

# **Teacher Experiences During the Shift in Medium of Instruction in Rwanda: Voices from Kigali Public Schools**

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## Abstract

The 2008 language shift impacted the whole of Rwandan society. In the education sector, the change in medium of instruction brought about extreme challenges for students and teachers, alike. In the years since this shift was implemented, teachers in Rwanda have experienced huge changes within their classrooms, teaching methodology, and own understanding of the national educational system. This qualitative study looks at some of these experiences, via the voices of eleven teachers in two public schools in Kigali. A brief overview of the Rwandan context is offered first, followed by a short literature review covering the topics of language, power, language policy, and education in Sub-Saharan Africa, and how these topics interplay with each other. The experiences of the Rwandan teachers are then shared, with their responses thematized into the following categories: Globalization, Attitudes/Opinions, External Factors, and Language Acquisition Components. Each of these themes offers some insight into how teachers have undergone and understood the language shift, despite an evident lack of power afforded them by governing powers. Their voices offer rich data that provides important understanding of the language shift, and also of the persistent lack of agency offered to teachers in Rwanda.

## List of Abbreviations

9YBE	9 Years Basic Education
12YBE	12 Years Basic Education
ACALAN	African Academy of Languages
EAC	East African Community
EAL	English as an Additional Language
INT	Interviewer (used in interview transcription)
KYRW	Kinyarwanda (used in interview transcription)
LOI	Language of Instruction
MOI	Medium of Instruction
REAP	Rwanda English in Action Programme
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SOI	Subject of Instruction
TR	Translator (used in interview transcription)
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
US	United States

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## 1. Introduction

In October 2008, the Rwandan government made an unprecedented announcement declaring that French, the lingua franca and medium of instruction (MOI) for over 60 years, would be dropped from national policy, and English would take its place as the primary form of official communication. A Cabinet meeting report from October 8, 2008 requested for *“the Minister of Education to implement an urgent program to teach in English in all primary schools, secondary schools and in all public institutions of higher learning and those supported by the Government”*<sup>1</sup>. Prior to this announcement, English was one of the three national languages identified by the government (along with French and Kinyarwanda, the native language of Rwanda), however was only spoken by a small minority. The implementation of this policy was swift, and without warning (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). The effects of the policy shift encompassed the entire country, and for the Education sector, these effects were readily apparent. Students were suddenly navigating a language with which they may have never had any prior experience. Teachers were required to not only learn this foreign language, but also how to effectively teach subject-specific content within that language, with minimal training and resources. The benefits of adopting English as the MOI were heralded widely across the country, and seemingly comprehended by the population (McGreal, 2009), however the reality of the situation was one of extreme difficulty and effort, with teachers carrying a large part of the inflicted burden.

It has been just over five years since this policy was implemented, and the people of Rwanda are consistent in their efforts to learn and utilize English on a daily basis. The following empirical study has set to look at the experiences of public school teachers in the Rwandan capital of Kigali, as they have understood and dealt with the language shift since its’ enactment. Data for this study was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted at two separate school sites within Kigali. The aim is to highlight the experiences of teachers as they have coped with the language shift, in and out of the classroom. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 offers contextual information surrounding Rwanda’s recent history, and how it has led to the current language policy. A concise background is additionally presented, on language and education within Rwanda and resulting implications for the population. Chapter 3 provides a brief Literature

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from Kinyarwanda, Found in (Rurangirwa, 2012, p. 170)

<sup>2</sup> The Rwandan census is conducted every 10 years, with 2002 being the closest year of data availability, preceding the language shift. The data presented in Tables 1 and 2 was taken from the 3rd<sup>5</sup>

Review to foreground the topics that are exemplified through the interview dataset. This chapter begins with a short discussion on Language and Power, and the current hegemony of English, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). This leads into a short review of language policy in SSA, and the implicit ties of language and education in this context. Chapter 4 describes the Methodology and Research Design undertaken for this project, emphasizing the rationale for utilizing qualitative methods and the positionality I, as the interviewer, have taken. The logistical details of the project design and methods are also explained here, as well as the limitations that arose due to encountered government bureaucracy in Rwanda. Chapter 5 offers the heart of this study, as it showcases findings from the interviews and compiles the information gathered from the data set. It concludes with discussion of these findings, and the implications that may arise when such data is compiled cohesively. The final chapter is a short conclusion, summarizing the findings of the study, and what they may entail for the future.

The objective of this study is to highlight the voice of the teacher, as he/she has experienced the MOI shift, and expand on the current body of knowledge surrounding this particular policy. The personal knowledge held by these teachers offers a potentially rich data set, and could provide valuable insight and information to those looking to understand a more fully-formed representation of Rwanda's language shift. The views expressed through these interviews are, by no means, to be generalized for every teacher across Rwanda – or even in Kigali – but hopefully offer situational knowledge, that is not “a direct reflection of understandings ‘already existing’ outside of the interview interaction” (Mason, 2002, p. 64). The unique context of Rwanda, and its undertaking of this policy, implies immense consequences for the education sector. The voices of teachers should be heard throughout this shift, and fair attention paid to whatever is they hope to say.

## 2. Country Context

### 2.1 Rwanda

Rwanda's complex past holds strong significance in understanding its place within modern global society. This land-locked country in Central East Africa has been under colonial rule from multiple countries, first by Germany, then taken over by Belgian forces following World War I. The Belgian colonization of Rwanda seems to hold the strongest residual influence within current culture, particularly when examining the education system and the undertaking of French as a national language, up until most recent policy shifts (Schweisfurth, 2006). Within the governmental hierarchy of Belgian colonial powers in Rwanda existed an explicit social stratification. The country is made up of three main ethnic groups – the Hutu (approximately 85% of the country's population), Tutsi (14%), and Twa (1%) ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org), 2014). Belgian colonial powers favoured the minority Tutsi group for higher-ranking government positions, and enforced a pre-existing social order that placed Tutsis in more elite and controlling positions. The Hutus, as the majority group, were consistently under-represented, giving way to feelings of oppression and resentment. Uprisings from Hutu groups sparked by these consistent inequalities gained momentum in the 1950's, and upon Rwanda's independence in 1962, the decline of Tutsi supremacy was clear. Hutu dominance began to take a powerful stance within the society, marked by institutionalized identity cards (a remnant from colonial days) and forced segregation (Stanfield, 2012). Gradually, violence against the Tutsi people became more commonplace, and thousands found themselves displaced, and forced to flee as refugees.

The tension between the Hutu and Tutsi groups reached a 'culminating' event in 1994, when the country erupted into a civil war and horrific genocide, in which close to a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were viciously murdered. The brutal and relentless mass killings lasted 100 days, altering Rwanda's population, culture and overall identity, forever. This terrible genocide was ultimately ended by RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) troops, comprised of Tutsi refugees, liberating the capital city of Kigali on 4 July 1994 ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org), 2014). The RPF, led by current Rwandan president Paul Kagame, immediately became the governing political party in Rwanda. With international eyes upon them, governing powers in Rwanda (led by Tutsi RPF members) made efforts to include power-sharing policies in the legislation, ensuring representatives from diverse backgrounds (i.e. ethnic groups) were represented across the government. They further



agreed to adhere to a previously designed civil peace treaty that had failed with the onset of the genocide (Reyntjens, 2006). Efforts to create a united Rwandese people were strong, with talk of tribal differences and allusions to ethnic distinctions made virtually illegal. The crime of “divisionism” was added to Rwandan penal code, indicating that any overly contentious discussion or acknowledgement of ethnic differences could result in a criminal offence (Lacey, 2004).

## 2.2 Rwandan Language Policies

Attempts to distance themselves from the gruesome realities of the past were implicit within the scores of political moves by Rwandan ruling officials, accompanied by endeavours to develop the country for greater competition on a global scale. One such factor deemed influential in both the area of development, and as key to further dissociation from the 1994 genocide, was that of language. In 1994, Rwanda held two official languages – Kinyarwanda (the mother tongue) and French (the residual language from Belgian colonization). When the RPF took over as an official governing body in 1996, English was added as a third language. The majority of the RPF ruling elite had been educated outside of Rwanda, primarily in Anglophone countries, and were more familiar with English than French (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). French was identified as a language of the ‘old’ Rwanda, and though still considered part of the cultural landscape, English was concurrently recognised as beneficial and useful throughout society. In addition, tensions were high between the governments of Rwanda and France, as evidence arose that the French government was obliquely supportive of Hutu militia during the genocide. Rwandese accusations of French assistance to genocide perpetrators were substantiated by a 2008 report from a commission of international specialists, which indicated that France had the knowledge and ability to stop large portions of the genocide, and did not take such action (Rosenburg, 2009, p. 473). This direct association between the French language (and possibly, the French people) and the genocide, allowed for a strong motivation towards English as a preferred lingua franca.

Language was also considered a key factor in planning for Rwanda’s structural development. The addition of English as an official language in 1996 was rationalised by governing powers who had been educated in this language, and its rising prevalence over the subsequent years was advocated for by the understanding that it was a more “international means of communicating” (Schweisfurth, 2006, p. 703). English was heralded as the language of financial growth across Africa, due to the economic power of countries such as South Africa and

Nigeria, and Rwanda's development efforts sought to tap into this growth (McGreal, 2008). Rwandan trade and industry minister, Vincent Karega, asserted that French was only spoken in certain, specific parts of the Europe, Canada, and West Africa, while English could be considered "a backbone for growth and development not only in the region but around the globe" (McGreal, 2008, p. 2). As the years progressed, Rwanda's ties to French grew weaker, and some 15 years after the genocide, the country made a strong statement by severing its membership within La Francophonie, an association of countries with French education systems, and officially joining the East African Community (EAC) and British Commonwealth. Implicit in both these memberships was the element of English being utilized as primary means of communication (Steflja, 2012).

The addition to the EAC and Commonwealth in 2008/2009 (respectfully) was maintained to be a move motivated by Rwanda's development goals and desire for stronger ties to the other member countries. At the time, Rwanda was one of only two countries in the Commonwealth that had not been colonized by Great Britain, however the UK had become one of Rwanda's strongest financial backers in the years following the genocide, leading to close ties between the two countries (LeClerc, 2014). The EAC, made up of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, (and now Burundi), is a coalition of countries in East Africa dedicated to social, political, and economic integration, including access to a common market and free trade of labour, goods, etc. (EAC Treaty, 2010). The member countries of the EAC are Anglophone, as is the organization itself, thus necessitating Rwanda's commitment to using the language broadly. As such, in October 2008, it was announced that French would officially be removed as a national language in Rwanda, and English would take its place as the new medium for commerce, legislation, education, and politics.

The realization of the language shift was swift, with only a few months between the official announcement, and actual implementation. Although English had been an option prior to the October 2008 announcement, few were functionally familiar with the language, and even less were proficient enough to use the language on a daily basis, in their place of work or other realms of society. Even the majority of the refugees who had come back to Rwanda from living abroad, had resided in Francophone countries, and were unfamiliar with English. Only the "Anglophone elite", who may have returned from Uganda or Kenya, found English accessible (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2006). Tables 1 and 2 display the breakdown of both

monolingual and multilingual speakers in Rwanda, according to 2002 Census Data<sup>2</sup>. The sparse numbers of English speakers display how little the language was known within the country. The 2012 Census, taken more than 3 years after the language shift, did not ask for languages spoken, but languages any household members above the age of 3 were literate in. Table 3 on the following page has broken down the use of each of the languages, both independently and combined with others, according to most recent census data. The levels of English literacy remain steadily low, and particularly so when disaggregated into urban and rural groups. English speakers in rural parts of the country are virtually non-existent. These statistics continue to show the relative minimal use, and limited reach, of English across Rwanda<sup>3</sup>.

**Table 1: Monolingual speakers in Rwanda (2002 Census Data)**

<i>Speakers</i> <i>Language</i>	<i>Number of monolingual speakers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<b>Kinyarwanda</b>	7,420,785	91.29
<b>French</b>	3,032	0.03
<b>English</b>	930	0.01

**Table 2: Monolingual and Multilingual speakers in Rwanda (2002 Census Data)**

<i>Speakers</i> <i>Language</i>	<i>Number of speakers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<b>Kinyarwanda</b>	7,916,026	99.4
<b>French</b>	151,312	1.9
<b>English</b>	238,914	3.0

<sup>2</sup> The Rwandan census is conducted every 10 years, with 2002 being the closest year of data availability, preceding the language shift. The data presented in Tables 1 and 2 was taken from the 3rd National Census of Population and Housing, Rwanda of August 2002, as retrieved from a 2010 research report to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Sibomana, 2010, p. 5).

<sup>3</sup> The data presented in Table 3 was taken from the 4<sup>th</sup> National Census of Population and Housing, Rwanda. These statistics are can be Available at <http://statistics.gov.rw/publications/rphc4-thematic-report-educational-characteristics-population>

**Table 3: Languages of Literacy in Rwanda (2012 Census Data – English use highlighted)**

	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>All of Rwanda</b>
None (not literate)	12.30%	33.20%	29.40%
Kinyarwanda	41.50%	50.50%	48.80%
French	0.10%	0.10%	0.10%
Kinya & French	5.40%	2.60%	3.10%
English	0.20%	0.10%	0.10%
Kinya & English	8.40%	6.10%	6.50%
French & English	0.20%	0.10%	0.10%
Kinya, French & English	13.00%	4.20%	5.80%
Other	0.20%	0.10%	0.10%
Kinya & Other	2.60%	0.40%	0.80%
French & Other	0.30%	0.00%	0.10%
Kinya, French & Other	2.30%	0.20%	0.60%
English & Other	0.40%	0.10%	0.20%
Kinya, English & Other	1.60%	0.10%	0.40%
French, English & Other	0.20%	0.00%	0.00%
Kinya, French, English & Other	5.80%	0.60%	1.60%
Not stated	5.30%	1.60%	2.30%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
Count	1,131,096	5,056,794	6,187,890

### 2.3 Education & Language in Rwanda

Currently, Rwanda holds a relatively high level of primary enrolment, with a net enrolment (at-age students) rate of 98.7%, as of 2012. Secondary enrolment, however, is still significantly low, with a gross (students at- and over-age included) rate of 31.8% (World Bank, 2012). The current education system is comprised of 6 years of primary schooling (P1-P6), 3 years of lower secondary (S1-S3), and 3 years of upper secondary (S4-S6). In 2010, 9 Years Basic Education (9YBE) was implemented, allowing an added 3 years of free schooling for students. In 2011, 12 Years Basic Education (12YBE) was additionally declared, allowing for the full cycle of schooling to be available, free-of-charge. This implementation, however, is still being realised, as the number of available secondary schools and qualified teachers is far below the amount necessary to offer this level of schooling throughout the country (Pearson, 2014). 1 year of pre-primary and 4 years of university additionally factor into the make-up of the schooling system, but are not currently

part of the government-provided schooling (though measures to include pre-primary are in-the-works).

The impact of the language shift on Rwanda's education system was particularly profound, as the medium of instruction (MOI) changed in all levels of education. After the announcement of the shift, implementation was set to begin immediately, with tertiary education programmes to be offered in English, starting as early as January 2009 (Andersson & Rusangwa, 2011). Initially, it was announced that all levels of offered education would have English as the MOI, however in 2011 this ruling was overturned, allowing the first three years of schooling to be taught in Kinyarwanda. The government took a slightly more gradual approach in implementing English into the levels of basic education, going subject-by-subject, beginning with mathematics and sciences, then adding social sciences and language arts in subsequent terms (McGreal, 2009). One of the most fundamental issues regarding this shift was the availability of English-speaking teachers. No matter the timeline of the shift, it would be impossible to hold classes in English without anyone to teach them. Initial sector-based trainings were set to take place during extended school holidays in 2009, via a government initiative titled the Rwanda English in Action Programme (REAP). REAP sought to implement intensive, personal interaction-based trainings across the country during the January/February holiday, and would be supplemented by school-based mentorships and self-initiated study throughout the school year (Simpson & Muvunyi, 2012). The effectiveness of REAP has not currently been evaluated, however, the British Council estimates 85,000 teachers had been trained under this programme from 2009-2011<sup>4</sup>. Despite the numbers of teachers that REAP has purportedly reached, the amount of time required to learn a fully new language, and particularly how to teach in this language, would most definitely exceed the two month holiday break. As such, influxes of teachers from the surrounding Anglophone countries (i.e. Kenya and Uganda) were hired in Rwandan schools, and veteran Rwandese teachers were forced to take night and weekend classes, at their own expense, or risk potentially losing their jobs (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010).

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<sup>4</sup> These figures found at <http://www.britishcouncil.org/partner/track-record/rwanda-english-action-programme>

### 3. Literature Review

In order to foreground the findings and discussions of this study, a brief review of some existing literature regarding language, language policies, and the effect of those policies on education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), is offered below, highlighting the topics of “Language as Power”, “Language Policies in SSA”, and “Language and Education in SSA”.

#### 3.1 Language as Power

Language is one of the most dominant methods of organizational communication within a society. Its power and position as a critical component of multiple societal aspects is difficult to refute. Bourdieu’s (1991) examination of language as symbolic power highlights these influences. Bourdieu had articulated that the entire social world could be divided into three forms of capital – social, economic, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986 referenced in Grenfell, 2011, p. 56). Language can be applied as symbolic capital to any of these realms, as it holds significance in all three. Bourdieu relates linguistic exchanges to economic ones, as typically, linguistic practice is not simply the information explicitly expressed, but encompasses the “manner of communicating” and its accompanying implications, directing language to account as “signs of wealth and...of authority” (1991, p. 502-503). This allows for power relations to form, based on the amount of linguistic capital an individual holds within a given sphere, and accounting for the capital a market may demand.

In regards to what the global market holds in highest demand, in terms of linguistic capital, English seems to reign supreme. Over the past few decades, English has increasingly become identified as the dominant international language, and holds the place, by far, as the most common lingua franca, in a global sense. Over 85% of international organizations recognize it as their official language of communication, and it is estimated that by 2050, over half the world’s population will be (minimally) proficient in English (The triumph of English, 2011). Unfortunately, it has been seen that as a result of this immense growth, the existence of smaller, minority tongues is diminishing. In a speech given at the 2005 annual ACALAN (African Academy of Languages) conference in Bamako, Neville Alexander likened the growth of English to that of natural selection – a “survival of the fittest” – in which weaker languages are likely to become extinct, while English reigns at the top of the linguistic food chain (Alexander, 2005, paragraph 2). The power and

capital English possesses is of severe influence across the globe, and as the world becomes more interconnected, its prevalence is only set to expand even more rapidly.

The works of Naz Rassool (2000; 2004; 2013) have explored the contentious relation between language and power, and most recently, the dominance of English and its hegemonic position within global discourse. Rassool (2000) explores how colonial powers enforced their own mother tongue as a lingua franca within colonized countries, and utilized this language to establish social hierarchies, with those who possessed the linguistic capital (e.g. English) at the top. In times of post-colonization, countries found symbolic freedom in reverting back to their own mother tongue, but felt that in order to develop in sustainable ways, and ultimately compete globally, a multi-lingual approach was required. Based on the dominance of major English-speaking colonial empires (i.e. America and Great Britain), as well as the all-powerful “virtual empire”, the symbolic power of English continues to expand.

The valuable asset of possessing a solid understanding of English looks to be a double-edged sword for many inhabitants of developing countries. For those in the population who already hold the necessary capital to access the acquisition of English skills, the language becomes a further component in elevating their societal status. Conversely, it only widens equity gaps between those who can access the language, and those who cannot. Bourdieu confronts this condition by acknowledging that the worth of such capital is effectively determined by the reality that “certain agents are incapable of applying to the linguistic products offered”, thus making it all the more valuable (1991, p. 504-505). This disparity of linguistic access becomes all the more apparent in countries where economic inequity is widespread, particularly when examining the education sector. Brock-Utne (2012) highlights this in education systems utilizing English as the language of instruction throughout Africa, as while “the children of the educated elite are able to cope in this system as a result of good and expensive private schooling, extra tutoring, assistance at home and extra resources, the mass of African children are not” (p. 784). In earlier work, Brock-Utne observes that the choice to adopt a colonial language is a political one “that may redistribute power in a global context as well as within an African country, between the elites and the masses... Choosing as a language of instruction an indigenous language, a language people speak, are familiar with and which belongs to their cultural heritage would redistribute power from the privileged few to the masses” (2001, p. 118). Mandating a medium of communication

that is spoken by a small minority instead of a widely known local language, severely limits who has access to knowledge and skills, and could be a key factor in maintaining an ‘underdeveloped’ status, as opposed to the intended progress that embracing the “global language” is supposed to provoke (Fafunwa, 1990, as referenced in Brock-Utne, 2001).

### 3.2 Language Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa

The economic, social, and political power of English appears to be widespread, and is additionally considered influential in increasing a country’s human capital, when adopted as a national language (Wedell, 2013). Proficiency in English is believed to offer access to a wider range of technological innovation and skill, and allow for potentially broader participation in the global labour market (Rassool, 2013, p. 45-46). As such, it is not surprising that many developing countries have adopted language policies that include English as a national language, or as in the case of Rwanda, use it to replace an existing language. Reasoning against adopting a native language as a national lingua franca across Africa persists, as many countries do not possess just one mother tongue, and favouring one over another may result in ethnic tension. Additionally, it is argued that it would be a costly investment to produce educational materials and curriculum in a language not widely used outside that country (Brock-Utne, 2001, p. 117-118). Governments of countries across SSA offer similar motivations for the implementation of English language policies, topped by the desire for the ability of increased participation and access to a global platform. Plonski et al identified 26 countries in Africa that currently identify English as at least one of their national languages, but finds that since it remains the official language of the African Union, it is used communicatively in 53 African nations (2013, p. 5).

Despite the obvious ‘popularity’ of English in terms of language policy, there exists a dearth of literature regarding the protection of African native languages, and advocating for implementing multilingual policies to uphold the use of African mother tongues. African scholar Paulin Djité notes that “European languages do not meet the day-to-day communicative needs of the majority of the African people in the crucial domain of the economy” and this lack of communication only results in inefficiency, further weakening already-weak economies (Djité, 2008, p. 151, referenced in Alexander, 2009, p. 121). This sentiment is a key line of reasoning for those advocating for multilingual policies, such as Neville Alexander, the founder of ACALAN. Alexander strongly advocates for linguistic diversity where national policy is concerned, as it

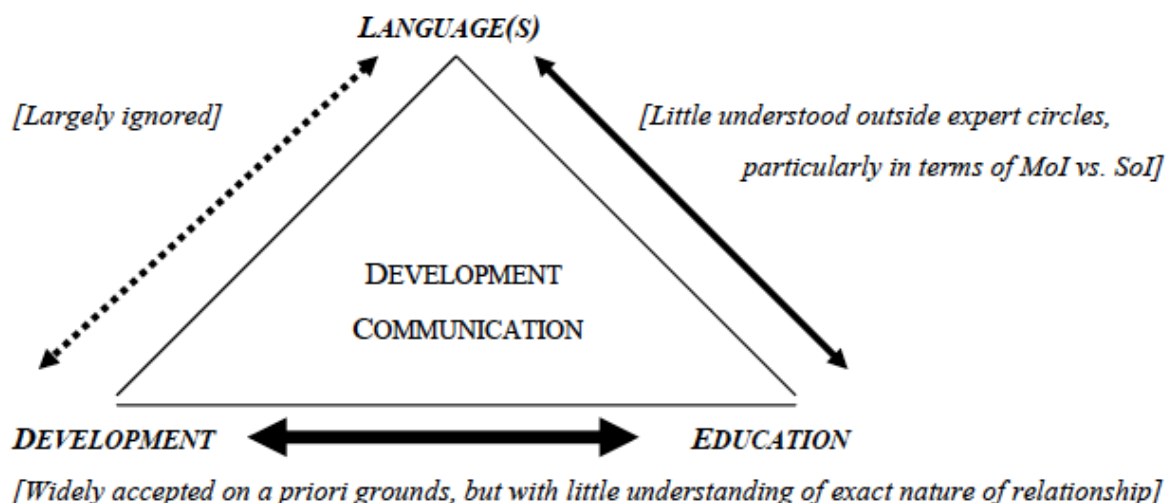


promotes cultural diversity, efficiency in economic practices, true democratic participation, national identity, and a stronger educational base for children (Alexander, 2005). Rurangirwa (2012) identifies such a policy as a “‘positive’ language policy”, in which a foreign language is involved, yet simultaneously “takes into account the local values, the possible development and the symbolic value of African languages” (p. 172). He additionally claims that “an imported language has no monopoly in the transport to modernity. [...] In most of the contexts, only African languages can efficiently ensure this communication for development” (p. 172-173). The case for the resistance to the monopoly of English across Africa is upheld by such strong assertions exemplified by these scholars, and requires keen acknowledgement in assessing future moves in determining language policy.

### **3.3 Language and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa**

The issues of language, mother tongue preference, and language policy are most especially contentious within the education sector, and determining the medium of instruction (MOI). Rollnick (2000) points to the work of Vygotsky (1998, as referenced in Rollnick, 2000) who saw that language acted as the “mediator of thought”, thus making language the link between learner and teacher (p. 95). Subsequently, children are most successful in school when they can understand what the teacher is saying (Brock-Utne, 2007). The spheres of language and education offer direct implications for one another, with overwhelming connections that influence whole societies. This is particularly true in post-colonial countries across SSA where the MOI for school-age children is likely to be different from the home language. This proves problematic within such contexts, where development is tied to efforts in education, yet the language of instruction is one not proficiently spoken by the majority of the population. H. Ekkehard Wolff (2006) articulates this challenge with his “Model of Development Communication” (Figure 1). Wolff notes that the link between development and education is regarded highly, and considered more extensively in policy considerations, although the “exact nature” of this relationship has warranted little understanding. Similarly, the link between language and education is not widely understood, and the relationship between the MOI and SOI (subject of instruction) is in even further disregard. The link between language and development, however, is essentially non-existent in common discourse, despite its necessity.

**Figure 1: Model of Development Communication with Regard to Language(s) and Education**  
(Wolff, 2006, p. 28)



This model seems to typify the nature of MOI policies in SSA. For example, in Tanzania, the MOI for primary students is Kiswahili, a language understood by approximately 99% of the population, but upon entering secondary school, the MOI shifts to English, which is understood by only about 5% (Babaci White, 2010, p. 282). Though Tanzania possesses dozens of different native languages, Kiswahili shares a common Bantu base with many of them, which aids students in grammatical, syntactical, and conceptual understandings (Ethnologue: Tanzania, 2014). In studies by Brock-Utne (2007) and Babaci White (2010), it was emphasized that sentiments in Tanzania highly reflect those of colonizers, who did not consider Kiswahili an academic language, with English more suitable for educational purposes. This school of thought, though fuelled by perceptions of advancing development, in reality may do the opposite, as students never gain a solid foundation in Kiswahili. This lack of foundation in one language makes having to learn a fully new language even more difficult, let alone having to learn new subject matter through that foreign language. The result is that neither English nor Kiswahili may be understood or taught very well, as neither is fully grasped within a school setting (Babaci White, 2010, p. 287). This situation in Tanzania exemplifies how intertwined language and education are, particularly regarding quality education. Martha Qorro describes a 2009 conference setting, in which the Tanzanian Minister of Education claimed that the government would be spending their limited resources on “improving the quality of education, and not on the language of instruction”, as though the two were distinct entities. This attitude may be a precarious one to have, as Qorro then asks, “Is it possible to improve the

quality of education without addressing the issue of language of instruction?" (Qorro, 2009, as quoted in Brock-Utne, 2012, p. 778). From information presented by such literature, the answer to this question seems to be a resounding 'no'.

Despite the increasing dominance of English as the "key to development", and its use in educational systems, the literature concerning the vast benefits of using a mother tongue as the MOI is strong. Research on mother tongue instruction offers clear evidence that children taught in languages most similar to their native tongue fare better academically than those taught in an adopted language (Babaci-Whilhite, 2010; Rassool & Edwards, 2010; Brock-Utne, 2007; Desai, 2003; Gulling, 2010). As with the case of Tanzania, children who possess only an adequate understanding of a concept in one language, understandably have a much more difficult time understanding any new or related concepts in a fully foreign language. In such cases, language becomes an obstacle to learning, instead of a vehicle for growth. Santosh Mehrotra identifies that the key component for high-achieving versus low-achieving students in developing countries is "unequivocal: the mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction on the primary level in all cases" (1998, p. 479). The evidence in advocating for increased instruction in the learner's first language is overwhelming, yet education policies across SSA continue to favor the use of more internationally recognized languages, and forgo the apparent benefits of utilizing the common tongue.

The reasoning behind the lack of mother tongue language policies, Brock-Utne asserts, is all about power (2001, p. 118), and how this power is positioned both externally and internally. In high-income countries, language policies are typically decided on internally, while low-income countries within SSA have policies placed upon them from external forces (Brock-Utne, 2012, p. 773). Mazrui (1997) highlights some of these external forces, such as international donor agencies and governments, which tie up funds with language-related conditions that they propose will aid in development, or send support in the form of ready-made curriculum or textbooks, written in a foreign language<sup>5</sup>. The balance of power in such situations is tipped towards those who impose such regulations, and in favour of those who can afford to accommodate the imposed changes. Such imbalance characterises the context of many language policies in SSA, and the implications for the education sectors in such contexts are immense.

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<sup>5</sup> Additional examples of this found in Brock-Utne, 2001, p. 122-123

## 4. Research Design and Methodology

### 4.1 Study Introduction and Aim

This study was conducted to offer some insight into experiences of urban, public school teachers in Rwanda as they underwent an abrupt shift in their language of instruction. The interviews presented in this study were conducted in two distinct public schools within the Kigali city limits. The first, Groupe Scolaire Akanyana, is a 12-Year Basic Education (12YBE) school, with all Primary and Senior levels (1-6). The second school, Groupe Scolaire Akazuba, is a 9-Year Basic Education programme (9YBE), containing all Primary levels, and Senior levels 1-3. Both schools are accessible via public transportation and situated within 1 kilometre of a paved road, a characteristic of societal development helpful in contributing to higher enrolment rates than schools further removed (Kabeer, 2003). Both schools lie in the same district, which holds a Pupil-to-Teacher Ratio average of 48.4 for Primary classrooms, and 20.8 for Secondary (MINEDUC, 2014). The specific context of each of the schools, while important to the setting of the interviews, will not be thoroughly emphasized in this study. The focus of the interviews is to centre on the voices and experiences of the respondents, and their personal views and opinions regarding their time and practice as teachers during the language shift implementation. The vast array of extenuating circumstances that affect their experiences will only be alluded to via the words and expressions of these participating teachers. This will hopefully highlight what is of most significance to them, regarding their external environment, and what has most apparently affected their lives as educators over the past five years.

### 4.2 Research Questions

Initially, this study was focused on identifying the feelings of self-efficacy held by teachers, post-language shift. However, due to the qualitative nature of the interviews, and the necessity of allowing teachers to voice their experiences as they saw fit, the study took a turn away from this topic<sup>6</sup>. As such, with the approval of my supervisor, the research questions were slightly altered from the original questions posed in initial study outlines, though this did not affect the eventual findings. This study was guided by one over-arching question, and four questions offering more specific insight. The main research question was:

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<sup>6</sup> As such, original consent forms and participation sheets held a different study title than the current one. However, nothing else has been altered.

- How have teachers in Kigali public schools experienced the overall shift from French to English?

Since an “experience” likely involves a multitude of facets and understandings, the following four questions were used to explore the initial question further:

- ❖ How do teachers understand this shift?
- ❖ What are teachers’ attitudes towards the shift?
- ❖ How has the shift impacted classroom practices?
- ❖ What do teachers see as major implications of the shift on student performance?

These questions were used as a guiding framework for the duration of the study, as an outline for field-based interview questions, scaffolding for interview transcription and coding, and as organizational parameters for the Findings chapter.

### 4.3 Epistemology

The basis of this qualitative study is one of subjectivism, as it considers the “knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions [as] meaningful properties of the social reality” (Mason, 2002, p. 63). This understanding suggests an epistemological stance that understands interviews as an authentic way to offer significant data, based on interactions with people. As such, the goal of this study is not to offer generalized findings, but present context-specific information that provides insight to a particular situation, with potentially applicable or transferable information for similar settings. A semi-structured interview format was employed, so as to allow a fluid and natural of exchange of information, while remaining within a slightly structured conversational framework. This allowed for a more free-flowing interaction and potentially more spontaneous, and ideally rich, dataset (Basit, 2010, p. 108).

### 4.4 Research Design Methods

#### Research Sample

Due to ethical considerations and necessary permissions required for the study, the Rwandan government determined the schools where interviews were conducted. Time limits were a strong factor, which favoured utilizing convenience sampling once at the school sites. I requested that headmasters at each school recommend 5 teachers to be interviewed (although 6 was preferable, if time allowed) who met the following criteria:

- 1) Teaches in English, currently

## 2) Taught in French prior to the 2009 language shift

Headmasters were encouraged to send teachers representing an array of diverse backgrounds (namely, representative of both genders and levels of teaching experience). The first 6 respondents were from GS Akanyana, and the remaining 5 at GS Akazuba<sup>7</sup> (see Table 4). A pilot interview was given as the first interview at each school, in order to evaluate necessary conditions surrounding the interviews.

**Table 4: List of Interview Respondents – Kigali, Rwanda**

<b>Participant Number</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Years taught</b>	<b>Interview conducted in:</b>	<b>Levels/subjects taught or currently teaching</b>
01 (GS Akanyana)	M	2	English	<i>unknown</i>
02 (GS Akanyana)	F	15	Eng/KYRW	P4 –P6; Multiple Subjects
03 (GS Akanyana)	M	11	English	S1-3 History; Previously in Primary
04 (GS Akanyana)	M	12	Eng/KYRW	P5-P6 English
05 (GS Akanyana)	F	14	KYRW	P5-P6 Kinyarwanda
06 (GS Akanyana)	M	10	KYRW	P3 English & Social Studies
07 (GS Akazuba)	M	7	English	S1-S3 English
08 (GS Akazuba)	M	7	English	P6 English
09 (GS Akazuba)	F	11	English/KYRW	P6 English
10 (GS Akazuba)	F	12	KYRW	P4 English
11 (GS Akazuba)	M	5	English	Science, Math, English

Despite the requests given to the headmasters at each school, not all respondents fit within the given criteria, with one teacher having only begun teaching post-shift (thus not having any experience teaching in French), and another respondent currently teaching Kinyarwanda, only having taught English as a subject in years prior to the shift. Although these teachers did not fit in the preferred criteria, their interviews were still conducted, and did result in useful data, as their experience as educators and participants within the wide society provided insight and unique understanding.

<sup>7</sup> Due to time limitations, one less interview was held at GS Akazuba than at GS Akanyana

## **Data Collection and Analysis**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with an interview schedule of guideline questions to ask (See Appendix C). Participants were informed of what the study and interviews would entail, and their right to opt out of the interview at any time. Interviews were audio-recorded for later transcription, and minimal field-notes were taken as well, to note logistical or environmental observations. A tri-lingual translator was present, fluent in English, Kinyarwanda, and French, allowing for participants to ask and answer questions in whichever language they felt most comfortable. Interviews lasted between 20-30 minutes, including time used to explain the study, participant information sheet, and consent form to the respondents.

Interviews were transcribed via the audio-recordings, verbatim, with grammar and syntactical errors (both on the part of the participants and interviewer) left untouched in the transcription. Analysis via thematic coding was used nominally during transcription, and more thoroughly following full transcription of all interviews. Key themes and recurrences were noted by hand during the initial two read-throughs of transcribed interviews, resulting in a list of 44 codes. Shorthand notes were made on printed copies of the transcribed interviews (see Appendix D for example), with codes identified in a subsequent analysis. Once all interviews had been examined thoroughly multiple times, single page “cheat sheets” were drafted, detailing the codes listed in the interview, the strongest points emphasised through the interview, any points unique to that interview, useful quotes, and other notes or impressions from that interview (see Appendix E for example). These were helpful in compiling an organized information set, and allowed for a more efficient system of accessing interview data. Finally, codes were organized into an Excel spreadsheet to identify the most common codes, where they could be found, and what (if any) ties or groups could be formed between those 44 codes (see Appendix F). Through this process, the codes were grouped together in 4 main themes that remained persistent throughout the data set. These will be explored further in the following chapter.

### **4.5 Ethical Considerations**

To ensure confidentiality, no names were tied to any participant, and the names of both school sites have been changed. Participants were given information sheets covering the basis of the study prior to the interview (see Appendix A), then given an even more brief explanation in person, before being asked to sign the consent forms (see Appendix B). Several teachers asked to

sign the consent form after the interview, which was allowed, and all participants appeared to feel comfortable consenting to have data from their interviews used in this study. Prior to leaving for Rwanda, the University of Sussex Ethical Clearance Committee approved this small-scale study as low-risk, though permission was also required from the Rwandan Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), as well as a preliminary approval of research from an affiliating body, which in this case, was the Rwandan Education Board (REB). Permission from these two governing bodies proved difficult to attain, despite requests made more than two months prior to departure. Approval was eventually granted upon arrival in Kigali, however the overall in-country process took two weeks, leaving only one week to carry out the interviews (See Appendices G & H).

#### **4.6 Limitations, Positionality, and Bias**

##### **Limitations**

As indicated in the previous section, time was a great limitation, with just one week to conduct the interviews, which happened to be a week possessing two national holidays, resulting in only three in-school days. Additionally, the involvement of government officials was extensive. For the second school site, an administrator from REB insisted on accompanying me to the school. On the way, she informed me she had been the former site supervisor for this school, and would be known by many of the teachers. This created a very strong power imbalance, as she would immediately be seen as an authoritative figure, and I, as her 'guest', would likely be understood in a similar fashion. She proceeded to introduce me to the headmaster, and then surprisingly, sit in with the translator and myself for the first interview. It became immediately clear that her presence would affect any data I would hope to gather, as teachers were not be able to speak openly in the company of a government representative. The Rwandan government could feasibly be characterized as "authoritarian" (King, 2009, p. 129), and a common understanding exists that any talk or action going against the government's tide could be met with punitive measures (Samset, 2011; Reyntjens, 2006). This was particularly apparent, in that while she was present, the respondent was overtly positive, stating the blanket success and overall ease of the policy implementation, and how happy he had been with the English shift (a contradictory sentiment to the preceding 6 interviews at the first school site). Following this interview, I asked the REB official if she thought, perhaps, her presence would influence the responses of the teachers? She agreed it might, and offered to leave, meeting me back at the REB offices following the interviews. After her departure, respondents seemed to be more at ease, and possibly offered more honest



opinions. However, it is difficult to know fully if this was so, particularly since many of them may have witnessed our joint arrival, and assumed I was working with, or for, the government<sup>8</sup>.

### **Positionality**

In order to induce as pure a data set as possible, it was necessary to examine my own positionality in regards to this study. I had worked in Rwanda from 2008-2011, during the national shift to English. While there, I worked for two years as a teacher, and one year as a teacher trainer, working on EAL development. Based on this experience, I had some first-hand knowledge of the struggles teachers may have undergone as a result of the MOI shift. Additionally, as a student of International Education, I am adequately aware of some of the challenges and situations that may surround the participating teachers. However, I had not been in the country for over 2 years, and was unfamiliar with many of the current contexts of the general education system, let alone the two specific school sites. As such, I sought to keep as open a perspective as possible, and allow teachers to inform my position, instead of the other way around. I attempted to do this by allowing teachers to direct the conversation as needed, and asking clarifying questions, so as to not rely on my own assumptions.

### **Bias**

Because I had spent three years in Rwanda, I held several friends and connections within the Education sector, with whom I had been in contact with over the years, and who had informed my knowledge of current situations within the country. Accordingly, I likely came to the interviews with notions of what I expected to hear. To reduce this bias, I worked with the translator, who I had known and worked with in previous years, to obtain input on the interview schedule, and ensure that the questions remained general enough to elicit authentic responses. Additionally, in post-interview analysis, I sought to practice a great deal of reflexivity when evaluating responses, and keep an open awareness of my own biases towards the plight of the teachers (Basit, 2010).

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<sup>8</sup> Due to this factor, it was even more explicitly expressed that I was not working with the government, and all responses were kept in strict confidentiality, only to be used in this dissertation

## 5. Findings and Discussion

### 5.1 Study Context & Conceptualization

Teachers interviewed represented a wide array of experience and perspective, holding a variety of linguistic backgrounds. The purpose of the study via semi-structured interview, as stated, is to paint as broad a picture as possible of teachers' experiences. Their interview responses offer some insight into the realities and perceptions of the language shift, and resulting implications. In accordance with the outlined research questions, the responses of participants have been analysed, coded and categorised into four dominant themes. These themes are:

- **Globalization** (i.e. international influences, particularly surrounding initial language shift, and instructional understandings/classroom pedagogy)
- **External Factors** (i.e aspects outside the locus of the teachers' control, such as government implementation, students' prior knowledge/personal circumstances, or availability of resources)
- **Attitudes and Opinions** (i.e. how teachers feel about the actual language shift, their own teaching effort/efficacy, and most apparent challenges the shift brought)
- **Language Acquisition Components.** (i.e. fundamental pieces of learning a new language, how mother tongue has played into the shift, or current levels of English fluency held by teachers,)

Each theme will be used to address one or more of the research questions, with various overlapping areas. All questions, and their composite answers, are set up to address the main, and initial, research question, regarding how teachers in Kigali public schools have experienced the shift from French to English. In order to fully encompass what this experience entails, it is necessary to disaggregate the particular components that may contribute to such experiences and address them independently via the stated research questions. The subsequent sections are divided via question, with at least one of the dominant themes addressing each, and pieces of additional themes filtered in where appropriate.

## 5.2 Research Question 1

### RQ1: How do teachers understand this shift?

For this question, the concept of how teachers “understand” the shift will be centred on how respondents comprehend and recognize the logistics, motivations, and overall implementation of the English language. For this question, the term “understand” refers to the mechanics and procedure of the shift as a government mandate. Teachers’ understandings concerning personal attitudes and opinions of the shift will be covered in regards to question #2. In analysing the responses, a strong theme appeared relating to the concept of Globalization, particularly regarding comprehension of the underlying motivations behind the shift. This theme was also prevalent when discussing in-class practices and the implications that the language shift held there, though seemingly on a more superficial level. This will be commented on further, relating to question #3.

### Motivation for Implementation

As described in Chapter Two, Rwanda joined the EAC in 2007, signifying a wide array of connections, benefits, and obligations. The teachers interviewed were uniformly aware of this union, and asserted the significance of the country’s initiation into the inter-governmental organization. Although never explicitly asked as to why they believed the government instigated the language shift, multiple teachers brought up the admission into the EAC. Participant 02 stated:

*It was very good to change from French to English, for our environment. In this environment – we are in East African Community. Then, we are obliged to know English, even in business, in politics, in other departments, we have to use English, English language. Then, it was very, very good for us. Even for the students – the learners – it’s good to know English.*

The use of English was tied directly to admission to the EAC, and with fellow member countries. Participant 02 further relayed, via the translator, that she was “happy” because “*of the economic integration of the East African Community countries. She sees it as a good thing in all the aspects of the economies, the politics, and the East African Community.*” This tie between the EAC, English and economic integration showed up in multiple interviews. The notion of English being the key to economic prosperity is invasive (Rassool, 2013), and implicit in identifying the teachers’ apparent understanding of the entire language shift. In particular, teachers seemed to see that without a sound knowledge of English, they would be at a disadvantage in comparison to their national neighbours. Participant 08 identifies this potential hindrance:

*As our country entered in East Africa, and also in the Commonwealth, it is important for us to know that English. Because, when the students come and go in the secondary, and study in English, it is better for him or her to know that English because as the market becomes large, it is important for them to use that language, so that they can compete with others from Kenya, from Uganda... That is the most thing that is very important for us.*

The official treaty of the EAC does acknowledge the concept of “economic integration”, particularly through the creation of a Common Market. This would provide minimal to no tariffs or barriers on trade between EAC members, as well as “free movement of labour” (EAC Treaty, 2010, Article 76). Such stipulations would allow for both increased cooperation and competition among professionals in East African countries, and with English as the official language of the EAC, it is highly understandable that teachers would consider this as vital to the motivation of the shift. It also indicates that teachers are aware of the significance and implications of using English in sectors besides education, and that this language has a wide reach, shaping various corners of society that similarly, directly affect their lives.

The term “globalization” suggests a multitude of constructions, particularly with regards to diverse contexts. It can be seen as a dynamic concept, with continuously changing components and relational exchanges that disallow for a concrete conceptualization (Scholte, 2002). For the purpose of this study, globalization will imply an “interconnectedness” of the world, and the international and trans-regional links between economic, social, and political sectors of global exchanges (Held et al., 1999, p.4). Under such a definition, tying the involvement of the EAC to Rwanda’s medium of instruction and curriculum can be identified as a direct result of globalization. Creating that inter-connected plane for allowing free-flowing information, resources, and human capital to move back-and-forth between the conjoined countries, all with a common language, seems to offer a strong display of a globalized society (or, societies). To ask any of the interviewed teachers, the language shift in Rwanda was a necessary step on the path to full and equal membership in the EAC – an organization that exemplifies some of the clearest mechanisms of globalization (i.e. free trade, Common Market, unifying language, etc). These links indicate that a globalized mind-set underpins the base of the EAC, and its resulting guidelines. This mind-set filters into that of the teachers in Rwanda, and offers a clear motivation as to why the shift happened, and more importantly – why it was so vitally necessary.

## 5.3 Research Question 2

### RQ 2: What are teachers' attitudes towards the shift?

This research question lies at the core of the aim of this study. As stated, the reasoning behind conducting semi-structured interviews for data retrieval was to hear, and ideally understand, the experience of certain teachers in Kigali throughout the language shift. Their feelings, attitudes, and opinions were as varied as those who offered them, however there were strong themes that permeated a great deal of information shared. Due to the variation of responses, and the complexity surrounding what may or may not compose guiding beliefs, the over-arching theme of "Attitudes & Opinions" is used to address this particular question.

#### Teacher Effort

One of the most immediately noticeable trends seen throughout the interviews was that teachers wanted fervently to share how difficult the shift was, and how they as a group, were dedicated to improvement. The language shift brought about a myriad of challenges, most of which were far beyond the control of the teacher. These external factors will be discussed more thoroughly in response to question #4, however, the attitudes surrounding these factors and situations was fairly uniform – things were difficult, but they were most difficult for the teacher. Participant 09 indicated the difficulty of the shift for teachers over that of the student:

*It was very difficult for teachers, because we had to study that. Children were so happy for English, because it is not difficult – English is very easier than French. But for teachers, it is very difficult, because you have to try to study.*

In fact, several participants, who expressed how difficult it was to teach a group of students who had no prior knowledge of the language, were also adamant about how easy the language shift actually was for students, contrasting the deeper and more intense struggle that existed for teachers. Teachers seemed to find that English was easier to learn than French, particularly if you were just in the beginning stages of education.

*Students are very happy, yes. They are very happy because English is, uh, the language learners like better... French is difficult for children. It is not well understood. But English is... easily understood. Yeah, It can be easier. (Participant 02)*

The difficulty of the shift on the teachers was highlighted repeatedly by respondents, but in each case, was conditioned by the acknowledgement of a persistent work effort on the part of the

teachers. The word “try” inundated several explanations of the shift, emphasizing that against all obstacles, they did their best – they tried.

*“I try English. I’m not solid at it, but I try it.”* (Participant 01)

*“Things are going better, I think... I think that the books and other materials are there to help us – to help teachers. Even we can try. We try.”* (Participant 02)

*“Until now, we try to teach in English, but we are not the exactly on the level which is very better for us.”* (Participant 04)

*“But, I think – we try... We try again to use this language, because it is new for us... It’s very easy for children, but for teachers it was very difficult, because we used to use our French. So, we try our best to be trained and check the new information for teach.”* (Participant 09)

Teacher effort is a complicated, if not impossible, subject to fully evaluate or quantify. Duflo et. al (2012) sought to look at teacher effort in Kenyan schools, in relation to government mandates and a potential lack of job security, somewhat similar to the circumstances surrounding Rwandese teachers. Their research, however, did concern a fully different context and reality for teachers, and delineated teacher effort as when teachers were present in-class and teaching, on any given day. Conversely, for teachers in Rwanda, effort and ‘trying’ indicates more than the normal routine of attendance and instruction. It implies additional work (i.e. mastering a foreign language) towards ultimately achieving classroom objectives. In the Kenyan study, it was found that teacher effort correlated to government pressure, and when left to self-governance (in their case, hiring teacher aides), a lack of teacher effort – as they defined it – was seen. The latter part of their findings, regarding lack of teacher effort, cannot be evaluated from the interviews in Rwanda. Similarities may be observed though, in the existence of the government pressure. The mandated MOI policy places a great deal of pressure on teachers, who not only are at risk of losing their jobs if found not competent in English, but are also incapable of offering any sort of negative opinion regarding the new policy, as dissent against the government is systemically met with dismissal (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). Dang & King (2013) looked at teacher effort in East Asia, as it related to incentive programmes. They found a number of factors, both pecuniary and non-pecuniary, that affected teacher effort in negative (less effort) and positive (more effort) ways. One of the factors they found that boosted teacher effort was an increase in “monitoring mechanisms” (p. 28). When teachers felt they were under surveillance, their observable effort

escalated. This may offer some indication as to why so many teachers felt the need to share that they were “trying”. The dynamics of the interviews may have simulated a feeling of being monitored, and they were compelled to make explicit their collective effort, and emphasize how strenuously they had been ‘trying’.

Relating to the issue of teacher effort is the potential outcome of this effort. According to the teachers interviewed, this outcome is inherently a positive one. In nearly every interview, teachers explicitly described the visible improvement that had occurred in the past 5 years. In fact, “improvement” could have been a theme all on its own, with participants characterizing this topic by utilizing somewhat ‘distancing’ language to describe the shift. Statements indicating improvement often would begin with phrases such as “At the beginning...”, and conclude with ones resembling “But now...”. For instance:

*But when I became to teach in English, it was difficult, because it was new. And it was not a course like in French. But today, I feel very OK. I feel confident. And I feel at my best in helping.* (Participant 09)

*At the beginning – was difficult. Because, for us, the teachers, we learn in the French system. Then to change, was difficult... We have seen that it was difficult, but slowly by slowly, we teaching. We feel OK teaching in English.* (Participant 11)

Both participants here succinctly acknowledge the progress that has been made in the schools, and do so by compartmentalizing themselves, and the events surrounding the beginning of the MOI shift, via a clear timeline. This practice of categorizing periods within one’s lifetime, or identifying particular “turning points” they may recall, implies a desire of the respondent to create a common coherence among significant life events (Grysmann & Hudson, 2011, p. 510). It only makes sense that the intense effort that was exerted by these teachers would eventually result in effective improvement. Participant 03 clarifies even further, by identifying precisely how the improvement has been seen in the classroom:

*Today, there is a great improvement. There is a great improvement because the learners understand the language. We cannot say that all of them can speak English, but many learners can use the English – can understand. So it is easy.*

This teacher’s feelings regarding the language shift and teacher effort seem to follow a logical sequence – the shift was difficult for them, but they tried, and as a result, there has been improvement. This narrative follows what would be expected of them, and the shift as a whole.

## Teacher Efficacy

Actually measuring teacher efficacy can be an arduous and complicated process, yet hearing how teachers assess their own efficacy, or perhaps that of their colleagues, may provide some insight to how this efficacy plays out in the classroom. For the majority of the participants, the concept of self-efficacy was tied to that of their own effort, and eventual improvement.

Participant 11, for example, shared initial struggles:

*At the beginning – was difficult. Because, for us, the teachers, we learn in the French system. Then to change, was difficult... Because the pupils they didn't learn English.*

This statement is followed immediately by acknowledging the effort exerted by classroom teachers:

*We have seen that it was difficult, but slowly by slowly, we teaching. We feel OK teaching in English.*

Later, claims of improvement are shared:

*Yeah, it is better. It is better because now the pupils are able to answer the questions we ask of them...*

*INT: How do you feel the students have been performing, since the shift?*

*11: Yes! Yeah, the pupils are good in English now... Yeah, it is better now, slowly by slowly, the pupils are good for understand English.*

Participant 11 shared a statement relating to personal self-efficacy when stating that he “feel[s] OK teaching in English”, and following it with claims of student improvement. Self-efficacy understandings are often complex and difficult to identify, yet hold strong significance. The work of Woolfolk-Hoy and Davis (2006) highlight its “cyclical nature”, particularly in regards to teacher effort (p. 119). High self-efficacy for teachers leads to increased effort, which results in better student performance, thus leading to teachers’ boosted feelings of self-efficacy. This model, however, does not always hold true. Any teacher, in both developing and ‘developed’ countries, could share a story of when great effort did not result in great collective results. Participant 04 shares an insight into his related feelings of self-efficacy:

*INT: Do you feel that you, as a teacher, are effective at teaching in English?*

*04: Oh no...*

*INT: No?*



04: *You see, for example, in P6, we have 120 learners, and in English, when I give a test to them, they are going to succeed – 10. 10 or 12. In 120 learners! It is not for them only. And impact from teacher only is there.*

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INT: *So, do you feel that you are more effective, or less effective, or the same, as you are now in English?*

TR: *[Clarifies in KYRW] He's saying he's uh, less effective...*

*Ok, he saying he gives them what he has. His capability in English, and there are many things he doesn't explain, because himself, he doesn't understand.*

04: *Right. Whatever I know, whatever I have, is what I give to the learners.*

INT: *And do you feel like that is sufficient for them?*

04: *Because it is not sufficient to me, it is also not sufficient to the learners. I know.*

Participant 04 remains under the same government mandate and pressure as other colleagues, and presumably, exerts the same amount of effort. He firmly states that “*whatever I know, whatever I have, is what I give to the learners*”. His assessment of how that effort translates into student achievement indicates that the energy exerted is not, in itself, sufficient. The external realities have affected the situation so that student achievement is not merely a result of teacher effort. There remains a commonality, however, in that poor learner performance did seem to affect his personal self-efficacy. Many factors play into a teachers’ self-efficacy judgments, such as personal mastery experience, verbal persuasion, or vicarious situations (Woolfolk-Hoy & Davis, 2006, p. 118). One such critical factor, that may often be over-looked or taken for granted in other contexts, is the level of proficiency and familiarity with MOI that the teacher possesses. This factor affects teacher effort, self-efficacy, and ultimately, student performance. Throughout this study, it can be seen that despite sharing a strong belief in the increased effort that is expelled in their work, these teachers possess mixed feelings regarding if such effort results in effective instruction. The majority acknowledge the improvement that has been seen, yet whether or not that improvement is sufficient, is still up for debate.

## 5.4 Research Question 3

### RQ 3: How has the shift impacted classroom practices?

To answer this question, two major themes will be offered. As with question 1, Globalization plays a key role in examining how teachers understand the logistics and motivations of any changes in classroom practice, specifically in regards to classroom methodology. This helps paint a picture of classroom practices on a macro-level, and possibly how these teachers feel their classrooms *should* run. However, on a more intimate and micro-level, observing Language Acquisition Components may display a more personal depiction of how a typical classroom functions. The link between learning and language is clear, and most apparently so when both students and teachers are working in a language which is both foreign and under-developed in their personal cognition. Language development, or lack thereof, is a heavily contributory factor in assessing classroom interactions, with teachers as one of the most critical instruments in this assessment (Rollnick, 2000).

### Classroom Methodology

The topic of instructional pedagogy was directly touched on in the interviews, typically via questions regarding if anything “in [their] teaching methods or methodologies had changed”, resulting from the shift. Almost every participant responded in a similar manner, stating that his or her methodologies had indeed changed, right along with the change in MOI.

*“Methodology is different because when you are teaching, the students are active. The students are more active than teachers...the learner-centred methodology... But in French, when you are teaching in French, the teacher is more active than the learner.”* (Participant 07)

The association between English and learner-centred teaching methods, and French being connected to the opposite form of pedagogy – teacher-centred – was persistent. In every instance where “methodologies” were discussed, respondents would make this connection, and assert that along with utilizing English in the classroom, came new methods of teaching – specifically ones which were “learner-centred”. These methods involved allowing students’ voices to be heard more, increased group activity, and involving pupils in forming their own learning experiences. Participant 11 explained the classroom change he’d seen:

*“I think the first time, the teachers were for giving the contents – yeah like that. But now, slowly by slowly, we are able to teach the pupils by using their ideas. The pupils give us their ideas, we converse. It means we give the pupils*

*what we know, then we try to ask the pupils. It means that the pupils are active. Yeah, it is active participation."*

Participant 02 also identified the distinction between the current and previous types of classroom instruction:

*"In the methods, or methodology that was used before – it has changed. Before... it was teacher-centred methods. But now, the method has changed. We focus on the students, or the learners. It is learner-centred now. The group workers... Now, learners are studying in groups. We focus on the learners, instead of focusing on the teacher."*

The belief in the connection of the Francophone education system to teacher-centric pedagogy is widespread throughout Rwanda. A newspaper article from a December 2008 edition of the New Times, almost immediately following the announcement of the English shift, describes a "Francophone school system whose curriculum is slow and provides little or no support in preparing [students] for the job market jungle" and that "the Francophone system of education has perpetually ... created a teacher-centred system – where students are not directly involved because teachers read and think for them." (Anyango, 2008). The roots of this belief may stem from the underlying philosophies that influence the educational schools of thought in English and French curriculum. Pepin (1998) applies McLean's (1990) identification of major European schools of thought to their education systems, which may tell, in part, why this association exists. The English school system supposes a humanistic viewpoint, which strongly emphasizes the importance of interaction between pupils, and their teacher, as well as the significance of the individual and their own creativity and thought process. The French philosophy of education highlights 'encyclopaedism', which principles rationality and universal schooling, advocating for students to learn en masse, without much adherence to the individual. This viewpoint is highly associated with ideals of society transformation that reflect the best interest of the group as a whole, and not necessarily the good of the individual (Pepin, 1998, Sect. 2). The foundational values of these two education systems may appear evident through the curriculum these teachers are working with, and further contribute to motivations for moving to an English curriculum, which would appear to be more well-rounded, and potentially beneficial, for the learner. However, it is unknown if this difference is one enacted only in title and speech, or if the teaching that actually occurs within an English-as-medium classroom does possess the altered methodology. It would seem, that in the minds of the interviewed teachers, the shift in language

equates to a shift in teaching mind-set that favours the student as the focus of instruction. This alteration in viewpoint also seems to stem from the theme of globalization, adhering to the Western pedagogical dichotomy of teacher vs learner centred instruction. In many similar settings, a combination of the two types of pedagogy is preferred, as the work of Barrett (2007) suggests. However, a globalized perspective (with strong emphasis on ideals of the Western world), will often favour the “learner-centred” methods, with a large amount of donor groups advocating for this type of classroom instruction to dominate (Hardman et al, 2011). This perception appears to be prevalent in the outlook of the interviewed teachers, further solidifying the prevalence of globalization in their understandings of the overall language shift.

### **Kinyarwanda**

Rwanda possesses a unique spot when compared with other African countries, in that it is one of the few countries holding a singular national mother tongue. Kinyarwanda is spoken as the native language for as high as 99.4% of the population, and around 90% may *only* speak this language (See Tables 1 & 2; Samuelson & Freedman, 2010, p. 193). The prevalence of Kinyarwanda is quite difficult to ignore. Participants were given the option to conduct interviews in English, or via translator, in French or Kinyarwanda. None of the participants opted for French, and only a few (3/11) chose to use Kinyarwanda fully. For the most part, the teachers would use English initially, and as they grew more comfortable, revert to Kinyarwanda to articulate ideas they wanted to express more fully, or for clarification purposes. This movement from one language to another within a conversation, in order to offer additional clarity and/or insight, is a fundamental example of the type of code-switching that happens frequently among language learners. In similar contexts across Sub-Saharan Africa, where English may overtake a mother tongue as MOI, code-switching is an effective strategy in guiding learners to a greater understanding (Brock-Utne, 2007; Rea-Dickins et al, 2013). This involves moving back and forth between multiple languages to offer the strongest description of whatever concept is being shared. It was not only visible in the actual interviews with teachers, but a common classroom practice that many admitted to utilizing.

*Sometimes we were obliged to use Kinyarwanda, so that they may more understand.* (Participant 01)

*Yeah, today I teach only in English. So I can mix with Kinyarwanda – because the mother tongue. So when you reinforce the English only, it can be a problem to some learners, because of different areas they come from. (Participant 03)*

*...for us, we try to know that English, and how we can teach, but for that student, it was too hard to understand anything. So, we are requested to say that English, and translate it into Kinyarwanda, the local language.*

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*We are requested to teach in English, but sometimes, we use Kinyarwanda when the students didn't understand anything. (Participant 08)*

*...but because of some pupils don't understand well the English, that is why sometimes some {indistinct} took them for explaining in Kinyarwanda. (Participant 11)*

The use of Kinyarwanda offers a clear support tool for students who may not have sufficiently mastered English, and require additional explanation in a familiar language. But what of those teachers who are also still attempting to fully conquer the language themselves, and require such support? This issue was inadvertently addressed as well, as teachers shared how their thought process and internal metacognition were primarily in Kinyarwanda. Several conveyed difficulties they found in being able to understand and express complex ideas in English, and how they would revert to Kinyarwanda for personal reflection.

*And then, I'm Rwandan. I use the language of Kinyarwanda. There is the structures of Kinyarwanda. For me, I could have the idea, and then I know what I can say, how I can pronounce? But then – the what? The construction of sentence is difficult to me. (Participant 03)*

*Of course the mother tongue is better, because that's how we talk, that's how we think... (Participant 10)*

As previously stated, the research regarding utilizing mother tongue instruction is strong. Gulling (2010) proclaims that it is pure “common sense” to offer mother tongue instruction in a deep and full quality, as a “deep understanding of concepts is best developed in the mother tongue”. Only once more complex concepts are understood in a mother tongue, can they even be translated (p. 62). These teachers realize that how they best understand, is via Kinyarwanda, and that the most effective way to relay complex knowledge to students is through the medium of their native language. Additionally, teachers – who require an even deeper understanding of their instructional material than pupils do – did not receive instruction in Kinyarwanda themselves.

Without having fully learned such material in their mother tongue, it is possible that a full understanding may not have developed for them, either, as evidenced in the previously offered case in Tanzania. This potentially creates a cyclical model of shallow learning, in which deep concepts are never fully grasped, due to the MOI. As such, the need for code-switching in the classroom is evidently necessary. Without the use of Kinyarwanda, at least in part, it stands to reason that critical thinking and ideas may not be fully developed. Participant 06 put it perfectly:

*It's better to learn in a language you really understand, because if someone teaches you in a language you don't understand, you're never really going to get it.*

When analyzing how the MOI shift has impacted classroom practice for these teachers, Kinyarwanda permeated all corners. It occupies roles as an instructional aid, a fierce component of national identity, and a potential tool for facilitating comprehension and original thought in the Rwandan individual. However, despite its obvious importance, teachers did not recognize its feasibility as a potential MOI. *"But, Kinyarwanda – it is not the language for teaching"* participant 09 asserted when asked which language would she prefer as the MOI. Again, this situation reflects the aforementioned attitudes held of Kiswahili in Tanzania. Even teachers who conducted their full interviews in Kinyarwanda, would not chose it as the language of instruction, claiming that French or English was for academic use – not Kinyarwanda. This disregard for Kinyarwanda in more formal settings is not unique to these interviews. Studies conducted by Straton Rurangirwa (2012) of the Department of Modern Languages at the National University of Rwanda identify how Kinyarwanda has been systemically removed from many components of the Rwandan economic and political sectors. Rurangirwa finds that this indicates a mindset that considers African languages "unfit for lasting development, which feed into the post-colonial capitalistic principles... [of] development" (2012, p. 172). As such, Kinyarwanda seems to be reserved for the private sector and in unofficial capacities. The power of this language in Rwanda, though overlooked in official spaces, should not be disregarded altogether, and ideally given greater recognition for the capacity it holds in helping advance the country, as a whole.

### **Language-Learning Characteristics**

Many common characteristics of an EAL learner were identified throughout the interviews, both as explicitly stated by the participants, and observed by the interviewer. Participants, for instance, noted typical challenges of learning a new language, such as the difficulty in learning a different phonological system for pronouncing English as opposed to Kinyarwanda:

*The change was very difficult, because there was some obstacles – the first one was the interference of Kinyarwanda. The pronunciation to us – I can hear and I can understand what I have to say, but it is difficult to me because of that pronunciation. (Participant 03)*

The struggle with pronunciation was easily observed through the interviews as well, and would evidently be a factor in classroom interactions. Additionally, syntactical and lexical errors were extensive. Participants worked diligently to articulate themselves as eloquently as possible, yet were not always able to fully voice a coherent sentence. Overall, they were able to express themselves and their opinions sufficiently, but it does offer the question of whether or not these teachers are able to convey meaning as sufficiently to students, who will not have a solid understanding of the language, or fully possess the ability to de-construct sentences to attain accurate explanations.

## 5.5 Research Question 4

### **RQ 4: What do teachers see as major implications of the shift on student performance?**

It could be argued that one of, if not the ultimate, goal of any basic education system is to allow students the opportunity to learn, and the definitive objective would be to have these students actually learn. The assessment of such learning is highly contested depending on epistemological stances and a wide spectrum of theoretical mind-sets, however, who would be in a better position to offer such a comprehensive evaluation than those classroom teachers who facilitate this learning? For the purpose of this study, 'student performance' is defined broadly, pertaining to both quantitative exam marks and informal in-class work and interactions, as assessed by the teacher participants. Teachers were not limited to responding in terms of any specified student achievement, and responded with broadly defined examples and understandings.

### **Improvement**

The theme of "improvement" could also be tied to this research question, in addition to question 2. As such, it will not be described thoroughly, as the attitudes/opinions of the teachers in this area have already been shared. Nonetheless, it is still of strong enough consequence in regards to student performance to be reiterated. Teachers were strongly optimistic about the improvement in student linguistic abilities, though this could be due to the fact that any incoming classes would have had that much more time learning in an English setting.

*She's saying that students now, they study in Kinyarwanda since P1 up to P3, then P4 is when they start studying in English, and she's saying that it's getting better because now kids just have to start like it's normal. They don't have to change when they're in P6, or change in their own language. Or maybe change in P5 when they're about to take the national exam, and taking it another language. (Participant 05, via translator)*

Regardless of the reasons surrounding the improvement, participants were fairly positive about how students had fared since the implementation of the shift. This positivity, however, was reserved for use in comparisons only. Teachers saw one of the biggest challenges within the entire MOI shift to be the linguistic abilities, or lack thereof, of students at the beginning of the policy change. This is further discussed in the following section.

### **External Factors**

A classroom environment in any context is composed of a variety of factors, both internally and externally placed. The external factors that play into current Rwandan classrooms are extensive, and participant teachers remain highly aware of such factors. When questions of how students were performing academically arose, a great number of responses concerning the effects of outside influences were offered. In-class factors (i.e. teaching time, number of students, instructional quality, etc.) were touched on lightly, but only in regards to teacher linguistic abilities, or limitations within the classroom that were direct results of external factors. External factors, in regards to this study, are understood as anything that happens outside the classroom that teachers have no control over, but affect in-school interactions and learning situations. The two dominant external factors that influenced student performance were the students themselves, and the government. These two elements were chief influences for teachers in determining the implications of the MOI shift on student performance, and seemed to offer broad explanations for current classroom situations

### *Students*

When analysing and coding the final interview transcriptions, the code that appeared in the most interviews (10/12), and as a recurrent theme, was summed up by the phrase "Students Don't Know". This notion indicated that basically, the primary challenge of the MOI shift was that students didn't know English, and were effectively unable to perform. This sentiment outweighed any other. Teachers' own linguistic abilities, or them having to teach in an unfamiliar language,



seemed to be considered only as secondary indicators of how students were performing in English.

*Yeah for me, no problem. I try English. I'm not solid at it, but I try it. The problem I had when I started my career, is eh, the, the students. The students were so short in English. So it's not easy. (Participant 01)*

*The learners were not evolved – or developed with that kind of language. They used mainly the mother tongue, the Kinyarwanda... So, difficult to use English as the first language to be used by the learners who do not use that language at home. (Participant 03)*

*The shift, um, there were some problems of course, because the students were not familiar with English. (Participant 07)*

*Yeah, at the beginning, it is too hard for us to teach. Because, sometimes the problem that we meet – also, the student doesn't understand anything. So, for us, we try to know that English, and how we can teach, but for that student, it was too hard to understand anything. (Participant 08)*

This viewpoint, that students' understandings and abilities were the central challenge to the MOI implementation, stood in stark contrast to what was initially conveyed via mass media regarding the implementation of the shift. Reports from local and global news networks indicated that students were able to learn effectively throughout the MOI shift, and that the main challenges would lay with teachers. Claver Yisa, who served as the Director of Policy Planning at MINEDUC during the onset of the MOI shift, stated in an interview with *The Guardian* that, "The problem we are expecting is not with the children. The children can always learn. The problem is the teachers," (McGreal, 2009, p. 2). A 2010 news report from the *Global Post* interviewed a local secondary teacher, who declared that students were achieving success in English at higher rates than teachers (Rosen, 2010). These statements seem to contradict how participant teachers understood the shift, and the abilities of their pupils. The implications of these sentiments are tremendous for the classroom. It is understandable that teachers did not consider students' initial knowledge of English as within their locus of control, however to occupy a mindset that "*Learners were not flexible – enough flexible – to adapt in that language*" (Participant 02), could potentially create a self-fulfilling prophecy in the classroom (Rosenfeld & Rosenfeld, 2008). Conversely, the picture portrayed by the media, that the "problem" is with teachers, and not the students, seems incredibly dismissive of the effort and time it takes for students to actually master a subject, and condescending towards teachers responsible for that mastery. It is equally important to recognize the amount of time and immense effort that is involved in acquiring a foreign language, as well as

new subject-specific content knowledge in that language, and not acquiesce to a simplistic view that all those children will eventually 'get it' (McGreal, 2009).

### *Government*

It is evident that throughout the entire MOI policy shift, the government has been heavy-handed in its practices concerning teachers, and the education system as a whole. The government, as a key player and external factor, has come up time and again throughout this study. The policies and attitudes it effectively dictates may seem a few steps removed from the classroom, but are undoubtedly present. Participant 04 made clear his frustration with the way the implementation was handled, and apparent lack of concern for teachers that was considered during the policy formation:

*As teachers, when they want to plan, when they want to change the system – they must ask us! They must come on the playground and ask us – Because we are there! 'When we change this, will you be happy? Why? How to change?' How to change without having consequences – bad consequences –to the learners, to the parents, to the country! They have to announce us the news which we be changed to the future, and have the idea to them.*

This statement summarizes well how teachers may have felt when the MOI shift was mandated, and their voices were not heard, nor evidently considered. The presence of the government was exerted from the beginning, and its' strong pressure only continued to be felt.

One of the first, and most apparent, ways the government held an impact on the classrooms was through the initial trainings that were offered/required for teachers who were not proficient in English. REAP, the government programme that set out to offer sector-based English trainings, was to be the main vehicle for facilitating teachers' English education. Participants at both schools alluded to such offered trainings at the onset of the MOI shift, though with slight variances. Teachers at both schools apparently went to government-organized trainings, daily, for approximately two months during the school holiday. At GS Akazuba, however, teachers were additionally helped by colleagues from a nearby English-speaking private school<sup>9</sup>. This may account for one notable difference, in that most of the teachers at GS Akanyana

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<sup>9</sup> Length of additional assistance from English-school teachers is unknown, but not likely to have lasted longer than the initial two months of training

indicated that the trainings offered by the government were not sufficient. Participant 04 offered his experience at the training:

*When they invite us to come to study how to teach in English – from the morning to 12 o' clock without anything in stomach. For example, no water, no break, no what. And it was in holidays! And you know how the situation of teachers – During the holidays we want to go away, to search out life - to get life! So, we go there not very happy. We study how we want -sometimes, we ignore them! That is a big problem for me.*

Participant 04 highlighted clear structural flaws (i.e. long sessions with no breaks; poor timing) of the trainings, but did not say much as to the actual content. Participant 02 offered her views, via translator, on what the trainings offered, as far as meaningful learning experiences were concerned:

*The reason why she thinks she's not as effective, is because even the little trainings they've received were based on just the language- just English – so like, vocabulary and grammar and so on, but it wasn't like science terminology or mathematics – like how to explain the X's and Y's...*

*...She said her wish would be more trainings on how to teach a certain subject, like say Chemistry, for example. She would want them to teach them how to teach the subject, instead only teaching them the language –the English language. (02, via translator)*

The lack of adequate language training has been a general, and consistent, complaint regarding the language shift (Pearson, 2014; Steflja, 2012), and with strong reason. Language is such an integral part of the learning process, to ill-equip the teaching force in this area would almost certainly be detrimental to the academic environment, and potential development of the student. Granted, it would be near impossible to include content-specific trainings in English, in addition to comprehensive language lessons, within a mere two-month period. However, this does not change the situation for teachers, who require much more than phonics and grammatical understandings to effectively teach meaningful chemistry lessons. As Participant 04 so eloquently put it: *“Because it is not sufficient to me, it is also not sufficient to the learners”*.

### **Lack of Resources**

Switching from French to English in such a short amount of time concerns far more than just the students and teachers having to master a new language. It also means the provision of fully new materials and curriculum. Having to acquire such resources for every school in the

country, and within a limited timeframe, would certainly cause numerous problems, and affect how classrooms are run. Participant teachers were keenly aware of the lack of resources – particularly, quality resources – made available to them, after the shift. Not only were they expected to teach in this new language, but expected to do so without ready supplies of suitable books, teaching aides, or student materials.

*01: So, I think, just the general issue we have is about books and documentation. Books are not enough in English. And they are not consistent.*

*INT: Not consistent in that, you don't have a consistent supply, or that there's not a consistent quality?*

*01: Quality. It means there are so many mistakes – Yeah, and so we are sometimes – we cannot improve well when we are using bad quality books, which are bad quality.*

This presents substantial obstacles in creating strong learning environments and experiences for students, and direct consequences placed on the classroom. Over the past few years, outside donors have worked to bring in additional English resources to local schools, hoping to bridge this disparity (UNWTO ST-EP, 2008). Some teachers were aware of the increase in resources, particularly in comparison to what had been available:

*At the first time, to get the books was a big problem. But now, we have books. It means to get information we need, is easier than the last time. (Participant 11)*

These circumstances, though, are likely dependent on the individual schools. The unfortunate reality exists that because these two schools are within the capital city, they possess a great deal more resources than their rural counterparts, and the allocation of resources will tend to favour those schools in more urban locations. Ultimately, this lack of sufficient materials may prove to be a massively critical issue within the entire education system, as without quality materials to assist their lessons, teachers who received only a minimal amount of sub-par training may find themselves unable to offer the quality education their students deserve.

## 5.6 Discussion

Obtaining comprehensive understandings of teachers' experiences through the MOI shift via semi-structured interviews offered a potential to explore the layers and dimensions of Rwanda's newly enacted English policy that are not readily visible through policy documents,

media representations, or official government statements. Hornberger & Johnson (2007) compare using such types of qualitative data when analysing language policy to peeling back the layers of an onion, allowing variances of ideology and implementation to be exposed. This analogy holds particularly true in the case of Rwanda, as the layers behind the language policy shift are ample.

The layers identified throughout this study may be understood as the four dominant themes explored in the previous sections: Globalization, External Factors, Attitudes & Opinions, and Language Acquisition Components. One of the foremost layers exposed through the interviews was that of Globalization, or how the vast social, political, and economic interconnections of the world have contributed to the policy formation and implementation in Rwanda. The position of English as a dominant international language was a clear factor in the realization of the MOI shift, and characterized the influence that global powers held within Rwandan society. These powers seemed to be instigated by international bodies, such as the EAC, and were further seen through the emphasis placed on child-centred learning methodologies, which – like English – garners strong advocates across education policies in SSA (Barrett, 2007; Schweisfurth, 2011). Throughout the interviews, every participant, upon hearing the word ‘methodology’, offered the same response – learner-centered instruction. It is clear that this ideology, of the superiority of such pedagogy, is promoted strongly. A brief look at the MINEDUC website confirmed its prominence among the more new, and “innovative” policies, as the phrase “learner-centred methodology” was littered throughout project descriptions and teacher development plans<sup>10</sup>. This term could also be found in mass media outlets (Kwizera, 2011), directly relating to the Ministry’s new policy implementations. The experience of the teachers throughout the shift did not seem to be separable from the overarching concept of Globalization, as their immediate classroom interactions and routines were affected as a direct result of international influence.

Similarly, the “External Factors” layer offered comparable information, identifying how limited the teachers’ locus of control might be, concerning their classrooms. This struggle is one shared by teachers across the world, as factors such as incoming students’ level-of-ability, or implementation of overarching government policies, are often far beyond the power of the teacher. However, the challenges these teachers have faced are unique, in that in addition to the

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<sup>10</sup> [www.mineduc.gov](http://www.mineduc.gov), <http://www.mcop.rw/> and <http://www.mineduc.gov.rw/spip.php?rubrique29>

typical adversities educators encounter, an extra layer is weighted upon them of having to learn and teach in a fully foreign language. Nadine Dutcher makes a seemingly obvious observation by stating that the struggle for students in this type of situation is that “they are expected to *learn* a new language, at the same time they are learning *in* and *through* the new language” (Dutcher, 2004, as quoted in Brock-Utne, 2012, p. 775, emphasis in original). The same sentiment can be applied to teachers, who are not only trying to convey information in a new language, but learn the language themselves, as well as learn how to teach appropriate content in that language. Applying this ‘language layer’ to the additional demands any teacher may face, particularly within a developing country with limited resources, offers further insight to the arduous experiences these teachers have undergone.

In the light of such challenges, the teachers’ “Attitudes/Opinions” layer remained extraordinarily positive, at least on the surface. Teachers were generally unwilling to acknowledge the challenges and myopic nature of the MOI shift, unless they conditioned it with notions of improvement. The lack of willingness to offer negative feelings or opinions without a positive condition attached, could also be observed by the frequent use of the concept of “trying”. It was important for participants to convey that despite how they felt, or what performance results may indicate, there was consistent and strenuous effort – and that should count for something. This dialogic pattern, of needing to balance any negative statement or feeling with a positive, seems to imply that teachers were uncomfortable with having, or at least sharing, those negative feelings concerning the policy. This could be due to genuine, positive attitudes they felt regarding the shift, but could also be related to feelings of lack of agency, due to government pressure. The lack of power held by the participants, over such a directly personal experience, effectively translates to a lack of agency, as these teachers have been forced in to a reform with poor implementation and minimal training. Stickney (2012, referencing Foucault, 1994) notes “teachers’ agency is only possible where power relations permit freedom – not where there is outright domination” (p. 657). The power relations existent in Rwanda do not permit such freedom, and the voices of the teachers have only grown harder to hear. This may have been even further exemplified by noting the frequency with which teachers’ seemed to place the weight of the MOI shift on the shoulders of their students. From examining these sentiments, it did not appear that teachers were evading their own roles as educators, but more that they had recognized the immense challenges the shift had instigated, and needed to identify an innocuous

culprit as the reasoning behind their tumultuous experiences, i.e. their students. It would be far too risky to place liability upon the government, and the lack of knowledge possessed by students offered a palpable scapegoat for why the shift had proved so difficult, despite the government's assertion that students' adaptability was of little concern (McGreal, 2009). Throughout this study, both explicit and implicit interactions have implied teachers' loss of agency, and the power the government holds over them in hopes of maintaining a consistent image of harmony and developmental progress. Samset (2011) refers to such maintenance in Rwanda as "repressive peace" (p. 276), highlighting a lack of democratization – which is typically a key component of operational agency. In the past 20 years, Rwanda has worked to pull itself up in terms of development indicators, and has been lauded internationally for its' immense progress (Terrill, 2012; Emery, 2013). The efforts of the government to preserve this image of growth, despite the apparent difficulties that may exist, are well known, and citizens are fully aware that any dissent against such efforts is not taken lightly (Reyntjens, 2006). Participant 04 was one teacher who blatantly showed discontent with the lack of agency, by declaring "they must ask us!" Ultimately, this would seem to be what any teacher would want, but in the case of Rwanda, it does not appear to be immediately possible.

The final layer analysed of "Language Acquisition Components" is most clearly characterized by the colloquial use of Kinyarwanda, and it's absence from official policy. This language offers an incredibly unique position, as it is the mother tongue and home language of virtually the entire population, and tied closely to understandings of national identity. In regards to widespread literature, it is in an excellent position to provide a strong base of learning through the national education system, and as teachers asserted, is clearly still a necessary instructional tool. Yet in national policy, the language is essentially overlooked beyond P3 level, unless offered as an additional language class. This absence of recognition results in Kinyarwanda offering very little linguistic capital, particularly in comparison to the 'all-powerful English', thereby forming a cycle where the lack of capital results in lack of acknowledgement, which further diminishes its capital worth, and so on and so forth. In a society with already high economic disparity (GINI Index, 2011), a more equal linguistic playing field could provide potential for greater opportunities for many within the population. Unfortunately, current language policy does not appear to take this into account, and the imbalance of power indicates that equity gaps are likely to only increase.

## 6. Conclusion

The data from these interviews seek to provide insight into the realities of a small sample of teachers, who were forced to undergo an immense change. Their experiences were varied and individualized, but shared common links, identified by the themes previously articulated. The teachers who participated in this study all appear to be putting forth enormous effort, and doing what they can to make the most of their current situation. Challenges of improper training, limited resources, classes full of students with minimal language skills, and erratic personal experiences with English, have plagued all of them. However, each participant stated their agreement and contentment with the overall shift, even amongst such frustrating circumstances.

Yet, whether or not the policy should have been carried out, is not the issue-at-hand. Regardless of the validity of the shift, what should be of note is that these teachers – who are essentially expected to bear the brunt of the work across the education sector – seemed to remain of very little consequence to governing bodies. Their agency, voice, and power were, and still unfortunately seem to be, overlooked. For this reason, this study has chosen to highlight the voices of these teachers, and attempt to further understand their experiences throughout the implementation of the new MOI policy. Their sense of agency should be supported fully. The power relations observed through this study could be subtle, as it was never a directly addressed topic, and interviews were relatively short, with minimal background information about the participants provided. However, when given a contextual analysis, components of such power relations can be clearly identified.

The experiences of the teachers interviewed in this study, as well as those of their colleagues across Rwanda, offer pragmatic information about the MOI shift that provides “depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data” that can truly only be found from personal expression, social interaction, and meaningful discourse (Mason, 2002, p. 65). This study sought to reflect this understanding, and demonstrate the necessity of promoting the voice of the teacher, particularly in the midst of apparent power imbalances. The experiences of these teachers are essential when looking at broad impacts on educational practice, and should begin to compel a profound amount of attention.



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University of Sussex

## PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

### EFFECTS ON EFFICACY:

#### WHAT HAS RWANDA'S LANGUAGE SHIFT DONE TO IMPACT TEACHER'S VIEWS OF SELF-EFFICACY?

Thank you for your time!

You are being invited to take part in a small-scale research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done, and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully, and feel free to ask any questions on any topic that may need further clarification.

#### What is the purpose of the study?

As you are aware, in 2009, the country of Rwanda took a large shift from French to English. This greatly effected how schools ran all across the country, and how teachers were able to work within their classrooms. This study is looking to see how teachers have felt about themselves, their classroom practices, and how they have students perform, since the shift to English. I am looking to best understand the experiences of teachers who have had to move from French to English, and if this has impacted how they see their own effectiveness (efficacy) within the classroom.

#### Why have I been invited to participate?

This study is looking to hear from the voices of all types of teachers who have been effected by the language shift – new, experienced, male, female – I want to hear from any and all such teachers! You have been recommended by your headmaster, as one such teacher who could provide strong insight into what this study is covering.

#### Do I have to take part?

*It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.*

#### What will happen to me if I take part?

If you chose to participate, you will be interviewed by Cady Tolon, the researcher, for no more than 30 minutes. The questions are completely non-invasive, and you are not required to answer any question. The interview will be audio recorded for later use by the researcher.

**Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?**

All information collected in this study will be kept strictly confidential and your personal responses will not be connected to you in any way. The name of the school you work for, and your name, will be completely anonymized for this study, and you will not be identifiable to anyone based on this study.

**What should I do if I want to take part?**

You will be asked to sign the consent form, stating you understood the information presented in this sheet, and agree to be interviewed as part of this study.

**What will happen to the results of the research study?**

The results of this study will be used towards the final dissertation of the researcher, for a Masters in International Education and Development from the University of Sussex. The final draft will be finished by 28 Aug 2014, and the researcher is happy to provide a copy to any participant that would like to review the final work.

**Who is organising the research?**

This research is being conducted by Cady Tolon, MA candidate for a Masters in International Education and Development from the University of Sussex.

**Contact for Further Information**

Researcher:

Xxxx Xxxxx

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Thank you for your time and cooperation! Murakoze Cyane!

Xxxxx Xxxxx

MA Candidate of International Education and Development

University of Sussex





University of Sussex

**CONSENT FORM FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS**

**PROJECT TITLE:** Effects on Efficacy: How Rwanda's language shift has impacted its teacher's understandints of self-efficacy

**Name of Researcher:** Xxxx Xxxxx

I understand that agreeing to take part in this study means that I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- Allow the interview to be audio taped
- Make myself available for a further interview should that be required

I understand that any information I provide is **confidential**, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can *withdraw at any stage* of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you very much for your help and cooperation!



**Semi-Structured Teacher Interview Questions**

Thank you so much for agreeing to be a part of this study. The purpose of this interview is to hear from you, about how you understand and feel about the language shift that was made in 2009, specifically regarding how it impacted you as a teacher. You are under no pressure to answer any questions, and can speak as much, or as little, as you would like. All answers will be kept strictly confidential, and you will be able to look over any notes or writing I do, to ensure it accurately reflects your intended answers. If you have any questions or concerns about any part of this interview, you are welcome to share!

1. Tell me about yourself (Teaching experience? Languages spoken?).
2. When did you begin teaching in English?
3. How did you initially feel about this change?
4. How do you feel about it now?
5. When you began teaching in English, did you feel that you were as effective at teaching, as you were before, when teaching in French (or other language)?
  - a. Why or why not?
6. Do you feel that you are **now** as effective at teacher, as you were when teaching in French?
  - a. Why or why not?
7. How did you feel the **students performed** after the shift from English to French?
8. Has anything changed in the way **you teach** since moving to English from French?
9. Are you glad that the shift occurred?
10. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Thank you for your help! If you would like to add anything else, change what you have said, or have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me via the information provided in the sheet.

Murakoze cyane!

Appendix D: Sample Interview Transcription, with coding (Interview 08)

08

Int: So, if you could just tell me about yourself? Like, what you teach? Or how long you have been teaching?

08: My name is \_\_\_\_, I'm a teacher at this school, I teach English in P6.

Int: And how long have you been teaching?

08: I have teach since 2007.

Int: And have you always taught English?

08: No, I started with French.

Int: OK. And when did you begin teaching in English?

08: English? Ok, I started teaching English since 2000...I guess 2009.

Int: And did you know English before you started teaching in it?

DAQ (10)

08: Before starting teaching in English, for me, when I was in secondary, I studied in French.

Int: OK

DAQ

08: But when, the reform comes, there we have to know English. That's why sometimes the government organize some training in order to help us to know that English. But in secondary we study English as a subject. But most of the lesson, we study them in French.

(42) Eng in school

Int: Interesting...So, did you have training...When you started teaching in English, you had training from the government. What was that training?

08: It is...the training was about how we can teach in English. Sometimes they prepare some lesson that can help us - how we can teach this topic, so maybe that training was for two months.

Int: Every day?

Eng training (neutral)

08: Yeah, every day...From Monday up to Friday.

Int: And that was during your holiday?

↓  
insufficient?  
sufficient?

08: Yeah, was during the holiday.

Int: Thank you...So, when you shifted to English in 2009, how did you initially feel? At the beginning?

10, 42

Appendix D (p.2)

Students' fault (3)

- diff. to teach (12)

08: Yeah, at the beginning, it is too hard for us to teach. Because, sometimes the problem that we meet... Also the student doesn't understand anything. So, for us, we try to know that English, and how we can teach, but for that student, it was too hard to understand anything. So, we are requested to say that English, and translate it into Kinyarwanda, the local language. So, it was too hard to communicate with the student. It is also too hard for us to prepare that lessons. Yeah.

(21)

USE OF KYRW (4)

Int: Yeah, it is very time consuming.

08: Yes, it is time consuming...

Int: So, how do you feel about it now, in 2014?

- no prob now - (8)

08: Yeah, in 2014 I think there is no problem, because we are familiar with the English. So, sometimes I can't...I can't do an interview in French. I have forgot French from now!

Int: Really?

lack of FT (43)

08: Yeah, because when I meet with someone who speaks French, I am feared to pronounce at least one word... I am fearful!

Int: Ha, sure! So, when you started teaching in English, back in 2009, did you feel that you were as effective a teacher, as you were when you taught in French?

08: Yeah, yeah...

Int: You did? Even back then? You thought it was effective? (Yeah,yeah) You thought it was good?

(31) ↑

08: It is effective...

(14), (28), (19)

Int: Why did you think that?

08: Because, as you have seen, just now, to teach in English, compared to French - French requests the teacher many things. Even the students. As you have seen, the French is more complicated than English. Because in English, everything is short - compared to French. But in French, even the notes that we prepare for the student will be many. And sometimes the French language has...i. t's grammar is so...also is more complicated more than English.

FR more difficult + complex + cate

Int: So, you saw that difference immediately...That it was more complicated?

08: (Yeah. French is more complicated than English.)

Int: So, even now - you feel effective as a teacher when you teach in English?

08: Mmmhmm...yeah.

3, 12, 21, 4, 8, 43, 31, 14, 28, 19

Appendix D (p.3)

Int: Which language would you prefer to teach in?

08: English.

Int: Even above, say Kinyarwanda?

08: Yeah.

Int: Really? Why is that?

PAGE 10 - students fault 3

08: The problem that occurs is when...the problem is for the students. We are requested to teach in English, but sometimes we use Kinyarwanda when the students didn't understand anything. But if our students understand English, it is easy for us to say it, because just now, unless the problem that we face...But, we feel comfortable to teach in English. There is no problem with it. → 8

4

Int: So, speaking of students... How do you feel that students performed when they shifted from English to French?

08: Also for them, it is too hard to shift for them. But those that we have, that started from P1 studying in English...they try. Sometimes when you pronounce French words, they didn't understand what you have said. But for those that the change comes with them, it is too hard for them to change from French to English. But those we have that started from P1 studying in English...

30

Int: Sure...What have you found to be a challenge, or one of the most challenging things about teaching in English?

Shift = too hard

-EAC

PAGE 10

08: The challenge... As our country entered in East Africa, and also in the Commonwealth, it is important for us to know that English. Because, when the students come and go in the secondary, and study in English, it is better for him or her to know that English because as the market becomes large, it is important for them to use that language, so that they can compete with others from Kenya, from Uganda...So it is important. That is the most thing that is very important for us.

economic interaction

15

39

Int: So, did you find anything that was particularly difficult when you were switching to English from French, as a teacher?

28

distancing self

08: Difficult...as a teacher...The problem is that we are not familiar with English before, but today, I think there is no problem. Because also if you are not able to speak that French, because we have some teachers, which that English is difficult for them, so they prefer to teach Kinyarwanda, so...But, as I see, it is not good, when someone choose to teach Kinyarwanda...that language that we must teach in - he or she did not know that language. Because when you see them, they are with only Kinyarwanda. But they didn't make any effort to know English. But for us, even though we have started with English, which is not familiar with us...But today, there is some...challenge we have faced. → critical of those who stuck w/ Kyrw

Kyrw# positive

38

4, 10, 3, 8, 30, 15, 39

critical of those who stuck w/ Kyrw

Appendix D (p.4)

Int: Interesting...So, has anything changed in the way that you teach when you teach in English, versus when you teach in French? Maybe the methodologies are different?

08: Yes, also the methodologies are changed.

Int: How have they changed?

08: For French, as I have said...French has many things when you teaching in French...there is many methodologies we use, in compared to English. As I have said, in English, everything is too short compared to French. So, like notes...Also, when you speak to the children, when you talk to the children...there is something that is difficult in French, is the conjugation. French conjugation is so difficult, compared to English. That is why the change that English brought, is that everything is short and small. That is why.

28  
19

^ French = more difficult than Eng

Int: Are you personally glad that the shift occurred?

08: What?

Int: Are you happy that the country, and education, shifted from French to English?

Tr: clarifies in KYRW

08: It was important to change from French to English, because when you look where the world is orientating, you see, even the French men study that English. That is why also the Rwandans... English was become important for us, because many countries in the world use that English. Even the French men, as I have said. We are requested to know that English, so that we can compete with others in the market.

Eng = important

Tr: clarifies in KYRW

Eng = global lang  
39

08: Yeah, it was very important for me.

Int: Good... Well, that's actually it...is there anything else you'd like to share?

Tr: clarifies in KYRW

08: Nothing else... The other thing that I can add, is that you researchers, who make a research in Education...Even though there is some problem that we face...But we tried, we tried with the change... Except sometimes the government discouraged us. When changing, because in a few months ago, we have understood that we are going to change from English to French. That is disorders that we face in Education sometimes. When the children start with English, then after two years or three years, they change also from French. That is what we have heard around 3 months ago...That we are going to also teach in French. (Really?) Yeah, we have understood that. But, it is not announced by the government...But some of us are hearing that maybe we are requested to teach French as a language, or to change from English to French. That is the order that the government brought when we became familiar with this language, and then they change...That is the disorder that we face in education, that discourage us to leave education and carry on to

TRY 2

PRR  
impoverished  
1

disorder 28, 19, 39, 2

Appendix D (p.5)

other parts. But, it is ok for us with English. And we are interested with English. Compared to others that we studied with in secondary, who do not know that English. As also, after secondary school, for me, I am at university. But when we meet with others - it is easy for me compared with others which didn't teach. For me, it is easy to follow the lecturer when he is teaching.

Int: Well that is all I have. Thank you very much

08: Thank you, too

↓  
Teachers  
have advantage  
above other  
study members

## Appendix E: Sample Interview “Cheat Sheet”

### Interview 04: *Taught 12 years, upper primary (P5/6)*

<b>Codes Used</b>	01; 02; 06; 07; 09; 10; 11; 12; 15; 21; 28; 31; 32; 34; 35; 42
<b>Strongest points</b>	01 – Poor Implementation; 02 – Teacher effort/’try’; 11 – Insufficient training; 31 – Teacher Efficacy
<b>Unique points</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Alluded to lack of teacher voice/agency by advocating that the government should have consulted the teachers, and asked what should be done/how the shift should be implemented</li> <li>- Takes on responsibility for student learning – acknowledges that though he does his best, he knows he’s not explaining it well and learners aren’t achieving at maximum potential</li> </ul>
<b>Useful quotes</b>	<p>01: <i>“Um, there were different challenges. Because we were not ready to teach in English – that’s the first question. We had the habit in French. When they changed it was a big problem to the teachers, and the...but we tried. We had some training, helps how to teach in English. You know, but because it was in French, to teach in English was not very easy at that time.”</i></p> <p>02/31: <i>“You see, for example, in P6, we have 120 learners, and in English, when I give a test to them, they are going to succeed – 10. 10 or 12. In 120 learners. It is not for them only. And impact from teacher only is there. Because I don’t explain it careful, I don’t give different examples, I don’t bring what and what to show the learners which they must know.”</i></p> <p><b>04:</b> <i>Whatever I know, whatever I have, is what I give to the learners.</i>  <b>Int:</b> <i>And do you feel like that is sufficient for them?</i>  <b>04:</b> <i>Because it is not sufficient to me, it is also not sufficient to the learners. I know.</i></p> <p>11/31: <i>“It was not good, because they are many challenges. For example, when they invite us to come to study how to teach in English – from the morning to 12 o’ clock without anything in stomach. For example, no water, no break, no what. And it was in holidays. And you know how the situation of teachers...During the holidays we want to go away, to search out life - to get life! So, we go there not very happy...We study how we want...Sometimes, we ignore them! That is a big problem for me.”</i></p> <p><i>“As teachers, when they want to plan, when they want to change the system – they must ask us. They must come on the playground and ask us – Because we are there! When we change this, will you be happy? Why? How to change? How to change without having consequences – bad consequences –to the learners, to the parents, to the country. They have to announce us the news which will be changed to the future.”</i></p>
<b>Notes/ Impressions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- One of the more open respondents, it seemed. Was apparently honest about all feelings and opinions regarding the shift, and gave a sincere, and mixed (as to be expected), sentiment concerning the shift</li> <li>- One of the few respondents to identify the lack of detail and complexities in the English curriculum as a seeming negative aspect. Indicated that he preferred the additional material, notes, etc in FR, and these components made the lessons more accessible and comprehensible</li> </ul>



## Appendix F: Interview Coding

Code #	Description	Interviews found in:	Highlighted strongly in:	Overall theme correlation	Notes
01	<i>Poor Implementation</i>	Int01; Int04; Int05; Int08	Int04; Int05	External Factors	Tied to Code 11; Related to Code 32
02	<i>Teacher Effort/Try</i>	Int01; Int02; Int04; Int 09	Int02; Int04; Int09	Attitudes/Opinions; Improvement	Could be own theme
03	<i>Responsibility on Students (Students don't know)</i>	Int01; Int02; Int03; Int05; Int06; Int07; Int08; Int09; Int11	Int01; Int03; Int08	External Factors	Responsibility = blame?
04	<i>KYRW used for clarification</i>	Int01; Int04; Int06; Int08; Int09; Int11	Int04; Int08; Int11	Language Acquisition	Tied to Code 07
05	<i>Positive view of Eng</i>	Int01; Int05; Int07; Int10	Int07; Int10	Attitudes/Opinions	Tied to Code 14; 16
06	<i>Fr &gt; Eng</i>	Int01; Int04; Int06		Attitudes/Opinions	Not strongly advocated for, generally...
07	<i>Unable to express as well in Eng</i>	Int01; Int03; Int04; Int06; Int10; Int11	Int03; Int06	Language Acquisition	Tied to Code 04; 44
08	<i>Improvement</i>	Int01; Int02; Int03; Int05; Int06; Int08; Int09; Int11	Int08; Int09; Int11	Improvement	Own theme
09	<i>Lack of quality Eng resources</i>	Int01; Int02; Int04; Int11	Int01	External Factors	Direct opposite of Code 41, but highlighted a bit more...
10	<i>Doesn't answer question</i>	Int01; Int03; Int04; Int07; Int08; Int09	Int03; Int07	Language Acquisition?	Indicates lack of linguistic ability, or pre-formed agenda?
11	<i>Insufficient Training</i>	Int02; Int03; Int04; Int05	Int02; Int04	External Factors	Tied to Code 01; Only found in first group of interviews - indicates lack of consistency of training implementation from gov via location? -> Related to Code 32

12	<i>Shift = most difficult on teachers</i>	Int02; Int04; Int06; Int08; Int09; Int11	Int09; Int11	Attitudes/Opinions	Tied to Code 21
13	<i>Students like/prefer Eng</i>	Int02; Int07; Int09	Int07; Int09	Attitudes/Opinions	Same as Code 18
14	<i>Eng &gt; Fr</i>	Int02; Int08; Int10	(see Code 05)	Attitudes/Opinions	Tied to Code 05
15	<i>EAC/Economic Integration</i>	Int02; Int04; Int05; Int08; Int11	Int02; Int08	Globalization	
16	<i>Shift was positive</i>	Int02; Int05; Int06; Int07; Int10; Int11	Int02; Int10	Attitudes/Opinions	Tied to Code 05
17	<i>French kept in curriculum</i>	Int02; Int09; Int10	Int02; Int09	Attitudes/Opinions	
18	<i>Eng preferred by students</i>	see Code 13	See Code 13	Attitudes/Opinions	Same as Code 13
19	<i>Eng = easier</i>	Int02; Int03; Int08; Int09		Attitudes/Opinions	See Code 13, 18 Re: methodologies; Often correlated to Code 28
20	<i>Eng = learner-centered; Fr = teacher-centered</i>	Int02; Int03; Int07; Int09; Int10; Int11	Int02; Int10; Int11	Globalization	
21	<i>Additional responsibility on teachers</i>	Int02; Int03; Int04; Int08; Int09	Int02	External Factors	Tied to Code 12
22	<i>Personal love of Eng</i>	Int02; Int10	Int10 (?)	Attitudes/Opinions	Typically stems from prior study of the language
23	<i>Reference to '94 genocide</i>	Int03		External Factors	Only mentioned once
24	<i>Government mandate</i>	Int03; Int06		External Factors	Only found in first group
25	<i>Pronunciation = difficult</i>	Int03		External Factors	Only mentioned once
26	<i>Eng = not a home language</i>	Int03; Int05	Int03; Int05	External Factors	Only found in first group Class over-population; Lack of time; Students coming from other teachers, who may not have taught them well
27	<i>In-class limitations</i>	Int03; Int09		External Factors	Re: methodologies;
28	<i>Eng = less complex &amp; detailed curriculum than FR</i>	Int03; Int04; Int06; Int08; Int09; Int10	Int06; Int09; Int10	External Factors; Globalization?	Tied to Code 33
29	<i>Multiple Englishes used</i>	Int03		External Factors	Only mentioned once

30	<i>Student disparities/variances</i>	Int03; Int08	Int03	External Factors	Could be linked to Code 27
31	<i>Teacher Efficacy</i>	Int03; Int04; Int06; Int07; Int08	Int04	Attitudes/Opinions; Improvement	Tied to both themes and multiple codes
32	<i>Unprepared for the shift</i>	Int04; Int05		External Factors	Related to Code 01 and 11 - Only found in first group
33	<i>FR curriculum offers 'more'</i>	Int06	Int06	External Factors	Tied to Code 28; Only mentioned once
34	<i>Conflicting attitude re: shift</i>	Int04		Attitudes/Opinions	Needs to be re-assessed, likely signs of this code in all interviews... Hard to assess/determine fully - most evident in Int04 = "they must ask us"
35	<i>Teacher voice/agency</i>	Int04; Int06; Int07	Int04	Attitudes/Opinions	
36	<i>KYRW preference</i>	Int05; Int06; Int10	Int05	Language Acquisition	
37	<i>Fr knowledge aids Eng knowledge</i>	Int06; Int09		Language Acquisition	
38	<i>KYRW not useful for academics</i>	Int06; Int07; Int08; Int09; Int10	Int07; Int09	Globalization	Opposite to Code36, seemingly (though both appeared in Int06)
39	<i>Eng = international language</i>	Int05; Int06; Int08	Int08	Globalization	Tied to Code 15
40	<i>Fr and Eng as equals</i>	Int02; Int07; Int11		Attitudes/Opinions	Respondents identified both languages as equally valuable
41	<i>Sufficient resources</i>	Int02; Int04; Int08; Int10		External Factors	Direct opposite of Code 09, but not strongly highlighted (both seen in interviews 02 & 04)

Appendix F (pg 4)

42	<i>Eng learned in secondary school</i>	Int02; Int03; Int04; Int08; Int10	Int04 (lack of full training)	External Factors; Language Acquisition	Most had minimal teaching in English in secondary school, but didn't affect their language acquisition later in teaching
43	<i>Personal loss of Fr</i>	Int08; Int10		Language Acquisition	Only found in second group Related to Code 07 (unlikely to revert to Fr - KYRW more prevalent in this instance)
44	<i>Reverting to Fr in-class</i>	Int10		Language Acquisition	

## Appendix G: REB Affiliation Confirmation Letter



**RWANDA EDUCATION BOARD**  
 P.O. Box 3817 Kigali  
 Telephone : + 250 255121482  
 E-mail : info@reb.rw  
 Website : www.reb.rw

18 June 2014  
 Ref: 16-93/REB/014

The Director General,  
 Directorate of Science, Technology and Scientific Research  
 Ministry of Education  
 Kigali

Dear Madam,

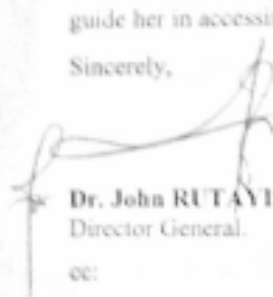

**Re: Acceptance of Research Affiliation with Rwanda Education Board**

I am pleased to confirm that Miss [Name] s affiliation to Rwanda Education Board for her research on "Effects on Efficacy: What has Rwanda's Language Shift Done to Impact Teacher's Views of Self-Efficacy?" has been accepted.

Miss [Name] is currently undertaking a Masters degree in International Education and Development at the University of Sussex. From 2008-2011, she worked in Kigali as a primary school teacher, and with a non-profit association called Peace and Love Proclaimers, affiliated with the annual Walk to Remember, and Aegis Trust.

Miss [Name] intends to conduct interviews with teachers in the upper primary and lower secondary levels for her research from June 18 - July 14, 2014. According to her, the study is for strictly academic purposes, as part of the MA degree requirements. During her study, she will be working under the supervision of the Teacher Development and Management Department of the Rwanda Education Board. She will be working alongside Mrs. Ruth Mukakimenyi, who will guide her in accessing teachers for her study.

Sincerely,

**Dr. John RUTAYISIRE**  
 Director General.

cc:

- HoD, Teacher Development and Management

## Appendix H: MINEDUC Research Approval Letter

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, 26/06/2014.....  
N° 1594...../12.00/2014



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
P.O.BOX 622 KIGALI



**Re: Permission to carry out research in Rwanda - No: MINEDUC/S&T/243/2014**

The Permission is hereby granted to Ms. [REDACTED] a Masters student in International Education and Development at the University of Sussex, UK, to carry out research on: "Effects on Efficacy: What has Rwanda's Language Shift done to Impact Teacher's views of Self-Efficacy?". The research will be carried out in the selected Schools of Kigali City.

The researcher will interview the Head teachers as well as the Headmistress of those selected schools. She will also need to interview the selected teachers in the Upper Primary and lower Secondary levels.

The period of research is from 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2014 to 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2014.

Please allow the **above mentioned researcher**, any help and support she might require to conduct this research

Yours sincerely

**Dr. Marie Christine Gasingirwa**  
Director General,  
Science Technology and Research  
Ministry of Education