant role in the acquisition of an AL.

All the research studies described in this section criticise and refute the critical period and the critical period hypothesis and support Marinova-Todd et al.'s (2000, 11) criticism that the assumption that younger AL learners achieve higher proficiency than adult learners is irrelevant and is subject to each of the three fallacies: misinterpretation, misattribution and misemphasis. Therefore, when we compare the assumptions from the two camps, it is arguably true that evidence which supports the introduction of an AL at an early age is regarded as outdated as it stems from the late 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Current research studies illustrate the successful introduction of an AL at a later stage. For example the profile of 30 post-puberty learners of English from 25 countries and speaking 18 languages were examined by Marinova-Todd (2003, in Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 237) in comparison with native speakers of English. They were tested in different domains, and striking results were obtained: Two nonnative speakers had undistinguishable accent from native speakers; six performed within the native range in spontaneous speech; three women married to native speakers of English attained native level across all domains; two nonnatives also married to native speakers of English attained native level in all measures, especially in receptive vocabulary; while three women who were not living with native speakers of English attained native level in all tests, except in pronunciation. Another study by Urponen (2004, in Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 237) on a large group of 104 Finnish women who had moved to the U.S. or Canada and married native speakers of English. They were tested in grammaticality judgment and interviews and the results revealed that 38% of the participants were undistinguishable from native speakers. The top achievers had studied more English as a Foreign Language before arrival in the U.S. and had more years of education both in Finland and in the host country, read more and focused more on their accuracy and communication skills than participants with low scores. On the whole, participants' performance did not decline with their aging.

The above-mentioned examples show clearly that the issue of sensitive or critical period is no longer regarded as valid and is no longer regarded as an important factor in AL acquisition. Marinova-Todd et al. (2000, 10) conclude that “older learners have the potential to learn additional languages to a very high level and that introducing additional languages to very young learners cannot be justified on grounds of biological readiness to learn languages”.

The above-mentioned research clearly indicates that school administrators and parents should not continue with the old-fashioned and unfounded belief that only early AL teaching is effective since several research studies have indicated that an AL can be learnt and mastered at any age, including adulthood. This shows that the best time for introducing an AL is not necessarily during the pre-school years, or in elementary school, or somewhere before puberty as indicated in studies discussed in Collier (1989, 511); rather an AL can be introduced at any stage of life. The only condition which was supported by almost all researchers is that the MT has to be developed cognitively up to 12 years when it is said to be developed fully (De Villiers and De Villiers 1978, McLaughlin 1984, in Collier 1989, 510). This condition does not however imply that the AL cannot be introduced before 12 years of age. The research evidence has clearly indicated that it can be introduced at any age as a subject but should not be the MOI.

2.3. Motivation as a factor in AL learning

Gardner (1985, in Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 2), says that “the motivated individual is one who wants to achieve a particular goal, devotes considerable effort to achieve this goal, and experiences satisfaction in the activities associated with achieving this goal”. Motivation comprises three components, i.e. desire to achieve a goal, effort to be made and satisfaction arrived at after the achievement. Therefore, only motivation can play a direct role in is determining if individuals decide to voluntarily participate in language acquisition (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 213).

There are various types of motivation but the salient ones are instrumental motivation and integrative motivation. An instrumentally-motivated learner is guided by a functional-motivational drive, such as learning an additional language to pass an examination, for further career opportunities, getting a good job, travelling abroad, acquiring new ideas, facilitating the study of other subjects through the medium of that additional language, etc; while an integratively-motivated learner learns a language in order to meet, to communicate with and to learn more about the language community (Gardner 1985, in Madileng 2007, 27). Several studies, including Dornyei (1990); Lukmani (1972); Gardner and MacIntyre (1991, in Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 4) have shown that achievement in an AL is facilitated by instrumental motivation as well as integrative motivation and attitudes.

The seeds of the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation were sown by Lambert (1955, in Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 1), who explained that the interest to learn another language is often developed due to emotional involvement with another language community (integrative motivation) or due to direct interest in the language itself (instrumental motivation). The five basic motives for learning an additional language, as described by Marckwardt (1948, in Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 1) include both integrative and instrumental motivation, and these are “provision of a cultural background, the influence of foreign speech islands, the necessity for political and cultural unification, purposes of colonisation and commerce, and the necessity of reading scientific and technical works.” These basic motives were described 60 years ago, but they are still applicable today.

Motivation is also viewed in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Vrey (1984, in Madileng 2007, 27) explains that intrinsic motivation comes from inside the learner; for example when a child is motivated to learn a language to gain knowledge for self-satisfaction and self-fulfillment, and with his / her free choice. Evidence of the role of intrinsic motivation in language learning comes from a study by Urponen (2004, in Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 237) described above, where the top achievers among 104 Finnish women who had moved to the U.S. or Canada and married native speakers of English, had studied more English as a Foreign Language before arrival in the U.S. and had more years of education both in Finland and in the host country, read more and focused more on their accuracy and communication skills than participants who got lower scores.

An extrinsic motivation is imposed from outside; for example when a child learns a language to receive praise and good comments from parents and teachers. It is related to motives such as rewards, marks, benefits from an activity done, etc (Nikolov 1999, in Madileng 2007, 38). Moyor (2004, in Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 238) studied the language proficiency of 25 successful well-educated immigrants to Germany from Britain, France, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Turkey and the U.S. concluded that their ultimate attainment in the AL was boosted by their motivation, including their personal interest in improving fluency and satisfaction with attainment. The motivation factor accounted for 74% of the variance of attainment, which offered a stronger prediction than the one offered by a combination of age of arrival and length of residence.

The above-mentioned example indicates that motivation plays a significant role in AL learning. Therefore, this research study has to find out if participants are integratively, instrumentally, intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to learn or to let their children learn and use English, French and Kinyarwanda in Kigali City’s nursery and primary schools.

2.4. Language planning and policies

2.4.1. Types of language planning

As mentioned in the definition of key terms (cf. § 1.2), the terms language planning and language policy are closely related and interconnected. Cooper (1989, 29) indicates that language policy sometimes appears as a synonym for language planning, but it often refers to the goals of language planning.

The term language planning was used for the first time by Uriel Weinreich in 1957 but it was introduced to the literature by Haugen in 1959 (Cooper 1989, 29). One of 12 definitions of language planning which appeared after the publication of Haugen's 1959 article, cited in Cooper (1989, 30) states that "[Language planning may be defined as] a government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems" (Weinstein 1980, 55).

Two language planning foci were distinguished and coined by Heinz Kloss (1969), and these are status planning and corpus planning. Almost 20 years later, Prator (1986, in Cooper 1989, 33) suggested the third focus of language planning, namely acquisition planning. These are the three main types of language planning.

Status planning, as viewed by Kloss, is a "recognition by a national government of the importance or position of one language in relation to others"; but the term was extended to refer to the allocation of languages to various functions such as medium of instruction, official language, vehicle of mass communication, etc. (Cooper 1989, 32). Francis and Kamanda (2001, 225) share the view that status planning involves decisions about which languages to use in domains such as education and the media. The 10 main functions of a language targeted by status planning were described by Stewart (1968, in Cooper 1989, 99-121), and these functions are: official language, provincial or regional language, language of wider communication, international language, the language of the capital, the language of communication among a cultural or ethnic group, the medium of instruction in education, the language taught as school subject, the language use for literary or scholarly purposes, and the use of a language for religion or the ritual. The framework of status planning described in Ricento (2006, 29) includes officialisation, nationalisation, standardisation of status, proscription, revival, maintenance, spread and interlingual, international and intranational communication.

Corpus planning is described as “those efforts related to the adequacy of the form and structure of languages/literacies” (Ricento 2006, 28). Its framework includes standardisation, graphisation, modernisation, renovation, codification, elaboration, etc. Fishman (2004, in Ricento 2006, 315) indicates that corpus planning pertains to several issues concerned with language, such as technological nomenclatures, writing systems, spelling guides, style books, dictionaries, grammars, punctuation rules, etc and Francis and Kamanda (2001, 225) indicate that corpus planning entails standardisation procedures and functional development of selected languages or dialects, focusing mainly on language structure, such as modifications in vocabulary, writing and grammar. Cooper (1989, 31) explains that corpus planning refers to activities related to coining new terms, reforming spelling, creating new forms and modifying the old ones in a spoken or a written form.

Acquisition planning is described as “efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages / literacies, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both” (Ricento 2006, 28). Its framework includes reacquisition, maintenance, shift, foreign language literacy and implementation, group, education or school, religion, mass media and work (Ricento 2006, 28). Cooper (1989, 33) indicates that it aims at language spread, i.e. increasing a language’s users. However, all language spread should not be attributed to acquisition planning. For example when planning is directed towards increasing a language’s uses, it is regarded as status planning; but when it is directed towards increasing the number of users such as speakers, listeners, writers or readers, it falls under acquisition planning (Cooper 1989, 33).

All three types of language planning have some implications. Ricento (2006, 321) indicates that status planning may instruct schools not to recognise the MT of the child in the earliest grades, by adopting national, regional or international languages. Cooper (1989, 118) gives an example of the Israeli government which determines how many hours of radio and television programmes are broadcast in Hebrew, Arabic and in foreign languages. Such allocation of languages may create pressure, increase desire to promote or to repress a given language, make the programmes and the personnel available as well as the feasibility of producing new programmes in the given languages (Cooper 1989, 118). Ricento (2006) views the implications of language planning through linguistic, geolinguistic and psycho-sociolinguistic contexts. According to Ricento (2006, 324), language planning is a tool, and any tool can be used for good or for evil, consciously or unconsciously. Language planning is commonly used to advance the status or the corpus of a given language, but it can also lead to language decline, language shift and language death as it has been observed throughout the long history of language planning. That is why any language planning has to meticulously answer Cooper’s (1989, 60) questions: who adopts what, when, where, why and how?

The study has to evaluate if the new language policy in Rwanda has responded to these questions. This research study also seeks to identify which of the three types of language planning is applied and adopted in the new language policy.

2.4.2. Types of language policies

Language policies take different orientations, depending on the policy goals of each society or each nation. There are several types of language policies for multilingual societies, and Skutnabb-Kangas (1988, in Annamalai 2003, 119) categorises them into three main types, namely:

- (i) The policy of maintenance of multilingualism: This language policy promotes multilingualism by institutionalising the use of minority languages in public domains, and by allowing non-government efforts and funds for the use of minority languages in public domains, such as education. This policy really promotes language learning and teaching, and gives support to language learners. An example of a country which used such a multilingual policy is South Africa, where the government adopted a language policy in 1994 giving official recognition to 11 languages (Kamwangamalu, 2001, 119).
- (ii) The policy of tolerance of multilingualism: This language policy is indifferent to minority languages and to their use in public domains. The policy promotes multilingualism; it does not control language use, though it provides the freedom for using those languages, even in public domains. Many African countries use several languages, some languages are given specific domains where they are used and others are not, but they are all used freely. In Rwanda for example, Kinyarwanda, French and English are given specific areas where they are used (official documents, education, media, etc.) but Swahili, Lukiga-Lunyankore, Luganda, Lingala and many others are used freely and tolerated, although their specific use is not defined in official documents.
- (iii) The policy of elimination of multilingualism: This language policy prohibits and penalises the use of minority languages in public domains. It therefore limits the use of some languages and prevents users and learners of those languages from using them in public domains. In the United Kingdom, Welsh was forbidden in Wales in 1402 and as late as the early twentieth century forbidden in schools. Anyone caught speaking Welsh was punished by wearing a piece of wood on a leather strap, called a “Welsh Not”. It was only at the end of the twentieth century that Welsh gained official recognition and since then all official documents are published in both Welsh and English.

The Rwandan trilingual policy supports the policy of tolerance of multilingualism and the policy of maintenance of multilingualism, but does not support the policy of elimination of multilingualism. The implementation of the adopted language policies involves a thorough understanding of multilingual implementation models. Multilingual education models are systems which enable a multilingual country to implement the language policy it has adopted. Bamgbose (1984, 87) states that an inevitable policy decision has to be made in any multilingual country about the language to be used as a MOI. Makoni (1993, in Meyer 1995, 244) states that the challenge of successful medium of instruction policy formulation, implementation and evaluation lies therein that development is a cyclical process and suggests that the language policy formulation and implementation is effective when it follows both top-down and bottom-up processes, ensuring that students, teachers and parents have a say in what happens in the classroom. The NEPI report (1992, 4) also supports the idea of involving learners, teachers and parents in the policy implementation and Wardhaugh (1987, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 120) states that the implementation of language policy involves complex decision making, human and materials resources.

In the following section, a set of multilingual implementation models will be discussed. These models include initial bilingualism or initial trilingualism, early or later immersion model, gradual transfer and sudden transfer. Those models have been implemented in different countries, and the discussion will highlight the ones that are most suitable for Rwandan schools

2.4.3. Multilingual implementation models

2.4.3.1. Initial bilingualism or initial trilingualism

This model consists of introducing two or three languages from the first year of schooling, including both the MT and the ALs, but without strict rules regarding the status of each language as a MOI (NEPI report 1992, 13). Those two or three languages are used as media of instruction or as subjects, but at different stages of education.

The model has been implemented in several countries. The NEPI report (1992, 13) gives an example of a school in Grahamstown (in South Africa) which has been successfully teaching Grade 1 and 2 children in both Xhosa and English before using English as MOI from Grade 3. At Rockpoint in the USA, this model has been used successfully to teach Navajo and English (NEPI report 1992, 13). Tadadjeu (1975, 62) reports on initial trilingualism in Cameroon where three languages are introduced from the first year of primary school, and those languages include one MT selected in each of the seven administrative provinces. The other two are French and English.

The initial bilingualism or trilingualism model partially supports Cummins (1978) in that it strives to develop CALP fully in the MT before the introduction of an AL. As CALP is developed in both the MT and AL concurrently, and this may enable learners to perform academically in the AL but not to the maximum level since CALP is not first developed fully in the MT. This model has the potential of developing CALP fully since it has the option of using the MT as a MOI for a certain period. If the MT is used for five to seven years, as Cummins (1978) suggests, this could improve academic achievement in the AL. The fact that two or three languages are learnt concurrently also has advantages in boosting CALP. The findings from Collier (1989, 524) reveal that the cognitive development of bilingual students is more advanced than that of monolingual students. This concurs with Troike's (1978, in Collier 1989, 523) findings on students in a French-English bilingual programme in Minnesota who were at or above national norms in all content areas after 5 years of schooling in both languages. Collier's (1989, 524) research also reveals that it takes 4 to 7 years of dual-language cognitive academic development before academic gains are visible, but when those academic gains are achieved, students who have been schooled in two languages are more successful academically than their peers who were schooled in only one language.

This model therefore leads to additive bilingualism described in § 1.2. and it partially supports Cummins's (1978) views on full CALP development in the MT before introducing the AL.

2.4.3.2. Early immersion models (partial and total)

Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988, in Mabiletja 2008, 12) describes an immersion model as a model where parents with a low status MT choose to have their children instructed through the medium of an AL. Collier (1989, 525) discusses several immersion models, including early partial immersion, early total immersion, late partial immersion and late total immersion. Richards, Platt, and Weber (1985, 135) distinguish between total and partial immersion models, citing an example from Canada, where there are schools for MT English-speaking children whose parents encourage their children to be instructed in French. When these children are taught in French for the whole day, it is called a total immersion programme; but if they are taught in French for only part of the day, it is called a partial immersion programme.

In an early partial immersion model, an AL is introduced from the beginning of formal education, and it is used as a MOI for some subjects while other subjects are taught in the MT. The new policy in Rwanda does not dictate this model since all subjects are expected to be taught in English.

Cummins and Swain's (1986, in Collier 1989, 525) study reveals that the AL achievement of students who experienced early partial immersion from kindergarten up to Grade 12 in Canada lagged behind that of students who underwent early total immersion and Genesee (1987, in Collier 1989, 526) concludes that early total immersion students generally outperform students in other types of Canadian immersion programmes. The circumstances in the country where research is done need to be taken into consideration. For example the case in Canada where the above-mentioned studies were conducted, pupils are exposed to the AL in their daily lives in certain provinces (for instance in Quebec, everything appears in both French and English).

Macdonald (1990, in Mabletja 2008, 12) indicates that the early immersion model has been a failure in Anglophone countries because children often do not have a sufficient literate background, parental assistance, cultural and environment support for learning through an AL. Learners are proficient in their MT, but when they enter the classroom, they immediately encounter an AL as the MOI. The new policy in Rwanda is likely to be early total immersion, but there is parental assistance and environment support because some parents are Anglophones. However, Mbori (2008, 136) considers 'Anglophone' as a label which may depend on attitudes rather on actual usage of language in Rwanda because the phrase 'Anglophone' may be used to refer to a person who is not actually fluent in English. Mabletja (2008, 12) maintains that the immersion model is discouraged in South Africa due to the lack of well-trained teachers and a lack of motivation to make learners cope with this situation.

The early partial immersion model partially follows Cummins's (1978) view about CALP development in the MT before developing CALP in an AL, because formal education starts with predominant AL medium. It therefore leads to subtractive bilingualism, and that is why it is not supported in South Africa as mentioned above.

Early total immersion model resembles what the Department of Education and Training (DET) in South Africa called "the straight choice" where children are taught everything in an AL from the first day of schooling (in NEPI 1992, 8). According to Meyer (1995, 245), there are two types of sudden transfer, and these are initial sudden transfer and sudden transfer introduced in later standards. Initial sudden transfer may be described as a model implemented in schools where one or more ALs are used as a MOI from the first day of schooling, while the MT is not used. Such an implementation model is commonly found in the linguistic setting where exoglossic languages have high status. This model was implemented in all former British, French and Portuguese colonies in Africa (NEPI 1992, 8) where English, French and Portuguese were used as MOI in education from the beginning, while the local people's MT medium was not used at all. Regarding this situation, Brann (1981, 2) states:

“On the whole, African States in the 60s shied away from the possible modification – change or addition – in the language(s) of instruction, as that would have raised political, as well as economic and social issues. If any change there was, it was often to minimize the use of indigenous languages”.

The early total immersion model seems oblivious of Cummins’s (1978) theories of the interdependence between CALP in the MT and CALP in an AL as it ignores the importance of CALP development in the MT. This model may alienate children from their culture and make them downgrade their MT, because ALs are introduced from the beginning of schooling while the MT is downplayed. It therefore compromises on Bamgbose’s (1984, 87) hypothesis regarding the superiority of the MT medium which states that basic concepts are mastered when firstly learnt in the MT. The NEPI report (1992, 8) warns that the implementation of this model has to be adopted with care because it was not successful in the former British, French and Portuguese colonies in Africa. Therefore, it is clear that this model might lead to subtractive bilingualism. The new policy in Rwanda which has adopted English as a MOI may downplay Kinyarwanda and underestimate the importance of MT instruction.

2.4.3.3. The gradual transfer from a MT to an AL

Gradual transfer from MT to AL is a model in which learners move from the use of their MT to an AL over a certain period of time. Initial literacy is acquired in the MT, then the AL replaces the MT as a MOI gradually, and after the change-over to the AL, the MT continues to be taught as a subject (NEPI 1992, 12).

The model has been experimented within the Netherlands and was proved to be very successful (NEPI 1992, 12). This model is also implemented successfully in Luxembourg. Hoffman (1979, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 150) describes how a gradual transfer from Luxembourgish to German and French has ensured the mastery of three languages up to the level where the two ALs are not seen as foreign languages but as something approximating auxiliary mother tongues.

The main advantage of this model is that initial learning occurs in the MT, and learners get acquainted with the ALs before they change over to those ALs as MOI for all subjects. As the MT continues to be taught as a subject after change-over, this is in line with Cummins’s (1978) views that stress the importance of continuing cognitive development of the MT for effective acquisition of an AL as described in § 2.1.3. A convincing example of the effectiveness of this model is the finding from Collier and Thomas’s (1988, in Collier 1989, 519) studies which show how adolescents with good cognitive development in the MT reached high levels of proficiency in AL skills within 2 to 3

years, with the possible exception of native-like pronunciation; while the youngest children who had had no instruction in the MT took 7 to 10 years to reach the same level of AL proficiency.

This model clearly supports Cummins's (1978) views about CALP development in the MT before introducing the AL medium. It therefore leads to additive bilingualism.

2.4.3.4. Sudden transfer from a MT to an AL introduced in later standards

When the sudden transfer is implemented, the MT is used for teaching all subjects from the first year of schooling up to a particular standard; then, there is sudden change-over to an AL as a MOI for all subjects, but with the continuation of the MT as a subject (NEPI 1992, 10).

This model was successful in Nigerian urban and rural schools due to the fact that students had acquired considerable skills in English before shifting to English as a MOI, and had developed basic concepts in their MT before changing over to English as a MOI (NEPI 1992, 10). This success emphasises the importance of initial use of MT as a MOI as well as the importance of early exposure to the AL. This model is criticised because it did not work well in South Africa, where the sudden transfer model is often implemented from Standard 3 in the Department of Education and Training (DET) schools (NEPI 1992, 10). The model was not also successful in Tanzania where it was introduced in Standard 7 (NEPI 1992, 10). These examples of failure indicate that full cognitive development of the MT has to be reached before change-over to the AL as a MOI and support the belief that children master basic concepts in the AL more successfully when they are first learnt in the MT (NEPI 1992, 10). Therefore, sudden transfer could be seen as an example of a model which partly supports Cummins's (1978) theory, even though the change-over from the MT to the AL happens abruptly. Lanham 1978; Musker 1993; Alexander 1997 and Hartshorne (1995, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 122) warn that the abrupt switch from the MT to an AL as a MOI, with inadequate linguistic preparation of the pupil and with the pupil's lack of exposure to the AL outside the classroom generally result in high failure rates and drop-outs.

As CALP in the MT is developed before the change-over to AL medium, this model can be regarded as developing additive bilingualism.

2.4.3.5. Late partial or late total immersion models

Unlike early immersion models described above, late immersion models introduce an AL at a later stage of education, while the initial learning is done in the MT (Collier 1989, 525). Late partial immersions model imply that the change-over from a MT to an AL as a MOI is done at a specific

stage of education, but for some subjects only. For the late total immersion model, the AL is used as a MOI for all subjects after change-over from the MT.

These models are implemented in Canada where late immersion begins in grade 7 or 8 (Collier (1989, 526). It must be remembered that French and English are both official languages that are given equal treatment in the media, etc. Genesee's (1987, in Collier 1989, 526) study which compares late and early immersion students found that late immersion students who had sufficient AL preparation prior to the immersion experience performed as well as early total immersion students in measures of AL proficiency, and the striking aspect is that the later immersion students have had approximately one fourth the number of hours of AL instruction. Such findings indicate the strengths of introducing an AL at a later stage of education, as advised by Cummins (1978) in his recommendation that CALP should be developed in the MT before introducing the AL. This model takes such a recommendation into consideration. It therefore develops additive bilingualism.

The above sections introduced some of the multilingual implementation models adopted by different educational systems in multilingual countries. The models which were and are currently used in Rwandan schools will be discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

2.5. The role of language planning agencies in implementing language models

Language planning agencies have the task of working out, implementing and monitoring language models. There are many language planning agencies in the world. Weinstein (2001) states that there are almost 150 language planning agencies in the world, for example "The Académie Française", the Academy for the Hebrew Language in Israel, "the Office de la Langue Française in Quebec", the Turkish Language Society, and the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs in the United States, to name but a few.

These language planning agencies play a leading role in the success of any language policy. Weinstein (2001) mentions how the best-known movement called "Francophonie", a network of educational institutions, professional organisations, government officials, and literacy groups directed by French-speaking elites in France, Quebec, Belgium, Senegal, Lebanon, Haiti and elsewhere serves international educational and political goals related to language policies.

Language planning agencies assist governments in language planning, which is often initiated and controlled by a government or a government agency, following the top-down process. This top-down process is criticised by Haitao (2002, in Kaplan and Baldauf 2003, 98) who warns that the predilection of government to move ahead with a plan without reference to linguistic realities of the

environment often causes language policy development to fail. Such a belief is contrasted by Bamgbose et al. (1987, in Kamwendo 2005, 144) who state that individuals and non-governmental organisations (such as religious bodies etc) can, and do contribute to language planning. Safran (2004, 8) also indicates that the intervention of institutions in language maintenance and in language management is crucial, but it must be judicious in order to avoid language conflict.

For better collaboration between government and non-governmental organisations, Muhlhäusler (in Liddicoat and Bryant 2000, 303) emphasises the “system-internal factors and the interlinked sub-systems” which should harmonise the interaction between linguistics, culture, politics and environment for the language planning policy to be successful. In contemporary context, Hatoss and Cunningham (2004, 351) indicate that the language education policies of the 21st century need to deal with both local and global challenges, as well as with the integration of globalisation and intercultural forces which are strengthened by the maintenance of ethnic language movements. Polanyi (2001, in Hatoss and Cunningham 2004, 355) campaigns for the survival of languages in a ‘liberal open market’ by criticizing the contemporary language education policies which are driven by economic rationalism, especially in multilingual settings. The adoption of English as a sole MOI in the new Rwandan policy seems to be driven by economic reasons and regional and global integration; one may therefore wonder if Polanyi’s (2001, in Hatoss and Cunningham 2004, 355) concern mentioned above is relevant to the new situation of Kinyarwanda and French in Rwanda.

Each language planning agency should endeavour to elaborate well-defined language models, within the context of promoting education policies, and facilitating learners to acquire languages and teachers to monitor the language learning, even though the task of working out the language implementation models requires multifaceted efforts from various stakeholders (Foley 2004, 57). Chapter 4 will reveal if language planning agencies in Rwanda contribute in the implementation of language policy in schools.

2.6. An overview of trilingualism

2.6.1. Three language acquisition

According to Abdelilah-Bauer (2006, 98), there are few systematic studies on the acquisition phases of a third language to see whether it differs from second language acquisition. The study by Clyne (1997, in Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 99) indicates that the process of acquiring a third language is not different from the one used in acquiring a second language, but shows that the functioning of the third language is complex and sometimes slow. Reasons such as input or exposure to the third language in the environment might contribute to quick or slow acquisition. For example, Cenoz et al.

(2001, in Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 99) indicate that most of the studies which analysed the pace of acquiring the third language in comparison with a second language concluded that the learning of the third language is very quick, due to efficient learning strategies and the developed linguistic ability of bilingual children.

Concerning the acquisition of three languages simultaneously on the family level, Abdelilah-Bauer (2006, 99) reports that few research studies were done in this area, and his advice is to take into consideration experience from individual linguists who followed the trilingual development of their children. For example, the Belgian linguist Jean Marc DeWaelle (2000, in Abdelilah-Bauer 2006, 99) who analysed the development of three languages in his daughter Livia, claimed that at four years of age, the child was speaking the three languages quite well, with few grammatical errors. This child was exposed to three languages at family level while living in London. The father spoke French, the house-girl spoke English and the mother spoke Dutch (a dominant language in the family). Mornings were reserved for French with the father; afternoons were reserved for English with the house-girl and evenings for Dutch with the mother. At three years, Livia was using three languages, with mixed expressions, either French-Dutch or French-English. Most of the grammatical errors disappeared at four years of age and Livia was speaking the three languages quite well. When Livia was nine years old, her father (DeWaelle) was interviewed by Clo (one of the editors of *Multilingual Living Magazine*, 2006) about the linguistic evolution of his daughter. DeWaelle revealed that his daughter had chosen English as her dominant language, she used it to talk about things that happened at school but she was perfectly able to communicate with French and Dutch-speaking children. The father confirmed that her French and Dutch were still native-sounding to his ears, and she could easily imitate the Irish and the American English accents. To keep Livia exposed to the three languages, the family kept “the one parent, one language method”, with regular input through videos, books, telling stories in Dutch or French, and several code-switchings in the three languages. Although this example cannot be generalised, it does indicate that children are able to acquire several languages simultaneously and use them in a native-like fashion; parents who are in a trilingual situation should not be concerned that their children may not master all three languages. As in all cases of language acquisition, however, comprehensible input has to be provided by parents and educationists (Cadeau, 2003).

All recent research supports the view that two, three or more languages can be learned and mastered at any age. Trilingual and multilingual acquisition can be introduced at any age. Of interest for this study, however, is what role language policies and the introduction of an AL as a MOI play in the development of CALP in learners.

2.6.2. Trilingualism in various countries

Trilingualism refers to cases involving three languages and it is embedded in multilingualism, which is a general term for language situations that may involve three or more languages. In his “Three-Language Formula”, Brann (1981, 5) gives a new description of trilingualism in what he describes as “the trilingual configuration of multilingual Sub-Saharan Africa”. His view on consecutive acquisition of the three languages is described as “the triad”, i.e. chthonolect or home language; demolect or community/national language and metalect or received/link language. Mackey (1970, in Brann 1981, 5) describes trilingualism as the consecutive acquisition of a local language (chthonolect), regional/national language (demolect) and received/link language (metalect). This acquisition pattern corresponds to the educational triad “Home, Community and School”.

Brann (1981) provides examples of African countries where trilingualism is implemented even though they are multilingual countries. According to Skinner (1967, in Brann 1981, 5), the new trilingual configuration is implemented in Northern Nigeria where a local language, Hausa and English are used. It is also implemented in Tanzania where a local language, Swahili and English are used (Abdulaziz 1972, in Brann 1981, 5); as well as in Kenya where a local MT, Swahili and English are used (Gorman 1971, in Brann 1981, 5). Leboulech (1966, in Brann 1981, 5) gives an example of trilingual implementation in Senegal where Wolof, French and English are used; Haggis (1972, in Brann 1981, 5) gives an example of Akan, English and French in Ghana and Tadadjeu (1975, in Brann 1981, 5) gives Cameroon as example where a provincial MT and two official languages, i.e. English and French are acquired.

Trilingual policies in education are implemented in various ways in different countries, and are dictated by the circumstances in each country. The next sections will describe how the trilingual policy is implemented in some countries. In Africa, the case of Cameroon serves as a model where a MT is maintained alongside other two languages. Luxembourg’s trilingualism represents a European example, while Rwanda’s trilingualism policy will be described as well.

2.6.3. The trilingual policy in Cameroon as a typical example of Africa

According to Tadadjeu (1975, 72), Cameroon is referred to as “Africa in miniature”, and the trilingual policy of Cameroon is well known in Africa due to the fact that among the five languages which are commonly used for communication at the continental level (i.e. Arabic, English, French, Hausa and Swahili), four (Arabic, English, French and Hausa) are strongly rooted in Cameroon. The description of Cameroon’s trilingual policy as a typical example in this survey is motivated by its

striking planning. Tadadjeu (1975, 54) reports that the number of languages spoken in Cameroon is estimated between 200 and 250 languages, but the language policy is planned in such a way that three languages (French and English (official languages), plus one MT of each linguistic province) are used. This trilingual policy is planned so meticulously that the implementation is successful at each level of education. Tadadjeu (1975, 62) explains that each of the seven administrative provinces has several MTs, but each must select only one MT, which is taught from primary school up to university in that province, alongside French and English. The selection is done unanimously and without bias, and the selected language is taught from the family level (Tadadjeu 1975, 62). This selection follows Brann's (1981) triad model mentioned above, which is constructed from home language to community language, and then to received language.

The main advantages of the trilingual policy in Cameroon is that it helps to avoid cultural uprooting, it protects the traditional heritage of the Cameroon youth (provided by one MT of each province) and it ensures national and international communication, through French and English (Tadadjeu 1975, 63). The exceptional aspect in Cameroon is the fact that the language policy and the language planning is an integral part of both the cultural and educational planning activities of the country (Tadadjeu 1975, 64). CALP development in both the MT and the ALs is achieved throughout all levels of education.

Like Cameroon, the Rwandan government adopted a trilingual policy. It remains to be seen if its implementation in schools will be as successful as that of Cameroon.

2.6.4. Trilingual education in Luxembourg

Hoffman (1996) and Newton (1987, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 149) describe Luxembourg's linguistic situation as triglossia (i.e. where three languages or language varieties exist side by side in a community). The description of Luxembourg's trilingual policy as a model in this research study is motivated by its unique pattern, which is referred to as a linguistic melting pot at the heart of the European Union (Hoffman 1996, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 148).

The uniqueness of Luxembourg's trilingualism is that there is no tension between the three languages and there is general consensus that it is advantageous to protect all three languages through a formal policy. The three languages which are used are Luxembourgish, German and French. Luxembourgish is the national and unifying language, it is the native language of all Luxembourgers. German and French are two exoglossic languages used in the country, but they do not have native speakers in the population. Like Luxembourgish, Kinyarwanda is the national language and the MT

of almost all Rwandans, and English and French are exoglossic languages, which do not have MT speakers, except for a few Rwandans who were born and lived in English-speaking countries as refugees before they came back to Rwanda. The trilingual situation in Luxembourg and in Rwanda is quite similar.

The interesting aspect of Luxembourg's trilingualism is that each of the three languages has a particular role to play, not only on a societal level but also on an individual one. As described by Hoffman (1996, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 149), Luxembourgish is spoken by all native inhabitants regardless of their social and educational background, it is considered as a language of solidarity and it is used for general conversation in all domains. French is the language of power and prestige, and it is mostly used in formal situations by the government, the courts and other areas where formal communication is required. German is considered the language of convenience, it is hardly spoken, except at school as a medium of instruction, and occasionally in media and public lectures. Written German is mostly used in newspapers, by the church and the police, and in schools, particularly in primary education.

According to Hoffman (1979, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 150), most Luxembourgers are monolingual at birth as they acquire Luxembourgish naturally at home, and then learn additional languages through education. A special aspect of the Luxembourg situation is that the additional languages (German and French) are taught so intensively that they are not seen as foreign languages but as something approximating auxiliary mother tongues (Hoffman, 1979, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 150).

In Luxembourg, each of the three languages is used as a medium of instruction and is taught as a subject, and there is a progressive shift from one language to another at a specific level of education, as specified in the following lines:

Pre-school education, which starts at four years of age, is provided in Luxembourgish. This language is sufficiently taught to children to allow transition to primary school. Non-Luxembourgish-speaking children are taught in French or Portuguese as the largest number of foreigners in Luxembourg are French and Portuguese.

At primary school, which starts at six years of age, German is introduced in the first year. It is taught intensively during the first two years, for eight to nine (out of thirty) periods per week. From the third year onwards, it is taught for five periods per week. It is progressively introduced as a medium of instruction and this process is completed at grade six, when the pupil is 12 years old.

Luxembourgish continues to serve as a language of instruction and as a subject, but it is taught for one period of 30 taught per week. French is introduced in the second semester of grade 2, when the pupil is seven years old. It is initially taught for three periods per week; from grade 3 onwards, the periods increase to seven per week. Literacy skills are established first in German, and then in French.

At secondary school, which starts at 12 years of age, the language switch continues: French becomes progressively the language of instruction and all spoken communication at school is supposed to take place in French after grade 3, when the student is 15 years old, and German is eliminated as a medium of instruction. Luxembourgish continues to be taught at secondary school level, but for one period per week. In addition to the intensive and extensive teaching of the three languages, other languages are taught at secondary school level. For example, English is introduced in the second year, followed by Latin in the third year and students who follow the languages and literature stream add Italian or Spanish or Greek (Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 152). There are no universities in Luxembourg, there are only some institutions of higher education. Most of students go to universities in France, Belgium or Germany, and their trilingual education in Luxembourg prepares them well for pursuing their studies.

The success of trilingual education in Luxembourg is strengthened firstly by intensive teaching of the three languages. Kraemer (1993, in Cenoz and Genesee 1998, 152) states that Luxembourg schools give pride of place to the teaching of languages when compared to equivalent institutions in other countries. The second reason for the success of trilingual education in Luxembourg is likely to be the progressive and planned series of switches between Luxembourgish, German and French, done at specific intervals and introducing the language as a subject first, then as a medium of instruction. The particularity of Luxembourg's trilingual education model is of interest to the current study but whereas Luxembourgish is used as a MOI at pre-primary and primary level, in the new Rwandan policy, Kinyarwanda is taught only as a subject, while English is introduced as a MOI right from the first day of school. Therefore, Luxembourg's trilingual model will be compared with the Rwandan trilingual policy, especially in terms of interval of switches from Kinyarwanda to English or to French. Kinyarwanda continues to be taught as a subject up the end of secondary school level, as it is the case with Luxembourgish in Luxembourg.

Even if the situation in Luxembourg might not be compared to the situation in Rwanda in terms of teachers' level of language mastery and training, the comparison will focus on planned switches between the three languages. The next section describes the historical background of trilingualism in Rwanda, from monolingual policy to trilingual policy.

2.6.5. Trilingual education in Rwanda

2.6.5.1. The Rwandan linguistic journey: from monolingualism to trilingualism

In Rwanda, few language policy documents exist, especially on the trilingual policy. The linguistic journey in Rwanda started a long time ago, as described in the discussion below.

2.6.5.2. Monolingualism as a prevailing feature for uneducated citizens of Rwanda

Rwanda is among the countries which are privileged to have one common language and one common culture, within one nation. Kinyarwanda is the only language which is a national and an official language. It is considered a mother tongue for all Rwandans, because all Rwandan citizens, including children, adults, literate or illiterate, speak and understand Kinyarwanda, and this language is used in the whole territory of the country. In 1994, when Rwandans who fled the country in 1959 returned from neighbouring countries, they had to concentrate first of all on learning Kinyarwanda in order to be able to communicate with other Rwandan citizens.

From the existence of Rwanda up to the arrival of foreign colonisers (around 1907), Kinyarwanda was said to be the only language used for communication among Rwandans. Today, Kinyarwanda is used by all Rwandan citizens, both educated and uneducated; but for the uneducated citizens, it is the only means of communication.

With regards to the status of Kinyarwanda, Ngoboka (1984, 13) indicates that it plays a predominant role in social, cultural, political and economic interactions among Rwandans. Even if this statement was made 25 years ago, Kinyarwanda is still predominant in many social interactions today since it is spoken by 99.4% of the population of Rwanda (Rwanda 2005b) as mentioned in § 1.3.2. However, it is not predominant in all areas. For example, a recent study on language use in advertisements and on signs in Rwanda by Rosendal (2009, 36) indicates that shop signs in French were most common in Kigali City (40.9%), followed by English signs (23%), while signs in Kinyarwanda constituted 7.4% of the shop signs in Kigali City. This research study presented the language dominance at the national levels as follows: 48.2% of newspaper advertisements were in French, 28.1% were in English and 23.7% were in Kinyarwanda. With regard to billboards, 39.6% were in French, 40.3% were in English and 19.1% in Kinyarwanda. Shop signs occurred in French in 44% of the cases, in English in 26.6% of the cases and in Kinyarwanda in 28.9% of the cases (Rosendal 2009, 35). Radio and television broadcasts are done in Kinyarwanda, English, French and Swahili. It can therefore be observed that English, French and English are used predominantly in various domains.

2.6.5.3. From monolingual to bilingual education

Bilingual education in Rwanda is likely to have started with the establishment of the first primary school in Nyanza (Southern Province) between 1907 and 1916. This school was founded by Germans, who colonised Rwanda between 1907 and 1916. Alexis Kagame (in Niyibizi 1980, 189) states that the two languages which were taught in this school were Swahili, (which was considered an official language for European administration in African colonies) and German (which was taught as a subject). Chimerah (2000, in Mulaudzi and Mbori 2008, 19) indicates that Kiswahili, which originated along the East Coast of Africa, was already spoken in Rwanda during the German colonial period. Kinyarwanda, which was a MT, was also used in class, but the only language aspect taught was reading. Erny (1975, in Kabanza 2003, 3) states that the objective of this first primary school was to train translators who could be used to facilitate communication between German colonial administration and the local population.

When the German colonisers were replaced by Belgium colonisers in 1918, Swahili was replaced by French in primary schools. In 1948, when interracial schools based on the European model were founded, French gained prominence, and Rwandan students who were allowed in these schools could no longer use Kinyarwanda at school. Dutch was introduced as a subject starting from P4 (Shyirambere, 1978, in Kabanza 2003, 3).

After Rwanda became an independent state in 1962, subjects were mostly taught in Kinyarwanda in the lower primary school (from P1 to P3) while French was used as a medium of instruction for most subjects in upper primary school (from P4 to P6). The bilingual situation continued until 1994, but the use of Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction was reinforced by the education reform of 1978. After the 1978 reform, Kinyarwanda was used as a MOI for some courses in upper primary school alongside French. The 1978 reform was highly criticised (due to pupils' lack of full mastery of French) and mocked as «former des perroquets et de prôner le psittacisme» [training the parrots and promoting learning through memorisation and repetition but without thorough understanding] (U.N.R, 1988, in Kabanza 2003, 3), [Translation is mine, and the subsequent translations are mine].

During the Rwandan post-independence period, the bilingual policy (Kinyarwanda – French) was maintained not only in primary schools, but also in secondary schools and higher education. French was the only medium of instruction starting from secondary school. English was only taught as

subject in secondary schools and as a specific specialisation at university, and it was not an official language.

2.6.5.4. From bilingualism to trilingualism

In 1994, Kinyarwanda, French and English were declared official languages, after the repatriation of Rwandans who were living in exile. Before 1994, Rwanda was classified as a Francophone country and only French and Kinyarwanda were used as languages of instruction from nursery school up to university, in all schools throughout the country. Expatriates who returned to Rwanda from English speaking countries had to adjust to using Kinyarwanda and French. English was declared an official language to accommodate those Rwandans. Since then, the three languages have been used in schools as subjects and as media of instruction from nursery school up to university level.

The first evidence describing the trilingual situation in Rwandan education since 1994 is the report on the first conference on the trilingual policy planning in Rwanda held on 24 - 27 April 1995 in Kigali, which describes clearly the trilingual status in the then Rwandan schools. The report stipulates it as follows:

«(...) un consensus a été obtenu sur la proposition suivante: au niveau de l'enseignement primaire, le kinyarwanda est la langue d'enseignement. Le français et l'anglais seront introduits d'abord comme sujets, à une période qui sera déterminée par les techniciens. Ils pourront ensuite progressivement devenir langues d'enseignement, afin qu'à partir d'un certain niveau dans leurs études, les élèves puissent maîtriser l'une et l'autre langue
» (MINEDUC 1995, 26).

[An agreement on the following suggestion was reached: in primary schools, Kinyarwanda is the language of instruction. French and English will be introduced as subjects, but at a period to be determined by technicians [i.e. linguists and language experts]; then they will progressively become languages of instruction, in order to enable pupils to master these two languages at a certain stage of their studies]. [My translation into English because the report was written in French and the official documents were written in one of the three languages without necessarily translating them into the other two languages].

The above evidence describes the language policy proposed in the Rwandan schools just after the Rwandan genocide which took place in 1994.

The second piece of evidence which confirms the adoption of the trilingual policy in Rwandan schools is to be found in a MINEDUC report (2003, 14). This states that “Kinyarwanda, French and English have been introduced in all schools as curriculum subjects and as languages of instruction

from primary grade 4". MINEDUC (2002, 14) provides details on the use of the three languages at primary school level and stipulates that Kinyarwanda will be used as a language of instruction from P1 up to P3, with the introduction of French and English as subjects; while English and French will be used as MOI from P4 up to P6, with Kinyarwanda taught as a subject. MINEDUC (2004) outlines the strategic plan for implementing the trilingual policy in Rwanda.

With regard to the teaching of the three languages from primary school level onwards, MINEDUC (2003, 14) identifies some challenges: teachers who have been in the system for many years and who were trained either in Kinyarwanda and French or in English only are now bound to teach in the three languages, including two international languages (French and English), while they were trained in only one of the two. Since they were expected to change to the trilingual policy quite abruptly in 1994, they most likely encountered language problems.

This section briefly described the situation of the Rwandan trilingual policy after 1994. The description goes up to 8th October 2008, when the existing policy was modified by the Rwandan Government. The next section describes the new model which was adopted in the Rwandan education system.

2.6.5.5. Rwanda's new language policy: Shift from French and Kinyarwanda

MOI to English MOI

On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government modified the existing trilingual policy in Rwandan schools. English became the sole MOI for all subjects at all levels of education, while Kinyarwanda and French will be taught as subjects, but at different stages of education (Decisions of Cabinet Meetings, 2008).

According to MINEDUC (2008), the implementation of this new language policy had to commence with the 2009 academic year. As explained by the State Minister in the Ministry of Education during the National Dialogue held on 18 – 19 December 2008 in Kigali, as well as during the meeting between officials from the Ministry of Education and headmasters of all secondary schools in Rwanda held at Kigali, on 9th January 2009, the change-over to English medium of instruction had to start in 2009 and it would be completed in 2011 when all subjects would be taught in English at all levels of education, from nursery school up to university. Therefore, all schools had to embark on English MOI immediately, specifically in lower and upper primary levels, as well as in the first and the fourth year of secondary school, which start lower and upper secondary levels respectively. The total shift to English medium for all subjects at all levels will be in 2011 as mentioned above.

The implementation of this new language policy means that French and Kinyarwanda might continue to be used as media of instruction for some subjects, but not after 2011. The new weekly timetable for primary and secondary schools indicates that hours allocated to English were increased from two hours up to five hours per week on both lower and upper primary level; Kinyarwanda sessions were increased from one hour to five hours per week; while French will not be used as a MOI nor taught as a subject at primary school level. Instead it will be introduced as a subject in Senior 1 of secondary school for one or two hours per week (MINEDUC, 2009). In most cases this implies an immediate total transfer to English MOI since the majority of schools had French and Kinyarwanda as MOI.

Within the context of equipping teachers with skills in English to enable them to implement the new policy, it was explained that all teachers of primary and secondary schools were to undergo intensive training in English during the holidays and would continue to be trained. The teachers training schedule published by MINEDUC (2009) indicate that all teachers ought to have reached the required proficiency in English by 2011.

The above discussion indicates that the Rwandan trilingual policy, like most language policies, has undergone frequent changes and transformations. Changes in language policy sometimes result in changes in language teaching approaches, which sometimes affect the stakeholders involved, especially teachers and students. One of the aims of this study is to investigate how these modifications have affected the teaching / learning of the three languages in Kigali City's schools, especially in terms of learners' CALP development.

2.7. Conclusion

From the review of the literature on language in education we have learned that CALP development in the MT before shifting to AL medium is advisable for successful academic achievement. Five to seven years of instruction in the MT is seen as the ideal period for developing CALP in the MT. An AL may be introduced during this time, provided that the MT is maintained. These findings bring to an end to age-related debates. The findings support the introduction of an AL as MOI between age 8 and 12, but does not prevent earlier introduction of an AL as a subject. McLaughlin (1992, in Marinova-Todd, Marshall and Snow 2000, 28) conclude that the administrators of schools and parents should not continue harking back to the old conviction that only early AL teaching is effective. Carroll (1969, in Harley 1986, 21) believes that the competence learners achieve in AL is largely a matter of time spent in learning and is not related to the age when the AL was introduced. But it is not only time spent learning the language that matters, exposure to the target language

outside the classroom and other kinds of input are all of vital importance, as are adequately prepared enthusiastic teachers and the necessary teaching material and other resources.

In this chapter, an analysis of Rwanda's trilingual policy was introduced alongside several multilingual implementation models, with the models of trilingual policy implementation in Cameroon and Luxembourg serving as successful examples because the MT had pride of place.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

3.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the design of the research study, the methods and procedures used in data collection, the participants involved as well as the sampling techniques that were used to select the participants. In this study, the nature of the research and data collection methods used suggests that the study is mainly exploratory - qualitative - interpretative research. The reasons for choosing this approach are described in § 3.2 below. Two types of research approaches are compared, namely qualitative and quantitative approaches. Triangulation, a research method that ensures validity and reliability, is also discussed.

3.1. The research design

The present research study is both an investigation and an evaluation of how the trilingual language policy is implemented in nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City. The implications of the 2008 modifications to the language policy will also be considered. The research methodology used in this study is predominantly of a qualitative nature but research is often conducted using a mixed method, where aspects of both qualitative and quantitative designs are incorporated into the research design. Grotjahn (1987, in Mackey and Gass 2005, 4) describes six mixed types of research, and these are (1) Experimental-qualitative-interpretative; (2) Experimental-qualitative-statistical; (3) Experimental-quantitative-interpretative; (4) Exploratory-qualitative-statistical; (5) Exploratory-quantitative-statistical and (6) Exploratory-quantitative-interpretative research. As mentioned above, this study is mainly exploratory, qualitative and interpretative.

3.2. The qualitative approach

Mackey and Gass (2005, 162) define qualitative research as “research that is based on descriptive data that does not make (regular) use of statistical procedures”. Johnson and Christensen (2000, 312) indicate that qualitative research relies on the collection of non-numerical data, such as words and pictures.

The choice of the qualitative approach in this research study was dictated by the methods intended to be used by the researcher for data collection as well as by the nature of the data he planned to collect, i.e. he needed to describe the situation on the ground before he could evaluate it. The researcher spent time in the field (at nursery and primary schools, and language-policy-making institutions), using semi-structured interviews, focus-group discussions, site visits and observations to collect data. As indicated by Mackey and Gass (2005, 167), the most commonly used qualitative data collection

methods are ethnographies, interviews, diaries, case studies and observations. According to Saville-Troike (1989, 119), the qualitative approach uses research methods which seek to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of groups of people. Therefore, this approach is suitable for this study which is exploratory research.

3.3. Predominance of qualitative features

Traditionally, writers on research traditions made a binary distinction between qualitative and quantitative research. However, more recently, this distinction was said to be simplistic and naïve (Nunan (1992, 3). Reichardt and Cook (1979, in Nunan 1992, 4 and in Mackey and Gass 2005, 2) provide a clear distinction between the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms. According to them, qualitative research is descriptive, exploratory, subjective, naturalistic, uncontrolled, holistic, inductive, discovery-oriented, ungeneralisable and assuming a dynamic reality; while quantitative research uses obtrusive and controlled measurement, it is objective, deductive, outcome-oriented, generalisable and assuming a stable reality. Grotjahn (1987, in Mackey and Gass 2005, 2) distinguishes quantitative and qualitative research using parameters of methods of analysis and manner of data collection. The methods of analysis may be statistical for quantitative and interpretative for qualitative research; the manner of data collection may be experimental for quantitative and non-experimental or naturalistic for qualitative research. Based on the above-mentioned characteristics, this research study presents more features of a qualitative research than a quantitative one due to the following reasons:

Firstly, the study presents a detailed description of how the trilingual language policy is implemented in nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City, and this reflects one of Tuckman's (1988, 389) characteristics of qualitative research which states that "it attempts primarily to describe and only secondarily to analyse". Mackey and Gass (2005, 162) also indicate that "rich description" is the main characteristic of qualitative research. The analysis does not focus on quantification of data through measurements, frequencies and ratings which are found in quantitative research.

Secondly, the subjects in the present study are described within their natural settings. Tetnowski and Damico (2001, in Mackey and Gass 2005, 163) state that qualitative research aims to study individuals and events in their natural settings, without controlling extraneous variables through laboratories and other artificial environments as is often the case in quantitative research. The main settings of this research study are the schools located in Kigali City, together with language-policy-making institutions. Subjects who are affected by the language policy such as learners, teachers and headmasters are described, and institutions which contribute in the elaboration (i.e. working out) and implementation of language policies are considered in their natural settings, taking into account their

socio-cultural and socio-political contexts in the Rwandan speech community as a whole. The present research is therefore qualitative.

Thirdly, qualitative research tends to include fewer participants, rather than a large group of participants who are selected randomly as is the case in quantitative research. The present research study selected few participants (i.e. 12 teachers from 2 nursery schools; 12 teachers from 2 primary schools; 12 pupils from 2 primary schools; 12 parents and 5 officials from 3 government language-policy-making institutions, adding up to 53 informants in total) while in the sample area there are more than 250 nursery and primary schools, more than 3,000 teachers and more than 200,000 students. The two sampling techniques used in the study were nonrandom techniques, namely purposive sampling and convenience sampling. Even though these techniques are used in quantitative research, they are more commonly used in qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, in Silverman 2005, 129) state that “Many qualitative researchers employ ... purposive, and not random, sampling methods. They seek out groups, settings and individuals where ... the processes being studied are most likely to occur”.

Fourthly, the research study started without specific expectations on the part of the researcher; rather data were collected to see whether patterns would emerge. Therefore, the study is more discovery-oriented and this is one of the salient theoretical purposes of a qualitative research which is heuristic-inductive and discovery-oriented. Mackey and Gass (2005, 2) indicate that those characteristics are salient features of a qualitative study.

All the above-mentioned characteristics clearly indicate that the present study is a qualitative research study.

3.4. Research methods used in data collection

There are several research methods that could be used in a qualitative design. These include elicitation instruments, interviews, questionnaires, surveys, observation instruments and schedules, diaries, logs, journals, protocol analysis, stimulated recall, interaction and transcript analysis, site visits, ethnography and case studies (Mackey and Gass 2005, 92; McDonough and McDonough 1997, 221; Nunan 1992, 1). In this research study, the researcher used semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, site visits (school visits), and naturalistic observations. A combination of four research methods was therefore used for the data collection. Their appropriateness in collecting data for this research is described in the next section.

3.4.1. Semi-structured interviews

McDonough and McDonough (1997, 182) group the different types of interviews into three categories, namely structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Interviews are comparable to questionnaires, but they are conducted in oral mode and they gather information by means of open-ended questions and answers (Mackey and Gass 2005, 358). According to Mackey and Gass (2005, 173), semi-structured interviews are not rigid in the sense that the researcher uses a written list of questions as a guide, but he or she has the freedom to digress from this list and to probe for more information. McDonough and McDonough (1997, 184) maintain that semi-structured interviews are usually regarded as being close to the qualitative paradigm because they allow for rich interactions and personalised responses.

The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that they enable the researcher to collect the needed information as he or she guides the conversation and steers the interviewee if and when the interviewee wanders of the point. This method enables the researcher to gather a lot of information since he or she can do follow-up interviews and request the interviewee to elaborate on unclear points. Mackey and Gass (2005, 173) indicate that since interviews are interactive, researchers can elicit additional data if initial answers are vague, incomplete, off-topic, or not specific enough. In checking for validity, the researcher may even rephrase the questions to see if the respondent gives the same answers.

Another advantage is that semi-structured interviews may be used to elicit data from informants who are not comfortable with other methods, for instance with informants who are more at ease with speaking (in a conversational format) than writing (Mackey and Gass 2005, 174). In this study, some of the parents who participated could not write English; semi-structured interview was found to be an appropriate method for such informants.

A semi-structured interview can be conducted in the interviewee's mother tongue to remove concerns about the interviewee's proficiency in an additional language (in case it may impact the quality and quantity of data provided) (Mackey and Gass 2005, 174). In this study, interviews were conducted in Kinyarwanda for some primary school pupils who had difficulties to express their ideas in English, as well as with parents who do not know English. Some of the informants who were not conversant in English provided information in French.

The disadvantage of semi-structured interviews, as pointed out by Hall and Rist (1999, in Mackey and Gass 2005, 174) is that interviews may involve "selective recall, self-delusion, perceptual

distortions, memory loss from the respondent, and subjectivity in the researcher's recording and interpreting of the data". Another drawback is mentioned by Mackey and Gass (2005, 174) who indicate that good interviewing is in itself a skill, which novice researchers may not possess. Stake (1995, in McDonough and McDonough 1997, 184) also warns that "formulating the questions and anticipating probes that evoke good responses is a special art".

In this study, 17 individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with the following informants: 5 interviewees were officials from three government institutions involved in language policy-making, namely the Rwandan Ministry of Education, the National Curriculum Development Centre and the General Inspectorate. Twelve interviewees were parents of primary school pupils who were selected in two primary schools.

The semi-structured interviews with different categories of informants allowed the researcher to collect sufficient information from different angles and triangulate it to ensure its reliability. The validity of interviews was controlled by comparing the collected information with that contained in official language policy documents. The interview schedule guided the process; the respondents discussed the issues freely, but without wandering far from the topic, and the researcher had the opportunity to probe and collect as much information as possible.

Interviewees from the three Government language-policy-making institutions were interviewed by the researcher in their offices, at their places of work and interviews with parents were conducted at their respective homes. To reach the parents' homes for interviews, the researcher accompanied their children (i.e. 12 pupils who were selected at two primary schools) to their respective homes (after school) to interview their parents. Appointments and telephone calls were used to fix a convenient time for interviews. Parents and officials were interviewed individually because the researcher found it difficult to use focus groups with them as they work and live in different places of Kigali City.

3.4.1.1. Construction of semi-structured interviews and motivation for selecting questions

The semi-structured interviews were guided by the interview guide, which included a set of questions asked by the researcher. The researcher visited the informants' offices and parents' homes to interview them. On arrival, the researcher introduced himself and explained the purpose of his visit, showing participants his permission letter and the interview guide. When the informant agreed to answer the questions, the researcher asked the questions based on the interview guide, then, as the informant answered, the researcher summarised his or her answers in the space provided on the

interview guide paper. A tape recorder was also used to save the information provided by the informants, and some parts of the interviews were video-recorded.

The nature of questions asked was dictated by the qualitative nature of this study. They were motivated by two conditions (Mackey and Gass 2005, 308) namely “Are the research questions motivated by the literature review/your discussion of the literature?”; “Are the research questions appropriate for the theoretical framework?”

As the research study includes informants from language-policy-making institutions and from two categories of schools (nursery and primary schools) as well as parents, questions were adapted to the level and category of informants.

In the following section, the choice of questions guiding the semi-structured interviews with each category of informants is discussed.

3.4.1.1.1. Semi-structured interviews with officials from 3 language-policy-making institutions (Appendix 1)

The semi-structured interviews with officials from government language-policy-making institutions were guided by 12 open-ended questions which were divided into 3 sets.

Before starting the interviews, each informant was requested to fill in a form which gathered information about his or her profile. This information included the informant’s name, gender, qualification, post title, telephone number, email and the institution where he or she works. This was done for records, as the researcher might need to contact the informants later for further information, clarification or verification of information.

The interview questions were divided into three sets.

Set A: Comparison between the language policy implementation in nursery and primary schools before and after 8th October 2008.

This set included Q1 and Q2. Q1 asked for a description of the policy implementation before and after 8th October 2008. The participants were asked to compare the two language policies. The answers enabled the researcher to describe how the previous policy was implemented, to highlight the changes made in the new language policy, and to identify the types of multilingual implementation models used in Kigali City’s nursery and primary schools based on the ones

described in the literature review (cf. § 2.4; § 4.3 and § 4.8.3). The description enabled the researcher to identify the age at which each of the three languages is introduced or used as a MOI and as a subject in the Rwandan education system.

Q2 inquired why different categories of nursery and primary schools (public and private) implemented the policy differently before October 2008. This was asked to gather information on why the language policy described in § 2.6.5. was not implemented in the same way in all schools, even though the policy should have been adhered to by every school.

Set B: Officials' views on MT instruction and its place in Rwandan education

Q3 was designed to gather information about the language planners' views on MT as MOI, and to check if any of the two language policies were in favour of MT instruction. The aim of this question was to enable the researcher to compare answers in terms of the theories of CALP/BICS, described in § 2.1. The answers were compared to theories described in § 2.1.4 regarding the importance of MT instruction. The models of Cameroon and Luxembourg described in § 2.6.3 and § 2.6.4 served as examples of trilingual countries where the importance of mother-tongue instruction is recognised.

Set C: Officials' views of the new language policy

Several questions were asked to throw light on the new language policy because it had been adopted shortly before, i.e. on October 8th, 2008. This policy was to be implemented in all schools and universities in future. It was therefore imperative to establish officials' views. Eight questions (Q4 to Q12) were asked to probe their views. Different aspects are explored, for example Q4 asked about officials' perceptions about the implementation of the new language policy, and whether they thought the implementation would be easy or difficult.

Q5 inquired about the national motivation which led the Rwandan Government to modify the previous language policy by requesting teachers to start using English as the only MOI.

Q6 verified whether Haitao's (2002, in Kaplan and Baldauf 2003, 98) criticism described in § 2.5 is taken into consideration by the new policy. He states that a language policy has to provide assistance to stakeholders such as teachers, parents and students for its successful implementation. The question also checked if the teachers' training budget allocated was adequate.

Q7 asked about the issue of quality teaching in the implementation of the new policy.

Q8 and Q9 inquired about the availability of teaching materials to be used in the new policy and whether publishers are prepared for the immediate policy change.

Q10 inquired whether stakeholders (educational development partners, donors, agencies involved in education, schools, parents, teachers and pupils) responsible for the implementation of the new policy are motivated to ensure its success.

Q11 checked if the role played by language planning agencies in language policy implementation (described in § 2.5.) was attended to. It also looked at whether Haitao's (2002) observation about the exclusive reliance of top-down process (§ 2.5.) holds true.

Q12 inquired about the effects of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda and French. These languages were protected in the previous language policy. It compares whether the findings about the importance of the MT instruction described in § 2.1.4 and in the section on BICS and CALP (§ 2.1.) were taken into consideration.

3.4.1.1.2. Semi-structured interviews with parents of the selected primary school pupils (Appendix 2)

The interview guide consisted of 10 questions. Before starting the individual interview, each parent was asked to fill in a form, requesting personal information, such as name, gender, educational level, post, telephone number, e-mail address, home location and the school his or her child attends.

This form also included a section on the parent's language background which provided information about the social context of language use and language preferences of parents. This information enabled the researcher to check whether the parent's choice for an early or later introduction of an AL has its roots in the social context of language use, as discussed in the literature review (cf. § 2.2.1 and 2.2.2).

The questions guiding the interviews with parents are divided into two sets:

Set A: Parents' views of the old language policy

This set included 5 questions (Q1 to Q5). Q1 and Q2 asked about the language choice by the parent for his or her child and the motivation for this choice.

Q3 asked the parent about the number of languages to be introduced altogether in a trilingual setting, with reasons.

Q4 and Q5 asked about the parent's views on MT as medium of instruction, and the factors which may influence parents to choose an exoglossic language medium rather than the MT.

Set B: Parents' views on the new language policy

This set included five questions (Q6 to Q10) which probed for information about the parents' perceptions of the new language policy. Q6 asked about the parents' opinions on the new language policy. Q7 inquired on how the new language policy has changed the schooling of the children in comparison with the previous language policy. Q8 asked whether they thought children would gain or lose from being taught all the subjects in English from the onset of education. Q9 inquired about the parents' support to their children in English at home and Q10 asked parents if they were in favour of their children learning all subjects in English.

3.4.2. Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions constitute another method of data collection. Mackey and Gass (2005, 173) indicate that focus groups are related to unstructured interviews, which are mainly used by qualitative researchers. McNamara (1997) indicates that focus groups are basically multiple interviews. They involve several participants in a group discussion, with a facilitator or a researcher whose goal is to keep the discussion targeted on specific topics. Facilitators or researchers usually use a stimulus for discussion such as a videotape or previously elicited data (Mackey and Gass 2005, 356).

Focus groups are used for many purposes (Maynard-Tucker 2000, 397). Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956, in Maynard-Tucker 2000, 397) are among the pioneers who developed the concept of focus groups in the field of social communication. Focus groups interviews were initially used extensively for marketing purposes (Calder 1977; Cox, Higgenbotham and Burton 1976; Templeton 1987, in Maynard-Tucker 2000, 397). Thereafter, focus groups became an important tool for collecting qualitative data in the social sciences (Folch-Lyon and Trost, 1981; Greenbaum, 1988; Lederman, 1990; Morgan, 1993; Morgan and Spanish, 1984; Stycos, 1981; Vaughn, Schumm and Sinagub, 1996, in Maynard-Tucker 2000, 397).

Focus group discussions have an advantage in that the researcher can collect a lot of information in one go. As they are related to unstructured interviews, they do not provide simple yes and no answers; rather they provide full descriptions and explanations (McDonough and McDonough 1997, 184). Hopkins (1993, in McDonough and McDonough 1997, 185) finds focus group discussions extremely productive as the individuals keep each other into perceptive lines of discussions. Like the

semi-structured interviews described above, the researcher has the freedom to probe for more information in focus group discussions, and language barriers are removed since the informants can use their mother tongue if it is understood by the interviewers, but if not, an interpreter can be used.

Maynard-Tucker (2000, 396) states that this method “has proven successful in collecting reliable data in situations when time is limited, when participants speak indigenous languages, and when bilingual facilitators have no background in research and lack focus group skills”. Strother (2004) provides evidence that focus group interviews yield more accurate information about what participants actually think than other research methods.

Focus group interviews are time consuming. Each focus group interview consists of four major steps, and these are (a) probing ideas during discussion through the use of questions, (b) recording key notes, (c) performing a transcription of the taped discussions, and (d) data analysis (Maynard-Tucker 2000, 397). After a focus group session, the researcher has to verify that the tape recorder (if used) worked throughout the session, check the notes taken and write down observations made during the session (McNamara 1997). However, it is better than individual interviews, because one focus group session includes several interviewees. Welman et al. (2005) indicates that the focus group interview is a low cost and quick method of collecting data on a wide range of issues and even illiterate or younger respondents manage to express their opinions. McNamara (1997) indicates that one session of focus group interviews lasts one to 1.5 hours, while debating around six questions (cf. § 4.5).

The major constraint of focus group discussions, as pointed out by Maynard-Tucker (2000, 398), is that the moderator’s lack of experience and skills or the moderator’s poor handling of difficult participants (who may create bias in the respondents’ answers) may result in the collection of poor, limited, repetitive or unreliable data. Focus group interviews may also be dominated by assertive individuals, but an experienced researcher or moderator will ensure even participation among informants. Another drawback is the bias which may result from what Nunan (1992, 150) calls the “asymmetrical relationship” between the interviewer and the interviewees, where the inequitable relationship between them may affect the content of the interview. Van Lier (1989, in Nunan 1992, 150) indicates that this asymmetry may be reflected in the actual language used, especially when language used by the interviewer is not understood. In this research, this pitfall is unlikely to occur because the researcher did not use difficult terms or complicated language in the focus group discussions. Simple and clear language was used, participants were free to ask questions, and translation in Kinyarwanda and French was provided for informants who were not proficient in English.

The issue of an asymmetrical relationship can be connected with another concern, namely that of honesty on the part of interviewees. This concern has been termed *problematic silences* and *problematic speech*. “Problematic silences occur when participants do not share their relevant thoughts or experiences with the group” and problematic speech occurs “when participants offer opinions or information that do not represent their underlying beliefs or experiences” (Hollander, 2004). It is therefore the role of the researcher or the moderator to ensure that the informants participate actively.

McNamara (1997) provides details on how focus groups are conducted, including preparing for the session, developing questions, planning the session, facilitating the session and after session activities. During the preparation for a focus group session, McNamara (1997) suggests that the researcher should identify the main objective of the session, develop interview questions, plan for the session, invite the participants and remind them about the session three days in advance. While developing interview questions, he advises the researcher to develop five to six questions for one session and to identify the problem to be addressed by the information from the session. For session planning, he indicates that the researcher has to schedule a 1.5 hour session, choose a quiet setting and provide refreshments for participants. Furthermore, the researcher must use ground rules such as to keep focused, to maintain momentum and get closure on the questions. The agenda should include a welcome word, a reminder of the goal of the meeting and information about the programme. It should also include the introduction of all participants, questions and answers provided by participants, as well as the facilitator’s summary of participants’ answers.

During the session, the researcher or the facilitator has to carefully collect useful information that will meet the goal of the meeting. This is achieved by introducing himself/herself and the co-facilitator (if present), by explaining the means of recording, by carefully wording each question and by facilitating discussion around each question. In wrapping up a session, the researcher has to give a summary of what he or she noted on each question and then closes the session. Welman et al. (2005) list the different types of questions that could be used to elicit useful data. These questions include: leading questions, which are used to establish rapport and to define the area of interest; testing questions, which help to rephrase responses; steering questions, whose role is to return discussions back to the main topic; factual questions, which help to discuss emotional or controversial aspects and indirect questions, which allow discussion on personal issues such as attitudes, experiences and behaviour. Various types of questions were used in data collection.

In a multilingual setting where interviewees speak different indigenous languages, the researcher or the investigator sometimes hires expertise from local experts and uses them to aid in the data collection process. For example in her research (conducted in Madagascar), Maynard-Tucker (2000) used a moderator, a recorder and an observer from the local area to collect her data using focus group interviews. She trained the moderator on how to conduct focus group interviews before employing them. In this study, the researcher did not use additional people, since he was able to handle all aspects (including translation) of the data collection process by himself. He conducted the focus group interviews alone, using a tape recorder and a digital camera for capturing selected parts of the interviews.

Concerning the number of participants in a focus group discussion, McNamara (1997) indicates that the group usually consists of 6 - 10 people who are interviewed at the same time. McDonough and McDonough (1997, 185) indicate that the group interview can include three or four participants, while Maynard-Tucker (2000, 400) suggests that a small group should not consist of less than 4, whereas a large group should not have more than 12 participants. However, for best results, a group of 6 to 8 participants is recommended. In this research, a group of 6 participants was selected for each focus group discussion.

In this study, 6 focus group interviews were conducted, including 2 focus groups with headmasters and teachers selected from two nursery schools; 2 focus groups with headmasters and teachers selected from two primary schools and 2 focus group interviews with primary school pupils selected from two primary schools.

Each focus group consisted of 6 participants, and this implies that 12 teachers (including two headmasters) from two nursery schools; 12 teachers (including two headmasters) from two primary schools and 12 pupils from those two primary schools were interviewed. Therefore, 36 informants were scheduled to participate in focus groups. However, the target number of 6 teachers was not reached in the two nursery schools, and a group of 4 and 5 teachers were interviewed respectively.

3.4.2.1. Construction of focus group discussions and motivation for selecting the questions

3.4.2.1.1. Focus group discussions with teachers from nursery and primary schools (Appendix 3)

The focus group interviews were held with informants from nursery and primary schools which constitute the first and the second stages of Rwandan education. The issue of language preference (which influences parents and schools to adopt early or late AL introduction) is observed in nursery and primary schools.

Before starting the focus group discussions, informants were requested to fill in a form where they provided their identification (name, gender, qualification, professional experience, telephone number and e-mail address) as well as their language background (cf. § 4.2). There was also information filled in by the headmasters of nursery and primary school about the language use before and after 8th October 2008, and which enabled the researcher to compare the pre- and the post-2008 policy implementation. All this information collected before discussion was not part of the focus group discussions; it was collected for records and further information or verification of information at a later stage. During the discussions, each informant was given a label for identification (H, T1, T2, T3, T4 and T5). This enabled the researcher to identify who said what, while summarising the information on the form and to protect the privacy of participants.

The information of the informants' language background was collected to identify the social contexts of language use by the headmasters and teachers, who are the real implementers of the language policy at school. This section included a table of comparison between the language policy implementation before and after 8th October 2008, which was filled in by the headmaster of each school visited. Its purpose was to collect information on languages adopted and used as a MOI or as subjects for each of the two periods. This enabled the researcher to identify the types of multilingual implementation models adopted in each nursery and primary school visited (cf. § 4.8.3), based on the ones described in § 2.4.2.2.

Following McNamara's (1997) views, six open-ended questions were included for discussion in the focus group interviews with head masters and teachers, but they sometimes included sub-questions which aimed at collecting complete information.

Q1 asked about the language preference of each school, the motives for this preference as well as the

number of languages that were introduced simultaneously.

Q2 inquired about the teachers' views on MT as a medium of instruction up to P3, and the reasons why it had not been implemented (in the old language policy) in all nursery and primary schools located in the sample area.

Four questions (Q3 to Q6) gathered information on the teachers' views on the new language policy. Q3 asked teachers whether they are prepared adequately to use English as a medium of instruction and what challenges they are encountering. Q4 inquired about the impact of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda and French as languages. Q5 asked whether the policy is being implemented as stipulated and whether the teaching aids written in the adopted language are available in sufficient quantity. Q6 asked teachers to compare the students' academic performance for the two periods.

3.4.2.1.2 Focus group discussions with pupils from primary schools (Appendix 4)

The motivation for selecting primary school pupils as interviewees was to hear their views as being on the receiving end of the implementation and to compare the information provided by teachers and parents. Interviewees consisted of P6 pupils, because they were considered to be mature enough to participate in a focus group interview.

Before embarking on focus group discussions, students were requested to fill in a form. This form included information about the student's profile such as his or her name, school, gender, class, parent's contact details, headmaster's contact details and student's home location. The form also gathered information about the student's language background. Again, each participant received an identification label (S1, S2, S3, S4, S5 and S6), which helped the researcher to identify who said what and to protect the privacy of participants.

This information on the student's language background and language preference was collected with the purpose to check whether they have an influence on the student's choice.

The focus group interviews with primary school pupils were conducted around six questions. Their order was in line with pupils' experience with language learning.

Q1 asked pupils whether they enjoyed or preferred to be taught in Kinyarwanda (their MT) from P1 up to P3.

Q2 asked pupils about the difficulties they encountered in being taught in various languages, based on their experience in P4 and P5 and the language they felt they understood best.

Q3 inquired about their interest in English. Q3 also checked whether the policy is being implemented as stipulated.

Q4 sought to identify the pupils' problems related to learning all subjects in English.

Q5 inquired whether pupils' parents were able to assist them with English at home.

Q6 asked whether pupils understood subjects better when they are taught in English or when they were taught in French or Kinyarwanda.

3.4.3. Site visits

Johnson (1992, in McDonough and McDonough 1997, 221) explains that site visits constitute one of the most common methods of data-collection used in evaluation studies. It entails visiting the informants in their natural settings. It is not like questionnaires which might be sent to informants, without the physical presence of the researcher.

In this research study, the researcher visited the informants in their places of work, i.e. government language-policy-making institutions, schools and classrooms. This method enabled the researcher to collect data in their real settings. This method of data collection was enriched by naturalistic observation.

3.4.4. Naturalistic but non-participant observation

McDonough and McDonough (1997, 114) describe naturalistic observation by contrasting it with contrived, manipulated or experimental observation. Naturalistic observation is the simplest and the most general level of observation; it seeks to understand natural settings and the representation of the meanings of the actors within that setting. McDonough and McDonough (1997, 114) gives an example of naturalistic observation used in English as a Foreign Language settings where the database of the observation is the everyday lesson with its usual participants in real time, rather than a class constructed to try out a particular pedagogical method, or a teacher not known to the students, or anything which might constitute inherent distortions of naturally occurring phenomena. In the present study, non-participant observations were made in the sense that the researcher (observer) did not form part of the community being investigated.

The advantage of naturalistic non-participant observation is that the observer may be able to see what participants fail to see, because the trained eye of the observer may be able to see the familiar as strange and provide the detailed description required (Foster 1999, 161). The main limitation of this method, according to Foster (1999, 163), is that ‘people may, consciously or unconsciously, change the way they behave because they are being observed, and therefore observational accounts of their behaviour may be inaccurate representations of how they behave ‘naturally’. This is the problem of reactivity’.

In this study, the researcher [the naturalistic observer] observed how the trilingual policy is being implemented in natural settings (schools in Kigali City) (cf. § 4.5). The informants were the regular teachers, headmasters and students who were joined and interviewed in their natural settings, i.e. schools; as well as officials involved in language policy making who were joined in their working offices.

Observations in schools consisted of checking whether the headmasters, teachers and students are in fact using the number of languages as they described it in the interviews. For example, the researcher checked if what the headmasters and teachers claimed they did in the interviews, was consistent with what actually happened at school and in the classroom. Two classroom observations were done at each school; the teachers of the observed classes were the same teachers who were interviewed at each school. The observation lasted 20 minutes in each class; the researcher just observed the lesson but without asking questions or giving comments to the teacher. The purpose of observation was to form a general idea about the teacher’s and students’ level of language mastery in comparison with what they said in the interviews (cf. § 4.7). The researcher checked whether the language used as a MOI was the same as the one described in the interviews. He also observed whether the announcements which were on the notice boards were written in the language described on the form (cf. § 4.7). During the breaks, the researcher listened to the language used by students and compared it with the information provided by pupils and teachers. However, the researcher did not record anything he overheard for ethical issues, as he could not seek consent of pupils. It was simply done to verify the pupils’ information about the language they use outside the classroom.

Observation was also used to compare the pupils’ performance in English, Kinyarwanda and French under the two policies. This was done by collecting the pupils’ academic transcripts for 2008 academic year when they were in P5 (for the old policy) and their transcripts for two terms of 2009 academic year (for the new policy in P6). Their performance was compared in terms of marks they got in language subjects (cf. § 4.7). Their marks were considered as indicators of their performance in languages because no other test was conducted with them.

In this section, different methods enabled the researcher to collect information from different sources and from different angles. This made it possible to triangulate the data.

3.5. The participants involved in the study

The informants in the research study were as follows: officials from three language-policy-making institutions that elaborate and supervise language policy at national level, teachers, headmasters and students from the selected nursery and primary schools, as well as the parents of the students who were selected at primary school level.

Concerning the informants from the three government institutions, the individual interviews (semi-structured interviews) were held with the Minister's advisor of nine year basic education, the Pre-education expert, and the Executive Secretary of the Teacher Service Commission in the Rwandan Ministry of Education. They were selected because their directorates are likely to be involved in elaborating and monitoring language policies at the national level. Interviews were also held with the Director in charge of science curriculums in the National Curriculum Development Centre and the Inspector in charge of English teaching in Kigali City in the General Inspectorate. They provided information on how the teaching programmes, the textbooks and the teaching aids support the policies and how they implement, control, inspect and evaluate the implementation of the new language policy in different schools.

In nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City, the headmaster, teachers and students were selected from each school, as described in § 3.4.2 above. Children from the nursery schools were not selected because they are too young to be interviewed. In the Rwandan education system, the nursery school level takes 3 years of education (Nursery grade 1, nursery grade 2 and Nursery grade 3), while primary schools are responsible for 6 years of education (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5 and P6).

The table below shows the number of institutions and schools surveyed; the number of informants and the number of interviews conducted:

Table 3.1: The number of research informants

The informants		The number of institutions, schools, homes	The Number of informants	The number of semi-structured or focus group interviews
1.	Officials from the Rwandan Ministry of Education interviewed	1	3	3 semi-structured interviews
2.	Officials from the National Curriculum Development Centre interviewed	1	1	1 semi-structured interviews
3.	Officials from the General Inspectorate interviewed	1	1	1 semi-structured interviews
4.	Nursery schools visited	2	2 headmasters 10 teachers	2 focus group interviews
5.	Primary schools visited	2	2 headmasters 10 teachers 12 pupils	4 focus group interviews
6.	Parents of primary school pupils	12 homes	12 parents	12 semi-structured interviews
Total number		19	53	23

The research study chose a composite sample of informants not only for the sake of trilingulation of information but also to observe Bamgbose's (1989, in Mwaniki 2004, 117) conviction that although the role of a government or its agencies in language planning is pivotal, practice has shown that parastatal and non-governmental agencies such as private companies, media houses, teachers, language societies, private researchers and others play a significant role in its implementation. Therefore, both public or government-assisted schools and private schools were selected.

3.6. Sampling techniques for selecting the informants

The sample of 53 informants was selected from 19 establishments (including government institutions, schools and homes as indicated in Table 3.1 above). The sample of nursery and primary

schools in the three districts constituting Kigali City was selected from several schools, as indicated in the table below.

Table 3.2: The number of nursery and primary schools in Kigali City

District	Level of Education	Total number of schools
NYARUGENGE	Nursery	36
	Primary	33
GASABO	Nursery	28
	Primary	80
KICUKIRO	Nursery	23
	Primary	53

The total number of schools in the area under study is the following:

District	Level of Education	Total number of schools
NYARUGENGE, GASABO, KICUKIRO	Nursery	87
	Primary	166
	TOTAL	253

Source: Statistics 2009 at <http://www.mineduc.gov.rw> (for primary schools)

Directorate of Education of each district (2007 statistics for nursery schools)

As it can be observed, the total number of schools in the area being investigated is very high, which is why a sampling technique was necessary. Mackey and Gass (2005, 119) discuss different types of sampling, including random sampling and nonrandom sampling techniques. Both are predominantly used in quantitative research, but nonrandom sampling techniques are also used in qualitative research. The types of nonrandom sampling techniques described by Mackey and Gass (2005, 122) are systematic, convenience and purposive sampling.

In this study, two nonrandom sampling techniques were used, namely purposive sampling and convenience sampling. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, in Silverman 2005, 129) state that “Many qualitative researchers employ ... purposive, and not random, sampling methods. They seek out groups, settings and individuals where ... the processes being studied are most likely to occur.”

According to Mackey and Gass's (2005, 122) description, in a purposive sample, the researcher knowingly selects individuals based on his / her knowledge of the population or of the data required for the analysis. This technique was used in selecting the 2 nursery schools and the 2 primary schools. The researcher selected each school based on its category (private or public), based on whether the school was an Anglophone or a Francophone school, and based on its proximity to the main road for easy access. The selected schools were likely to present the data required.

Purposive sampling was also used in selecting the senior officials from the three government institutions involved in language policy making, as well as headmasters, teachers, and students from schools and their parents. The officials were pre-determined by the researcher since their jobs are related to language policy planning and implementation. The headmasters and teachers could provide information on language use and language policy in their respective schools and parents had information on language use at home and language preference for their children. Purposive sampling was also used to select one grade 6 class at each school. The interviewed pupils were in the final class of primary schools and most of the teachers were final level teachers. Final classes at primary school level were chosen because learners were about to complete that level of education, and would be able to express their views about their experience at school in respect of the use of Kinyarwanda, French and English.

The convenience sampling technique, which is another nonrandom sampling technique, was combined with purposive sampling because the research participants were people who were present at the day of interviews and who agreed to be interviewed and observed. Mackey and Gass (2005, 122) describe convenience sampling as the selection of individuals who happen to be available for study and who show up as participants. This technique was found appropriate because it does not involve making appointments.

The main drawback of this technique is that representation cannot be guaranteed because there is no reason to suppose that those around on a particular day constitute a sample of everyone who could have been in the population. However, such strict control in selecting a sample is normally required in a quantitative study and this is a qualitative study. In this study, the researcher interviewed the teachers and pupils who showed up and agreed to participate in the study. For officials and parents, the researcher had to rely on appointments.

3.7. Analytical framework of the collected data

According to Tuckman (1988, 403), the data for a qualitative research project are mainly constituted by field notes, which were gathered in the researcher's notebook and in his or her head, plus information collected from documents. At present, many researchers also record their data with audio- and/or visual recording devices. In this research, data were collected in the field (schools, offices and homes), the information was tape-recorded and video-recorded, and the main ideas were summarised on the interview guide document. Other information was collected through observation and language policy documents were consulted.

Interview guide questions were piloted with a small sample of informants to see if they provide adequate information. The piloting was administrated to two teachers and two pupils from Kimironko I primary school, as well as to one parent. These people were not included in the final study. After piloting, some questions were rephrased and modified and then data collection was conducted with all informants.

The information collected by the researcher was analysed following interpretive analysis. The answers provided by the informants were interpreted, synthesised, summarised and presented. The data analysis process was governed by the method called "concept mapping" (Sapsford and Jupp 2006) which consists of analysing an interview by dividing it into categories, with supporting examples of quotations from the informants' answers. In the interview, each question is supposed to inquire about a particular concept or a particular aspect. Therefore, answers provided for each question were synthesised. This synthesis followed what Sapsford and Jupp (2006) calls "reflexivity about the analysis process", i.e. summarising and interpreting interview data to elucidate general meanings from it. The synthesis and the summary of the findings were based on what Sapsford and Jupp (2006) calls "accumulation", where a researcher looks for patterns in the interviews as a whole and summarises them on cards representing themes and then use quotations from the text as illustrations of typical or illustrative examples.

The present data were also analysed using the narrative approach. According to Holstein and Gubrium (2004, in Silverman 2005, 154), the narrative approach "treats interview data as accessing various stories or narratives through which people describe their world". This approach opens up a cultural analysis where both the interviewer and the interviewees generate a plausible account of the world (Holstein and Gubrium 2004, in Silverman 2005, 154).

3.8. Control of reliability, validity and ethical issues

According to Johnson (1992, in Mackey and Gass 2005, 181), the technique of triangulation reduces the interviewer's bias and enhances the reliability and the validity of information. Denzin (1978, in McDonough and McDonough 1997, 71) states that triangulation takes place in four different areas of research, and these are combining data sources, using comparisons of theory and individual accounts, using several methods, and using several observers. Mackey and Gass (2005, 181) explain three types of triangulation, namely "methodological triangulation" (using different measures or research methods to investigate a particular phenomenon); "investigator triangulation" (using several observers or interviewers) and "theoretical triangulation" (using multiple perspectives to analyse and interpret the same set of data, after data collection).

In this study, the issue of validity and reliability was mainly controlled by methodological triangulation, in that the study used different methods such as semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, site visits and naturalistic non-participant observation. Investigator triangulation was not used, because the researcher interviewed and observed the informants by himself. The combination of data sources, which is another aspect of triangulation, was used in this research, because different categories of informants were interviewed including officials from the language-policy-making institutions, headmasters, teachers and students from nursery and primary schools, as well as parents.

Reliability and validity has to be controlled in any scientific research. According to McDonough and McDonough (1997, 63), reliability concerns the confidence one has that a measurement technique will render the same answer when given the same thing to measure; while validity is "...the extent to which one can generalise one's findings from the subjects and situations to other subjects and situations" (Nunan 1992, 233). According to Mackey and Gass (2005, 364), reliability refers to the degree to which there is consistency in results; while validity has to do with credibility (Lincoln and Guba 1985, in McDonough and McDonough 1997, 63).

In this research study, a possible threat to validity is what Sapsford and Jupp (2006, 23) term "population validity and validity of measurement". Population validity is described as a part of the argument in a research paper which shows that the subjects or cases investigated are a typical or representative sample of the population under investigation; whereas validity of measurement deals with the question of "whether the measures which are used really do deliver what the researcher claims for them, or whether they give vague and error-ridden results or even a competent measurement of something that turns out to be different from the researcher's claims" (Sapsford and Jupp 2006, 23). For this study, one might argue that the selected officials, headmasters, teachers,

learners and parents did not constitute a representative simple because they were few and their selection was based on convenience sampling. However, the researcher believes that the triangulation of the data sources (i.e. using different informants from different institutions and schools), and the triangulation of research methods (using a combination of methods) will suffice in overcoming these threats to validity.

Ethical issues also constitute a concern in any research study. Mackey and Gass (2005, 26) indicate that ethical issues must especially be considered in research studies involving human subjects. The ethical concern is normally dealt with by obtaining informed consent from participants. Informed consent should fulfill three conditions related to ethical issues, namely suppliance of sufficient information, comprehension on the part of the informants and voluntary participation (Belmont 1979, in Mackey and Gass 2005, 27). Ethical issues in the research context are related to the analysis of values and customs of a person or a group of persons, and they involve the responsibility and conduct of both the researcher and the informants for the better running and validity and reliability of the research.

In this research study, ethical issues were controlled by ensuring confidentiality and neutrality, by obtaining consent from the informants and through thorough explanation of the research purpose to the informants. The informants' answers were kept confidential and were used only for research purposes; the researcher remained neutral and sought permission to tape-record or video-record the interview sessions with the participants. The researcher explained the purpose of the research and the informants agreed to participate of their own volition.

3.9. Conclusion

In Chapter 3 it was mentioned that the design of the present research study is exploratory qualitative research. A combination of four methods was used in data collection, namely semi-structured interview, focus group discussions, site visits and naturalistic non-participant observation. These different methods were used with the ultimate aim of using the framework of triangulation (a comparison of information gathered from different informants and using different research methods) to ensure validity and reliability of the research findings. The types of questions asked in this research study were mainly open-ended questions which are mainly used in qualitative studies. The type of data collected in this study ensures that the research is not a mere description of both the implementation of the old trilingual language policy and the new policy in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools. Rather, it is an evaluation which combines the four levels of Bloom's taxonomy, namely evaluation, analysis, comprehension and knowledge (cf. § 1.3.1).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation of the research findings and their discussion. The findings from the semi-structured interviews, focus groups discussions, site visits and non-participant observations were analysed separately following the categories of interviewees, i.e. officials from government language-policy-making bodies, nursery and primary school teachers, primary school pupils and parents. The findings are presented following Oppenheim's (1999, 63) suggestion which states that it is good practice to produce a detailed question-by-question report on the findings of a research study. Sapsford's (2006) methods of "concept mapping", "reflexivity about the analysis process" and "accumulation" described in § 3.7., were used to synthesise the informants' answers on basis of interview questions.

A total of 53 participants was scheduled to take part in the study. However, only 49 participants were interviewed.

Table 4.1 summarises the proportion of men and women who participated in the study. As it can be observed from the table below, gender balance among the participants was ensured.

Table 4.1: Proportion of male and female participants

Category of informants	Male	Female	Total
Officials	3	2	5
Teachers	10	11	21
Pupils	5	7	12
Parents	7	4	11
Total (percentage)	25 (51.02%)	24 (48.98%)	49

The research participants were selected from different categories to be investigated and were all familiar with the topic under study. All of the participants are directly or indirectly involved in language policy formulation and implementation and all the informants were Rwandan nationals. Their specific jobs are described at the beginning of the presentation of the research findings from each category of informants.

Table 4.2 summarises the participants' language background, including the percentage of those whose mother tongue is Kinyarwanda, those who learnt English in their formal education and those who learnt French in their formal education

Table 4.2: Participants' language background

Category of informants	Total number	Participants whose MT is Kinyarwanda	Participants who formally learnt English	Participants who formally learnt French
Teachers	21	21 (100%)	21 (100%)	19 (90.5%)
Pupils	12	12 (100%)	12 (100%)	12 (100%)
Parents	11	11 (100%)	8 (72.7%)	10 (90.9%)

The table above indicates that the mother tongue of all participants is Kinyarwanda. All 21 teachers interviewed learnt English during their formal education. Of the 11 parents interviewed, more than half (8, equivalent to 72.7%) are able to provide personal support to their children because they learnt English; while 3 parents (27.3%) are unable to provide personal support because they did not. Officials were not included because information about their language proficiency was not explored in the study, but during the interviews, two officials responded in French to the questions set in English. The language background of participants was obtained because three languages are under scrutiny in this study.

The findings are presented systematically as follows: Findings from semi-structured interviews with officials from government language-policy-making bodies and with parents. Findings from focus group discussions with nursery and primary school teachers and with primary school pupils, and finally from site visits and non-participant observations. The presentation of the findings is followed by their discussion and interpretation.

4.1. Semi-structured interviews with officials from government language-policy-making bodies

The interviews were held with five officials including the Inspector of English teaching in Kigali City, the Head of the Science Unit in the National Curriculum Development Centre, the Pre-primary Education Expert, the Minister's Advisor and the Executive Secretary of the Teacher Service Commission. The labels O1, O2, O3, O4 and O5 were used for anonymity. 3 officials responded in

English while 2 answered in French when the questions were asked in English. Those who responded in French could understand English but said that they feel more comfortable with French. Their viewpoints on each question asked in Appendix 1 are summarised and synthesised with selected quotations.

Q1. Please describe how the language policy (Kinyarwanda, French and English) was implemented in Rwandan nursery and primary schools before 8th October 2008 (when the policy was modified by the cabinet meeting), and after 8th October 2008.

Q1A. At nursery school (before 8th October 2008):

The officials' viewpoints on the implementation of the trilingual policy reflected that they were all familiar with the Rwandan Constitution. Participant O2 described it as follows: ... *You ought to know that the language policy of the Constitution states that Kinyarwanda, French and English are official languages...* O4 agreed that ...*Any language change in education system has to be viewed in the context of Article 5 of the Constitution of Rwanda, which stipulates that the national language is Kinyarwanda, the official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English...*

Concerning the implementation of the language policy at nursery school level, O2 stated that ...*previously, schools used to teach in the language of their choice, they could decide to teach in French, in English or in Kinyarwanda. ...The nursery school was somehow neglected in the past at the expense of primary schools...* O4 expressed the same opinion that ...*from the past up to now, pre-primary education was not compulsory; it was education which was controlled by the parents. The Government intervened in setting up curriculums and standards, as well as in training teachers...*

All officials interviewed confirmed that all nursery schools are owned and governed by parents. That explains why teaching at nursery school was either conducted in French or in English or in Kinyarwanda. Everyone spoke Kinyarwanda, but they preferred to use French or English as MOI.

Now, an early childhood education policy is being elaborated, according to O3 who said that ... *since the Government of National Unity decided to reform the education sector, it started to develop a nursery school policy. It is a very important policy called "Early childhood development policy" which includes four components: health, education, nutrition and hygiene. ...This is to give guidelines or provide a framework to all nursery schools or people involved in early childhood education. This policy is its final phase of elaboration...*

From the information from participants, it is clear that the language policy was not implemented uniformly in all nursery schools. O1 concluded that ...*French was used in schools that adopted the Francophone system and English was used in schools that adopted the Anglophone system. But some*

nursery schools used Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction from nursery grade 1 up to nursery grade 3, with French and English as subjects...

As the term “trilingual policy” was used in the interview question, O4 commented that ... *When you talk about trilingualism, it seems incorrect in the Rwandan context because you should talk about multilingualism because in different areas of the country, people use Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili and other languages...*

From the answers provided by research participants, it can be observed that schools and owners of schools had freedom in selecting the languages to be used as MOI or as subjects. The Rwandan policy does not conform to what Gupta (1997, 496) (cf. § 1.1) said about governments often choosing to privilege one or several languages within a country, and the privileged language is the one with special prominence socially and officially. The government provided guidelines but the choice was left to the implementers.

Q1B. At nursery school (after 8th October 2008):

The officials’ answers to this question indicated that the guidelines are not yet clarified in terms of law. O2 stated that *...there is no precise instruction from the Ministry of Education about language use at nursery school ...* O4 stated that *...Up to now, the implementation is still being done on the basis of a government decision; it is not a law or a decree. The implementation is governed by the instructions from the State Minister in Charge of Primary and Secondary Education, issued in December 2008 and March 2009, for effective implementation of the Cabinet decision made on 8th October 2008. Those instructions do not concern nursery schools; but indicate that it is compulsory to teach in English from P1 up to university level. ...When pre-primary education becomes compulsory, it is clear that English will be the MOI....* The recommendation from O2 is to teach in the mother tongue of the child at nursery school level, even if schools have freedom in language choice.

Another official, O3 said that *...The policy for nursery schools is still being developed. There are however “Nursery school standards” which specify who is responsible among the administrative entities. ...It is stated that nursery schools are monitored by Cell Administration (i.e. local administrative entity), while primary schools are monitored by Sector Administration (i.e. local administrative entity constituted by a certain number of Cells). It is planned that every Cell should have at least one nursery school...*

With regard to the language policy implementation today, O1 stated that *...English is now used as a MOI from nursery grade 1 up to nursery grade 3. Kinyarwanda is taught as a subject and French is also taught as a subject but in some nursery schools, and not in all nursery schools....* O3 had the same view about French teaching, that *...After modification, the curriculum for nursery schools was developed in English and Kinyarwanda, and the MOI is English. Kinyarwanda is taught as a subject, French is not allowed but some schools teach it as a subject, and not as a medium of instruction....*

The information provided by officials confirms that English has been adopted as a MOI, but the policy needs to be clarified for nursery schools. However, 2 respondents said that there is tendency to teach in English at nursery schools, which shows that the model of early total immersion (cf. § 2.4.3.2) is likely to be implemented in nursery schools in future.

Q1C. At primary school (before 8th October 2008:

O4 described the implementation of the trilingual policy, saying that *... In Rwandan Education, from 1995 up to 2008, the languages which were used in lower primary were Kinyarwanda which was used as a MOI and French and English, which were taught as subjects. In upper primary either French or English was used as a MOI and Kinyarwanda was taught as a subject... This description was supported by almost all informants and it exactly corresponds with what the official language policy states.*

However, the implementation was slightly different in public and private schools. O1 stated that *...In most of the public schools, lower primary was taught in Kinyarwanda, with French and English as subjects. In private schools, some used French as a MOI from P1 up to P6, with English and Kinyarwanda as subjects and others used English, with French and Kinyarwanda as subjects. ...The policy had to be adopted by all schools, but private schools had the right to add other languages or to increase the number of hours for each language...*

With regard to the language in which the curriculums were written, O2 stated that *...except French and English which were taught as subjects, all other curriculums were written in Kinyarwanda up to P3. From P4 up to the end of secondary, all the curriculums were written in French and English; each brochure had a part written in English and a part written in French. This was done to enable schools to use either of the language they wanted to...*

It can be observed from the above-mentioned findings that the trilingual policy was not implemented uniformly in government and private schools. The maintenance of MT instruction which was observed in Cameroon and Luxembourg's education system (cf. § 2.6.3 and § 2.6.4) was also

observed in some of the Rwandan primary schools, in government schools, while private schools tended to focus on French and English.

Q1D. At primary school (after 8th October 2008)

The language policy implementation today is governed by the Ministerial order, and not yet by law. O4 said: ... *After 2008, we have not yet revised or redefined the language policy and language use in education. This new policy has not given details, so no adaptations have been made. What exists is that the State Minister in charge of Primary and Secondary Education has sent the new instructions relating to the use of English as a medium of instruction and the number of subjects to be taught to all schools and districts. The policy is, however, not in place yet ...*

As for the implementation, O1 said that ... *English is the MOI for all subjects from P1 up to P6, with Kinyarwanda as a subject, and no French....* This viewpoint was supported by all informants.

O2 provided more details on the implementation phases. He indicated that English is recommended as a MOI in all primary schools, from P1 up to P6, and this was effective from January 2009. This does not mean that French and Kinyarwanda were abandoned as one may think, because Kinyarwanda and French are taught as subjects. Such an implementation will not be unilateral because some teachers are not yet proficient in English. The transmission will occur over time. In some schools, explanations are given in French or Kinyarwanda to help students understand, but it is recommended that notes in English are provided. It was a government decision to use English as a MOI but there is also a ministerial order dated March 2009. The Ministerial order was a clarification of the other Ministerial order provided in the meeting held at La Palice Club Nyandungu in December 2008, which highlighted the phases of the language policy implementation, stating that in 2009 teachers will be trained in English. In 2010 science subjects will be taught in English and in 2011 all subjects will be taught in English. It was a clarification after the meeting held at Nyandungu, which instructed that English is the MOI for all subjects in all schools which have teachers who are able to teach in English. In schools that are not ready, explanations in Kinyarwanda are allowed for lower primary and in French for upper primary, but notes are given in English.

O4 provided the reasons for adopting English in the new language policy. He stated that ...*At primary school, all the subjects are taught in English. French is not taught at primary school and Kinyarwanda is taught as a subject. The reason for this was that it is very expensive to have two languages as media of instruction. ... It implies double the number of teachers, teaching aids and textbooks, etc.*

From the above description, it is observed that all the subjects are taught in English at primary school level; French is not taught in some schools and Kinyarwanda is intensively taught as a subject. Therefore, the new policy focuses on bilingualism instead of trilingualism and the model of early total immersion (§ 2.4.3.2) is likely to be adopted at primary school level.

Q2. In the old policy, it was observed that many nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City (both public and private) did not follow the government policy of using Kinyarwanda as a medium for teaching other subjects up to P3. As officials in charge of language policy formulation and implementation, did you check the reasons why those schools privileged early French and English over Kinyarwanda medium?

Officials indicate that early English and French were privileged differently in different categories of schools. For example O4 said: *...We have three types of schools which should not be confused. We have public schools, government-assisted schools and private schools. ...All public and government-assisted schools used to teach in Kinyarwanda from P1 to P3. The General Inspectorate does not allow them to use other mediums not stated in the policy. But private schools had, and still have, the right to teach in any language of their choice, on condition that they follow at least the curriculum provided by the Government...*

All officials interviewed confirmed that early predominance of English and French teaching over Kinyarwanda is mainly observed in private schools and they provide various reasons for this. For example O1 stated that *...Private schools have their benefits in teaching in such or such a language. Maybe the founders of that school chose either French or English....* O2 said: *... it is logical that the teaching at nursery schools must be done in the mother tongue of the child. But as we are in town, it must be the pressure of parents...* Most of parents living in towns are educated, and there is tendency that they want their children to be taught in international languages, English or French. O3 supported him stating that *...Considering how the world is moving and considering the importance of languages, many parents prefer that their children be taught in international languages which allow them to interact with the whole region or the whole world. It is a matter of interest...* This implies that parents are attracted by international languages.

Though early teaching of international languages is preferred by many schools, officials indicated that early teaching in the mother tongue is very beneficial. O3 made it clear that *... It has been observed that those who start learning different subjects in their mother tongue perform better than those who start learning in foreign languages...* O2 and O4 also said that culture is an important

aspect of the country and that is why they are insisting that Kinyarwanda should be taught at nursery school.

Officials' views in this section can be compared to the two views (§ 2.2.1) and (§ 2.2.2). Private schools supported early introduction of an AL while Government schools supported late introduction.

Q3. In some countries where the trilingual policy is said to be successful, they teach in the mother tongue even up to university level alongside other two languages. The Rwandan old policy instructed to teach in Kinyarwanda from the beginning of formal education up to P3, with English and French as subjects:

Q3A: Did this old language policy have any impact in promoting Kinyarwanda medium, specifically in nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City?

Officials interviewed were of the view that children should start with Kinyarwanda. In this regard, O1 indicated that *...Mastering your mother is an aspect of nationalism... Young children learn a language easily. When they are taught in their mother tongue at that age, language development is fostered. It is therefore better to teach them in Kinyarwanda...*

The information provided in this section indicated that officials are aware of the importance of MT instruction described in § 2.1.4. O1 supported the UNESCO's (2003) view that it is advisable to use a child's mother tongue as a medium of instruction in lower primary.

Q3B: Does the new language policy envisage continuing promoting Kinyarwanda in nursery and primary schools? If no, don't you see any consequence?

All officials interviewed confirmed that Kinyarwanda is promoted in the new language policy. O1 stated that *... Kinyarwanda is being taught as a subject, and it was given much time, the number of hours was increased. Kinyarwanda is still strong in the new policy...* The view was shared with O3 who stated that *...This is necessary because Kinyarwanda is our language as a State. That is why the curriculums for nursery schools were developed in English and Kinyarwanda. The major challenge we have in this country is to have qualified nursery school teachers....*

With regard to consequences related to the promotion of Kinyarwanda in the new policy, O4 indicated that *...The nature of change was not only the introduction of English as a MOI from P1 up to university, but the programmes were also revised. The number of subjects taught at primary*

school was reduced and the number of hours for Kinyarwanda as a subject was increased. ...We suppose that Rwandan children, who follow a Kinyarwanda course with increased hours will lose nothing with regard to the learning of the mother tongue... Another observation is that a child has more chances of mastering a language when he or she starts learning a language earlier...

Officials are well informed about the importance of MT instruction (cf. § 2.1.4). The maintenance of MT instruction which was successful in Cameroon and Luxembourg (cf. § 2.6.3 and § 2.6.4) is partially observed in Rwanda, here not as a MOI but intensively taught as a subject.

Q4. On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government decided to modify the existing trilingual policy and instructed to use English as a sole language for teaching other subjects in all schools (from nursery to university). Is the implementation of this new language policy easy or difficult at nursery and primary school level? If easy, how? If difficult, what are the difficulties?

Officials differed greatly, some stating that it was easy and others indicating that it was difficult. Those who stated that it was easy gave reasons such as ... *psychologically, at this age, children are really adaptable to anything, any subject, any course you teach them. They can learn any language... If you see those children, they are really excited to learn English. Their parents are happy, and I think this policy will be easy to implement, because business is often conducted in English and many research documents are in English, so we cannot deny our children this opportunity. ...But at the same time, we cannot allow our children to neglect our culture; that is why Kinyarwanda must be taught...*(O3). O1 supported him, saying ...*At nursery school, there won't be any problems. They are young children, they are flexible; everything depends on the teacher or instructor...* Officials explained that they often go on field (in schools) to evaluate how the new policy is being implemented and they receive regular reports. This is how they collect information about the attitudes of pupils.

Other officials viewed it as a difficult task. O3 states that ... *one difficulty is the lack of qualified teachers. The second is infrastructures, especially in rural areas. It requires financial resources to reach all the remote areas. It will also require textbooks, training centers for nursery school teachers specifically in languages ...lack of specific schools which exclusively train nursery school teachers as there are many Teacher Training Colleges for primary and secondary schools....* O5 added that ...*If the teacher has been teaching in Kinyarwanda or in French, and now he has to teach in English, it will not be easy at the beginning...* O2 also stated that ...*most of the textbooks were written in French, it was therefore compulsory to get textbooks written in English as soon as possible to assist teachers and students. ...it was not possible to replace all those textbooks at one*

go, it has to be done progressively. At present all the curriculum documents and textbooks for primary school are in English, except mathematics textbooks for lower primary which are still in Kinyarwanda, but they are being translated into English...

With regard to the government's effort to address the issue, O4 indicated that *...the government's aim will be to train a sufficient number of teachers to enable them to teach in English. That is why several strategies have been put in place to help teachers master English and use it as a MOI...*

Two officials, O3 and O2, recognise the important role of quality teachers who are equipped with quality materials and whom Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006, 244) describe as enthusiastic teachers. Once teachers are qualified and have quality teaching aids, the AL teaching and learning process will become easier.

Q5. What are the motives which led the Rwandan Government to modify the existing trilingual policy?

The officials provided various motives. O2 indicated that *...The main reason is the integration of Rwanda in the East African Community. ...We have bilateral, diplomatic and commercial relations; Rwanda is already a member of this community. It is therefore the regional integration which probably motivated the government to adopt English at the expense of French. The second reason is that English is predominant in the domain of technology. We are not losing by adopting English medium, we are rather gaining....*

All other informants supported this view and O4 added that *... It is very difficult to use two languages as media of instruction in one system, because it doubles the costs. This is an economic argument. There is also a political argument. ...It is very clear that we cannot harmonise curriculums, economic practices, benefiting from exchanges with East African countries without using the same language... Therefore, there are economic and political arguments ...*

O5 also mentioned that *...Textbooks written in French were very expensive, and they are cheap in English. We have to use English for globalisation and we have to start with it from the beginning because some linguistic research indicated that a language is learnt better when children start to learn it between age 0 and age 7 and it is difficult for aged and old people to learn a language....*

These viewpoints from officials indicated that the Rwandan government was integratively and instrumentally motivated when they replaced the old policy. O2 expressed features of integrative motivation, especially the Rwandan integration in the East African Community; while the

economical and political advantages as well as the advantage of using English as a MOI of instruction expressed by O4 constitute features of an instrumental motivation (cf. § 2.3). It can also be observed that O5 still believes that early age is the best period for learning an AL, while recent studies indicated that a language can be acquired at any age.

Q6. The new policy expects teachers to start using English for all subjects, right from the beginning of formal education:

Q6A: Are the teachers trained enough in English to implement the policy successfully?

Q6B: How does the policy envisage to assist teachers and headmasters in schools?

Q6C: Is there any budget provided to support the teachers' training in English?

Officials indicated that the main assistance is provided by the government but also by the schools and local administration and that teachers provide additional assistance among themselves.

Regarding the government's assistance, O3 stated that *...The Government has set up the Teacher Service Commission especially for developing those teachers, specifically for training. This Commission has a specialised task, we have been training and we are still training teachers and I hope that at the end of these training sessions, we will have qualified teachers. ...The training has started and it will continue...* O1 provided more information about the teachers' benefits from the undergoing training, saying that *...Since this policy was put in place, teachers are being trained. I supervise their training and they have shown great improvement...* All other informants confirmed that training teachers in English is very important for successful implementation of the new language policy.

Assistance is related to teaching aids. O1 said that *...The first priority is training, then providing books, textbooks and teaching aids. All these help to teach more efficiently...*

As for the training budget, O5 confirmed that *...Budget and funds are allocated for teachers' training in English...* All other officials indicated that the budget was allocated by the government.

One official, O3, indicated that *...all the requirements for teaching in English are not 100% in place. But the Government is doing everything to put the prerequisites in place...*

With regard to assistance from schools and local administration, O3 stated that *...Some schools are undertaking initiatives. ...They are buying newspapers, they are hiring their own trainers, and since we have a decentralised policy, at the district level, they are trying to train their teachers. ...and*

Kigali Institute of Education is opening training centres countrywide. This will help in the training of those teachers. A budget has been allocated, and it is controlled by the Teacher Service Commission... O4 provided additional information ...foreign teachers who have mastered English as a medium of instruction were recruited in all 11 Teacher Training Colleges to teach all subjects in English. Within the coming three years, we will have qualified primary school teachers who are able to teach in English. ...For secondary schools, teachers are being trained in Rukara and Kavumu Colleges of Education, as well as in Kigali Institute of Education...

Concerning the assistance from teachers themselves, O1 indicated that *...Those who were trained at the national level are now training other teachers and teachers are training their colleagues at sector level...*

It can be observed that assistance has been provided by different sources to ensure successful implementation of the new language policy. Every partner in education is making his or her contribution. Teachers are being trained in English, funds are allocated for teaching aids, teachers are undergoing peer coaching, efforts are made for successful implementation of the new language policy.

Q7. Research has revealed that the quality of teaching is a crucial factor in the success of early teaching of English. Are all the requirements in place for successful implementation of the new policy in nursery and primary schools?

Officials interviewed expressed various opinions with regard to quality teaching. O2 indicated that *... The quality of education involves several aspects including the quality of teaching aids, the quality of teaching staff, and even the quality of students. This implies health, nutrition etc. Another aspect is the quality of infrastructures. ...You need to systematically examine all those aspects to conclude about the quality of education....* O1 emphasised that *...Qualified teachers and teaching aids are necessary for successful implementation of the policy...*

With regard to the availability of all those requirements, O2 stated that *...efforts are being made to distribute quality teaching aids, all the curriculum brochures written in English were distributed to all primary and secondary schools... almost all textbooks written in English are available in all schools for all subjects, except mathematics textbooks which are still in Kinyarwanda but are being translated into English.... From January 2010, all the schools will have textbooks written in English for all subjects....*

However, O3 indicated that *...We cannot expect to reach quality education in one month or two, because that requires quality nursery school teachers, infrastructures, materials and teaching resources. Once all these are in place, the quality will be there...* O5 added that *...Even before the change, the requirements were not 100% in place. We still lack some materials, but the allocated budget will do much to help...*

From the information described above, it can be observed that Rwandan teachers are being trained and that officials are confident that teachers will become proficient.

Q8. A great amount of materials which were being used in schools were written in French and Kinyarwanda. How and where are you getting the teaching materials such as text books written in English for all subjects?

Officials indicated that various strategies were in place to make textbooks written in English available. O4 said that *...After the 2008 decision of teaching all subjects in English, strategies were devised to meet requirements. Strategies include training teachers, revising curriculums and teaching aids, especially textbooks. Some textbooks were purchased, others were revised and adapted. In two or three years, everything will run smoothly....* O3 explained that *... the Ministry has provided curriculums in English and French and Kinyarwanda, and ... we are trying to obtain partnerships with some institutions abroad so that we can get enough books and materials written in English...*

On the top of curriculum development, O2 indicated that *...curriculums and textbooks were already written in English and French to enable the schools to choose to teach in either of the two languages. ...This explains that the curriculums and textbooks written in English existed already, but not enough. It was not a matter of seeking from foreign countries or elsewhere, they were already available at the National Curriculum Development Centre...*

O2 described the situation in primary schools, saying *...the timetable for lower primary includes only four main subjects which are Kinyarwanda, English, mathematics and social studies. Curriculums for Social Studies were already in English and translation was not needed. Translation was quickly done for mathematics curriculums and they were distributed in schools. ...People think that the materials for lower primary were only in Kinyarwanda, but we had them in other languages as well, even before the modification of the policy. All the curriculums are now in English....*

Officials also said that schools which have been teaching in English experienced no problems and teachers borrow books from those schools. There are bookshops in Kigali which sell books written in English and schools buy those books and teachers exchange them. O1 added that *...The textbooks evaluation is being done to assure that there are books in all schools. It was not a matter of translating the existing books written in other languages, publishers brought their books to be evaluated. ...Publishers from all around the world, both national and international, have come as bidders and brought their books to be evaluated...*

We can conclude that the Rwandan Ministry of Education is trying its level best to make materials written in English available. There was the impression that the policy was adopted so abruptly that there was no time to make materials written in English available from the start, but officials indicated that curriculums were already in English and only that a few subjects textbooks need to be translated into English. However, there was a kind of contradiction because O2 confirmed that all textbooks were already in English while earlier statement indicated that mathematics textbooks for lower primary were still in Kinyarwanda.

Q9. The publishers were also used to producing many textbooks in French and Kinyarwanda for nursery and primary schools. Are you informed whether they are able to cope up with immediate change to English medium for all subjects?

Officials provided various viewpoints relating to publishers. O3 indicated that *...publishers should adapt to the new change. We cannot be sure if they are 100% able to shift from publishing Kinyarwanda and French books to English but they have interest because it is a kind of business....* This view was supported by O1 that *... This is a market which was advertised officially, whoever feels able and capable to do this is free. Therefore publishers, both the old providers and the new ones who are capable to provide the books needed in the country are free to bid...*

With regard to the production of textbooks, O2 explained that *... for mathematics and Kinyarwanda, the copyright belongs to the Ministry of Education. We have a small printing house, but when you have copyright, you do not need any authorization from somebody to print materials. You just invite bidders and they print your materials. ...In fact, we have textbooks of which the National Curriculum Development Centre and the Ministry of Education has copyright and textbooks which belong to publishers....*

The information described above indicates that publishers would be able to provide textbooks written in English since the market is competitive and includes both local and external publishers. As funds are available, publishers will bid for book supply and will provide textbooks written in English.

Evaluation of those textbooks is also being done to ensure their quality and their relevance to the Rwandan context.

Q10. Motivation was revealed to play an important role in the success of any language policy. Was research done about how English is perceived by parents, learners, teachers and other stakeholders involved?

Officials interviewed indicated that people involved in English learning and teaching are highly motivated. For example O3 said ... *I assure you 100% that parents, children and teachers are eager to learn and use English, and it is in their interest. Some have been speaking French and Kinyarwanda for a long time, and they are happy because they will know three languages. ...Teachers are saying that the pupils are going to be bilinguals, and this is a major asset in the region. Children are eager to learn in English. We have traveled all over the countryside, evaluating for motivation, and we found that children are even more motivated than their teachers. ...* O2 supported him ... *When you talk about motivation, it is not only material motivation, because the regional integration is itself a motivation. The use of English as the language of technology is also a motivating factor. The visits I made to schools indicated clearly that teachers and students are highly motivated to use English....* O5 expressed the same view that ... *The Government feels it is better to learn in English... Teachers are ready even though some have reservations. Children and parents are excited about English...*

Although all the stakeholders were motivated, some reluctance was observed in some individuals. For example O4 explained that ... *Some parents are reluctant. But the children are eager. ...There is also some reluctance from older teachers. We have obtained views from teachers. They expect to encounter some difficulties at the beginning, but they are motivated to learn and teach in English. Within a short time, it will be easier than before...*

With regard to the research done on how English is perceived by all the stakeholders involved, O5 said that ... *Research was done prior to promulgation of the policy...* All other officials indicated that most Rwandans have a positive attitude towards English.

It is noted that the importance of English worldwide and regionalwide was one of the main reasons for Rwandans wanting to learn English. They were driven by both instrumental and integrative motivation (cf. § 2.3). The survey conducted by officials indicated that children are more motivated than teachers and parents. O4 who was one of the research team that conducted the research had 12 years of experience in the domain of education, which implies that their judgment was not based on speculations. Those children are probably driven by both intrinsic motivation (especially their free

volition to know English) and extrinsic motivation (influenced by the policy which has promoted English, teachers, parents and others who see English as a good opportunity for the betterment of Rwandan people).

Q11. Did the decision-makers consult the non-government language planning agencies in Rwanda, including the linguists or language experts while working out this new language policy? If Yes, what was their input?

Officials confirmed that language experts were consulted. O5 indicated that ... *Consultations were done with relevant experts, both nationally and internationally...*

To expand on consultation, O4 explained that there are partnerships between the Rwandan Ministry of Education and its development partners in regard to the new language policy implementation. He described it as follows: ... *The Ministry of Education works with Rwanda's Development partners. Last month, we had an annual meeting with all partners in the Education Sector. They were well informed that we have made this decision and they absolutely supported this change. ... We have benefited from funds that are managed by the World Bank which are given to countries which fulfill certain conditions for good educational planning. Rwanda is benefiting from them for the second time. There is no discrepancy between the Rwandan vision and our partners' vision. They know that it is difficult but they support us in the implementation...*

Even though consultations were done with language experts, officials expressed concern that language planning agencies and language experts are scarce in Rwanda. O5 stated that ... *Everyone wonders if those language planning agencies exist in Rwanda....* This implies that language planning agencies and linguists are very few in the country.

We can conclude that linguists and language planning agencies were consulted, even if they are not many in the country. Rwanda's development partners are assisting in the implementation of the new policy. Rwandan language planners comply with Bamgbose et al.'s (1987, in Kamwendo 2005, 144) requirement (cf. § 2.5) that individuals and non-governmental organisations have to contribute to language planning.

Q12. Do you see any effect of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda and French which were mainly used as mediums of instruction in the previous policy?

Officials interviewed highlighted the effect of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda and French. O2 said that ... *it is not easy to replace all the materials written in French and Kinyarwanda. In addition, many teachers are not proficient in English. This is not a problem which will be solved this year or next year, but in four or five years English will be comfortably established in the place of French and problems will be over as we will have teachers who use and speak English fluently...*

O1 said that ...*we are coming to the end of the year, they [teachers] are seeing that things are not really difficult, they have realised that things are even much better than before. ...The beginning was not easy, but as the year progressed, they have become resolved to the change. ...We have gone to watch them in class, and we found that a teacher who was teaching in French previously is now teaching in English from A to Z, a lesson of 45 minutes and there is no difficulty....*

O2 expressed the view that education does not show immediate impact, the effect is observed after some time. He explained that ...*In educational matters, results are not immediate, when you have invested in education, you must wait for some years to evaluate the impact....*

Concerning the impact of the policy upon French, O3 explained that ... *French was being used as a medium of instruction, but since it is no longer used, its status was modified. All the interviewees indicate that French will be affected.*

As for Kinyarwanda, O3 explained that ... *Kinyarwanda, as it is still used at family level, there will be no problems despite some changes...* O5 indicated that ...*Kinyarwanda is our mother tongue and it is acquired naturally. As the mastery of any language depends on how it is taught, we only need to improve how Kinyarwanda is taught. Kinyarwanda textbooks were said to be complicated, especially textbooks written in Kinyarwanda for other subjects. Those textbooks should be made reader friendly. French will be taught at later levels to enable children to master English first. ...We used to teach both languages, but the two were hardly mastered. We had better concentrate on one, and most people think that English is simpler than French, even though research needs to be done to find out about the relevance of this opinion...*

From the above-mentioned opinions, we can deduce that there is no great impact of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda as a mother tongue, the impact is observed on French where teaching was tremendously reduced. Seeing the high status given to English as a sole MOI, one may think that the statement made at the 39th TESOL Convention in 2005 (Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 244) was

applied in Rwanda. They claimed that the increasing spread of English may not only corrupt young children's minds, but it also threatens their MT literacy and identity (Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 244). Officials think that English is not a threat to Kinyarwanda. French will take what Gupta (1997) calls inferior position, but it is not going to be lost completely. The change-over which was made in the Rwandan language policy will lead to what Ricento (2006, 324) calls "planned shift" but could in future lead to what he describes as language decline since the status of Kinyarwanda and French was lowered. Even if those two languages are not used as MOI in the new policy, they are still dominant in other domains such as radio and television broadcasts, newspapers and all social interactions in Rwanda. Therefore, the campaign for languages survival made by Polanyi (2001, in Hatoss and Cunningham 2004, 355) (cf. § 2.5) probably does not apply in Rwanda immediately, but in the long run, it could lead to language decline.

4.2. Semi-structured interviews with parents

The semi-structured interviews were scheduled with 12 parents. However, only 11 parents were interviewed because the remaining parent had travelled abroad during the time of data collection. The interview guide was piloted to two parents who were not included in the 11 parents interviewed for real data collection. Parents were joined in their respective homes, based on directions and contacts provided by their children, who were also joined and interviewed at their primary schools. With regard to the language used most at home, all 11 parents indicated that Kinyarwanda is predominantly used in their respective homes.

Table 4.3 presents the parents' levels of education.

Table 4.3: Parents' levels of education

Category of informants	Total number	Educated up to university level	Educated up to secondary school level	Educated up to primary school level	Never attended formal education
Parents	11	6 (54.5%)	4 (36.4%)	1 (9.1%)	0

The table above indicates that all parents who participated in the study are educated, at least up to primary school level. Of 11 parents, 6 (equivalent to 54.5%) had 16 years of formal education (up to university level); 4 parents (36.4%) had 12 years of formal education (up to secondary school level) and 1 parent (9.1%) had 6 years of formal education (up to primary school). The parents' educational levels were verified to check if the assistance given to their children at home is a result of their educational background. As for the language in which the parents received their initial formal learning as a MOI: 3 parents were initially taught in Kinyarwanda; 7 were initially trained in French

and 1 parent was initially taught in English. Except 1 parent who did not learn English, other 10 parents learnt English during their formal training.

The presentation of parents' views also followed the question-by-question structure, as summarised and synthesised by the researcher and labels P1-P11 were used for anonymous identification of the viewpoint.

Q1. Before October 2008 (i.e. from 1994 to 8th October 2008), Rwandan education used three languages (Kinyarwanda, French and English). As parents, which language did you choose for your child as a MOI (i.e. language used to teach other subjects)? Did you choose Kinyarwanda? ...English?... French?... Kinya-French? ...Kinyarwanda-English? ...Kinyarwanda-French-English? ...

The table below indicates the number of choice made for each set of languages

Table 4.4: The parents' preference on each set of languages

The set of languages	The number of parents who chose each set
Kinyarwanda	0 parent (i.e. 0 %)
English	1 parent (i.e. 9.09 %)
French	3 parents (i.e. 27.27%)
Kinyarwanda-French	1 parent (i.e. 9.09 %)
Kinyarwanda-English	1 parent (i.e. 9.09 %)
French-English	2 parents (i.e. 18.18 %)
Kinyarwanda-French-English	3 parents (i.e. 27.27%)

As it can be observed from the table above, Kinyarwanda which is the mother tongue for almost all Rwandans was not chosen by any parent as a sole MOI for his or her child. English was chosen by 1 of 11 parents interviewed (i.e. 9.09%). French was chosen by 3 parents was (i.e. 27.27 %); 1 parent (i.e. 9.09%) selected Kinyarwanda-French; 1 parent (i.e. 9.09%) selected Kinyarwanda-English; 2 of 11 parents interviewed, i.e. 18.18 %) preferred French-English and 3 parents interviewed (i.e. 27.27 %) preferred the set of Kinyarwanda-French-English.

Parents previously preferred trilingualism for their children, as well as French. The reasons for such preference are described below.

Q2. Explain why you have chosen such (a) language(s) for your child, and why you have chosen this school where your child studies.

The parents who chose Kinyarwanda-French-English provided various reasons:

P2 made the choice due to the following reason: ... *I chose the three languages because I like them and my child showed interest in them. The choice of the school was dictated by our economic situation, i.e. the school fees requested, it was not due to the languages used at school...* P8 added that ... *Our school is a parents' school, and we know the importance of the three languages. We are among the founders or the owners of the school. We are aware that English is the most important language, most of the books are written in English, and when we go to Internet, many things are written in English. ... We are happy as Rwandans to use English; but we also know that French and Kinyarwanda are important as well...*

P11 expressed a different viewpoint with regard to language choice. He stated that ... *There is a kind of complex, either superiority or inferiority complex when it comes to choosing a language. No language is superior to the others. For me, all languages serve as tools of communication; that is why I wanted my child to learn all the three languages from the start...*

The parents who chose French medium provided the following reasons: P4 stated the following: ... *I chose French because it was the system in place by that time. The school was chosen due to proximity to our home and its good reputation...* P5 was of the same opinion that ... *I chose French because it was the policy implemented by the Government, and we have to support the Government policy. French is a foreign language and that is why I chose it for my child. The school was chosen because it is near, and French is more complicated than English, that is why I wanted my child to learn it before learning English...* P6 said that ... *French is an international language which is used by many people. The school was chosen on basis of its good reputation and proximity...*

The parents who chose French-English: P9 stated that ... *The two languages are international languages. They enable a child to do further studies and to compete on the job market. The school where he studies was chosen due to the fact that it is a parents' school which is near my home, and this reduced the transport costs. The school has a very good reputation, with high quality of teaching....* P10 added that ... *I chose those international languages because I want my child to do further studies abroad. It is good to study and those who studied have better opportunities. ... I did not have the opportunity to study, but I wanted to. That is why I want my child to know those two languages, it has been my dream. We chose the school because it is near our home and it is cheap when compared to other schools...*

The parent (P7) who chose Kinyarwanda-English medium gave the following as a reason: ... *I have chosen those two languages because I myself had the chance to speak English and Kinyarwanda is our mother tongue. The school was chosen due to proximity to our home...*

The parent (P3) who chose English medium said that *...I chose English because I thought it will be of great importance for my child. ... now we have joined the East African Community. For the choice of school, I should have chosen a better school, but due to my economic and social status, we chose this school, which is not expensive...*

The parent (P1) who chose Kinyarwanda-French stated that *... French is the language I and other family members use at home in addition to Kinyarwanda... The school was also chosen due to its good performance in all teaching aspects...*

Various motives influenced parents in the choice of language medium for their children. Both integrative and instrumental motivation described in § 2.3 played a role in the parents' choice of ALs for their children because they mentioned the studies abroad which imply integration in those countries, and various opportunities provided language proficiency; but their answers indicated that they were mainly influenced by instrumental motivation, especially the opportunity of traveling abroad, getting good jobs and doing further studies abroad due to proficiency in French and English. The closeness to home and the costs of studies (school fees) were also determining factors for the choice of the school. All the parents interviewed were animated by two of the three components of motivation highlighted by Gardner and MacIntyre (1993, 213) (cf. § 2.3), i.e. desire to achieve a goal and effort to be made. Parents wanted and made the effort for their children to learn the languages they had chosen for them. It can be seen that most parents chose the set of Kinyarwanda-French and English. This supports the UNESCO resolution adopted in 1999 during the General Conference Resolution 12 which proclaimed multilingual education including at least three languages, i.e. the mother tongue, a national or a regional language and an international language for national and global participation (UNESCO, 2003).

Q3. In your opinion, should all the three languages (i.e. Kinyarwanda, English and French) be introduced at the same time from the first day of schooling? YesNo

(i) If yes, why?

(ii) If no, when should each be introduced?

More than two-thirds of the parents (8 of 11 parents interviewed) supported to introduced the three languages altogether from the start. P2 said that *...I want my child to start the three languages from the beginning. I want him to know those languages...*P6 supported the view that *... three languages should be introduced from the start. Kinyarwanda is our mother tongue and English and French are international languages which enable us to communicate with people from abroad. A child is able to learn all those languages...*P8 added that *...They all must be introduced at the same time from the start because our children should not be limited to one country. They should go to Europe, England,*

and elsewhere. That is why we want them to be multilingual. The child has facilities to learn all of them at the same time... P11 thought it is easy for a child to learn three languages. He stated that *...It is very simple to teach the three languages in parallel, for example the term “bottle / bouteille / icupa” can be taught to the child at the same time, and he will know that it is the same item with different appellations in different languages. However, the teacher must be skilled enough to avoid confusion of the languages. A child is able to learn all those languages...*

Almost one-third of the parents (i.e. 3 of 11 interviewed) did not support the introduction of three languages from the start. P3 indicated that *...Three languages at the same time are difficult. I think he should have started with French, and then English, but I do not go for Kinyarwanda...* P9 thought that *... It is good to start with the international languages, French and English, from the beginning to enable the child to get a good basis from the start. Kinyarwanda is our mother tongue, it should not receive much attention at school. It is a local language which cannot lead you far from your country. Therefore, French and English should be introduced from nursery grade 1 and Kinyarwanda should be introduced as a subject from P3 or P4...* P1 agreed that *...It is very difficult. Young children are able to learn many languages at the same time, but it is not easy. ...For me, it is good to start slowly with one language and add on others later. For example children can begin by using their mother tongue from year 1 and then introduce English in year 3 or just introduce both English and French in year 3. The first two years should be done in the mother tongue...*

Parents' responses indicated that they do not know about Stern's (1976, in Harley 1986, 38) conclusion that “early age school instruction of an additional language does not in itself guarantee success” (cf. § 2.2.2). They think like Asher and Garcia (1969), Oyama (1978), Krashen (1979) and Patkowski (1980, in Singleton 1989, 117) who believe that people who are exposed to an AL during childhood achieve higher proficiency in the AL than those who acquire an AL during adulthood (cf. § 2.2.1). Only P1 is informed about the importance of the MT described in § 2.1.4 because he insisted on using Kinyarwanda as a MOI from the start while other parents chose ALs.

Q4. Did you support teaching in Kinyarwanda from the beginning of formal education up to P3 as it was done before October 2008? Yes ... No

What are the benefits of teaching the child in his or her mother tongue (Kinyarwanda)

Only two parents of 11 interviewed supported the use of Kinyarwanda as MOI from the beginning of formal education. P1 supported this viewpoint as follows: *...I support teaching in the mother tongue from the beginning up to P3. The reason is that children have to master their mother tongue and when they are taught in the mother tongue, it provides exposure which makes it easier to master it.*

...Another benefit is the mastery of the subjects they are learning. When those subjects are taught in the mother tongue, children understand the content better...P11 added that ...I support Kinyarwanda as MOI because the mother tongue constitutes the basis for science. The reasoning is done in the mother tongue, and then we transfer the message in another language before we communicate it ... The view from P11 implies that the initial teaching in the mother tongue constitutes a solid foundation science subjects.

About three-quarters of the parents interviewed (i.e. 9 of 11 interviewees) did not support teaching in the mother tongue from the start. P2 said *...I do not support teaching my child in Kinyarwanda. The reason is that Kinyarwanda is a common language. My child has been speaking Kinyarwanda at home and from childhood. I want him to change and learn English, plus French if possible. I do not see the importance of starting with Kinyarwanda which is also used at home. I want him to be taught in English, and then learn Kinyarwanda only as a subject...P4 is of the same opinion that ... Kinyarwanda is our mother tongue and the child is supposed to know it. I do not see any advantages of teaching in Kinyarwanda, it should only be taught as a subject...For P5 ... our local languages are easy to learn, they can be learnt as a subject but not for learning other subjects, because they do not have all scientific terms for following up issues. There is no benefit in using Kinyarwanda unless we have all the technological terms and satisfy all the requirements for using it at the highest level, like Chinese or Arabic. As Kinyarwanda does not meet all those requirements, we still have to rely on foreign languages...*

It is to be mentioned that Kinyarwanda is a standard language, which is taught as all levels of education including university. It has all terms but some scientific terms related to the new technology have not yet been coined in Kinyarwanda. Academics in consultation with Kinyarwanda Language Board always manage to find the corresponding terms in Kinyarwanda to every new English and French term. Those newly created terms are not often known to the public, and that is why laymen believe that Kinyarwanda does not have all the scientific terms. P5 shared the view with all those not informed.

P6 was also against early introduction of the MT. He stated that *...I do not support teaching in Kinyarwanda because it is a local language but international languages should be learnt when the child is still very young. They should be introduced earlier. The more you practice a language the easier it is to master it. That is why international languages should be used as a teaching medium from the start. But Kinyarwanda is our mother tongue. It is mastered without necessarily learning it at school. Even before starting formal education, a child already knows Kinyarwanda...For P9, the MT is important but he still did not support its early instruction ...I do not support teaching in*

Kinyarwanda even if I support that Kinyarwanda should be taught as a subject. Kinyarwanda has some benefits: the child learns the culture, the behaviour, the Kinyarwanda proverbs and other linguistic aspects of the language but all these can be taught without necessarily using Kinyarwanda for teaching all other subjects...The opinion of P10 is that ...The child should start with international languages. Kinyarwanda should not be totally excluded, but it should not be emphasised either since it is her local language which she grew up with. I want her to learn international languages...

It can be seen that the majority of parents do not want their children to be taught in their mother tongue and that they prefer international languages, i.e. English and French. Only two parents are aware that CALP development is facilitated by MT instruction before changing over to AL medium (cf. § 2.1.3, § 2.1.4 and § 2.1.5). All other parents were not aware of the importance of MT instruction from the start. They definitely were not aware of Cummins's (1978, in Collier 1989, 516) threshold hypothesis and interdependence hypothesis (cf. § 2.1.3) which holds that the learners' proficiency in ALs is partly dependent upon the full development of their MT before changing over to ALs.

Q5. It was revealed that many parents in different countries do not want their children to be taught in their mother tongues (local languages), they rather prefer international languages. What is your language preference for your child at primary school level with regard to Kinyarwanda, English and French?

The table below summarises the parents' language preference between French and English today.

Table 4.5: Parents' preference between English and French

The language	The number of parents who prefer each medium
English only	9 parents (i.e. 81.81%)
French only	0 parent (0 %)
French and English	2 parents (i.e. 18.18%)

More than two-thirds of the parents interviewed (9 of 11 interviewees) prefer English as a medium for teaching content subjects to their children. P2 explained that *...My preference is English because it is the language which is mostly used in the world. My child will be able to go to other countries and many of them use English. In Rwanda, even adults wish to learn English. Kinyarwanda will limit my child to this country only...* P4 was of the same view that *... I prefer English because I want my child to be integrated fully into the East African Community and my child will not have a complex wherever she will be...* P8 also *...Preferred English because French is limited to some countries. The reason is that we want our children to move outside the country and English is an international*

language. *Many scientific studies are written in English, most of research is done in English. That is why we prefer it...* P10 expressed a different opinion that *...Due to the change which was made in Rwanda English has gained status. You cannot choose a language like French which is not supported by the country. But the best thing for a child is to know the two languages, English and French...*

No parent preferred French as a sole medium of instruction. They accepted a combination with English.

Almost one-fifth of the parents (i.e. 2 of 11 interviewees) chose a combined medium of English and French. P5 stated that *...I prefer French and English. I do not want a language which is limited to local boundaries while the competition is worldwide...* P9 was of the same view: *...My preference is for English and French as media of instruction because better communication between countries requires a knowledge of international languages. Kinyarwanda should be taught as a subject...*

It is evident that the majority of parents prefer English to French. This indicates that the choice of the Rwandan government (adoption of English as a sole MOI) reflected the choice of parents. Parents are informed that Rwanda has joined the East African Community, that is why their preference can be categorised as integrative motivation. (They are planning to send their children abroad for further studies and expect them to be integrated into English speaking world.) Parents are also proud of the decisions made by their government and they support it. Haitao's (2002, in Kaplan and Baldauf 2003, 98) statement that the predilection of a government to move ahead with a plan without taking into account the linguistic realities of the environment often causes language policy development to fail (cf. § 2.5) is not applicable to Rwanda because the government viewpoint is supported by parents.

Q6. On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government decided to modify the existing trilingual policy and instructed to use English as a MOI or a language used for teaching other subjects in all schools (from nursery to university). What do you think about this?

The parents' opinions on the use of English medium in all schools support the official policy. P2 stated that *... I support the policy of teaching in English. We should have started even earlier. Today, someone who knows English has good prospects ...* P3 is of the same view that *...I support English teaching because it will allow my child to go for example to Uganda, Kenya or Tanzania and be able to communicate...* P10 added that *...I am happy about the new policy. The Government made the*

right decision about the language policy. I think everybody has to support this policy. If the Government thought that this language policy is good, who are we to criticise?...

Even though all the parents are in favour of the new language policy, they identified some problems in its implementation. In this regard, P6 stated: *...The policy is wonderful, but there are still problems in schools. In rural areas for example, teachers were not trained properly to teach in English. In town, capable teachers are available, but this is not the case in rural areas...* P9 supported this view *...The Government took the initiative, but the implementation was not done properly. French has been used for teaching for many years, but it was changed abruptly to English while it was supposed to be introduced gradually....* P7 was of the view that *...The policy was adopted very quickly. They should have given time for the change, without instructing that from next year all subjects will be taught in English. They should have provided a period for training teachers before starting teaching in English...*

The answer from P8 was also about the quick process: *...The policy is good but the problem is that it started without the necessary preparation and people did not have time to adapt to the new policy. The process of preparing teachers and making books and teaching aids available was not enough. They should have given more time to prepare for the introduction...* This concern was also expressed by P5: *...The policy is wonderful, except for children who have been studying in French from lower levels. For example, my child started using English medium in P6 while she was using French in the previous years. Now she still has language problems because they changed abruptly to another language and this is stressful to her...*

It can be seen that all parents interviewed are satisfied with the new language policy, even if they said that its introduction was sudden and unexpected. This illustrates that Haitao's criticism mentioned in the previous section (Q6) does not hold in Rwanda. It has to be mentioned that teachers who were not ready to start teaching in English from the beginning of 2009 were allowed to provide explanations in French and Kinyarwanda to help students understand but had to give notes in English. This was advised by officials (cf. Q4D) as a solution to avoid quick implementation for people who were not proficient in English.

Q7. How has the new language policy changed schooling for your child?

The interviewed parents expressed various opinions about their children's performance in regard to the 2008 policy of using English as a MOI. Some parents noticed improvement in their children's performance. For example P2 said the following: *...It has tremendously changed the schooling of my child, he is now open, he is happy and he now knows English and he is no longer timid. His marks*

are better than previous years...P6 is of the same view that ...*It has changed her schooling, the child is very happy ...* P10 also reported improvement: ...*My child has improved. The child is very happy. Even though I do not know English, I look at her notebooks and her academic report. She has very good marks. I call her teacher to inquire about her performance in class, he tells me that she is doing well and her evening teacher tells me that she has no problems...*

However, some parents reported problems encountered in the schooling of their children. P1 stated that ...*When I compare my children's performance now with their previous years' performance, there is no big difference. But when I work with them with their homework, they have problems in mathematics, especially problem solving. They do not understand the English used in mathematics. These are problems related to the subjects but they do not have problems in general...* P7 reported that his child has problems with mathematics because it was changed from French, which he was acquainted with, to English. P4 concurred ... *My child used to understand the subjects when she was studying all subjects in French. But with English medium, she is not performing very well. She does not really understand English. She used to be the first, but now she is the third...*P9 also indicates that ...*The child was affected by this abrupt change. His performance was not good at the beginning. It took him too long to get acquainted with the new system. Now he is doing well and he is motivated...*

It can be seen that the 2008 policy has had both a positive and a negative impact on the pupils' performance according to their parents.

Q8. The system was used to using French and Kinyarwanda medium, then it has changed to English medium.

Q8A: What will your child gain from being taught all the subjects in English from the onset of education?

The parents who were interviewed indicated the benefits and opportunities provided by English medium. P1 stated that ...*The benefit is that they will be able to master English since it has become the language of teaching. They will master it and will be able to compete in the job market in the East African Community as we have already joined...*

P3 indicated other benefits that ...*He will be able to explain to people who do not know English...* P4 anticipated other opportunities that ...*She will be able to go wherever in the world...* P5 added that ...*She will be able to operate in many countries around the globe using English as a medium of communication...*P6 said that ...*Several studies were done and concluded that English is the first*

language of international communication. It is good for our child to learn this language... Another advantage offered by P9 is that ...If he learns mathematics, chemistry and all other subjects in English, he will have a vast vocabulary...

Parents indicated that they thought that pupils would benefit from the policy of using English as a MOI from the start because they believe that their children will be competitive in the job market, which was extended to the East African Community and to the whole English speaking world. Their probably driven by both instrumental and integrative motivation, but are clearly not informed about the importance of MT instruction.

Q8B: What will your child lose from being taught all the subjects in English from the onset of education?

All the parents interviewed speculated that their children would not suffer loss of Kinyarwanda, because it is used at home and it continues to be taught as a subject. For example P10 stated: *...my child will not lose anything about Kinyarwanda because we continue to use it at home...P11 supported this view saying ...he will lose nothing in Kinyarwanda since it is spoken by everyone in Rwanda... P8 said that people are not worried about Kinyarwanda: ...children will lose some part of Kinyarwanda but we are not worried because they already know it...*

However, some parents thought that their children would lose some French. P1 indicated that *...Children will lose something related to French and Kinyarwanda. For example at school where my child studies, pupils are taught in English, but they have French and Kinyarwanda as subjects. It is not like other schools where French is not taught at all... P7 said that ...His French will be reduced somehow because we used to talk to him in French before the change, but after the change, French is not much used at home... P9 said ...He is no longer performing well in French... Even P11 noticed that ... His French will deteriorate since he has started to forget some French rules already. But it is well known that French requires regular practice. It is complicated while English is simple...*

These opinions from parents indicated that they felt confident that their children would not suffer loss of Kinyarwanda because it is still used in the society. It can be observed that they are not aware of Cummins's (1989, in Rodseth 2005, 6) and Fillmore's (1998, in Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006, 240) assertion that CALP development in the MT must take at least five to seven years before a change-over to an AL medium and that the MT has to be developed cognitively up to 12 years to be developed fully (McLaughlin 1984, and De Villiers and De Villiers 1978, in Collier 1989, 510).

Parents only anticipated some loss in French. French will not be used as a MOI but will be taught as a subject and a language can be mastered when taught as a subject only.

Q9. As a parent, are you able to support your child in English at home, for example checking his or her homework, chatting with him/her in English, encouraging him/her to watch English programmes on TV or listening to Radio and check whether he or she understands, etc?

According to the information about informants' language background (cf. Table 4.2), more than half (i.e. 8 of the 11 parents interviewed, equivalent to 72.7%) are able to provide support to their children because they learnt English while 3 parents (27.3%) are unable to do so.

Various types of support are given to pupils at home to improve their English. For example P1 said: *...I am able to support them. I correct their homework, I check their reading and writing skills. I encourage them to watch TV. They choose the programmes they want and some of them are in English. I encourage them because English is the medium for learning...*

All other parents provided various kinds of support including buying some CDs in English, buying books and dictionaries, paying the evening teacher who follows up on the child's progress and they let the children attend English teaching programmes which are organised during holidays.

However, some children do not receive enough support from home. For example P2 said: *...I do not support him at home. Instead he is the one who is teaching us at home, including his brothers and sisters. I do not know English but I encourage him to watch English programmes on TV, and to listen to the radio...* The same view is shared by P10 who described it as follows: *...I cannot check her homework because I do not know English, but I look at her marks. We cannot discuss with her in English, she only talks with other students or her relatives who are studying at secondary school. We do not have a TV. She does not even listen to the radio very often. Our main support is to pay an evening teacher who controls her progress after the class...*

It can therefore be noticed that pupils receive support from home depending on the economic situation as well as the level of education of their parents.

Q10. The parent's motivation is an essential element for the success of his or her child in language learning? Are you feeling high motivation for your child to learn all subjects in English? Why do you feel such motivation?

All 11 parents interviewed (i.e. 100 %) are highly motivated for their children to learn all subjects in English. Various reasons for motivation are given. For example P1 stated that *...I am motivated because being taught in English will enable my children to compete in the job market when they finish their studies...* P3 added that *...I am very motivated because I myself want to learn English. We must know international languages.* P8 said *... I want my children to be international. I am looking far and I want them to do their Masters and PhD studies in other countries...* P9 added that: *...I am very motivated, and I encourage him to learn English because the Rwanda's integration to the East African Community and the changing situation requires parents to prepare their children...*

P2 provided reasons for his motivation: *...I am very motivated, I pay additional fees for evening class and weekend programmes of English because I want my child to master it. I go to school to ask the teachers if he follows well, and they inform me that he is doing well in English...*

High motivation on the part of parents is evident. They all want their children to learn and master English. P1, P3 and P8 are influenced by instrumental motivation (good jobs, travel and studies abroad) while P9's motivation is integrative (integration of her child in the East African Community). P2's motivation can be classified as intrinsic because she simply wants her child to master English by all means.

4.3. Focus group discussions with nursery and primary school teachers

Focus group discussions were held in two nursery schools and two primary schools located in Kigali City. As described in § 3.6., the selection of those schools followed a purposive random sampling based on the type of school, either public, government-assisted or private school. Another factor for selection was the school background as an Anglophone or a Francophone school as well as its proximity to the main road for easy access.

The sampled nursery schools are Remera Academy II Nursery School, a private Anglophone school located in Kicukiro District and Sainte Famille Nursery School, a public Francophone school located in Nyarugenge District. The two primary schools were selected in Gasabo District. These are La Fontaine Primary School, a private Francophone school and Kimironko I Primary School which is a public Francophone school. A Francophone school used French as a MOI in the pre-2008 policy while an Anglophone school used English. In the new policy, the term Francophone and Anglophone are no longer used as one of school characteristics because the new policy of using English MOI is implemented uniformly in all schools.

Focus groups were held with a group of teachers from each school. As explained in § 3.4.2, each focus group was scheduled to include 6 informants (i.e. 5 teachers and the headmaster of the school) but the researcher could not get all 6 members in every school because the research was conducted during the preparations for end-year exams where P6 teachers and students were busy preparing for the National Examination. That is why focus group discussions were sometimes held with 4 or 5 informants instead of 6 in some schools, for example interviews were held with 5 teachers at Remera Academy II Nursery School and with 4 teachers at Sainte Famille Nursery School. The group of informants was complete at both La Fontaine Primary School and Kimironko I Primary School.

Teachers were given labels T1, T2, T3, T4, T5 and T6 for anonymous identification, and T1a, T1b, T1c and T1d were used for anonymous identification of views from any of the four schools which constitute the sample of this study. The discussion with each group lasted between one hour and one hour and half.

With regard to their qualification, all the interviewed teachers were qualified, they all have secondary school certificate (A2) which is a requirement for teaching at primary school. The nursery and primary school teachers had the same qualification but their professional experience as teachers ranged between 1 year and 28 years. The headmasters were Bachelor's degree holders and 1 teacher in one private school had a university diploma. The medium of instruction which was used during their formal studies is the following: 18 teachers did their studies in French but with English as a subject and 1 teacher did his studies in English with French as a subject.

The following is a synthesis of the teachers' answers based on the question-by-question structure.

Q1. Kinyarwanda, English and French have been used in our nursery and primary schools.

Q1A: Which of the three languages did your school choose as a MOI or as subjects before October 2008 and what were the motives or reasons for choosing those languages?

Before 8th October 2008, the four schools chose different MOI as follows:

- Remera Academy II Nursery School used English as a MOI. Kinyarwanda and French were taught as subjects from nursery 1 up to nursery grade 3. The motive for such a choice, as explained by the headmaster and the teachers, was to teach pupils three languages so that they would be able to compete in the job market one day.
- Sainte Famille Nursery School used French as a MOI and Kinyarwanda and English as subjects from nursery grade 1 up to grade 3. As the reasons for such language choice, the informants indicated that the school is located in the center of the town [it was believed that the majority of town dwellers preferred ALs. Therefore, Sainte Famille Nursery school taught

in French and not in the learners' MT to attract many parents. The school was aware of the policy of Kinyarwanda instruction as this was the case for lower primary, but they opted for French.

- Kimironko I Primary School followed the official language policy: Kinyarwanda was used as a MOI from P1 to P3, with French and English as subjects and from P4 to P6, French was a MOI, with English and Kinyarwanda as subjects.
- La Fontaine Primary School used French as a MOI from P1 up to P6, with Kinyarwanda and English as subjects. Reasons for the language choice were as follows:

T2d explained that *...it was the wish of the parents because some parents like English while others like French due to the fact that they grew up in that system...* T3d said that *...The founders of the school chose French...* T4d gave a different view: *... Most of private schools liked to teach in French because the language held in high regard in Rwanda...* T5d said that *...Teaching in French was government policy at the time...* T6d said that *...As a result of the 1990-1994 war, two languages (French and English) were introduced.*

As described in § 2.6.5.4, Rwanda was among Francophone countries before 1994, and most of schools continued to use French as a MOI after 1994, while few used English as a MOI. The official language policy gave freedom to schools to choose any MOI.

Q1B: How do you feel about introducing all three languages at the same time from the beginning of nursery / primary school?

The teachers held opposing views: those who supported the introduction of all the three languages from the start, and those who did not.

The views of teachers who supported the statement included T1c who stated that *...Introducing the three languages is advantageous because it leads to multilingualism which helps to talk to neighbours who know more than one language...* T6c said: *...To introduce three languages is very important because it helps you to communicate with others and to collect information from different areas and sources....* T4a also supported this saying that *...To introduce three languages is very important because it enables to talk to people from other countries like Europe or America who speak English or to people from France who speak French or your neighbours who speak Kinyarwanda...* T1d also stated that *... It was very good to introduce all the three languages at the same time because this would make students fluent in many languages and wherever they could go, they would be able to communicate in English, French and Kinyarwanda. And a child does not have any problems in learning the three languages at the same time...* T3b had a different opinion that: *...At nursery school level, the child's memory is still fresh and can easily learn all those languages.*

The problem arises when the child reaches home because he starts speaking Kinyarwanda, without being reminded of what he has learnt in other languages and this creates language mixing. But teachers find it easy to introduce all the three languages. Children are able to learn all of them...

The answers provided by T1c, T6c, T1d, T3b indicated that teachers think that children have ability to learn three languages simultaneously.

The teachers who did not support the statement included T2c who said that: ... *To introduce three languages is very difficult for the child because it creates confusion. For example before change when French, English and Kinyarwanda were taught altogether, children had the tendency to confuse the languages. When asked in one language, a child would answer in another language...* T2b had the same opinion that: ... *Three languages are very necessary, but very difficult for a child because it confuses a child. For example a child was taught at the same time “pen / bic / ikaramu”, and when a teacher asked him “pen” in English, he could easily confuse the languages and respond “bic or ikaramu”. It would be better to use Kinyarwanda at nursery school to let children master it first, and then start learning French and English in P1 to avoid such confusion...*

The confusion was also mentioned by T3d who said that: ... *Introducing three languages at the same time confuses pupils. I suggest that they learn in local languages (i.e. Kinyarwanda) in lower classes, from nursery to P1. Then in P1, they should introduce English and French, and continue like that...* T4d said that: ... *It was not good to start three languages at the same time because it is difficult for a child. It confuses both children and teachers. I suggest not to study Kinyarwanda but to start with French from P1 up to P3, and then change over to English from P4 up to P6. Kinyarwanda should not be taught at all...* T5d had a different opinion that: ... *For developmental and cultural factors, pupils should only study English and Kinyarwanda, from P1 up to P6 ...* T6d had a different suggestion: ... *I suggest to use English from P1 up to P6, but to introduce local languages in upper primary, and leave out French to avoid confusing children ...*

The answers provided by T2c, T2b, T3d and T4d indicated that they are concerned about the confusion created by simultaneously acquisition of three languages. This group of teachers need to be informed that the model was successful in Cameroon and Luxembourg (cf. § 2.6.3 and § 2.6.4) that was meticulously planned. They should also be reminded that the findings from Collier (1989, 524) revealed that the cognitive development of bilingual or multilingual students is more advanced than that of monolingual students (cf. § 2.4.3.1).

Q2. Do you think the old language policy of teaching in Kinyarwanda from nursery school up to P3 was beneficial for learners? What do you think are the reasons why it was not supported by all nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City?

The teachers' views on this issue were divided, some supporting the policy, others not. The summary of views which supported the old policy included T5d who stated that: ... *It was beneficial to study in Kinyarwanda because it is a cultural defense. If we lose our mother tongue, we will lose cultural tools. Even if our mother tongue is acquired at home, there are other elements to acquire at school in that language...* T6d supported the view that: ... *I support teaching in Kinyarwanda because it is our mother language, it should not be abolished...* T2b added another benefit that: ...*It was beneficial because a child is taught in Kinyarwanda at school and then gets additional explanations when he reaches home because Kinyarwanda continues to be used at home...* T4b was of the same view that: ...*It was beneficial for my child because she uses Kinyarwanda everywhere, on the street, with houseboys and housegirls who accompany them to school speak Kinyarwanda and even the teaching aids used at school were written in Kinyarwanda...*

The views from teachers who did not support the policy included T2d who said that: ... *It was not beneficial because almost all Rwandans speak Kinyarwanda at home. Therefore, learners could acquire nothing at school since Kinyarwanda is learnt at home. It should therefore be introduced in upper primary, and leave time for foreign languages in lower primary...* T2b also said: ...*I think that pupils should be taught in other languages, because, when I take my case, I studied in Kinyarwanda but now I have difficulties to communicate in international languages and I attribute these difficulties to the fact that I started learning in Kinyarwanda. I suggest that pupils should start international languages from the beginning and grow up with them...* T4b had a different view, saying: ...*It seems difficult to teach the subject content in Kinyarwanda...* T3d also stated that ...*Teaching in local languages should be abolished in schools because countries with many tribes do not teach in local languages and you find that pupils are fluent in English...* T1a added that ... *It was not good to teach all subjects in Kinyarwanda. When we compare what happens in neighbouring countries, we see that pupils who started learning an international language from nursery level do not have problems, but those who start it at a later stage do have problems...*

With regard to the reasons why the policy was not supported by all nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City, T1d said that: ... *The policy was not followed because schools seek what is advantageous for our nation especially to communicate with people in the outside world...* T1b added that: ... *The reason why French was started from P1 was due to the anticipated results at the end of primary studies. Exams were written and conducted in French. For example I taught in a rural area where they used Kinyarwanda up to P3 but it was very difficult for those students when they had to do the national examination in P6 in French. As they were not acquainted with the language they could not even read and understand the questions. But urban students who start*

French earlier have developed vocabulary ... and this was noticeable in the national examination results. That is why many urban students passed exam compared to rural students...T4b had a different opinion, saying that: ... Parents hastened to bring their children to those schools which do not teach in Kinyarwanda because they think that development corresponds to studying in foreign languages and not in Kinyarwanda...

Among the benefits of initial MT instruction, T5d mentioned “cultural defense”, which corresponded to the benefits identified in the NEPI report (1992, 7) (cf. § 2.1.4), indicating that the learner’s identity and cultural heritage is maintained because the MT continues to be used by pupils at school and at home. It is also evident that teachers who did not support the statement are still influenced by the old-fashioned belief that ALs are only learnt and mastered when started at early age (cf. § 2.2.1) and T2b gave an example of her own experience where she is not proficient in English and French because she started her formal education in Kinyarwanda. Perhaps her lack of proficiency in those ALs should be attributed to other factors.

Q3. On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government decided to modify the existing trilingual policy and instructed to use English as a sole MOI in all schools (from nursery to university). Are you (the teachers) prepared enough to use English as your sole medium of instruction? What challenges do you face in using only English as MOI?

A great number of teachers who were interviewed said that they are not well prepared to teach all subjects in English, even though they are required to do so. T3c said that: ... *We are not prepared because some teachers are not able to express themselves in English or to teach all lessons in English and explain clearly...* T5c added that ... *Children are confused, they sometimes answer in French when the question is asked in English...* T1b supported this, saying that: ... *We do not have enough vocabulary, no books because the available books are written in Kinyarwanda and teachers have the task of translating them into English...* T4a also stated that ... *It is not easy for me because I taught at a Francophone school and now I have to teach in English. My French is better than my English...* T2b said that ... *We were used to teaching in French and English is new for us and books are written in Kinyarwanda ...*

Concerning the challenges they encounter, T3d stated that: ... *There are problems in science because there are some technical terms which cannot be translated into English from local languages. It is difficult for students because they were used to French...* T6d said that: ... *There are challenges especially in science subjects because there is a lack of learning materials and instructional objects. Due to the influence of French, they had plenty of French materials and today the teaching materials*

written in English are not enough.... T4b confirmed this, saying that ...*The main problem is that very few books are written in English... Teachers consult their fellow teachers who have some books, it is not easy for them...*T3b described another challenge that: ...*The main problem of teaching in English in our nursery is that the children's parents are relatively poor. Therefore, there is no parents' contribution towards English, children learn at school only...*

The views of the teachers indicated that they are implementing the policy but they still have problems. They do not feel comfortable with the language they are using as a MOI because they are not proficient. This is a problem because Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006, 241) indicate that the teacher's competence and the quality of input play a significant role in the learner's AL proficiency. The teaching aids, which are also necessary in language teaching, constitute a challenge for teachers. However, the information provided by officials (cf. § 4.3) indicated that teachers are undergoing training in English, and the authorities concerned are trying their best level to make enough textbooks and teaching aids written in English available. It was also observed that schools which have been teaching in English before change (i.e. Anglophone schools) do not have many problems.

Q4. Does the new policy have an impact on the teaching of Kinyarwanda and French at nursery and primary school level?

All the teachers interviewed indicated that there is no impact of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda. The teachers' answers confirming this statement included that of T1a who stated that: ... *No problem with Kinyarwanda because the number of hours for Kinyarwanda has increased in the new policy...*T1b was of the same view that: ... *For Kinyarwanda, there is no impact because it is taught as a subject and it is used during break time and in other communication...* T4b also supported the view that: ... *There is no impact upon Kinyarwanda because it is sufficiently used at school. Teachers talk to students in Kinyarwanda during break time, there is no use of French and they rarely use English during break times...*

With regard to the impact of the new policy upon teaching French it was observed that French is still taught as a subject in some private primary schools but it is no longer taught in public and government-assisted schools. T1c said that: ... *French was completely left out at primary school level in government schools, it is no longer taught, not even as a subject. Teachers are suggesting that it should be taught at least as a subject in upper primary...*T1a agreed that: ... *French was dropped but our school has a vision of reintroducing it as a subject next year...*T1d had a different opinion that ... *Our students are still learning French as a subject, so there is no big impact but the time for French was reduced and now English is dominant...*

It can be observed that even teachers do not see any impact of the new language policy upon Kinyarwanda.

Q5. How is it going with the implementation of the new policy in your school? Do you have clear guidelines on the new policy implementation? Do you have enough texts books and other learning materials written in English and where do you get them?

The teachers explained that they now teach all the subjects in English but sometimes code switch for better understanding. T1b stated that: ... *Our school started to implement the government policy of teaching in English immediately from the beginning of this academic year. We are now teaching all subjects in English... and teachers are now learning English after class...* T1c agreed that ... *We try to teach every lesson in English but we sometimes code switch with Kinyarwanda to explain things better...* T2c added that ... *We code switch because students sometimes do not understand texts and teachers have to explain some terms in Kinyarwanda...* Even T4c supported the view that: ... *We do not know to explain everything in English, we therefore code switch with Kinyarwanda to facilitate understanding...*

Concerning the guidelines about the new policy, the teachers indicated that the policy was clearly explained and that they are implementing it as scheduled, even if there are challenges related to the teachers' proficiency in English. In this regard, T1a indicated that: ... *The importance of teaching in English was explained to teachers: Rwanda has joined the East African Community and English is used in Africa.* T5c said that: ... *The beginning is always hard. After some years, we will teach well as we gain knowledge by using the language. It will probably improve with time...*

With regard to the availability of teaching materials and where they get them, T1a explained that ... *Some books were borrowed from schools which have been teaching in English. The school administration borrowed those books and made copies for teachers and teachers translate books written in Kinyarwanda into English...* T3d added that ... *Some materials are bought by the school and teachers buys others...* T6c concurred but added that ... *Teachers get the materials through self searching, buying by themselves or by translating from other languages...* T6d indicated that ... *The teaching materials written in English are not enough, but teachers try to be creative for students to get what they need...* T4c said that: ... *We have also to remember that mathematics books are written in Kinyarwanda, and teachers have to translate them into English...*

Remera Academy II Nursery School indicated that they do not have any problems related to teaching materials written in English because they were already teaching in English. T1a explained that: ... *Our school already used English, so we are acquainted with teaching in English...*

It can be seen that the schools implemented the 2008 policy right from the beginning of 2009. Teachers were informed about the new policy and they immediately started its implementation, although they encountered problems related to teaching materials which were still written in Kinyarwanda and French. Officials indicated that efforts were made to make materials written in English available (cf. § 4.3). The new policy also allowed teachers to code switch in the beginning to facilitate understanding but notes must be provided in English (cf. § 2.6.5.5). Even if the quality of input from teachers could be questioned at the beginning, teachers are expected to undergo training in English from 2007 to 2011 where they will have reached the required proficiency in English, according to MINEDUC (2009) (cf. § 2.6.5.5).

Q6. In your opinion, what is the impact of the new language policy on the academic success of your learners and on your teaching quality when compared to the old policy?

With regard to the academic success of the learners in the new policy, the teachers indicated that the learners' performance in the new policy is more promising than the old policy. T4a said that: *...We have children who previously studied in French and then joined our school, but they are now performing better than those who started with English medium...* T1a gave the same opinion that: *...It is promising because even those who came from other schools are now performing well. We were worried at the beginning, but now there is great improvement, you cannot distinguish the child who was taught in French with the one who was in Anglophone system. Now they are on the same level...* T2d said that *...There is no problem. They are coping with the situation when compared with the time when they were in the Francophone system. They are now promising for better...* T4d added that *...The quality of teaching is better compared to the old one...* T2b identified a problem that *...There is a serious problem in upper primary (i.e. P4-P6) for students who began with French medium for all content subjects and now they have changed over to English for all subjects...* T5c identified another problem that *...The performance of the pupils is still low because they have problems to write everything in English. But as it is the first year for students to study everything in English, teachers hope that pupils will be used to English...*

T1a, T1c and T3c are still suggesting that the policy-makers should see ways of reintroducing French as a subject at least in upper primary for a few hours. In this regard, T1c indicated that *...It was not wise to eliminate French completely from public primary schools. Private schools are still teaching French...* T3c agreed that: *...It is not good to teach one international language because students will encounter problems in pursuing higher studies or when they get scholarships for higher studies in France. For example those who will be appointed as ambassadors in French speaking countries will encounter problems because they will have not learnt French...*

In conclusion, it is evident that teachers think that the pupils will perform better and they expect better results than before. However, they reported some problems caused by the abrupt change-over to English. The model that was adopted in the 2008 policy in both the nursery and primary schools levels is the initial sudden transfer or early total immersion model (cf. § 2.4.3.2). The adopted system is “straight-for-English”, but it is accompanied by intensive teaching of Kinyarwanda as a subject.

4.4. Focus group discussions with primary school pupils

Focus group discussions were held with pupils from La Fontaine Primary School and Kimironko I Primary schools, both located in Gasabo District. Each focus group was made up of 6 pupils who were selected from the final class (i.e. P6). The convenience sampling technique was used to select the informants. The researcher randomly picked 6 students.

With regard to their language background, 9 pupils indicated that Kinyarwanda is the language used most at home, 1 pupil indicated that it is French and 2 pupils indicated that it is English. 6 pupils said that they are learning 3 languages in the new policy while other 6 indicated they are learning (English and Kinyarwanda). If they were allowed to choose the MOI for themselves, 9 pupils would choose English while 3 pupils would choose French. The other languages the wish to learn, in addition to English, Kinyarwanda and French, are Swahili, Arabic, Spanish, Chinese and Luganda.

Interviews with pupils were conducted in English, with translation in Kinyarwanda for better understanding and provision of sufficient information. Labels S1-S6 were used for anonymous identification of pupils, and S1a-S6a or S1b-S6b were used for anonymous identification of pupils from the two schools. Below is the salient information provided by pupils, based on the question-by-question structure:

Q1. In the previous classes (i.e. from P1 to P3), you were supposed to be taught in Kinyarwanda. Did you enjoy being taught in Kinyarwanda (e.g. mathematics, EST, etc) up to P3 or you wanted to learn those subjects in English or in French? Why?

The information collected from 12 pupils interviewed revealed that only one student was taught in Kinyarwanda up to P3; all other 11 were taught in either French or English from nursery school or from P1, but they were learning Kinyarwanda as a subject. Although they did not use Kinyarwanda as a MOI in lower primary, they gave their opinions on the importance of being taught in the mother

tongue from the start. In this regard, S1a indicated that ...*Kinyarwanda is important because it is our mother tongue...* S6a said that ... *I like to study in Kinyarwanda but with other languages because it is good to know many languages...* S4a also liked Kinyarwanda, but added that ...*We want to study both languages because we want to have a good education, and it is easy to learn other languages. I would like to learn all the three languages...*

However, S2b did not like Kinyarwanda, she said that: ...*We want to learn other languages. We do not like Kinyarwanda...* S5a agreed that: ...*I do not want to study in Kinyarwanda because no other country in Africa or in the world speaks Kinyarwanda...*

Asked about their preference between English and French as a MOI, all the 12 pupils opted for English medium. The following are some of the reasons why they prefer English to French:

S3a: ...*When you go to other countries, they mainly speak English...*

S2a: ...*When you learn all lessons in English, you master the language quickly...*

S4a: ...*English is easy, and when you are also able to explain the lessons in Kinyarwanda, you understand better...*

S5a: ...*English vocabulary is not difficult to learn...*

S6a: ...*It is not difficult to understand when you are studying in English...*

It can be observed that only 2 pupils preferred to be taught in Kinyarwanda. All others prefer English. They consider English to be a language spoken in many countries in the world and they think that it is easy to learn English. This attitude reflects Msimang's (1993, in Kamwangamalu 2001, 129) conclusion that "most black people have come to hate their own languages and consider them irrelevant in the education process." Those people have adopted the attitude that mother-tongue education is not important because it does not pay off in terms of economic viability, unlike English and Afrikaans (Kamwangamalu 2001, 129).

Q2. In P4 and P5, you had to learn all subjects in French or English, plus Kinyarwanda as a subject. Did you find difficulties in being taught in various languages (Kinyarwanda, English and French)? Now you explain things better in which of the three languages? Why?

Almost all students (11 of 12 interviewed) confirmed that it was very easy, good and interesting to learn all the three languages. They did not encounter many problems. S1b indicated that: ...*There is no problem being taught in three languages...* S2a added that: ... *It was good and easy to study in*

three languages...S3a supported the view that: ...It was easy, because we learn vocabularies in different languages... S4a said: ...It is good because it helps us when we read books or watch movies... S6a was also of the same opinion that ... It was good to study all the languages because it helps in reading books... So it was easy and good to learn many languages....

Only one student (S5b) indicated that there were problems being taught in various languages. He complained that: *...There were problems: It was difficult because of the three languages ...*

The pupils were then asked about the language they understand better or the language in which they explain things better. Most of the students indicated that they now explain things better in English. For example S2b said that *...Now I explain things better in English because my family use English...* S4b stated that *... I explain things better in English because every lesson is in English...* S5b added that *... I explain things better in English because we use English at home more than other languages...* And S6b was of the same view that *...Now I explain things better in English because my brothers use English at home...*

However, only one student (S3b) indicated that he explains things better in Kinyarwanda. He explained that *... I explain things better in Kinyarwanda because we use Kinyarwanda at home...*

According to the viewpoints from pupils, 11 of the 12 pupils did not encounter any problem being taught in three languages simultaneously. Almost all the students indicated that they now explain things better in English and one of the reasons provided was that they mainly use it home. This information did not correspond to the one provided by their parents, who indicated that they predominantly use Kinyarwanda at home. Maybe the students' motivation to learn English resulted in giving them the impression that they understand English better, or maybe it was a problem of assessing their levels of language proficiency.

Q3. From the beginning of this academic year 2009, the rule is to learn all subjects in English. Do you find it interesting to learn all subjects in English at primary school? Why? Are you now learning all subjects in English or there are still subjects taught in French and in Kinyarwanda in your class?

All 12 students indicated that they find it very interesting and very motivating to learn all subjects in English. S3b said that: *...It is very interesting because English is used in many countries...*S2b added that: *... It is interesting because we started with French medium and now we are being taught in*

English. It is very interesting to know those two languages...S3a had a different opinion that: ...When you go to America or other rich countries, they speak English...S5a stated that: ...English does not have many punctuations in writing when you compare with French...S4a indicated that ...English is easy to learn when compared to other languages... And S1a added that ...English can be learnt in a very short time...

Asked about their preference between English and French as a MOI, all 12 pupils indicated that they prefer English medium.

It is evident that students are highly motivated to learn English. They have a very positive attitude towards English, they find it easy and simple when compared to other languages. They are intrinsically motivated (they just want to master English) and they are instrumentally motivated (English is their new MOI, it is used in other countries and they will have to travel). They are also integratively motivated (America and other rich countries are taken as models, they wish to be integrated in their communities when they will get opportunity to travel).

Q4. Do you see any problem related to learning all subjects in English? (For example do you have sufficient text books written in English for all subjects? Are your teachers able to clearly explain everything in English in all subjects, etc)?

All the 12 students could not see any problem related to learning all the subjects in English. They find it easy and interesting.

Concerning the availability of textbooks written in English, they all indicated that they do not have sufficient textbooks, especially in science and the few which are available do not include enough vocabulary, according to their judgment.

With regard to the teachers' proficiency in English, all the students explained that their teachers are able to explain everything in English correctly. They could not identify any shortcoming with their teachers' English language mastery. However, this information did not correspond to the one provided by teachers. Maybe the pupils' judgment was limited, but also the African culture does not allow people to criticise their superiors, especially when it tends to be a negative criticism.

It can be seen that textbooks written in English are still a challenge to pupils. Teachers and officials also pointed to this problem.

Q5. What do your parents do to help you practice English at home? (For example controlling how you do English homework, chatting with you in English, explaining to you an English movie on T.V or English news on radio, etc).

All the 12 students interviewed confirmed that their parents are providing assistance aiming at practicing and improving their English. The most kind of assistance was to control their homework and to encourage them to watch English programmes on TV or English movies. All of them explained that talking to their parents in English was not done very often. Other kinds of assistance provided by the parents: S3a stated that *...They buy both English books and French books because they do not want me to lose the French I have acquired since there are countries where people speak French. They want me to know both English and French. They check my homework and encourage me to watch English movies...*S4a had the same opinion: *...They buy books in different languages and after reading, I tell them what I have understood from the books. I have a special teacher at home because my mother always comes late from work and cannot control my homework...* S6b added that: *...They tell me to read books in English and I explain what I have read and they explain difficult words for me. They check my homework. We often discuss things, using English. They encourage me to watch English movies....*

It was observed that pupils in urban areas get assistance from parents. In most of the cases, parents living in an urban area are educated (all the parents interviewed were educated) (cf. Table 4.3) and were able to assist their children in English. The urban area has infrastructures including electricity which enables people to watch TV and movies, listen to the radio, read newspapers, etc. It is not like rural areas where electrical appliances are not found. This indicates that pupils in Kigali City are able to get additional input and have more exposure to English.

Q6. Do you think you now understand subjects better because they are taught in English or you understood them better when they were taught in French or in Kinyarwanda? What is your evidence?

All 12 students interviewed said that they understand the content of subjects better now that they are taught in English. For example, S1b said that: *...I understand the work better in English because I can read in English but my reading was very slow in French...*S2b added that: *...I understand better in English because I studied in English from nursery school. My family came from Uganda, I came here not knowing Kinyarwanda and I started learning in French which was very difficult. Now I understand the subjects better because they are taught in English...* S6b supported this view, saying that: *...I understand better in English because my knowledge has increased and I am doing better*

than when compared to learning in French...S4a stated that: ...I understand in English because French words do not explain well like English...

The responses indicated that the students obtained good marks in 2009 in comparison with the previous years when they were being taught in French. The researcher consulted their academic reports (for 2008 and 2009 academic years) to verify the information and it was revealed that all of them have good marks (in languages and other subjects) in 2009 much better than when compared to 2008. Their motivation to learn English was reflected in their better performance. In § 2.3, several studies including those by Dornyei (1990); Lukmani (1972); Gardner and MacIntyre (1991, in Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 4) indicated that achievement in an AL is facilitated by instrumental motivation, integrative motivation and positive attitudes. These factors probably account for learners' enthusiasm. It is to be mentioned that one year of implementation could be a clear indicator of achievements in language proficiency.

4.5. Site visits and non-participant observations

The data were mainly collected through site visits since the researcher joined the informants in their places of work and in their homes.

The site visits were combined with observations. Classroom observations indicated that teachers are actually teaching in English. Even if the teachers said in the interviews that they code switched for better understanding, no code switching was observed in the classroom. The teachers explained everything in English, and the pupils provided the answers in English. During the breaks, the pupils and the teachers who were overhead by the researcher used Kinyarwanda. This is contrary to information provided in the interviews that indicated that they encouraged children to use English outside the classroom. The announcements on the notice boards were written in Kinyarwanda and English, which corresponds with the information provided in the interviews. Observation also revealed that French is rarely used in public schools. Observations on the pupils' academic reports indicated that pupils have better marks in language subjects in 2009 when compared to their performance in 2008. This confirms what the pupils said in the interviews.

Observations confirmed what informants said they do and what they actually do, except on the use of English outside the classroom.

4.6 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.6.0 Introduction

The discussion of the findings focuses on the four main language issues to be addressed in this research study as described in § 1.3.1., and these are:

5. The language preference as a MOI in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and the types of motivation dictating their choice in both the old and the new language policy;
6. The age of introduction of Kinyarwanda, French and English and the implications of this on learners' CALP development;
7. Multilingual implementation models adopted in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and their role in developing learners' CALP in both the old and the new policy;
8. The type of language planning policy underway from 8th October 2008 and opportunities and challenges introduced by this policy.

The discussion is guided by argumentation based on the findings of theories described in Chapters 1 and 2.

4.6.1 The language preference as a MOI in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and the types of motivation dictating their choice in both pre-2008 and post-2008 policies

The pre-2008 policy dictated that schools were allowed to choose any language as MOI and Kinyarwanda was used as a MOI for lower primary. This policy complies with UNESCO's (1951, in Gupta 1997, 496) recommendation that "...pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue..." (cf. § 1.3.1) and the 2003 UNESCO statements. Mother tongue instruction is still seen as advisable in early years of formal education (UNESCO, 2003). The statement reads: "The expert view is that mother tongue instruction should cover both the teaching of and the teaching through this language" (UNESCO 2003).

In spite of UNESCO's (2003) recommendation, this research study found that this recommendation was rejected by the informants as the majority of parents, teachers and students do not wish to be taught in Kinyarwanda (although some support Kinyarwanda as a subject).

It was indicated that the change of status is from French and Kinyarwanda medium to English medium. This change of status from French to English is not observed in Rwanda only, it happens elsewhere as well. De Swaan (2001, in Ricento 2006, 354) indicates that English is now regarded as a lingua franca of the European Union. Phillipson (2003, in Ricento 2006, 355) indicates that French

used to be a predominant language in the European Union, but English has started to take over after the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and many others which joined later. As an economic factor, Phillipson (2003, in Ricento 2006, 354) describes how the European Union required the provision of language services in 20 official languages in 2004, involving thousands of translators and about 750 interpreters per working day. This requires a great amount of funds and that is why an English-only solution was suggested as a regime at European Union meetings, based on the model of the European Central Bank in Frankfurt. This advocacy conflates Globalisation, Europeanisation and Englishisation (Phillipson 2003, in Ricento 2006, 356). Based on this comparison in the European Union, Rwanda has opted for English medium within the context of conflating East-Africanisation, Englishisation and Globalisation.

One may now wonder about the type of motivation which dictated the Rwandan Government to choose English as a sole MOI. Was it an instrumental or an integrative motivation?

Based on the findings from officials, the regional integration, the status and the importance of English as an international language, the economic factor based on expenses prompted by two mediums of instruction, French and English systems, within the same educational system constitute some of the motives which led the Rwandan Government to adopt English as a MOI in all schools. It is therefore evident that the informants are motivated with both the instrumental and integrative motivation (cf. § 2.3). These two types of motivation were expressed not only by officials, but also by parents, teachers and pupils.

The description of integrative motivation in § 2.3. states that an integratively-motivated learner learns a language in order to meet, to communicate with and to learn more about the language community (Gardner 1985, in Madileng 2007, 27). The interviewed pupils indicated that they wish to learn and master English for communication with people from countries where English is used and their parents clearly stated that they want their children to be integrated in a predominantly English-speaking world.

With regard to instrumental motivation, its description in § 2.3. explains that an instrumentally-motivated learner is guided by a functional – motivational drive, such as learning an additional language to pass an examination, for further career opportunities, getting good job, travelling abroad, acquiring new ideas, facilitating the study of other subjects through the medium of that additional language, etc (Gardner 1985, in Madileng 2007, 27). In this regard, the motives expressed by officials, parents, teachers and pupils interviewed indicate clearly that the choice of French and English in the Rwandan pre-2008 policy, as well as the adoption of English medium in the 2008

policy were dictated by instrumental motivation. For example teachers who used to teach in French are now endeavouring to know English for career development and job security; pupils presented high marks as evidence of better performance in English; the Rwandan Government opted for English medium to facilitate studies, etc.

The participants indicated that they are motivated by some of the five basic motives for learning an additional language described in § 2.3., which include both integrative and instrumental motivation. These are provision of a cultural background, the influence of foreign speech islands, the necessity for political and cultural unification, purposes of colonisation and commerce, and the necessity of reading scientific and technical works (Marckwardt 1948, in Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, 1). Most of the motives for English preference expressed by informants in this study rotate around political and cultural unification (integration in the East African Community); purposes of commerce and the necessity of reading scientific and technical works (most of scientific books as well as modern technology documents are mainly written in English). It can therefore be observed that some of these basic motives which were described 60 years ago are still applicable to the current situation in Rwanda.

Motivation for language choice in the Rwandan context can also be viewed in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The definition of intrinsic motivation provided in § 2.3. states that it comes from the inside of the learner for gaining knowledge for self-satisfaction and self-fulfillment, through free choice (Vrey 1984, in Madileng 2007, 27) and the one of extrinsic motivation indicates that it is imposed from outside, whereby a child learns a language to receive praises from parents and teachers, to get rewards, marks, benefits from an activity done, etc (Nikolov 1999, in Madileng 2007, 38). Even if specific questions were not asked in this research study to explore this aspect, it was observed from the findings from the pupils that they are both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to learn English.

4.6.2 The age of change-over between Kinyarwanda, French and English medium and their implications to learners' CALP development

According to the findings, the change-over from Kinyarwanda to French or English as MOI in public schools in the pre-2008 policy was done in P4, when pupils were around 11 years old. In private schools, the age of change-over was totally different. The schools were free to choose any language medium and most of the private schools chose “straight-for-French or straight-for-English” system. French or English were introduced when the child was 3 years old (in nursery schools) or when he or she was 7 years old (for children who started formal education in primary schools). In the 2008

policy, the choice of “straight-for-English” is prescribed for all schools and children start with English when they are 3 years old (for nursery schools) or when they are 7 years old (for primary schools).

Based on the findings on the language policy implementation in public, government-assisted and private schools described above, CALP and BICS are likely to be developed differently in those three categories of schools. The longest exposure to Kinyarwanda medium in both public and government-assisted schools was 6 years for a pupil who started with Kinyarwanda as a MOI in nursery grade 1 up to P3. This was a reasonable period for a Rwandan child to develop fully his or her CALP as it was between 5 and 7 years suggested by language experts. However, in most of private nursery and primary schools started mainly with either French or English respectively at 3 years and 7 years of age but with Kinyarwanda as a subject. We can only speculate that pupils' CALP in private schools were not developed sufficiently since they used exoglossic languages as MOI. The conclusion will be debatable because Kinyarwanda was taught as a subject; the Rwandan linguistic milieu was dominated by Kinyarwanda and most of the programmes on TV, on radio, in newspapers etc were produced in Kinyarwanda. It is not like in other linguistic milieu where the MT instruction is completely excluded from education at the expense of an AL.

With regard to pupils' BICS development in the 2008 policy, one can speculate that BICS will be developed more than CALP. In § 2.1.1, BICS is described as the communicative capacity acquired by children which enables them to take part in daily interpersonal exchanges. It is related to speaking skills or people's competence to communicate in an interactive manner.

With regard to English language mastery among the Rwandan population in general and in long term, the number of English users is supposed to increase due to its official status as a MOI. The Rwandan situation cannot be compared to what Dr Pattanayak said in 1993 about English (an ex-colonial language) being a disaster in India because only between 2% and 4 % of all Indians had access to English after two centuries of its use as a MOI in schools. The reason was that English was imposed as an official language and a MOI at the detriment of people's MT in India. This shows how the lack of CALP development in the MT when learning the AL can inhibit the development and mastery of that AL. In Rwanda, the statistics for AL use are almost similar to the situation in India described above. As pointed out in § 1.3.2, the 2002 statistics for the number of speakers for each of the three languages indicated that Kinyarwanda was spoken by 99.4%; French speakers were 3.9% and English speakers were 1.9% of the total population of Rwanda (Rwanda 2005b). Although Kinyarwanda is an official language and a national language spoken by almost every Rwandan citizen, its intensive teaching in schools as a subject and not as a MOI cannot lead to CALP

development in Kinyarwanda, which should facilitate English mastery among the Rwandan population. All research studies indicate that CALP develops fully only the language is used as a MOI and not as a subject only. Kinyarwanda is taught as a subject in the 2008 policy, which implies that it may impede on CALP development not only in Kinyarwanda but also in English.

4.6.3 Multilingual implementation models adopted in Kigali City’s nursery and primary schools and their role in developing learners’ CALP in both the old and the new policy

In § 2.4.3, several models were described. The description of language policy implementation in both pre- and post-2008 policies revealed that models were implemented as follows:

At nursery school level, initial bilingualism or initial trilingualism was implemented in pre-2008 policy. As the policy governing nursery schools allowed freedom of choice, each school introduced any of the three languages or used only two languages instead of three. The MT was not used before changing over to an AL medium. The AL medium was preferred to the MT. The model probably developed CALP in both the MT and AL concurrently. This model probably led to subtractive bilingualism and not to additive bilingualism. The benefit of this model lies in the possibility of better cognitive development of bilinguals compared to monolinguals (Collier 1989, 524).

Public and government-assisted primary schools implemented gradual transfer from a MT to an AL, in the pre-2008 policy. Initial literacy was acquired in Kinyarwanda, with French and English as subjects from P1 up to P3. Then French or English became the MOI from P4, with Kinyarwanda as a subject. This model encouraged CALP development in the MT as Kinyarwanda was used three years in this model (instead of five to seven years suggested by Cummins (1978)).

In private primary schools, initial sudden transfer or early total immersion was implemented. The system was “straight-for-French and English” or “straight-for-French” or “straight-for-English”. Kinyarwanda was minimumly taught as a subject. Cummins’s (1978) views on the interdependence between CALP of the MT were ignored. This model neglected the MT, resulting in subtractive bilingualism instead of additive bilingualism. This model did not meet with great success in almost all former British, French and Portuguese colonies in Africa (cf. § 2.4.3.2). This model could lead to what Lemmer (1993, in Mabiletja 2008, 17) describes as “*semilingualism*” where no language is mastered.

At both the nursery and primary school levels and in all categories of schools (i.e. public, government-assisted and private) in post-2008 policy, initial sudden transfer or early total immersion is now being implemented. The system in place now is “straight-for-English”, but accompanied by intensive teaching of the MT as a subject. The development of BICS in English will probably develop much more than English CALP because English medium is used from the first day of schooling at nursery school.

In conclusion, the effect of subtractive bilingualism caused by instruction in an AL before the children have reached CALP in their MT is a major concern. Students who are forced to give up their MT and switch to English as the MOI suffer retardation of their academic progress in the AL and are likely to underachieve in both languages (Cummins 1998, in Rodseth 2005, 6). The implementation of the new policy in Kigali City and Rwanda can only succeed when young learners successfully achieve CALP in Kinyarwanda, followed by English. The owners of schools should take this advice into account whenever they decide to change from one language to another as a medium of instruction.

Fortunately, languages seem to be free to compete in Rwanda. This attitude was reflected in an interview with the President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, in the Paris-based magazine *Jeune Afrique* in 2005, in which he referred to Rwanda as a linguistic market where each language is free to develop without government interference (Soudan 2005, in Rosendal 2009, 23).

4.6.4 The type of language planning policy underway from 8th October 2008 and opportunities and challenges introduced by this new language policy

Whenever a Government decides to carry out a language planning, it is done for a purpose. Cooper (1989, 182) states that “To plan language is to plan society”; while Kamwangamalu (2001, 120) indicates that “The outcomes of a language planning exercise are determined by the social context in which this exercise is grounded”. These statements support the principle that “language planning cannot be understood without reference to its social context.” (Cooper 1989, 3).

In most of the cases, language planning intervenes as a problem-solving in a society. Haugen (1966, in Cooper 1989, 34) states that “LP [language planning] is called for whenever there are language problems” and Karam (1974, in Cooper 1989, 35) indicates that “in nearly all cases the language

problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation.”

In Rwanda, as revealed in the findings, the motives for modifying the language policy were mainly economic (based on its integration in the East African Community) and political (strengthening bilateral cooperation with those countries). The purpose was therefore to solve the problem of integration in the region and to strengthen its economical and political orientations. These were good reasons to modify the policy since they are focusing on the betterment of the country and the population.

It is therefore necessary to know whether the modifications which were made by the Rwandan Government were in the context of status planning or corpus planning or acquisition planning (cf. § 2.4.1).

Based on the implementation process of the new language policy, it is clear that the type of planning which is affected by the new policy is a status planning which has also prompted acquisition planning.

It is mainly a status planning because it focuses on the functions of the adopted language, i.e. English. The 10 functions targeted by status planning as described in § 2.4.1., which are: official language, provincial or regional language, language of wider communication, international language, the language of the capital, the language of communication among a cultural or ethnic group, the medium of instruction in education, the language taught as school subject, the language use for literary or scholarly purposes, and the use of a language for religion or the ritual (Stewart 1968, in Cooper 1989, 99-121) are also targeted by the new language planning. In this regard, the new language planning attributed all the enumerated functions to English while they were shared with French and Kinyarwanda in the past. In the old language policy, French and English enjoyed those functions with equal weight as international languages and Kinyarwanda was assuming them as a national language. The cabinet decision of 8th October 2008 attributed all those functions to English only. Kinyarwanda will continue to assume some of them, except to serve as a medium for teaching other subjects in schools. These features indicate clearly that the modifications were mainly related to status planning.

Corpus planning is not concerned by this language planning since it is related to language forms. As described in § 2.4.1., it is related to language form, including technological nomenclatures, writing systems, spelling guides, style books, dictionaries, grammars, punctuation rules, etc (Fishman 2004,

in Ricento 2006, 315). It is not concerned by this language planning because English already has these features. Similarly, those features are already in place for Kinyarwanda. It is already a standard language, it has been serving in teaching and learning; no modification is planned. That is why corpus planning is not involved.

Acquisition planning is involved because both teachers and students have to learn English, which will increase the number of users. According to the description of acquisition planning provided in § 2.4.1, it aims at language spread, specifically at increasing a language's users such as speakers, listeners, writers or readers (Cooper 1989, 33). It is also implemented in formal settings, where it is applied in formal schooling (Cooper 1989, 88). This was one of the main purposes of language policy modifications.

The teachers who were used to teaching in French and Kinyarwanda in the pre-2008 policy are now expected to teach in English. They are undergoing training. The schedule of teachers' training collected from the Teacher Service Commission in the Ministry of Education indicates that the teachers are scheduled to be trained in English language as follows: in 2007, 3000 primary school teachers were trained; 2391 teachers (from both primary and secondary schools) were trained in 2008; in July 2009, 5,000 teachers (from both primary and secondary schools) were trained and in November-December 2009, more than 11,000 teachers were scheduled to be trained in English (MINEDUC, Teacher Service Commission 2009). English training centres were set up throughout the country to train all categories of people who want to learn or to improve their English. The number of English users is set to increase, as it is the purpose of acquisition planning. Therefore, acquisition planning is involved in this new language policy. It is combined with status planning, because the increase of English users will lead to the spread of English uses as well, which entails status planning (Cooper 1989, 33). In short, the new language planning involves both status and acquisition planning.

With regard to the prospects of this new language policies, the findings demonstrated that all the informants are hopeful about the benefits brought by the new policy, especially to facilitate the Rwanda's integration in the East African Community; boosting bilateral, diplomatic and commercial cooperation with English speaking countries, giving opportunities to learners to move around the world for further studies, job opportunities and many more.

However, the new language policy has many challenges prompted by teachers' English proficiency which is not sufficient; insufficient teaching aids in English for all subjects, as well as insufficient

English training centres. Even though there are challenges, the findings revealed that both the Government and all stakeholders are committed to achieving the goals that were set up for successful implementation of this new language policy.

4.7. Conclusion

Chapter 4 presented the research findings following mainly the system of concept mapping where the answers from each category of informants were summarised and synthesised by the researcher. The presentation followed question-by-question structure, and the synthesis was based on the salient information summarised from the selected quotations of participants' answers. The presentation of the findings was followed by their discussion and interpretation where the findings were commented on based on arguments developed in the literature review chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

Chapter 5 reviews the main information presented in the previous four chapters. It summarises the findings and examines the contribution of the research study. It provides recommendations to the stakeholders involved in the language planning and in the language policy implementation and it ends with suggestions for further research in the area of language policy in education in Rwanda.

5.1. Review of the main aim and summary of chapters

The main aim of the research study was to investigate and evaluate how the old and the new language policy was and is being implemented in some of Kigali City's nursery and primary schools. Furthermore, the study aimed to investigate how the implementation of both the old and the new policies facilitate(d) learners' CALP development.

Chapter One described the context, the general background of the research problem and the research questions. Key terms used in the study were also defined.

Chapter Two was a literature review on relevant aspects of multilingual education, such as Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS), age and motivation of learners in additional language acquisition, types of language planning, types of language policies and their implementation models, and the role that language policies and implementation models play in promoting or hampering learners' CALP development. Proper development of CALP leads to additive bilingualism, while impoverished CALP skills lead to subtractive bilingualism. Chapter 2 also described trilingual policies in Cameroon and Luxembourg – two countries where AL acquisition has been successful due to the maintenance and management of mother tongue education alongside AL learning and teaching. The history of the Rwandan policy (from monolingualism to trilingualism) and the contribution of language policy agencies were also described.

In Chapter Three, the research methods and procedures, the research design and sampling techniques used in the data collection and data analysis were outlined. The research is exploratory-interpretative-qualitative and a combination of four methods was used, namely semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, site visits and naturalistic non-participatory observation. The number of participants and categories of informants were described, namely officials from the Rwandan Ministry of Education, the National Curriculum Development Centre and the General Inspectorate, nursery and primary school teachers, parents and students. Two nonrandom sampling techniques, i.e. purposive and convenience sampling were discussed as these techniques were employed to select both the schools in Kigali City and the participants.

Chapter Four presented the research findings and discussed the research results. It provided detailed findings on the old and new language policy implementation in terms of age of change-over between the three languages in Kigali City's nursery and primary schools and on how this change-over would affect learners' CALP development. It also discussed findings on motivation for language use and language preference. Models adopted by schools and their contribution to learners' CALP development and the types of language planning adopted in the new language policy together with opportunities and challenges in their implementation, were presented and discussed as well. The findings and interpretation of the findings are summarised as follows:

1. The language policy was implemented differently in schools:

This was indicated by the fact that public, government-assisted and private nursery and primary schools implemented different models in the pre-2008 language policy. For example nursery schools adopted either two languages (Kinyarwanda-French; Kinyarwanda-English; English-French) from the start, corresponding to the model of initial bilingualism or three languages (Kinyarwanda-French-English) corresponding to initial trilingualism. However, most private schools preferred French or English as MOI from the start, leaving out Kinyarwanda or teaching it minimally, which was interpreted as initial sudden transfer or early total immersion. Public and government-assisted primary schools used Kinyarwanda as MOI from P1 to P3, and changed over to French or English from P4, which was interpreted as gradual transfer.

Still in the pre-2008 language policy, every nursery and primary school (private, government-assisted and public) adopted either a Francophone section or an Anglophone section, but it is not the case in the post-2008 policy.

In fact, it was found that all public, government-assisted and private nursery and primary schools apply the post-2008 language policy, but they do not implement it uniformly. For example English is used as MOI for all subjects in all nursery and primary schools, with Kinyarwanda as a subject. This was interpreted as initial sudden transfer or early total immersion. However, public primary schools use English as a sole MOI, with Kinyarwanda as a subject, but without French; while private schools use English as a MOI, with Kinyarwanda as a subject and with French as a subject.

2. Models adopted and their roles in promoting learners' CALP:

Under the pre-2008 policy, it was revealed that initial bilingualism or initial trilingualism adopted in nursery schools favoured learners' CALP development in Kinyarwanda, French and English. Initial sudden transfer or early total immersion adopted in most private schools tended to inhibit full CALP development in Kinyarwanda; while Gradual transfer implemented in all public and government-assisted schools tended to promote full CALP development in Kinyarwanda and French or English.

Under the post-2008 policy, it is observed that initial sudden transfer or early total immersion which is implemented in all public, government-assisted and private schools tends to inhibit learners' full CALP development in Kinyarwanda.

3. Initial instruction in MT is not supported in nursery schools located in Kigali City:

The research found that exposure to Kinyarwanda as MOI was different in all categories of nursery schools in the old policy. For example some nursery schools did not use Kinyarwanda as MOI from the onset of education, but adopted French or English as MOI. Some other nursery schools adopted 2 languages, either Kinyarwanda and French or Kinyarwanda and English as MOI (leading to more exposure to Kinyarwanda as MOI); while other nursery schools adopted all three languages as MOI (also leading to more exposure to Kinyarwanda as MOI).

It was revealed that public schools had more exposure to MT instruction than private schools under the pre-2008 policy, and the research informants (parents, teachers and students) did not support MT instruction because they assumed that their children could learn it at home and in the environment.

Under the post-2008 language policy, exposure to Kinyarwanda as MOI is the same in all categories of schools. Even if the Ministerial order issued in December 2008 and March 2009 instructing to use English as a sole MOI in schools did not concern nursery schools as it instructed to use English as MOI from primary school level, it was revealed that all nursery schools start with English as MOI and Kinyarwanda is taught as a subject.

The research also found that parents, teachers and students still do not support MT instruction because they assume that their children learn it at home and in the environment. Therefore, Kinyarwanda is only taught as a subject. The timetables consulted indicate that Kinyarwanda is taught 5 periods per week in lower primary under the post-2008 policy, while it used to be taught 3 periods per week under the pre-2008 policy. It is taught 3 periods per week in upper primary, while it was previously taught 1 period per week. It was then observed that Kinyarwanda as a subject has doubled in lower primary schools and tripled in upper primary schools under the post-2008 language policy.

Furthermore, all officials interviewed said that all nursery schools are owned and governed by parents. There are no public nursery schools. Parents had and still have the freedom to choose any language as MOI and the new policy does not dictate to nursery schools.

4. Teachers are not proficient in English:

This research study found that some teachers have inadequate command of English; some middle-aged teachers are reluctant to learn English because they are worried that they will never become proficient in it due to their age. The country still has a number of unqualified nursery school teachers who are not proficient in English and French; most teachers were used to teaching in Kinyarwanda or in French and now they have to teach in English. Some teachers were used to the Francophone system and now they have to teach in English. Their level of French is still higher than English. Some teachers are not able to express themselves in English or to teach all lessons in English and give clear explanations in different subjects. Some teachers sometimes code switch English and Kinyarwanda or French to explain things. Therefore, English proficiency will take time to develop, but the strategy to solve the problem is to train teachers in English, which is conducted by the Teacher Service Commission in the Ministry of Education from 2007 until 2011.

5. All parents are in favour of English:

The research revealed that all parents support the use of English as a MOI. Even parents who do not know English encourage their children to learn English. All 11 parents interviewed

prefer English as a MOI or a combination of English and French, but no parent is in favour of Kinyarwanda or French as a sole MOI.

6. There are insufficient teaching aids for teaching in English:

It was found that most of the textbooks were written in French and Kinyarwanda, and it was not possible to replace those textbooks at once, it has to be over time. However, almost all textbooks written in English are now available in all schools for all subjects, except mathematics textbooks which are still in Kinyarwanda but are being translated into English. The insufficient number of textbooks and other teaching aids written in English requires teachers to translate themselves and this is time consuming and may compromise the quality of input. As strategy to solve the problem, a budget was allocated and publishers were invited for bidding to print the required textbooks.

7. Motivation to learn or to use English as MOI:

It was found that all research participants (officials, teachers, parents and students) are highly motivated to use English as MOI.

Chapter 5 concludes the research study, with summaries of the chapters and the findings, the contribution of the research study, the recommendations as well as the suggestions for further research in the area of language policy in education.

5.2. Discussion of findings

The findings in this research study have indicated that the pre-2008 policy was not implemented uniformly in the sampled private, government-assisted and public nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City. In both nursery and primary schools there were Francophone and Anglophone sections depending of the choice and preference of the owners of schools and parents (cf. § 4.3). However, all public schools taught in Kinyarwanda in lower primary school, before changing over to French or English MOI in upper primary schools. Learners in public schools thus had more exposure to MT instruction than learners in private schools.

The interpretation of the findings indicated that CALP in Kinyarwanda may not be developed in the same way as in the pre-2008 policy, since an AL (English) is now used as MOI from the onset of education. This practice does not follow scholars' views that learners' MT should be used as medium of instruction for at least the first 5 to 7 years of schooling before changing to an AL as a MOI. According to Cummins (1978), this period of mother tongue instruction is necessary in order to fully

develop learners' CALP in both the MT and the AL. In 2003, UNESCO repeated their 1951 view that the MT is the best medium for learning and teaching, not only in the early phases of education but also for adult illiterates who are taking their first steps to literacy. This is stated in Principle I of UNESCO which reads that "UNESCO supports mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and teachers" (UNESCO 2003). This principle emphasises that "Mother tongue instruction is essential for initial instruction and literacy ... every pupil should begin his [or her] formal education in his [or her] mother tongue ... adult illiterates should make their first steps to literacy through their mother tongue..." (UNESCO 2003). The principle highlights the importance of MT instruction described in § 2.1.4. However, the findings indicated that the majority of informants (parents, teachers and students) do not support MT instruction because they do not want Kinyarwanda to be used as MOI from the start of formal education (cf. § 4.8.1), while full development of CALP in Kinyarwanda should lead to additive bilingualism. Kinyarwanda is only taught as a subject. The 2008 policy indicates that the time allocated to Kinyarwanda as a subject was doubled in lower primary schools and tripled in upper primary schools. This implies that CALP in Kinyarwanda would not develop because CALP development is achieved when students learn to argue and think in abstract ways in their MT. This is achieved when a full range of cognitive skills (including those required in mathematics and science) are learnt through the MT from the start. Therefore, Kinyarwanda was promoted on one hand from 8th October 2008 (through intensive teaching as a subject), but it was demoted on the other hand because it had to take what Gupta (1997) describes as an inferior position by losing its status as a MOI which was taken over by English. English is preferred as a MOI not only in Rwanda but also in other countries. Giliomee (2009, 88) indicates that black schools in South Africa started to adopt English as a MOI from 1976, with the Soweto uprising and since then, the use of indigenous languages as MOI at primary school level decreased from 55% to 34% in 1999. This indicates that English is preferred in different parts of the world. Giliomee (2009, 87) comments on this preference by citing Fishman's question that "Is English a benevolent bonus or a creeping cancer of modernity?" The question reminds people to think critically if English is really bringing more advantages than disadvantages for people who decide to abandon the use of the MT in education. In this regard, the opinion from Mamphela Ramphele, a former Rector of University of Cape Town and Wendy Luhabe, a businesswoman (cited in Giliomee 2009, 87) indicated that the Bantu languages served them better than education given to children in some urban schools today. Their opinion supports that it is beneficial to learn in the MT. However, Giliomee (2009) observes that a world language is used by Africa's elite to cling on power and to limit good job opportunities to their children who are able to attend good schools. The consequence of Africa's elite practice is what Kwesi Kwaa Prah, a Ghanaian academician (cited in Giliomee 2009, 87) links with Africa's lagging behind in terms of development. Prah states that "An elite was created, which was nominally African

but in reality mesmerised by and beholden to Western culture. A ruling group was alienated linguistically and culturally from its roots”. Prah and other experts conclude that “language is the main culprit in Africa’s handicap in education and development matters”. Therefore, the children of the masses are prevented from studying in their MT and cannot master English and French. In Rwanda, Kinyarwanda, which is spoken by the majority of the population was replaced by English as a MOI. It is possible that Rwandan pupils would fail to reach the high level of proficiency in the long run not only in Kinyarwanda but also in English.

In the pre-2008 language policy, Kinyarwanda, English and French had equal status. Kabanza (2003, 24) says that Kinyarwanda, English and French had equal status as official languages from 1994, they were all used as MOI and taught as subjects in schools; television and radio were broadcasting and are still broadcasting in these three languages; newspapers and other types of media are still being published in these three languages. Kabanza (2003, 24) also indicates that multilingualism in Rwanda tends to be more predominant in urban areas than in rural areas. More than three languages are found in urban areas and are used in different circumstances. In this regard, Mulaudzi and Mbori (2008, 25) state that “Many football matches involving Amavubi, the national team, or Rwandan football clubs... are broadcast in the national language Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili... Never is football commentary given in English or French”. However, the study by Rosendal (2009) (cf. § 2.6.5.2) indicates that newspaper advertisements, billboards and shop signs are predominantly written in French and English, while they are rarely written in Kinyarwanda. All three languages are used in the daily life of the Rwandan population, but they are used for different domains. The 2002 statistics mentioned earlier does not imply that Kinyarwanda is exclusively used by the majority; French and English are also used in various circumstances. The statistics indicated that they were respectively spoken by 3.9% and 1.9% of the total population. This state of affairs is dictated by the fact that Kinyarwanda is the MT of almost every Rwandan citizen, described in the common motto of Rwanda, which is known as a country of “One nation, one language and one culture, but with a thousand hills”. Rwanda is also a multilingual society because every educated person learns English and French in addition to Kinyarwanda. The common knowledge of Kinyarwanda was revealed to be one of the main reasons why parents, teachers and pupils are eager to learn through the AL, especially English (cf. § 4.4; § 4.5 and § 4.6).

The findings also revealed that different models were adopted in implementing both the old and the new language policies. The findings showed that nursery schools mainly adopted the model of initial bilingualism or initial trilingualism, which is not beneficial for the development of learners’ CALP while public and government-assisted primary schools implemented the gradual transfer from

Kinyarwanda to French or English. This model contributes to CALP development in the AL and could lead to additive bilingualism.

The initial sudden transfer or early total immersion model was observed in two private schools under the old policy, as well as in all nursery and primary schools in the new language policy (cf. § 4.8.3). Such a model could lead to subtractive bilingualism.

In adopting the different models mentioned above, the motivation of all stakeholders involved, including policy-makers, owners of schools, teachers, students and parents played a dominant role. All nursery schools are privately owned and controlled by parents (cf. § 4.3) and the majority of them did not and do not support a system where children's initial education is conducted in the mother tongue (cf. § 4.4). They prefer English as a MOI with French as a subject while public schools exclusively use English. The teachers' preference as a MOI is not Kinyarwanda either, they prefer an AL medium from the start (cf. § 4.5). It can therefore be observed that the change in language policy in Rwanda does not conform with Gupta's (1997, 496) statement that "A privileged language is one with a special prominence either societally or officially, such that knowledge of it is one of the gateways to power". The change was brought about by economic factors within the East African Community. This change-over to English fall into the category that Gupta (1997, 496) describes as empowerment of individuals (i.e. Rwandan people who become proficient in English), not necessarily in terms of political empowerment but economic empowerment. Mulaudzi and Mbori (2008, 25) also maintain that power interests have rarely been propagated through language during the post-independence period in Rwanda. Gupta (1997, 497) indicates that "A privileged language is usually chosen because it is the language of an overwhelming majority of the population, or of an elite", but this was not the case in Rwanda. Instead, Kinyarwanda, which is the language of the majority, lost its former status as a MOI because Rwanda's adoption of English is to be seen within the context of regional and international integration. It seems as if Rwandan language policy-makers view English in the same light as Pattanayak (1993), who declared that "English is still the passport to the good life, to status, to wealth". Pattanayak's statement was made with regard to the linguistic situation in India, but a similar view is seemingly becoming popular in Rwanda. Several presenters at the 39th TESOL Convention (2005, in Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 244) claimed that English is increasingly seen as a vehicle of globalisation, and its spread may not only corrupt young children's minds, but it also threatens their MT literacy and identity. This globalisation motive combined with the integration in the East African Community were revealed to be the stimulus for Rwandan leaders and Rwandan citizens to prefer English as a MOI over French and Kinyarwanda (which were preferred in the past) (cf. § 4.3). In fact, it is well known that Africa is generally segmented into linguistic zones. In this regard, Mbori (2008, 43) indicates that the geo-political mapping is made of

the following linguistic bases: 'Francophone' (for French), 'Anglophone' (for English), 'Lusophone' (for Portuguese) and 'Arabicophone' (for Arabic). Rwanda belongs to both Francophone and Anglophone zones. Recently, Rwanda has joined the Commonwealth Group of nations (English-speaking countries, some of which were ex-British colonies), it was officially integrated as a member in 2009. All these facts are likely to be indicators that the adoption of English as a sole medium of instruction in Rwanda is for regional and international integration.

The new policy has had to face some challenges in its implementation. These challenges include teachers' inadequate command of English and insufficient teaching aids in English (cf. § 4.3). The findings suggest that efforts are being made by both schools and the government to overcome these challenges. The future therefore seems very promising, because teachers are being trained in English. Whether a teacher achieves success in this role is determined by the teacher's competence and the quality of teaching (Nikolov and Djigunovic 2006, 248). There is hope that the teachers' motivation in learning and using English and the parents and learners' good will to master English will lead to successful implementation of the new policy.

The interpretation of the findings suggested that the current policy of using English as a MOI from the onset of education is being implemented by means of status planning and acquisition planning. The functions of English were promoted (which entails status planning), while the number of English learners and English users was increased (which refers to acquisition planning). These two types of language planning adopted in the new language policy in Rwanda are expected to have meticulously responded to questions put by Cooper's (1989, 60) for successful implementation of any language planning, and these are: who adopts what, when, where, why and how? The indicator is that all research participants were highly motivated towards the use of English. The acquisition planning in Rwanda is seen not only in the light of increasing the number of users, but also in the light of formal settings, where it is in formal schooling (Cooper 1989), adopted by what Ellsworth and Stahnke (1976, in Cooper 1989, 88) called formal elites (i.e. those who are officially empowered to make policies such as presidents, governors, senators, congressional representatives, chief operating executives, school principals, teachers, etc.). This implies that the policy was adopted by legally empowered authorities. However, the new policy promoted English, but would affect Kinyarwanda and French. The two languages would not immediately decline because they are still taught as subjects and they are used in various areas, including media, but the recent status planning in Rwanda would definitely have a negative effect on French and in the long run it may have a negative effect on the status of Kinyarwanda as well.

For any implementation of a language-in-education policy to be successful, it needs to fulfill conditions put forwards by Barkhuizen and Gough (1996, 461-465). Those conditions include the syllabus, the teacher education, practice and attitudes on teaching and school administration, the testing process and the resources involved (cf. § 1.1). Language planning in Rwanda has met some of these conditions while others are still in progress. For example the teachers' education is receiving attention since teachers who are not proficient in English are being trained. Good practice and positive attitudes towards the new policy were observed at school. School administrators are all aware of the implementation process of the new policy and they immediately embarked on English MOI. The testing process takes into consideration both the recently adopted policy and the old policy, that is why national examinations are set in both English and French to assist those who have not settled fully in the new policy. However, the syllabus and the resources are still challenges. Curriculums were translated into English but some are still written in Kinyarwanda; most textbooks and other teaching aids are still written in French and Kinyarwanda, while the teaching is done in English. All these elements show that efforts are made by the government for better implementation of the new language policy, but there are still some challenges. After one year of implementation, good positive comments state that "*...it will be easier than before...*" or that "*...they [teachers] are seeing that things are not really difficult, they have realised that things are even much better than before...*" These encouraging comments imply that things were not perfect in the previous policy, maybe the teachers were not proficient in both French and English in the old policy. However, it is to be mentioned that it is difficult to express views on a policy that was recently introduced or to evaluate a policy only after one year of implementation.

The focus of the evaluation was the preference of the MOI between Kinyarwanda, English and French in both the old and the new language policy and the beliefs behind such preference. The view of the laymen, especially parents and pupils reflected that they preferred early introduction of an AL as MOI, i.e. French and English in the old policy, and English in the new policy. They did not and still do not support the use of Kinyarwanda as a MOI from the onset of education. It was explained that very few nursery schools used Kinyarwanda as a MOI in the old policy. The laymen are not the only ones to reject the MT as a MOI from the start. Teachers who are informed about the importance of MT instruction were not in favour of using Kinyarwanda as a MOI from the start. Even all officials interviewed did not support the use of the MT as a MOI, although they were well informed about its importance and its implementation in all public schools in the old policy. Only two officials clearly explained that instruction in the MT from the start leads to better understanding of ALs and other subjects. This indicates how people are still reluctant to agree with the view from scholars, including the UNESCO's 1951 and 2003 statements that it is advisable to start formal education in the learner's MT for cognitive development in both the MT and ALs. People still think that early

introduction of an AL as a MOI is the best way to become proficient in that AL, which is not the case according to most recent studies.

5.3. Recommendations from the study

From this research study, some recommendations with regard to the implementation of the language policy in nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City are suggested:

1. The first recommendation is addressed to parents, teachers and owners of schools who do not want their schools to teach in the learner's MT at the onset of formal schooling, but prefer an AL medium. Research studies show that the initial use of a learner's MT as a MOI contributes much in learner's academic development; not only in the MT but also in an AL and in other subjects such as mathematics, social sciences and human sciences.
2. The second recommendation is addressed to the Rwandan population, who are under the impression that pupils do not need Kinyarwanda as a MOI. Language experts should help people understand that because they speak Kinyarwanda does not mean that they should not study it and embark on English and French MOI from the onset of formal education. People develop BICS (which is related to speaking) in their MT very quickly, but research evidence has indicated that BICS may develop independently of CALP. This entails that fluency or good pronunciation in the MT or in the AL is not in itself a guarantee for academic development. That is why it is recommended to use the MT as a MOI from the beginning of education, and to use it intensively as a subject throughout different levels of education, to make it contribute to learners' academic development in various domains as revealed by research evidence.
3. The third recommendation is to assure older Rwandan teachers and adult learners of English who are concerned that they will not master English due to their age. Research evidence has indicated that a language can be learnt and mastered at any age. Many scholars consider the common belief that there is a critical period during childhood beyond which the additional language cannot be mastered, to be old-fashioned.
4. It is also recommended that Rwandan education authorities should equip unqualified nursery school teachers with sufficient skills in English to enable children to start English learning with a solid foundation. Therefore, in addition to intensive training in English which is presented during holidays, refresher courses in English teaching should be

organised regularly, at least once a month, to make nursery school teachers more proficient in English.

5. The Ministry of Education should ensure that candidates who complete their studies at Teacher Training Colleges really have a good command of English. Therefore, aspirant teachers should do a proficiency test in English before they get recruited to become teachers. This test should indicate their level of proficiency and would enable to organise training accordingly.
6. The Rwandan Ministry of Education should establish specific schools for training nursery school teachers, because, at present, the teachers in nursery schools are trained in Teacher Training Colleges for primary schools.
7. The motivation of teachers (who are key players) should be maintained at a higher level for sustainable success of the new language policy because enthusiastic teachers (who are motivated in terms of efficient training, good educational policy, quality professionalism and with availability of funds) would produce good results in the implementation of the new policy. Teachers' training should be efficient, incentives should be given to those who perform well and training funds should be sustainable.
8. The choice and the management of the three languages at pre-school level should not be left to the parents and the owners of schools alone. Giliomee (2009, 87) states that "Language is one of those topics on which people are unrelenting. Even if they are ignorant, people instinctively believe that they know about language and about the language policy that suits a country". The Ministry of Education, in collaboration with applied linguists should intervene by making documentation available and information relating to theories. This will enable teachers and pupils to start on the right foot regarding language teaching and learning. The language policy is worked out by language experts at national level, but its implementation at root level is often done by inexperienced people, including laymen, who own schools and who have the freedom to modify the practice stipulated in the national language policy. Intervention of experts in terms of language policy implementation at this level is therefore needed.
9. Textbooks and other teaching aids written in English should be made available for successful implementation. Therefore, the research study recommends the Rwandan

Ministry of Education and the National Curriculum Development Centre to provide sufficient textbooks and teaching aids written in English for all subjects.

10. The translation into English for most of the textbooks for primary schools and nursery schools which are written in Kinyarwanda and French should be done by subject specialists and not by teachers themselves to ensure the quality of materials.
11. English training centres should be increased and be extended to rural and remote areas because teachers are not the only ones who need to become proficient in English, even officials and other local employees need to be trained in English.

5.4. The contribution of the research study

This research study has pointed out which types of language policies would develop learners' CALP development and would promote learners' additive bilingualism. It has also pointed out the aspects of language policies which hamper CALP development and could lead to subtractive bilingualism. Therefore, it provided information to all stakeholders in Rwandan education and in the sampled schools on how an education system using three languages can promote or inhibit learners' CALP development. It identified implementation models adopted by some nursery and primary schools, and their role in promoting Rwandan learners' additive bilingualism and academic development.

Various stakeholders in language policy-making and implementation in education, such as the Rwandan Ministry of Education, the National Curriculum Centre, the General Inspectorate of Education and other policy-making bodies, linguists, teachers, parents, school administrators and learners will benefit from this research study, because it has sketched the current linguistic picture in some nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City, by indicating how the implemented models contributed or impeded on CALP development. The study has advised policy-makers, teachers, parents and pupils on how CALP should be developed through the maintenance of MT education. Therefore, this research study has answered one of the main reasons for carrying out research, as identified by Nunan (1992, 2), i.e. "to give the language characteristics of a particular population with the aim of satisfying the individual's quest and improving the community welfare". The study has descriptive and applied contributions, as well as practical contributions.

5.5. Suggestions for further research

This evaluation of the language policy implementation in some nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City is not exhaustive and has some limitations. There is a need to continue with further research studies in this area. The present study was limited to four schools. Therefore, an extended study to all Kigali City's nursery and primary schools should give a general picture of the policy implementation in urban areas.

An extended study on the implementation of the new policy is also needed in all other provinces and at all levels of education (from nursery schools up to university level), in both urban and rural areas, to generate a general picture of the new policy implementation countrywide.

Teachers, as the key players in the implementation of the language policy should be assessed. Therefore, further evaluation needs to be conducted among both the aspirant teachers (who are studying in Teacher Training Colleges) and in-service teachers, to assess their levels of English language proficiency for implementation of the policy.

Another further research area would be how the trilingual policy documents dovetail with the issues of code-switching and code-mixing in Rwanda.

5.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research study has attempted to describe and evaluate the implementation of the language policy in some nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City. It mainly investigated how the trilingual policy implementation in Kigali City's schools facilitates the learners' cognitive / academic language proficiency (CALP) development. Although the research study is limited with many areas requiring further research, the researcher believes that it has contributed in demonstrating how the old and the new language policy is implemented in Kigali City's schools.

The study has attempted to respond to Cummins's (1998, in Rodseth 2005, 150) request that applied linguists should create an ideological space in which collaboration may take place for the planning of quality programmes for bilingual [and trilingual] students. It has also responded to views from scholars that researchers should work together to disseminate information on the effectiveness of bilingual programmes (Cummins's 1998, in Rodseth 2005, 150). In this study, language preference, motivation, age of change-over and multilingual implementation models constitute such an

ideological space which enabled the researcher to present how they contribute, theoretically, to learners' CALP development.

It is well known that “education is a master key for development” and that is the reason why this research which was conducted in the area of language policy in education is important. Since language is one of the key elements guiding and orienting educational development, it is hoped that the recommendations and suggestions of the present study and of further research will aid Kigali City's schools.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1

Semi-structured interviews with informants from the Ministry of Education, the National Curriculum Development Centre, and the General Inspectorate in Rwanda.

Informant's profile form

Informant's name..... Gender:
 Post title:
 Telephone Email:
Institution (where he or she works):.....
Public.....Private.....
Institution location: Kigali City..... District.....
Sector..... Cell.....

Questions guiding the semi-structured interview:

Set A – Comparison between the trilingual policy implementation in nursery and primary schools before and after 8th October 2008.

Q1. Please describe how the language policy (Kinyarwanda, French and English) was implemented in Rwandan nursery and primary schools before 8th October 2008 (when the policy was modified by the cabinet meeting), and after 8th October 2008.

At nursery school (before 8th October 2008):

At nursery school (after 8th October 2008):

At primary school (before 8th October 2008):

At primary school (after 8th October 2008):

Q2. In the old policy, it was observed that many nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City (both public and private) did not follow the government policy of using Kinyarwanda as a medium for teaching other subjects up to P3. As officials in charge of language policy formulation and implementation, did you check the reasons why those schools privileged early French and English over Kinyarwanda medium?

.....

Set B - Officials' views about MT instruction and its place in the Rwandan education

Q3. In some countries where the trilingual policy is said to be successful, they teach in the mother tongue even up to university level alongside other two languages. The Rwandan old policy instructed to teach in Kinyarwanda from the beginning of formal education up to P3, with English and French as subjects:

Q3A: Did this old language policy have any impact in promoting Kinyarwanda medium, specifically in nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City?

.....

Q3B: Does the new language policy envisage continuing promoting Kinyarwanda in nursery and primary schools? If no, don't you see any consequence?

.....

Set C – Officials’ views about the prospects of the new language policy

Q4. On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government decided to modify the existing trilingual policy and instructed to use English as a sole language for teaching other subjects in all schools (from nursery to university). Is the implementation of this new language policy easy or difficult at nursery and primary school level?

- EasyHow?

.....

- DifficultWhat are the difficulties?

.....

Q5. What are the motives which led the Rwandan Government to modify the existing trilingual policy?

.....

Q6. The new policy expects teachers to start using English for all subjects, right from the beginning of formal education:

Q6A: Are the teachers trained enough in English to implement the policy successfully?

.....

Q6B: How does the policy envisage to assist teachers and headmasters in schools?

.....

Q6C: Is there any budget provided to support the teachers’ training in English?

.....

Q7. Research has revealed that the quality of teaching is a crucial factor in the success of early teaching of English. Are all the requirements in place for successful implementation of the new policy in nursery and primary schools?

.....

Q8. A great amount of materials which were being used in schools were written in French and Kinyarwanda. How and where are you getting the teaching materials such as text books written in English for all subjects?

.....

Q9. The publishers were also used to producing many textbooks in French and Kinyarwanda for nursery and primary schools. Are you informed whether they are able to cope up with immediate change to English medium for all subjects?

.....

Q10. Motivation was revealed to play an important role in the success of any language policy. Was research done about how English is perceived by parents, learners, teachers and other stakeholders involved?

.....

Q11. Did the decision-makers consult the non-government language planning agencies in Rwanda, including the linguists or language experts while working out this new language policy? If Yes, what was their input?

.....

Q12. Do you see any effect of the new policy upon Kinyarwanda and French which were mainly used as mediums of instruction in the previous policy?

.....

APPENDIX 2

*Semi-structured interviews with parents of primary school pupils***Parents' profile form****(i) Parent's identification:**

Parent 1 (P1): Name..... Gender:

Educational level: Post (if working):.....

Telephone Email: Date

Parent's home location: Kigali City District.....

Sector..... Cell

The name of his or her child

Class

Parent 2 (P2): Name..... Gender:

Educational level: Post (if working):.....

Telephone Email:

Date

Parent's home location: Kigali CityDistrict.....

Sector..... Cell

The name of his or her child

Class

Parent 3 (P3): Name..... Gender:

Educational level: Post (if working):.....

Telephone Email:

Date

Parent's home location: Kigali City District.....

Sector..... Cell

The name of his or her child

Class

Parent 4 (P4): Name..... Gender:

Educational level: Post (if working):.....

Telephone Email:

Date

Parent's home location: Kigali CityDistrict.....

Sector..... Cell

The name of his or her child

Class

Parent 5 (P5): Name..... Gender:

Educational level: Post (if working):.....

Telephone Email:

Date

Parent's home location: Kigali CityDistrict.....

Sector..... Cell

The name of his or her child

Class

Parent 6 (P6): Name..... Gender:

Educational level: Post (if working):.....

Telephone Email:

Date

Parent's home location: Kigali CityDistrict.....

Sector..... Cell

The name of his or her child

Class

School where his or her children study.....
Public.....Government-assisted.....Private.....

(ii) Parent's language background

		Kinyarwanda	French	English	Other language (specify)
Parent's language use at home:	The language used most at home	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
	How much do you use each language in your family (at home)? (All the time ... Very often ... Rarely ... Never ...)	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
	The language taught to his or her child at school as a MOI	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
	The languages taught to his or her child at school as subjects	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
The parent's initial training / language use:	What was the parent's initial language learning (formal or informal)?	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
	How many years did you learn or use each language (in formal or informal education)?	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
Information about the parent's Age of Arrival (AoA) in Rwanda and Length of Residence in Rwanda:	How old were you when you started using each language in Rwanda?	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
	How many years have you spent here in Rwanda using each language?	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
The age of the child's initial start of language learning:	How old was your child when he or she started learning each language at school?	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6
	In what class did your child start learning each language?	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6	P1 P4 P2 P5 P3 P6

Questions guiding the semi-structured interviews:

Set A - Parents' views about language policy implementation before 8th October 2008.

Q1. Before October 2008 (i.e. from 1994 to 8th October 2008), Rwandan education used three languages (Kinyarwanda, French and English). As parents, which language did you choose for your child as a MOI (i.e. language used to teach other subjects)? Did you choose Kinyarwanda?English? French?..... Kinya-French? Kinyarwanda-English?Kinyarwanda-French-English?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q2. Explain why you have chosen such (a) language(s) for your child, and why you have chosen this school where your child studies.

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q3. In your opinion, should all the three languages (i.e. Kinyarwanda, English and French) be introduced at the same time from the first day of schooling? YesNo

- (i) If yes, why?
- (ii) If no, when should each be introduced?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q4. Did you support teaching in Kinyarwanda from the beginning of formal education up to P3 as it was done before October 2008?

Yes No

What are the benefits of teaching the child in his or her mother tongue (Kinyarwanda)

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q5. It was revealed that many parents in different countries do not want their children to be taught in their mother tongues (local languages), they rather prefer international languages. What is your language preference for your child at primary school level with regard to Kinyarwanda, English and French?

- P1.....
- P2.....

- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Set B - Parents' views on the prospects of the new language policy

Q6. On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government decided to modify the existing trilingual policy and instructed to use English as a MOI or a language used for teaching other subjects in all schools (from nursery to university). What do you think about this?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q7. How has the new language policy changed schooling for your child?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q8. The system was used to using French and Kinyarwanda medium, then it has changed to English medium.

Q8A: What will your child gain from being taught all the subjects in English from the onset of education

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q8B: What will your child lose from being taught all the subjects in English from the onset of education?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q9. As a parent, are you able to support your child in English at home, for example checking his or her homework, chatting with him/her in English, encouraging him/her to watch English programmes on TV or listening to Radio and check whether he or she understands, etc?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

Q10. The parent's motivation is an essential element for the success of his or her child in language learning? Are you feeling high motivation for your child to learn all subjects in English? Why do you feel such motivation?

- P1.....
- P2.....
- P3.....
- P4.....
- P5.....
- P6.....

APPENDIX 3

Focus Group discussions with headmasters and teachers from nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City**Informants' profile form****(i) Informant's identification:**

Headmaster (H): Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

Teacher 1 (T1): Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

Teacher 2 (T2): Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

Teacher 3 (T3) : Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

Teacher 4 (T4): Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

Teacher 5 (T5): Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

Teacher 6 (T6): Name..... *Gender:*

Qualification: *Professional experience:*..... years

Telephone *Email:*

School.....

Public..... *Government-assisted*..... *Private*.....

School location: Kigali City..... *District*.....

Sector..... *Cell*.....

(ii) Informant's language background

Class	Language	Kinyarwanda	French	English	Other language (specify)
Teacher's language use at home and at school:	How much do you use each language at home? (all the timevery often..... often.....rarely Never):	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
	How much do you use each language at school? (all the timevery often..... often.....rarely Never):	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
	The number of subjects he or she teaches in each language:	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
The teacher's prior training:	The teacher's prior studies were done in which language?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
	How many years did you learn each language (in formal education)?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
Teacher's level of language mastery:	The teacher masters each language at what level? (very good, good, poor, very poor)	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
Information about Teacher's Age of Arrival (AoA) in Rwanda and Length of Residence in Rwanda:	How old were you when you started teaching each language / subject in Rwanda?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
	How many years have you spent here in Rwanda teaching the language / subject?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
Language preference by school administration:	School administration prefers to use all 3 languages altogether or just 2 or 1? Which ones?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
	Official announcements for teachers and meetings with teachers are conducted in which language?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6
	Official announcements / instructions and meetings with pupils are done in which language?	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6	H T1 T4 T2 T5 T3 T6

Meetings with parents are conducted in which language?	H	H	H	H
	T1 T4	T1 T4	T1 T4	T1 T4
	T2 T5	T2 T5	T2 T5	T2 T5
	T3 T6	T3 T6	T3 T6	T3 T6

Comparison between the policy implementation before and after 8th October 2008 at nursery school level (a table to be filled in by the headmaster)

		Trilingual policy implementation between 1994 and 8 th October 2008			Trilingual policy implementation after 8 th October 2008 (up to now)		
Class	Language	Language taught as a subject only	Language used as a MOI	Subjects which were taught in each of the 3 languages (Only for final class, i.e. Nursery grade 3)	Language taught as a subject only	Language used as a MOI	Subjects which are taught in each of the 3 languages (Only for final class, i.e. Nursery grade 3)
Nursery grade 1	Kinyarwanda						
	French						
	English						
Nursery grade 2	Kinyarwanda						
	French						
	English						
Nursery grade 3	Kinyarwanda			1. 3. 2. 4.			1. 3. 2. 4.
	French			1. 3. 2. 4.			1. 3. 2. 4.
	English			1. 3. 2. 4.			1. 3. 2. 4.

H.....

Comparison between the policy implementation before and after 8th October 2008 at primary school level (a table to be filled in by the headmaster)

		Trilingual policy implementation between 1994 and 8 th October 2008			Trilingual policy implementation after 8 th October 2008 (up to now)		
Class	Language	Language taught as a subject only	Language used as a MOI	Subjects which were taught in each of the 3 languages (Only for final class, i.e. P6)	Language taught as a subject only	Language used as a MOI	Subjects which are taught in each of the 3 languages (Only for final class, i.e. P6)
P1	Kinyarwanda						

	French						
	English						
P2	Kinyarwanda						
	French						
P3	English						
	Kinyarwanda						
P4	French						
	English						
P5	Kinyarwanda						
	French						
P6	English						
	Kinyarwanda			1. 3. 2. 4.			1. 3. 2. 4.
P6	French			1. 3. 2. 4.			1. 3. 2. 4.
	English			1. 3. 2. 4.			1. 3. 2. 4.

H.....

Questions which guided the focus group interviews

Q1. Kinyarwanda, English and French have been used in our nursery and primary schools.

Q1A: Which of the three languages did your school choose as a MOI or as subjects before October 2008 and what were the motives or reasons for choosing those languages?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

Q1B: How do you feel about introducing all three languages at the same time from the beginning of nursery / primary school?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

Q2. Do you think the old language policy of teaching in Kinyarwanda from nursery school up to P3 was beneficial for learners? What do you think are the reasons why it was not supported by all nursery and primary schools located in Kigali City?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

Q3. On 8th October 2008, the Rwandan Government decided to modify the existing trilingual policy and instructed to use English as a sole MOI in all schools (from nursery to university). Are you (the teachers) prepared enough to use English as your sole medium of instruction? What challenges do you face in using only English as MOI?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

Q4. Does the new policy have an impact on the teaching of Kinyarwanda and French at nursery and primary school level?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

Q5. How is it going with the implementation of the new policy in your school? Do you have clear guidelines on the new policy implementation? Do you have enough texts books and other learning materials written in English and where do you get them?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

Q6. In your opinion, what is the impact of the new language policy on the academic success of your learners and on your teaching quality when compared to the old policy?

H.....

T1.....

T2.....

T3.....

T4.....

T5.....

APPENDIX 4

Focus group discussions with students from selected primary school located in Kigali City**Form about Students' profile****(i) Student's identification:**

School where the students study.....
*Public.....Government-assisted.....Private.....*

Student 1 (S1): Name..... Gender:

Class:

Contact: Parent's telephone Parent's email:

Headmaster's telephone..... Headmaster's email.....

Student's home location: Kigali CityDistrict.....

Sector..... Cell

Student 2 (S2): Name..... Gender:

Class:

Contact: Parent's telephoneParent's email:

Headmaster's telephone..... Headmaster's email.....

Student's home location: Kigali CityDistrict.....

Sector..... Cell

Student 3 (S3): Name..... Gender:

Class:

Contact: Parent's telephoneParent's email:

Headmaster's telephone..... Headmaster's email.....

Student's home location: Kigali City District.....

Sector..... Cell

Student 4 (S4): Name..... Gender:

Class:

Contact: Parent's telephone Parent's email:

Headmaster's telephone..... Headmaster's email.....

Student's home location: Kigali City District.....

Sector..... Cell

Student 5 (S5): Name..... Gender:

Class:

Contact: Parent's telephone Parent's email:

Headmaster's telephone..... Headmaster's email.....

Student's home location: Kigali City District.....

Sector..... Cell

Student 6 (S6): Name..... Gender:

Class:

Contact: Parent's telephone Parent's email:

Headmaster's telephone..... Headmaster's email.....

Student's home location: Kigali City District.....

Sector..... Cell

(ii) Student's language background

		Kinyarwanda	French	English	Other language (specify)
Student's language use at home and at school:	The language used most at home	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	Do your family members ever speak each language at home? (Specify with all the time....very often ...rarely ...Never)	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	The language used at school for teaching other subjects (e.g. maths, STE, etc)	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	The language(s) taught as subjects only	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	The language used most at school (when you are playing outside or when you are chatting with your classmate)	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
Information about the student's Age of Arrival in Rwanda and Length of Residence (LoR) in Rwanda:	How old were you when you started learning each language in Rwanda?	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	You were in which class when you started learning each language?				
	How many years have you spent here in Rwanda learning each language?	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
Student's language preference:	If you were allowed to choose for yourself, which language would you like to learn?	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	In which class would you like to start learning Kinyarwanda?	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	In which class would you like to start learning English?	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	In which class would you like to start learning French?	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6	S1 S4 S2 S5 S3 S6
	Do you want to learn other languages, which	S1 S4 S2 S5	S1 S4 S2 S5	S1 S4 S2 S5	S1 S4 S2 S5

ones?	S3	S6	S3	S6	S3	S6	S3	S6
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The questions guiding focus group interviews with pupils

Q1. In the previous classes (i.e. from P1 to P3), you were supposed to be taught in Kinyarwanda. Did you enjoy being taught in Kinyarwanda (e.g. maths, EST, etc) up to P3 or you wanted to learn those subjects in English or in French? Why?

- S1.....
 S2.....
 S3.....
 S4.....
 S5.....
 S6.....

Q2. In P4 and P5, you had to learn all subjects in French or English, plus Kinyarwanda as a subject. Did you find difficulties in being taught in various languages (Kinyarwanda, English and French)? Now you explain things better in which of the three languages? Why?

- S1.....
 S2.....
 S3.....
 S4.....
 S5.....
 S6.....

Q3. From the beginning of this academic year 2009, the rule is to learn all subjects in English. Do you find it interesting to learn all subjects in English at primary school? Why? Are you now learning all subjects in English or there are still subjects taught in French and in Kinyarwanda in your class?

- S1.....
 S2.....
 S3.....
 S4.....
 S5.....
 S6.....

Q4. Do you see any problem related to learning all subjects in English? (For example do you have sufficient text books written in English for all subjects? Are your teachers able to clearly explain everything in English in all subjects, etc)?

- S1.....
 S2.....
 S3.....
 S4.....
 S5.....
 S6.....

Q5. What do your parents do to help you practice English at home? (For example controlling how you do English homework, chatting with you in English, explaining to you an English movie on T.V or English news on radio, etc).

- S1.....
 S2.....
 S3.....
 S4.....

S5.....

S6.....

Q6. Do you think you now understand subjects better because they are taught in English or you understood them better when they were taught in French or in Kinyarwanda? What is your evidence?

S1.....

S2.....

S3.....

S4.....

S5.....

S6.....