

**THE INTERFACE BETWEEN LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE USE  
IN A POST-CONFLICT CONTEXT: THE CASE OF RWANDA**

**By**

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## **Declaration**

I declare that *The Interface between Language Attitudes and Language Use in a Post-Conflict Context: The Case of Rwanda*, is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

..... 30<sup>th</sup> March, 2008.

**BOB JOHN OBWANG'I MBORI**

**DATE**

## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to:

My mother, Jerusha Kwamboka

And my father, James Mbori,

Who have both always wished the best of me;

And my daughters,

Rebin B. Buyaki-Obwangi and Raveena B. Kwamboka-Obwangi,

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## **Summary**

The study investigates the interface between the variables - language attitude and language use in a development context, and attempts to determine the contribution of language to Rwanda's post-conflict development, reconstruction and reconciliation. It examines the language attitudes and language use patterns of 53 students from Rwanda's public universities focusing on how students, who are all Rwandan citizens, view the role of Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili languages in twelve core areas of post-conflict development. Although post-conflict development is socio-economic, previous historical and political factors affecting Rwanda's violent past play a role as new forms of linguistic categorization - Anglophone and Francophone - emerge which may be used to camouflage previous ethnic categorizations that have had disastrous effects in Rwanda. Further, social categorizations laden with salient features of linguistic identity may influence the implementation of the post-conflict development programmes, and also affect the pace and pattern of reconciliation in Rwanda. Conclusions are based on eclectic sources: quantitative, qualitative, historical and participatory, with patterns of analysis established from secondary and historical data. The study is also grounded in the Communication Accommodation Theory that rests on issues of divergence and convergence during interaction where emerging language identities dovetail with language attitudes and language use, resulting in an interface that influences the implementation of Rwanda's post-conflict development programmes.

Additionally, it is argued that the African languages such as Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili, should be considered as vehicles for Rwanda's post-conflict development, although Kinyarwanda, the home language, has in the past really not served an intranational unifying function. On the other hand, Kiswahili, unlike Kinyarwanda, has no divisive myths and identities that would inhibit post-conflict development; it is an important language in the East and Central African region where post-conflict Rwanda will play a positive and active role, and would be a language to be positively developed.

## **Key Terms**

African development, Anglophone, English, Francophone, French, Language attitude, Language identity, Language use, Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, Post-conflict reconstruction, Reconciliation, Rwanda

# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction**

### **1.0 Preamble**

This study focuses on language attitudes and language use in post-conflict Rwanda. The two variables are likely to influence post-conflict development which also has many other interlocking variables. Indeed, the difference between developing and developed countries partly hinges on the disparate and sometimes interlinked variables. Development has been defined as '...having a highly organized economy and political system' (Oxford University Press, English Dictionary). The organization of an economy and a political system in a country identified in the dictionary definition depends on many other variables within the society. One important variable is the way people communicate to and with each other using language. Another important variable are the attitudes that the people who use the languages have towards the users of the languages and the languages themselves.

Communication between people hinges on the mode and code that people use so as to understand one another. The mode of communication is language. According to Wardhaugh (1993:103), a '...language that a person chooses to use on any occasion is a code, a system used for communication between two or more parties'. The code of communication is the particular language that is selected. For Rwanda, this would be any of the four main languages in use. Post-conflict development would operate within the context of linguistic codes in Rwanda. Communication will be critical in a post-conflict setting.

Although development operates within a linguistic code, issues of language in development are ignored by many international agencies (Limage 1994, Jones, 1988). Also, there is a dearth of research on language attitudes and language use in post-conflict contexts. For instance, basic indicators by the World Bank, the UNDP and other international agencies do not include language as a factor enhancing or acting as

a barrier to development (British Council, 2000). Nevertheless, language could act as a crucial supporting or inhibiting factor in a number of multilingual settings that obtain in the developing world and that specifically exist in Africa. It would be an important factor in a country undergoing post-conflict reconstruction such as Rwanda.

Many of the developing countries, especially those that are in Africa, are multilingual. Rwanda belongs to this group. In some of these developing countries, the ethnic groups are bound by language, and in some there is a close correspondence between the ethnic group and the speech community. In South Africa, for instance, the Zulu speak IsiZulu, the Xhosa speak IsiXhosa. In Kenya, the Gikuyu speak Kikuyu, the Kisii speak Ekegusii and the Luo people speak Dholuo language. Basing their argument on this ethnolinguistic plane, some linguists have even gone further and attempted to lay a claim on language and biology so as to establish a correlation between groupings of shared biological similarities and groupings which are based on language (Akmajian et al, 1998:314). Groupings of people become critical in post-conflict settings such as Rwanda.

Additionally, sharing a similar language binds people especially when language choice functions as a mark of group identification and solidarity (Chambers, 1995). Identification and solidarity are areas that are active in Rwanda's post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. Sometimes, language sets people apart and isolates them from other speech communities that may also happen to be different ethnic groups. Rwanda has had a raft of conflicts based on ethnic groupings, and the groupings will be relevant in the kind of development programmes formulated and implemented. A nation, in both demographic and political definitions, may sometimes find itself having people of diverse linguistic backgrounds. Such a nation can, in the process of development, be forced to consider the contribution or influence of linguistic diversity to its development. Many of the Rwandan language users have the same indigenous linguistic background but the country will have to consider the

emerging linguistic diversity and how the diversity impacts on post-conflict development.

The linguistic diversity that is found in many developing countries is rarely investigated from the perspective of post-conflict development but instead, it is, sometimes, viewed as a problem that needs to be solved, especially in Africa. It may be suggested that in circumstances where there is already one widely used language, no problem would exist that emanates from linguistic diversity. Ideally, developing countries populated by people of the same linguistic background would be expected to have great strides in development, ostensibly accruing from the nations having had one language as their unifying bond. The country studied in the present research, Rwanda, had for a long time had one 'unifying' indigenous language, Kinyarwanda. Nevertheless, the country ranks in the group of the last twenty poorest nations in the world. Rwanda also falls in the group of African countries that have gone through either tribal warfare or civil war. In this group are included countries such as Nigeria, Uganda, Mozambique and Burundi (Kambudzi, 2001). Rwanda's past linguistic homogeneity may not therefore have effectively served a unifying function.

Moreover, it has been suggested that in situations where there is linguistic diversity, an indigenous African language can act as the panacea to the communication problems. The solution is to select a local language that could be developed and used as the lingua franca. The case for Kiswahili in Tanzania and Kenya is illustrative in this regard (Yule, 1993: 186). An alternative approach has, however, been to use one of the widely used international languages, such as English, French or Spanish, as the official unifying language of a number of African countries. In this respect, English is the sole official language of Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia and Malawi (Sesnan, 1997). It is argued that selecting colonial languages for the African countries eliminates the vestiges of local prejudice and divisive negative cultural attachments that would impede development. Some of the divisive cultural attachments and tendencies that were associated with the promotion of African languages in the past may be illustrated by the view held by a number of African leaders, who thought that

encouraging and promoting the use of African languages was likely to, "...jeopardize the new states' efforts at nation building by dividing the African to no useful purpose at a time when they ought to be united" (Sow and Abdulaziz, 1999:530). Rwanda had only one main indigenous language and so it may not have faced this linguistic problem in the past.

Hence, in many African countries there is a proposal for one unifying language. The proposal for one language in some developing nations may have been due to the fact that some of the world's poorest countries are multilingual. There is an unfortunate occurrence that the world's majority poor are found in Third world regions where there is linguistic diversity (Blake 1993, Mackey 1993). Worth of note in this regard is the fact that of the more than 6700 languages of the world, more than 90% are spoken in the developing nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific (Grimes, 1996). Africa alone accounts for over 2,300 languages and 1,300 dialects (Heine, 1992) and the languages and dialects represent a wide spectrum of diversity.

The Third World regions also account for the majority of the World's poor. Further, some grim economic statistics concerning Africa outline this poverty. Adedeji (1993) argues that the continent contributes 1.2% to the World GNP and 1% to World trade. For instance, in the 1980s, many countries in sub-Saharan Africa had on average negative decline of 1.7%. It would thus seem to appear that there is some affinity between linguistic diversity and backwardness in a number of the world's regions. However, no study to my knowledge has established a correlation between the two concepts: linguistic diversity and backwardness.

Nevertheless, a link has been established between literacy and development. Literacy depends on language and will be relevant in a post-conflict setting. As De Walle (2000) has noted, education leads to increased production which could certainly contribute to national development. Watson (1998) also argues that bilingual and multilingual literacy models that are likely to feature in linguistically diverse settings will provide a relevant education that gives the recipients of such education access to

wider networks. To gain access to these networks, people should, however, move away from a conflict-laden past and groupings that would be a feature of that past. Perhaps, the literacy models based on linguistic diversity may thus present some positive points for linguistic diversity.

The present study is therefore relevant since Rwanda has gone through a history of conflict and war. The Rwandan President, Paul Kagame, pointed out this history in a speech commemorating the 1994 Rwandan Genocide when he said:

The Genocide is our history. It is a bad history, but it is history anyway. It is our history and we must be able to confront it; to confront its causes, our responsibilities and our consequences. We have nothing else, except to accept these consequences and confront them. (Translation from Kinyarwanda by Amani Athar, 2006)

The present study is based on post-conflict contexts. Conflict has been defined as:

A relationship between two or more interdependent parties in which at least one of the parties perceives the relationship to be negative or detects or pursues opposing interests and needs. (Ropers 1999, cited in GTZ 2001:1).

It may emerge that the kind of conflict identified in the statement would be fanned by opposing linguistic interests in addition to the previously existing Hutu-Tutsi socio-ethnic opposing interests. The linguistic interests will include the influence of language attitudes and language use in the country's post-conflict reconstruction which will spill into Rwanda's post-conflict development.

Relevant in the study is the fact that Rwanda is faced with the challenges of peace-building and reconstruction at present. For these challenges to be tackled effectively,

there is need to understand Rwanda's peace-building, reconstruction and reconciliation efforts from a multidisciplinary perspective. As a corollary, there is also an antecedent need to consider the significance of the various concepts that ideally contribute to the reconstruction process, and which would as a result contribute immensely to Rwanda's post-conflict development.

In the post-conflict setting in Rwanda, the opposing parties may either share a common interest in the kind of language selected in the country, and be affected by the way the language is used, or the parties may be active participants in the kind of language attitudes that is exhibited. As Rwanda moves out of conflict, therefore, long-term planning becomes necessary. The strategies for the long term planning will be influenced by language attitudes and language use partly because long-term planning entails the creation of programmes that use the languages found within the country, some of which are likely to cater for special interest groups. It is posited in the present study that the University context in Rwanda would mirror the special interest groups that show the different attitudes when the different languages are used.

### **1.1 The location of the study: physical, historical and socio-cultural perspectives**

The location of the study is Rwanda, which is a developing African country. Geographically, Rwanda lies 1,500 kilometres east of the Atlantic Ocean and 1,800 kilometres inland, west from the Indian Ocean. Rwanda is a small country with an area of 26,338 km<sup>2</sup>. The physical terrain is generally mountainous and the country is sometimes given the label '*A land of a thousand hills*'.

Much of the population lives in the medium altitude area (Prunier, 1999). With an annual temperature of 18°C and well-distributed rainfall throughout the year, the land is favourable for human occupation. The physical setting, according to Prunier (1999), acted as a fortress against natural disasters like tsetse flies and mosquitoes. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the setting also acted as a bulwark and thwarted the advances of hostile slave traders from the Swahili-speaking coast of Eastern Africa.

Rwanda was isolated even during the pre-colonial period (Melvern, 2000). First, this isolation had a positive effect; it gave rise to prosperity and a well-structured society (Prunier, 1999). In 1890, however, Ruanda (Rwanda) and Urundi (Burundi) came under the administration of German East Africa. On 4<sup>th</sup> May 1894, Count Gustav Adolf Von Gotzen of Germany was received by King Rwabugiri of Rwanda, this in part being the genesis of German influence in Rwanda.

One reason as to why Germany did not have a profound social and linguistic impact in Rwanda was that Germany instituted indirect rule. Tidy and Leeming (2001:136) point out that, ‘...in what is now Ruanda and Burundi, indirect rule was applied as there already existed in those areas an indigenous centralized system of government.’ Indirect rule was thus aimed at preserving existing structures. On the contrary, indirect rule succeeded in ‘...imposing and strengthening hierarchies that had little traditional legitimacy.’ (African Rights, 1995: 5).

Rwanda's isolation during the pre-colonial days is also important in another way. The background history of Rwanda was contained in folklore; much of what was handed down was oral. One myth in the folklore identifies the first Rwandan king (or Being), Kigwa as having had three sons namely: Gatwa, Gahutu and Gatutsi (Melvern, 2000). In the folkloric myth captured in the Kinyarwanda language, the Supreme Being's three sons, Gatwa (Twa), Gahutu (Hutu) and Gatutsi (Tutsi) each went different ways: Gatwa drank his milk and became a pariah; Gahutu slept and spilled his milk and was ‘ordained’ to be a servant; Gatutsi seemed to have been the most successful. He was made a leader, forever. He and his generation were meant not to do any menial jobs. The Kinyarwanda folklore thus gives a moral justification for the current social stratification in Rwanda (Akinyele, 2000). It is a myth that has engulfed the Rwandan socio-political fabric for generations.

From one perspective, therefore, the existence of the Kigwa myth would imply that the social classifications that were first noticed by the European explorers did not in

actual fact represent tribes. Indeed, Rwanda does not have specific areas that can be called Tutsiland or Hutuland. In many respects, controversies do abound on the origins of the divisions that have had disastrous effects on Rwanda's history. One such controversy was sustained by the blanket categorization that Rodney (1989:125) delves into when he says:

Rwanda was split into two major social groups. Though the great majority of the population were cultivators known as the Bahutu, political power was in the hands of the Batutsi pastoralists...The relative physiques of the three social segments in Rwanda offer an interesting commentary on the development of human beings as a species ...The differences can be explained largely in terms of social occupation and diet.

While Rodney's (1989) position may hold some merit, it is also true that the people of Rwanda had the same religion, same folklore and spoke the same language, Kinyarwanda. Melvern (2000:8) further notes that visitors to Rwanda '...were amazed at the intricate social order'. Some of the early European explorers wondered how Rwanda had managed to achieve such political and religious sophistication (Prunier, 1999).

When the First World War ended, the areas known as German East Africa's Ruanda (Rwanda) and Urundi (Burundi) were now administered by Belgium. Britain took the eastern province of Tanganyika. It was the Belgian policy that introduced French to the Rwandan territory. Additionally, in Ruanda, 'the trinity of chiefs' was, under Belgian rule, replaced with the rule of a single chief, thereby, in the process elevating the importance of the colonial Crown (Lemarchand, 1970).

In 1946, during the colonial period, King Mutara was persuaded to dedicate Rwanda to Christ the King. One result of this was that the influence of the church was now seen more in education. A number of the graduates, most of whom French-speaking,

and having been educated in mission schools and seminaries that were basically Francophone took up positions in administration. One such Francophone school was Groupe Scolaire located in Astrida, a place that is at present Rwanda's second biggest town, Butare (Melvern 2000:11).

Finally, it is worth noting that religion played an important role in other respects in Rwanda. The first Bishop of Rwanda, Leon Classe, contributed towards shaping the ideology of colonial rule in the country. Part of this colonial ideology emphasized classes that the Rwandan people themselves may not have had in the form in which they were emphasized. Chretien (1985) considers the lineage of an individual as being the main determining factor when deciding the individual's group in Rwanda. The feature of belonging to groups or clans and identifying one by lineage is found in many communities all over the world and is not peculiar to Rwanda. However, what perhaps is peculiar is the interface that results from ethnic belonging, linguistic belonging and ethno-linguistic categorization, all occurring in the same multilingual setting. Hence, the interface between language attitudes and language use is likely to play a role in Rwanda's post-conflict development, and this interface partly provides the variables that are studied.

## **1.2 Background to the study**

The problems of language diversity have not been the source of Rwanda's conflict-laden past. Taska (1970) identifies this and indicates that Rwanda is fortunate, in that, all people within its territory speak a single language. Rwanda has one speech community, the Banyarwanda, literally, the Rwandans. According to Ager (1990:5) people who speak the same language constitute a language community. This speech community in Rwanda mainly uses the indigenous Bantu language, Kinyarwanda.

The efforts towards the official recognition of other languages occurred during the period immediately preceding the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. At this time, there were a number of agreements, generally known as the Arusha Accords, that were signed

between the mainly Anglophone Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), who had in 1990 attacked Rwanda, and the Francophone government of Juvenali Habyiramana. The RPF mostly came from Anglophone Uganda. Many of the leaders in the Rwanda Patriotic Front were fluent in English while the leaders in the then Rwandan government were fluent in French. The difference in the linguistic backgrounds of the leaders would lead to the recognition of the actual role of language in Rwanda's politics.

Specifically, Article 25 of the Arusha Peace Agreement on repatriation of Rwandan refugees noted that returnees were to use those languages that they were familiar with, and were to take intensive French and Kinyarwanda courses (Republic of Rwanda, 1993). The languages that the returnees were '*familiar with*' which are not explicitly mentioned in the Accords are basically English and Kiswahili. There were many Rwandan refugees in Tanzania, where the Kiswahili language is the official, national and home language. Other Rwandan refugees came from Kenya where Kiswahili is the national language and English is the official language. The third category of refugees came from Uganda where English is the official language and Kiswahili is used in a few domains. Thus, the flow of returnees who came back to Rwanda in large numbers after the Rwanda Patriotic Front instituted a government of national unity in July 1994 largely spoke English and Kiswahili. This resulted in an expanded use of the two languages in Rwanda. The other groups of refugees came from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and principally spoke French and Kiswahili. The returnees therefore contributed to creating a complex linguistic mix in Rwanda.

At present there is an emerging complex multilingual situation in Rwanda. Before the 1994 Rwandan genocide, French was the sole official non-indigenous language. Kinyarwanda was both the national and official language. Kinyarwanda was used in all aspects of society. Elsewhere within the education system, there was a pervasive use of Kinyarwanda at almost all levels. Hence, the language situation before the

genocide was not as complicated as the language situation obtaining after the 1994 genocide.

Educational materials in many disciplines were in the Kinyarwanda language though the teaching materials in schools were also few. As of 2000, six years after the genocide, the books and the primary and secondary school curricula were '...largely devoid of scientific and technical subjects' (Republic of Rwanda 2001:7). It would therefore be argued that the Kinyarwanda language used in school did not capture the whole gamut of the requisite scientific and technical areas in the Rwandan education system.

The paucity of educational materials would be a carry-over from colonial Rwanda since the colonial power, Belgium, did not take the development of the indigenous language seriously. In this regard, Mazrui (1995:25) writes on the neglect of African languages and notes:

The British record in taking African languages seriously in the educational system was much more impressive than the record of virtually any other European power.

Therefore, it would be argued that the influence of the French and Belgian colonial powers on the indigenous language in Rwanda was not as good as the British influence on African languages elsewhere in colonial Africa. As further argued by Mazrui (1998), cited in Maluleke (2005:45),

English has also distorted educational priorities, diverted resources from indigenous cultures, and diluted the esteem in which indigenous African languages were held. The psychological damage to the colonized Africans was immense.

French, which was the official language in Rwanda was used at the secondary school level. However, this level of the education system has for a long time experienced a ‘low transition rate’ from the primary school level (Republic of Rwanda, 2000). A low transition rate implies that very few of those students who complete the primary school level enter the subsequent secondary school stage. Therefore, those who are likely to use French at secondary school and outside school form a small percentage of the Rwandan population of eight million people. Further, the few students who proceed to secondary school also have a very ‘low completion rate.’ (Republic of Rwanda, 2000). A low completion rate means that many students drop out of secondary school before completing the terminal class. Consequently, the official language(s) used in the school setting may then not diffuse fully into the general population. According to Mbori (1994), the acquisition of a second language is assisted much more by exposure to the language in settings that are not necessarily formal. However, in Rwanda, exposure to the second language such as French can be diluted by the many hours that pupils spend outside school where the first language Kinyarwanda is the dominant language of discourse. In the Rwandan context, therefore, the acquisition of French may not be supported by informal contexts, especially in a situation where many people are illiterate.

The spread of language from the school setting to the home environment is also related to literacy levels. Within the general Rwandan population, adult literacy in the year 2000 stood at 48.3% and had remained at almost the same levels since 1996. In 1968, more than three decades ago, adult literacy levels in Rwanda were 47%. Thus, it could be argued that French has not been given the context outside formal settings for practice; this is a fact noted by Taska (1970), and which is still relevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Rwanda.

One factor that would support the development of language is legislation which would ideally assist the development and use of language in education. Such legislation would clarify the interrelationship amongst the different languages used in post-conflict Rwanda as has been done for the languages in South Africa. In the

South African case in 1995, the government set up the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG). LANGTAG (1996) explicitly recognized in its final report the socio-historical and political factors that had elevated English and Afrikaans in South Africa. According to Maluleke (2005:49), ‘...South Africa’s indigenous languages are found on the powerless end of the linguistic scale.’ In a similar vein, there may be a need to explicitly legislate the present language policy in Rwanda.

Attempts to legislate on language have been made in Rwanda in the past. One attempt was the Bill of Education that was passed on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966. The Bill required that English be a subject in all branches of secondary school. However, as it has been pointed out by Taska (1970), whether it was taught or not, depended entirely on whether there was a competent teacher in a particular school. For many years, therefore, Rwandan students who finished secondary school would ideally be said to have been exposed to some form of English for five to six years. Unfortunately, whatever little exposure to the language was obtained in school was never translated into the social spheres outside the school setting.

Through the 1970s and 1980s, Kinyarwanda and French alternated as media of instruction (Republic of Rwanda, 1996). Further, between 1979 and 1994, the structure of primary education in Rwanda fluctuated greatly and influenced the choice and use of Kinyarwanda and French languages in schools. The 1994 genocide, a culmination of previous conflicts in Rwanda, occurred during a time when education in Rwanda was undergoing a transition. It would, thus, be said that the transition in education in Rwanda was never completed. Further, towards the end of 1994 after the genocide, the repatriation of people who had undergone different systems of education and curricula, now necessitated a general revision of the Rwandan system of education. More specifically, there was now a shift in focus on the medium of instruction that would be adopted in schools. Owing to this reorganization, the English language started playing a prominent role in post-genocide Rwanda’s social, political and educational settings.

One consequence of the reorganization in education was that programmes in both English and French were prepared for the primary and secondary school levels. For instance, a programme prepared for Rwandan secondary schools in 1998 has an English programme for Francophone students and another English programme for Anglophone students. Worthy of note is that both the Anglophone and Francophone programmes have the same ten objectives. Additionally, the guiding criteria to assist in identifying and selecting the individual students for each programme are not made explicit in the programme drawn. Moreover, the basics given for both Francophone and Anglophone groups are the same. Ideally, there would not have been need to have two programmes teaching the same language to the same set of students, but who seem to have been categorized, linguistically, as different sets of students.

Two years after the 1994 Rwandan genocide, a major Curriculum Workshop was held in Kigali. The main focus of the Workshop was to revise and harmonise the teaching programme from the primary school level. The programme reflected in a general way the thinking towards language and education in Rwanda. Resolutions of the 1996 Workshop formulated a profile for education. First, it was resolved that by the end of primary school, the pupil should have acquired basic knowledge, attitudes and skills enabling him or her '...to understand, speak, read and write Kinyarwanda, French, and English' (Republic of Rwanda, 1996:7). No mention is made in the resolutions concerning the Kiswahili language and its use in Rwanda. Second, Resolution 6 from the Workshop was to enable the pupil '...understand the historical realities of Rwandese people and work towards promoting tolerance, reconciliation, peace and attainment of national unity' (Republic of Rwanda, 1996:7). There was therefore some recognition in the resolutions of the Workshop that language use in education would operate cognizant of the post-conflict setting.

The 1996 post-conflict Curriculum Workshop also proposed that all subjects were to be taught in English or French language although no criterion was proposed to guide a teacher on the modalities of selecting either French or English. The final resolution of the Workshop noted strongly that '...Kinyarwanda as a subject will be taught

intensively' (Republic of Rwanda, 1996). No intensive teaching was suggested for French and English, yet these languages had already been proposed to be used as the media of instruction in school and had been given prominence in earlier resolutions. Thus, there is a disconnect in the resolutions, a fact that may be reflected when the same languages are used in the Rwandan post-conflict development context.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

For a long time, Rwanda was fairly linguistically homogeneous. The problems and conflicts afflicting the country emanated from social divisions based on ethnicity, but each of the groups within these divisions spoke the indigenous language - Kinyarwanda. So if Kinyarwanda was a unifying language, it perhaps unified the society vis-a-vis outside and foreign influences. The 1959 clashes and the 1994 genocide happened while Kinyarwanda was the principal language of administration and communication in Rwanda. French was also an official language but its use was hemmed in by the ubiquitous use of Kinyarwanda in all spheres.

As a consequence of the 1959 ethnic clashes many Rwandans, mainly from the Tutsi ethnic group, left the country (Semujanga, 2003). Other subsequent persecutions of sections of the Rwandan society resulted in progressive migrations of people from Rwanda to different regions and neighbouring countries. Many of the people who migrated still regarded themselves as Rwandans, and even the children that were later born outside Rwanda also regarded themselves as such. Some of these Rwandans in the diaspora continued to speak and use Kinyarwanda. But in addition, they also picked the languages of the countries where they resided. The main languages picked from the diaspora were English, Kiswahili, and French. Some of the Rwandan language users picked languages such as Luganda and Lunyankole which are still being used by a few speakers in Rwanda today. Within Rwanda, French continued to be used as the official language for administration and in education. English was used in a limited way at school; it was taught as a subject rather than being used as the medium of instruction. The *de facto* language of instruction in Rwandan schools was

French. Kiswahili was offered in a limited way as a subject and also used in a few social spheres. Within Rwanda, Kinyarwanda was the main language of communication in many aspects of society and was used as the home language. This was the linguistic picture in Rwanda during the period preceding the genocide in 1994.

After the 1994 genocide, a new government administration, the Government of National Unity, took over. One of the aims of the government was reconstruction and poverty alleviation in post-conflict Rwanda; the genocide was estimated to have taken the country back ten years. The other main aim was post-conflict reconciliation: to heal the wounds of the genocide and eliminate the divisions that previously had had disastrous effects on the Rwandan society (Republic of Rwanda, 1999).

There has been an increased use of French, English and Kiswahili in post-genocide Rwanda. Many of the Rwandans in the diaspora have returned. Some are fluent in English; some are fluent in Kiswahili. Some of the Rwandans who remained within the country were fairly fluent in French. Among those Rwandans who returned, there are those who are fluent in French. Kinyarwanda is still the main language of communication, and is used as the home language. In recognition of the growing international role of English as a global language and, to some extent, because some prominent people in the top leadership considered themselves ‘Anglophones’ and spoke little or no French, English became the other official language in Rwanda. The post-genocide Rwandan setting is thus punctuated by a complex linguistic mix underpinned by social and historical factors.

At present therefore, there is a linguistic blend in Rwanda. Kinyarwanda is the national language. It is used widely and it shares the official status with French and English. People who use French in Rwanda are said to be ‘Francophone’. There is also another group of Rwandans who use English and are said to be ‘Anglophone’. A third group of Rwandans speak both French and English fluently. Many of the language users in this group have had exposure to the two languages in Francophone

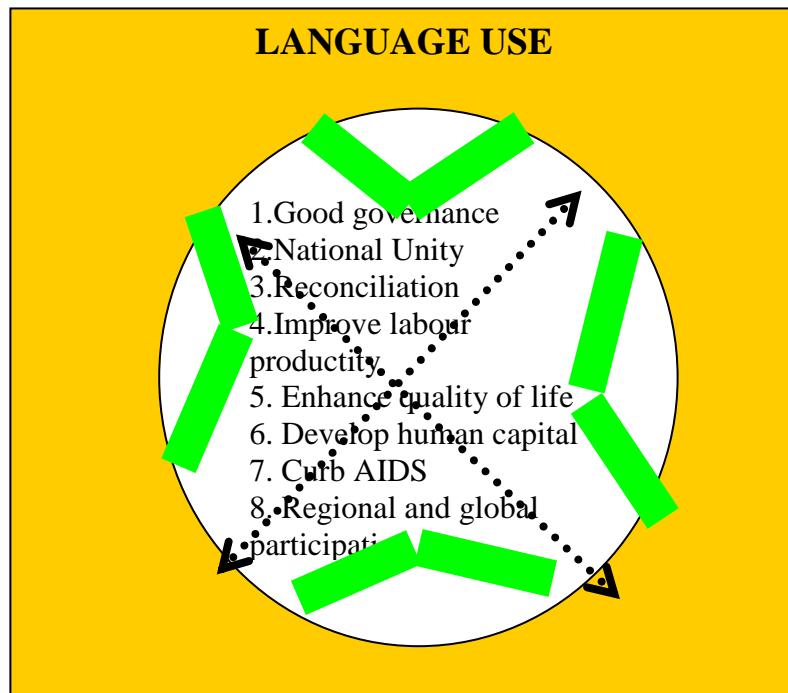
and Anglophone settings outside Rwanda (see appendix H). They may be said to belong to both linguistic groups: Francophone or Anglophone. There is a fourth group of Rwandans who speak Kiswahili, the fact that Kiswahili is not recognised as an official language notwithstanding. There is a fifth group of Rwandans who have no native-like fluency in any of the four languages. Nevertheless, the language users are grouped into either of the two groups: Francophone or Anglophone. Due to the historical interaction between the Rwandan people and the speakers of some of the African languages spoken in the East and Central African region, there also exists a group of Rwandans who speak languages such as Lingala, Kirundi, Runyankole and Luganda fluently.

This study recognises the linguistic groupings existing in Rwanda but notes that there is no clear-cut criterion that is used to decide whether one is ‘Francophone’ or ‘Anglophone’. Competence and fluency in the language is not the determining factor. Those who speak Kiswahili are not grouped into a distinct group though Kiswahili is significantly used in some social domains in Rwanda. This kind of linguistic grouping and categorization can easily be influenced by, and can influence, people's language attitudes in a post-conflict setting.

The categorization of linguistic groups may also have inherent dangers especially since the categorization is not based on objective parameters either of competence or ability in the language. This makes the language attitudes in Rwanda fluid and fuzzy. The inherent dangers of linguistic categorization also stem from the fact that Rwanda is in a state of post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. There is a danger therefore for one to be included or excluded from a specific program on the basis of language and not on the basis of one's ability. There is a further danger that one can include or exclude himself/herself depending on the attitude that s/he has of the linguistic context rather than on whether s/he thinks s/he qualifies or does not qualify to belong to a particular group. This inclusion or exclusion is important since development is participatory.

Figure 1 below presents an interactive frame for the variables of language attitudes, language use, and the core priority areas of post-conflict development in Rwanda. Many of these areas may be communicated using the four main linguistic codes found in the country.

**Figure 1: A model of language attitudes, use and some core priority areas of post-conflict development**



Note: Development priorities as adapted from UNDP (2001): *Rwanda: United Nations Development Assistance Framework Poverty Reduction and Peace Building, 2002-2006*.

**KEY:**

- Attitudes towards language
- ↔ Non-discrete interactive core priority areas of post-conflict development
- █ Language used to communicate core priority areas of post-conflict development

The main concern of the present study is to examine the interaction of the languages used in the post-conflict settings, and the attitudes of the speakers with regard to the different core areas of post-conflict development in Rwanda. This examination will also be geared towards the formulation of a clear-cut language planning policy that befits Rwanda's post-conflict development priorities.

#### **1.4 Research objectives**

The objectives of the study are:

- i. To investigate the language attitudes that are held and manifested by students in universities in post-conflict Rwanda.
- ii. To investigate the different spheres in which each of the languages are used by university students in post-conflict Rwanda.
- iii.
  - a. To investigate the perceived roles of each of the main languages used in Rwanda in the country's post-conflict development.
  - b. To find out the role that each of the four main languages used in Rwanda can play in the process of post-conflict reconciliation.

#### **1.5 Research questions**

The study is guided by the following research questions:

- i. What are the attitudes of students in universities towards each of the four languages used in post-conflict Rwanda?
- ii. In what contexts do university students in Rwanda use each of the four main languages?
- iii. What do the students perceive to be the roles of the four main languages used in Rwanda in the process of reconciliation and development in the post-genocide Rwanda?

## **1.6 Significance and justification of the study**

The present study focuses on language and post-conflict development in Rwanda. There are studies of a similar type to the current one that examine language attitudes and language use. However, most of these attitude studies do not itemize the relationship between development policy, attitudes to language and post-conflict development, policy and programmes.

Additionally, although development is influenced, *inter alia*, by resources and infrastructure, human interaction and communication plays a critical and negotiative role especially in a post-conflict setting. This area is, however, not frequently or systematically addressed despite its centrality within the realm of post-conflict development. The result of this is a paucity of research on language attitude and post-conflict development in Africa. This study, therefore, fills a gap in scholarship by linking the field of language, ethnolinguistic diversity and post-conflict development in Rwanda.

A further significance is grounded on the fact that to strive for some sophisticated and critical understanding of present-day post-conflict Rwandan culture, one needs to focus on the reflective and active linguistic milieu. The Rwandan linguistic milieu is an interaction of Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, French and English. The linguistic milieu projects an emerging post-conflict linguistic identity whose salient feature is distinctiveness. Hence, a sound post-conflict language policy would require addressing linguistic identity and distinctiveness in the post-conflict setting, and recognising factors that may contribute to, and act as a barrier to post-conflict development. Data from a study on language attitudes and post-conflict development is therefore central in the country's post-conflict planning and policy.

An additional significant dimension is the multi-dimensional linkage between poverty and conflict, (UNDP, 2001). However, it may not be possible to develop an

encompassing cause-effect link analysis between the two variables. Nevertheless, divisions or perceived divisions ignite and feed the fires of conflict, and for Rwanda, this has produced periodic bouts of extreme intercommunal and ethnic violence. These divisions have, in turn, exacerbated poverty. The divisions have basically been ethnic but they can also be linguistic in the post-conflict setting. A country like Rwanda that has been punctuated by conflict before may not require many embers from linguistic division and identity to fan another stratum for conflict.

Language attitudes and language use are investigated in the context of linguistic diversity which, in itself, has an underlying representation of identity. Linguistic diversity should, however, not be the source for post-conflict divisions. Situations in other African countries and several non-African regions, as well, have linguistically motivated division. Linguistic diversity should instead help post-conflict Rwanda harness the human potential and benefits that accrue from diversity. It is thus imperative to study the kind of linguistic diversity in Rwanda and any antecedent social mechanisms that may contribute to post-conflict development. The social mechanisms can then help in nurturing a comprehensive language planning strategy informed by Rwanda's peculiar socio-historical context, and that takes care of the country's emerging post-conflict sociolinguistic context.

Finally, the study findings will be useful to educators, educational administrators, training managers, social policy makers, government officials and other professionals. An understanding of how language reinforces social formations is necessary for a society engaged in reconstruction policy-making, as is the case in post-conflict Rwanda. Therefore, Rwanda's quadrilingual heritage should not be viewed as a problem. Rather, the heritage should be a panacea to the country's post-conflict development problems. The findings of the study will hopefully be relevant in education planning in post-conflict Rwanda.

## **1.7 Limitations of the study**

This study limits itself to language attitudes and language use as exhibited by students at university. It is expected that the language users in institutions of higher learning will exhibit better use of the four main languages: Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili.

Secondly, the study will only examine distinctions that relate to language use. Extraneous variables, such as social grouping of the individual, will not be explored. Further, it is expected that universities are centers of enlightenment which also produce leaders who, in turn determine policy. However, it will not be possible to investigate issues that relate to personality.

## **1.8 Contents of subsequent chapters**

This study sets out to investigate language attitudes and language use as they relate to development in Africa specifically by focusing on the linguistic diversity in post-conflict Rwanda. Chapter 2, which follows, discusses the conceptual foundation upon which the study rests. The chapter also discusses the notions of language attitudes and language use as they are analyzed in literature, and interrogates these notions against a background of language identity and development.

Chapter 3 discusses the research design, the methodology used, the research instruments constructed, and the patterns of data analysis that the study employed. The study adopts a triangulation perspective in collecting, coding and analyzing language attitude and language use data. The selected sample of university students in Rwanda is discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4 analyses, discusses and interprets empirical data on language attitudes, language use and the role of language in post-conflict development. Responses from

university students on language attitudes and language use in different domains are analysed, interpreted and discussed.

Chapter 5 gives a critical appraisal of the role of language in post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda. The chapter presents a socio-historical link in the connection between language in Rwanda and post-conflict reconciliation. Reconciliation is viewed as an underlying foundation to Rwanda's reconstruction and development since it works with language identity. It is argued that language will play a role in the way programmes are perceived, received and implemented in Rwanda.

Chapter 6 presents an overview of the study and the conclusions that result from the analysis of data. The chapter further gives recommendations of the study: first, in matters of language policy in Rwanda and, secondly, with regard to further research on language attitude and language use in post-conflict Rwanda.

## **1.9 Conclusion of the chapter**

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between language attitudes, language use and development in the post-conflict Rwandan context. The present chapter presents the research problem and goals. These aspects are outlined by identifying the language situation in Rwanda. The chapter discusses the background factors that account for the present language situation in post-conflict Rwanda, and states the different core areas of Rwanda's development. As Rwanda is a post-conflict area, the study posits that language attitude can play a part in reconciliation and reconstruction. The significance of this study lies in the fact that the contribution of language to post-conflict development needs to be harnessed in Rwanda's current post-conflict language policy.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Conceptual Framework and Literature Review**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The present chapter outlines the conceptual framework upon which the study is grounded. The chapter identifies a socio-psychological theoretical framework and discusses the Communication Accommodation theory in the study of language attitude and language use. The chapter also discusses aspects of the Modernization theory of development as it applies to the post-conflict development variable. Both theories are presented in section 2.1. The chapter also presents a description of relevant literature concerning the variables: language attitude, language use and post-conflict development in Rwanda. The literature is discussed in section 2.2 of the chapter. Both the conceptual framework and the literature review discussed in chapter two place the research in a sociolinguistic, historical, political and development context.

#### **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

The present study looks at language attitude and language use, socio-psychological variables which are exhibited socially as people interact and communicate everyday. For instance, an individual's move towards reconciliation in a post-conflict situation would start with a change of mind from a previous state, and one's predisposition towards reconciliation in the new state. In section 2.1.2 of the chapter, a version of the social psychological framework by Ryan et al. (1982) that informs two of the variables, language attitudes and language use is discussed. In section 2.1.1, the post-conflict development variable and the theory relating to the variable, the modernization theory, is discussed.

### **2.1.1 The Modernization theory and language in a post-conflict setting**

One variable in the study is post-conflict development. A number of theories define development. One of the theories is the modernization theory which sees development as involving social change. In this theory, large-scale changes usually entail changes in the consciousness within society. In fact, the apparently different propositions by Marx, Durkheim and Weber do share one underlying theme: they seek to identify the factors that enhance development in society. One strong factor identified in the research is language, specifically, the variables language attitude and language use in post-conflict development. According to Easterline (1981) the reason for the differences in the way development is perceived is due to the diffusion of knowledge, especially knowledge concerning new production technologies. He further argues that there is variance in the acquisition of traits and motivations associated with formal schooling where, for instance, the acquisition and learning of other languages will take place.

Attitudes in language are directed to language as the referent. Baker (1992: 8) notes this and argues that the study of attitudes has a strong background in social psychology. Attitudes can be defined as the affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or towards the speakers' of those varieties (Ryan et al. 1982). Along the same lines, Baker (1992: 9) further points out that,

A survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires. Attitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation.

It is in the implementation of policy that the theories that inform language attitude and post-conflict development interact.

The Rwandan context consists of six speech groups which share an assumed linguistic baseline. The social encounter and interaction between these groups may be mediated using a linguistic baseline. Further, social encounters between the speakers may be determined by interpersonal and intergroup factors. As an illustration, speakers who have some competence in English would have intergroup factors permeated with the attitude that the same speakers have towards English, French, and the other main languages they are competent in, and which are used in Rwanda. The intergroup factors will affect the attitude that the speakers will hold towards the language that other interactants are also competent in, and which are part of the Rwandan post-conflict social and development setting.

Therefore, the socio-psychological theoretical framework and the modernization framework selected work together when investigating post-conflict settings. Relevant too is the role of context and setting as they play a role in determining language attitudes and language use. Hence, a link between the two conceptual frameworks selected is appropriate since language attitude and language use operate in a sociopolitical and economic context. As pointed out by Smit (1994: 53), and Cargille et. al. (1994), language, prestige and expression of group identity apply in different contexts. In the present investigation, the context is the interplay between attitude, context and identity as they affect each of the six speech groups in post-conflict Rwanda who will, in turn, tend to display some element of cohesiveness either ascribed by other language users or by oneself. The cohesiveness will influence the implementation of post-conflict development programmes.

Additionally, the speech groups in post-conflict Rwanda can be conceptualized and be related to the identities adopted within a specific setting. The importance of language attitudes and setting is recognized in Baker (1992: 9) where it is noted that ‘...any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account

of the attitude of those likely to be affected.' In this research, universities in Rwanda are selected and the participants are the students at these universities. The speech groups within this situational setting will use language in an interactive process of social cognition. Further, language will act as a salient dimension in conceptualizing development messages in post-conflict Rwanda, and be an important instrument in the reception of post-conflict development messages. The reception of post-conflict messages can be two-pronged: make the recipients repel or draw the recipients' closer to the message. The theoretical framework, the modernization theory, and the communication theory discussed in section 2.1.2 capture each of these ways.

### **2.1.2 The Communication Accommodation theory**

The second framework adopted is socio-psychological; it illustrates how people move towards each other (accommodate or converge) or how people move away from each other (diverge). It is one of the positivist theories of communication in which are included theories such as the Face-Negotiation theory briefly described below.

The Face-Negotiation theory by Ting-Toomey (1988) tries to explain cultural differences in responding to conflict. Explaining the Face-Negotiation theory, Griffin (2000:408) points out that the metaphor 'face' represents a person's self-image. According to Ting-Toomey et al. (1998:190), facework symbolizes '...the verbal and verbal messages that help to maintain and restore face loss, and to uphold and honor face again.' While the Face-Negotiation theory considers how we communicate in conflict, it may not be the most appropriate framework as it tends to lay emphasis on self, goals and duty (Triandis, 1995:10), and these are aspects outside the scope of the present research. In addition, the Face-Negotiation theory concentrates on aspects of collectivism and individualism in communities as these create the We-identity versus the I-identity. The theory also considers cultural contexts drawing a distinction between high context cultures where meaning is found in words versus low context cultures where meaning is found in the nature of the situation. By and large, the Face-Negotiation theory, though somewhat relevant in the study, is however grounded on

one's self concept, and as Ting-Toomey (1988: 215) points outs, face is '...the projected image of one's self in a relational situation', a variable that is slightly outside the gist of the present investigation.

But one of the most appropriate theories in the study of language attitude and language use in post-conflict settings is the Communication Accommodation theory, formerly the Speech Accommodation theory. In greater part, it captures the different perspectives of the variables studied. Although it is basically a sociolinguistic theory, Giles and Coupland (1991) have shown in a review of literature that the theory has been applied to disparate areas such as speech, songs, broadcasting, judicial contexts and the interaction between man and computer.

The Communication Accommodation theory (CAT) considers the basic elements of communication. These tenets include source, message, transmitter, signal, received signal, receiver, and destination. The theory also recognizes communication comprehension; a principle within Conversational Analysis. However, Conversational Analysis per se may not handle the psychological dimensions of language use which is one of the dimensions investigated and captured well in the Communication Accommodation theory. Hence, the conversational analysis aspect of the theory will not be used in the study.

The Communication Accommodation theory is also appropriate because it is multidisciplinary. The present study is not only within the field of linguistics, but also touches on development studies and post-conflict settings. The study incorporates some psychological and cultural research and would thus be said to fall within the field of Applied Language studies. Indeed, CAT cuts across the breadth of the current study as it applies to interpersonal, intergroup and intercultural contexts. Along these lines, Giles and Clair (1979:17) have aptly argued:

Language is not a homogeneous, static system. It is multi-channeled, multi-variable and capable of vast modifications from context to context by the

speaker; slight differences are often detected by listeners and afforded social significance.

Some of the theories that discuss language and identity restrict themselves to clearly visible variables while the Communication Accommodation theory identifies the role of the subconscious. Language attitudes are a subconscious dimension, and as Baker (1992:10) observes: ‘...Consideration of how attitudes relate to their causes and effects may provide insights into human functioning’. The framework selected in the study relates the interactive aspects of communication and the negotiative nature of language which are both relevant to the core areas of Rwanda’s post-conflict development.

Along the lines of the theoretical framework adopted, Giles and Powesland (1975) further proposed a model of speech accommodation that tries to explain the speaker’s tendency to adapt. This model recognizes the social cognitive processes which relate an individual’s perception of the communicative situation and his communicative behaviour (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). This model was later changed to the Communication Accommodation theory (Coupland and Giles, 1988), and is generally founded on the following social-psychological processes:

- i. Similarity attraction
- ii. Social exchange
- iii. Causal attribution
- iv. Intergroup distinctiveness (Hamers and Blanc, 2000).

The framework above identifies the fact that a speaker will be attracted to a group that he feels has similar attitudes and beliefs. The individual will try to reduce the linguistic differences so as to increase the similarity between him and the group. This will increase the social attraction. The individual will also assess the rewards and costs that accrue to him through a socio-psychological mechanism of social exchange. According to Thakerar, Giles and Chesire (1982) some of these rewards include

gaining social approval, increased communicative efficacy and maintenance of a positive social, cultural and ethnic identity.

The speaker will try to reduce social distance and thus try to accommodate. On the other hand, distinctiveness will also influence speech accommodation. In line with these arguments, Tajfel (1974) argues that members of different groups interact and compare themselves on relevant dimensions. Relevant to the present study is the fact that there are many emerging ethnolinguistic dimensions in post-conflict Rwanda. As a result, the interactants in the Rwandan multilingual context will identify those dimensions that make them distinct. Tajfel (1974) further notes that members of a group will exaggerate or minimize the differences between categories. Along the same lines, Hamers and Blanc (2000) note that groups will be perceived as different if they differ in more of the distinctive features like race, religion, social status or language.

An observation critical to the present research is that the distinctiveness in language use may not have explicitly emerged in Rwanda in the past; the speakers shared the same indigenous language, Kinyarwanda. Moreover, there was no distinct Tutsiland or Hutuland. In the past, there was only perceived distinctiveness in terms of ethnicity, which in fact led to genocide. In the words of Tordoff (2002: 85),

Ethnicity became above all a vehicle of expression for a brutal political struggle, in which ethnicity was manipulated by a small clique who sought to avoid losing control of the state.

The genocide happened when the Rwandan community ostensibly had one unifying linguistic code, Kinyarwanda. What were exaggerated were the perceived physical differences although even though these physical differences were not so obviously marked (Melvern, 2000; Prunier, 1999). Nevertheless, the differences were subsequently communicated through language and it would be argued that the

differences can emerge through linguistic categorization in the post-conflict setting in Rwanda.

In concluding this section, it would be argued that there is some linguistic distinctiveness in the post-conflict Rwandan situation delineated into Francophone and Anglophone speakers, even though the competence of the users either in English for the Anglophone group, or French for the Francophone group may not be the determining factor. The linguistic distinction becomes relevant because post-conflict development programmes are to be circulated in these languages, and be implemented in the context of this linguistic distinction. Post-conflict reconciliation is also to be pursued within the context of the linguistic distinction. Therefore, Rwanda may be seen as a nexus of emerging cultures with attendant languages in a post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation development context.

The primary focus of the study is the interface between the cultures, languages and ideologies. The interfaces may affect the post-conflict social and linguistic identities. These identities are constituted by multiple sub-identities that are linguistic (Anglophone, Francophone, Kiswahili, and Kinyarwanda), ethnic (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) and nationalist (Banyarwanda). There also would be a possibility that a post-conflict development programme may be couched in a specific language towards which a particular target group has an attitude. Whether that post-conflict development programme is fully accepted or rejected may then depend on the language and not perhaps on its viability and/ or usefulness to the targeted Rwandan audience.

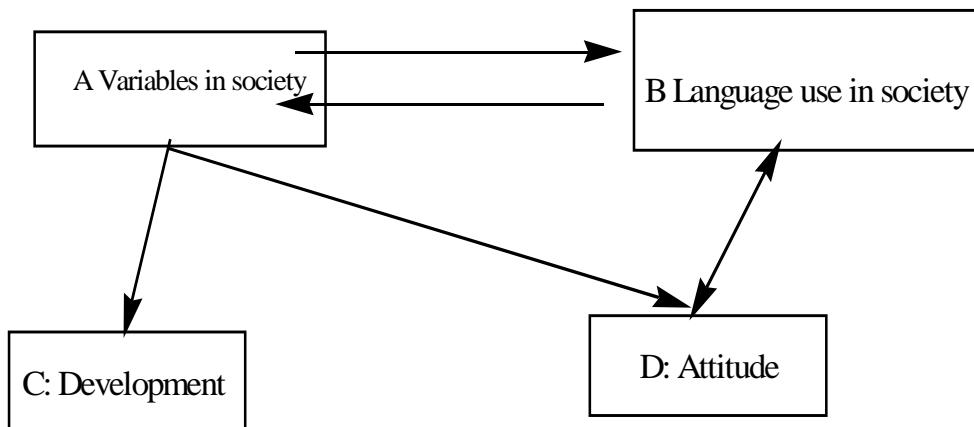
## 2.2 Language use, language attitudes and development

In this section of the study, literature on the variables, post-conflict development, language use and language attitudes from the perspective of the African society in general, and the Rwandan society in particular, is reviewed. Although a number of scholars have studied these sociolinguistic variables in Africa from different angles, the study makes reference to literature from outside Africa in those cases where the literature has a close similarity with, or a relevance to, the present variables in terms of theory, applicability or approach.

The present research is in applied language studies; it focuses on variables that affect the use of language in society and the application of the ideas and methods of linguistics to many practical issues of language in society. One such issue is how language attitude and language use influence development contexts in a society. Specifically, the present study operates within a multi-way interactive research area whose schema is constructed for the study and presented diagrammatically below:

**Figure 2:**

### A multi-way interactive research paradigm in applied language studies



Many variables in society affect and are affected by language attitude and language use and all the variables cannot be studied within the confines of a single study. The present study has thus only focused on three variables: development, language attitude and language use in post-conflict Rwanda.

The review in the present study adopts a multi-disciplinary approach. Discussion of development in Africa can be found in many disciplines: anthropology, economics, education, history, language and sociology. Research and discussion on language attitude can also be found in many areas such as: sociolinguistics, language education, second language acquisition, language policy and language planning. For the three variables of the study, various strands from apparently disparate areas emerge and inform scholarship. The present study hence cuts across a range of related disciplines, different areas of linguistics and different applications of language.

The literature review begins with an analysis of studies and issues that broach the variable of development from a socio-cultural perspective in Africa, and in Rwanda. Socio-cultural factors of development are multi-pronged. Moreover, the language codes which are used in society are tied in one way or another, positively or negatively, to a society's development (see Figure 2). The language codes are also critical in a post-conflict setting.

Further, many issues exist which concern the relationship between language, power and dominance in society and these do relate to post-conflict development. Language may be a tool for social and cultural domination. Language is power. In the definition of Weber (1968) cited in Edwards (2006:15), power is ‘...the ability to achieve desired ends despite resistance or more generally, the exercise of one’s will over others.’ Language in Rwanda may be used to exercise one group’s will over another group. Language use would further influence how post-conflict Rwanda develops. Hence, literature is reviewed that concerns the issue of domination and development in Africa generally, and in Rwanda particularly. Post-conflict development is outlined and modeled upon three dimensions namely: language identity, language use and

language attitudes. In addition, language attitudes are explored from a number of behavioral and mentalist standpoints. Using the variables, literature is organized on three levels: language and post-conflict development, language use and development and finally, language attitude and development in Africa.

### **2.3 Language and post-conflict development**

The present study seeks to conceptualize language as it relates to development in Africa, specifically post-conflict Rwanda. A good deal of literature on the nature of development basically concerns abstract statements (Long 1977). The basic argument supporting the concerns on development is that development is an elusive concept.

Paul (1987:5) argues,

...indeed, there is little or no common agreement ...on most other questions relating to the causes and nature of economic development in Africa and other parts of the Third World.

Although development is elusive to define, there is some agreement made on the distinction between twin issues: economic growth and economic development. Economic growth is identified by reference to some quantifiable index, like increase in per capita income or Gross National Product. An index for economic growth may therefore not directly include language. Economic development, which, according to Long (1977), implies some kind of structural and organizational transformation of society, is an area where language may play a role; this is the position adopted in the present research.

Arguments such as the one by Fardon and Furniss (2000:1) show that the role of language in development is not recognized when they point out,

... a language problem, to labour the obvious, has to be made to appear historically in relation to some deficit.

The statement is made when comparing Africa's acute problems such as food shortage, conflict and the environment. The problems come out clearly in any discussion on Africa. On the other hand, however, Africa's language problems, though they exist, are not as well marked as the other socio-economic problems. Arguments that downplay the role of language in development do not recognize that language in Africa could on a positive note be harnessed as a resource for African development. On the negative side, language would inhibit development either through locking out large groups of people from the development process, or by being the source of intranational conflict especially if language embodies strong ethnolinguistic identities.

The present research therefore notes that language may be an important input to Africa's development and seeks to establish the linguistic input in Rwanda's post-conflict development, not only from the axis of language attitude, but also from the axis of language use. The contribution of language use to development has been noted in a study by Mutasa (1999:86) who introduces an important dimension by arguing,

.... Development and nation building can only be achieved through access to information and grassroots participation and grassroots leadership.

Mutasa (1999:96) uses the South African language situation as the frame of reference and goes on to conclude that unity and progress are not necessarily achieved through the use of language. It is argued that people can only be empowered through their own languages. Mutasa's (1999) proposition is relevant because post-conflict Rwanda can, first and foremost, focus on reconciliation. But before and during reconciliation, the Rwandan people can be empowered through an appropriate use of language.

Rwanda has had a history of ethnic profiling; it is experiencing an emergent linguistic profiling during the post-conflict period. Both ethnic and linguistic profiling can

negatively affect Rwanda's post-conflict development. There is literature that illustrates such linguistic profiling in Rwanda's history. Writing about Kiswahili language users in Rwanda, Munyakazi (1984: 297) notes:

...they (Kiswahili users) would have assisted the development of Kiswahili had their lifestyle and their religion (Islam) not been desppicable in the eyes of most Rwandans.

It would be this profiling, captured in the above statement that may have contributed to a 50-year hiatus in which Kiswahili suffered in Rwanda. Kiswahili was removed from the Rwandan colonial education system in 1929. The language was re-introduced in 1979 after the signing of a Memorandum of Cooperation between Tanzania and Rwanda on 24<sup>th</sup> March.. This was in itself a political event supporting language use (Mpiranya, 1990). A general concluding observation that would therefore be made is that linguistic profiling based on language identity is a factor that would affect the Rwandan people's participation in post-conflict development, and the observation is applicable to the Rwandan post-conflict linguistic situation where it may affect people's participation in development discussed in section 2.3.1 below.

### **2.3.1 Language, participation and development**

There are scholars who adopt a participatory approach to development, an approach that for Rwanda would include language since language, as argued by Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) also has a participatory function. Focusing on publishing and language, Ogechi and Bosire-Ogechi (2002) also argue that publishing in African languages, and Kiswahili in particular, will boost national development since educational development supported by a strong publishing base is related to national development. This can make people participate in development. Along the same line, Chakava (1988) identifies social development as one of the aspects of national development. Development from the line of social development can be considered from the perspectives outlined by Ogechi and Bosire-Ogechi (2002:167) who say:

(Development is)...a participatory process of change in society... and includes increased equal opportunities, freedom, effective participation in democratic discourse and other valued qualities.

In the research, it is believed that the kind of language used, and how the language is used, may influence the level and effectiveness of people's participation in post-conflict development, and affect the kind of equal opportunities and freedom offered in the Rwandan post-conflict setting.

The present study partly adopts a participatory approach in analyzing post-conflict development; it goes further to relate post-conflict development to language attitude and language use. Participation in development presupposes equal opportunities and freedom for all within the context of a country's development. The two language variables, language attitude and language use may punctuate how post-conflict participatory development is carried out. In the words of Burden and Williams (1997:116),

...the whole field of language is intricately involved with communicating with other people, with social relations between individuals and groups of people and with social norms of behaviour.

The interactionist view of language stated above directly works well with participation in post-conflict development programmes.

In addition, some of the social welfare goals of development in a society include the reduction of poverty and unemployment, and diminution of inequality (Brookfield, 1975). However, the social welfare goals in society do not occur in a vacuum; they operate within a specific setting and a reality within which a linguistic code or codes are used. The language codes mediate in the formulation of policies and create

linguistic groups that have intra-group and inter-group identities which also affect people's participation in development.

The import of the intragroup and intergroup identities would emerge in the process of mediation of development policies in the post-genocide context in Rwanda. Language can conceal, reveal, support or inhibit. When language inhibits, it may lead to a situation where development is actually resisted. With regard to resistance to development, it has been argued in Long (1977) that some elements of the traditionalism of the rural areas are impediments to national economic development, and are a source of conservative attitudes towards modernity and economic growth. Relevant to the present investigation is the fact that conservative attitudes in society can work with the language attitudes existing in society by aiding or stifling post-conflict development. This study holds that language can foster or impede development in a multilingual country such as post-conflict Rwanda and this may depend on the language(s) used and the attitudes of the speakers to the main languages.

Further, a twin notion permeates almost any mention of Africa: development and underdevelopment. This has motivated institutions, discussions and reports all which try to analyse development. For instance, in 1981, a World Bank Report was prepared arising from the dim economic prospects for the nations of Sub-Saharan Africa. Long after the World Bank Report and other subsequent reports, Africa still shows dim economic prospects. The dim prospects have led to the formulation of a new concept, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which proposes a new way for African countries to relate with each other, and to participate in development. NEPAD and the African Union are said to represent new aspirations in the way development is viewed in Africa (Republic of South Africa, 2007; Ojienda, 2006). These new aspirations for Africa's development should, as espoused in the present study, also consider the role of language in post-conflict development.

NEPAD and the African Union recognized a number of important languages in Africa's communication and development. Indeed, Joachim Chessano, the president of Mozambique, used Kiswahili in the June 2004 African Union meeting held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (BBC, 2004). Such political support for language in development as that shown by President Chessano is important. For example, it needs to be noted that Kiswahili got a strong push to develop in Tanzania when President Julius Nyerere's first speech in 1962 in the Tanzanian parliament was in Kiswahili. At that time in Tanzania, everybody else expected Nyerere to use English which held a high status unlike Kiswahili and the other African languages. Kiswahili is now Tanzania's national and official language (Legere, 1990). It is also the only indigenous language used for interaction at the African Union.

In concluding the issue of language, participation and development, the research attempts to fill a gap in the way post-conflict development is studied. The study does this in five ways: one, by investigating the relationship between language and post-conflict development; two, by looking at language attitude and use for the four main language codes: English, French, Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda which mediate development policies and programmes in Rwanda; three, through adopting a case study approach on language and development in Africa; four, in selecting a complex multilingual society such as Rwanda, and finally through focusing on the tertiary level which is a section of the population that uses the four language codes in diverse socio-economic, political and cultural contexts. The relevant socio-cultural factors are discussed in section 2.3.2 below.

### **2.3.2 Language, socio-cultural factors and post-conflict development**

A country's development is related to culture, '... defined as a people's system of beliefs and theories about the operation of the world cosmology – passed down through generations through a symbolic tradition...Language is the principal means of representing information... a function of the cosmologies in which it is embedded and serves to propagate' (Frawley 1992:45). It would be difficult to isolate the

cosmologies in a society as being separate from language and post-conflict development since, in fact, development is culturally represented. In support of this, Mbaru (2003: 481) agrees but in addition, argues that unless the concept of African Renaissance focuses on economic, political and cultural reforms, ‘... it runs the risk of passing for a mirage.’ Culture, which is what is emphasized in the argument by Mbaru (2003:481) includes language; the culture with all its antecedent parts requires a ‘...cultural transition necessary for African countries to realize the much-talked about African Renaissance.’

The present investigation posits that effective propagation of post-conflict development policies in Rwanda has a close link to how cultural meaning is negotiated between the different groups in Rwanda’s social-cultural setting. Granted, many of the policies are aimed at promoting social welfare. However, cultural information is represented in frames, and a number of scholars acknowledge that the dominant group will promote,

... patterns of language use as a model required for social advancement...Minority groups are often faced with difficult decisions regarding whether to gain social mobility by adopting the language patterns of a dominant group or to maintain their group identity (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982:1).

However, culture is usually not recognized as a major positive ingredient to a society’s development by many analysts of development (Kabore Gaston 2001). In some respects, African culture has been cited as a major stumbling block to development, an assertion which scholars like Atieno-Odhiambo (2003) do not subscribe to. Some arguments further suggest that there may be a few aspects of culture that influence how a nation develops. However, development scholars such as Chabal and Daloz (1999), and Mbaru (2003) do not agree whether the influence of African culture on development is positive or negative. In the present study, the view that language and culture are important tools for development is recognized, and this

view is somewhat different from the presentations by Chabal and Daloz (1999:130) who submit that what exists in Africa at present is a ‘...putative incompatibility of African culture(s) with modern economic development’. Other scholars such as Atieno-Odhiambo (2003) and Ogot (1999) take a supportive position as the one taken in the present study and note that development is a historical process. Development will operate in an active cultural context. In selecting post-conflict Rwanda, the study considers the historical factors that have influenced development in the country and focuses on one aspect for the empowerment of the Rwandan people. It is argued that post-conflict empowerment in development is through language.

Further, post-conflict development is itemized as one aspect of culture. Also investigated is the role that another aspect of culture – language - may have on the development variable. The research approaches the relationship between culture and post-conflict development from the point of view of language attitude and language use.

The literature reviewed in this section notes that language is a basis for post-conflict development. The integral role that language and culture may play in post-conflict development in Rwanda is acknowledged. The study focuses on language attitude and language use in Rwanda, a country that uses the metropolitan languages: French and English. A metropolitan language such as French is also used extensively in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. However, such regions have two identities: Arabicophone and Francophone. In contrast, the salient identities in Rwanda revolve around Anglophone and Francophone, in addition to African-based linguistic identities, that is, Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda.

Focusing on language attitude and language use identifies the two variables as being active in situations of competing identities. The identities are important: they punctuate the emerging cultural trends that are based on language, and may reflect the interplay between language, culture and post-conflict development in Rwanda. Rwanda, like Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, also uses French, but in

these other countries, institutionalized French competes with Arabic thereby creating specific cultural trends. In recognition of the institutionalization of French in Africa, Mamadou Dia, a former president of the council of ministers in Senegal, in 2002 outlined the problems of the use of the tag ‘Francophone’ and observed:

One of the most important paradoxes of our African leaders is to claim to promote national languages in order to achieve cultural unity in Africa as the foundation of any political unity, yet adhere to this (francophone) institution of cultural domination which is worse than any form of domination... If the Franco-African cooperation is well understood, it should invest its efforts in pursuit of the fight against poverty which keeps Africa in the state of underdevelopment and dependency.’ (Mamadou Dia, *Le Soleil*, Saturday, November, 30th, 2002. *Translation*)

It has been observed that the institutionalization of language creates specific socio-geopolitical mappings which would also affect post-conflict development. This is discussed in section 2.3.3 below.

### **2.3.3 Language, socio-geopolitical mapping and post-conflict development**

Africa’s history and culture has developed through many lenses, resulting in the current multi-cultural geo-political mapping. Rwanda presents clear evidence of this mapping and falls within the framework of the four language types in Africa which are a product of the cultural intercourse between indigenous, Islamic and Western legacies. The four language types created by these legacies are identified by Mazrui and Mazrui (1993) as being Afro-ethnic, Afro-Islamic, Afro-Western and Western; the result is a triple heritage in Africa based on culture, religion and political economy. It is proposed in the current research that post-conflict development is never explicit unless treated as part of culture, and as a part of the political economy. Mazrui and Mazrui (1993) also argue that economic, political and cultural forces have

created emergent linguistic competition in various social domains which have, in turn, resulted in new sociolinguistic dynamics and formations in Africa. It is, therefore, important to note that Rwanda's post-conflict development will be related to its socio-geopolitical mapping as the country emerges from an identity-filled and conflict-laden past to a new post-conflict context.

Previously, Africa had an entrenched geopolitical mapping. The geo-political compartments in Africa had a linguistic base which depended on the linguistic keys 'Francophone' (for French), 'Anglophone' (for English), 'Lusophone' (for Portuguese) and Arabicophone (for Arabic). Two countries serve to illustrate the linguistic compartmentalization. In its initial formulation, two of the countries in the steering committee of the New Africa Union and in NEPAD, Algeria and South Africa, belonged to two linguistic groups: Algeria is regarded as 'Francophone' while South Africa is generally regarded 'Anglophone'. The current research investigates issues of language attitudes and language use in a specific African context, and recognizes features, such as language, that should ideally bring Africa together. The unity envisaged can be both inter-national and intra-national.

Moreover, development in Africa and specifically in Rwanda may depend on, among other factors, the historical reality in a country. Rwanda is a country in transition and under post-conflict reconstruction. It is rebuilding the physical and human infrastructure that was destroyed by war and genocide. Language is seen as playing an active role in post-conflict reconstruction and development. Rwanda's geopolitical mapping may be different from any other country's mapping, but the contribution of language to reconstruction and post-conflict development would have basic similarities. For example, the linguistic diversity in South Africa is different from the linguistic diversity in Rwanda. However, what Maake (1994:1) describes as being true for South Africa with regard to language may also apply to the Rwandan context when he argues:

For South Africa/Azania to develop its economic potential to the maximum, no major language can be excluded from the schools, factories, industries, judicial and legislative institutions, and other aspects of the new socio-political infrastructure.

Post-apartheid South Africa opted for a multilingual system with nine indigenous African languages and two European languages namely, English and Afrikaans. What is important in Maake's (1994) observation is its application to the Rwandan setting.

The Rwandan linguistic identity and diversity is mainly based on French, English, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili languages. On the other hand, the South African linguistic identity and diversity is based on a linguistic scenario where more than eleven languages compete. The present study specifically considers the Rwandan linguistic diversity, which is likely to excite different identities and attitudes; these need to be factored directly or indirectly in the language planning process in post-conflict Rwanda.

The language planning process may be viewed as a ‘...government authorized long term, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language’s function in a society’ (Weinstein, 1980:56). South Africa, for example, has selected eleven official languages in its language planning process. As noted by Fasold (1984) the process of language planning in a specific country may take different forms and may lead to a variety of results. Language planning in countries like Cameroon where there are numerous autochthonous languages, and two main exogenous languages will produce different results from the language planning process in countries like Rwanda that have fewer autochthonous languages and two main exogenous languages, French and English, which are also used in Cameroon. Mutasa (2003:10) illustrates the different forms of language planning giving an observation by Bokamba, a sociolinguist who equated the language planning in South Africa to a World experiment. In Rwanda, the language planning process is in its formative stages. Hence, recommendations from

the present study can act as a supportive plank in the language planning process and in the post-conflict development process.

Worth of note is the fact that in the formative language planning process in Rwanda, one of the languages, Kiswahili, has been excluded from a number of social, political and economic spheres (Sigalo, 2003). The exclusion of language interacts with language identity and language attitude and may support or act against the excluded language like Kiswahili. Two case studies of attitude towards Kiswahili have been presented, one in Rwanda, the other in Uganda. In Rwanda, the missionaries attempted to present a standard variety of Kiswahili that had similarities with the East African standard Kiswahili (Chimerah, 2000:76). These language efforts were rejected (Whiteley, 1969; Munyakazi, 1984). But according to Chimerah (2000) the attitudes of people towards Kiswahili in Central Africa were positively influenced as a result of missionaries who put up missions. Chimerah (2000) does not however go further to show the contribution of Kiswahili in Central Africa to the development policies of early post-colonial Rwanda.

Arguments also exist that suggest that language may be excluded from some spheres of use in a nation even though the language has a number of speakers within the country's borders. Chimerah (2000) presents a case where Kiswahili was supplanted in the Democratic Republic of Congo by a colonial language, French, even if Kiswahili had many more speakers in the country.

This study largely selects languages that are also used in many other countries in Africa, but the perception by the speakers, their attitudes towards the languages, and the domains of language use in specific contexts are likely to be different from the Rwandan context. Further, different language choices may be made. Language choice in development is discussed in section 2.2.6 below.

### **2.3.4 Language choice in development**

The choice of language is directly related to the forces of domination existing within a country. Africa is replete with examples where the dominating forces exert their influence on language. There are many arguments that show the dominance of European nations in African development (Nkrumah, 1956). Part of this dominance was achieved through the range of choices open for Africa, some of which included language. The range of choices in Africa, too, operates through capitalism, and for many years, capitalism was associated with the Western world where, according to Roxborough (1986), it originated. By extension, the economic system of the Western world especially the European nations dominated the African economies (Rodney, 1989). The domination of Africa is summed up by Achebe et al (1990:1) when they posit that:

Africa today suffers in particular because of the following three shortcomings: the image of Africa is one-sided; Africa's own voice is ignored; Africa's domestic capacity is neglected.

Another form of domination in Africa is through imperialism. Morgenthau and Thompson (2004:71) effectively sum up the three types of imperialism when they argue:

In truth, military imperialism seeks military conquest; economic imperialism, economic exploitation of other peoples; cultural imperialism, the displacement of one culture by another- but always as a means to the same imperialistic end...the reversal of the power relations between the imperialist nation and its prospective victim.

Imperialism is also to be defined in the context of the relationship that '...may assume many forms and the mechanisms of imperialism may be multiple'

(Roxborough 1986: 57). In tandem with this thinking, the domination within the African socio-economic context by the Western world was done using a number of ways and one of the ways included the primary way of forming the African states themselves. In a study of development in Uganda, Akankwasa, (1997:29) has for example argued that:

Because the state was not indigenous to the social formation and had in fact been an expression of colonialism and imperial interests, a significant dimension of its coercive function was the elimination of indigenous cultures or the modification of traditional cultures to serve its legitimization needs.

The '*legitimation needs*' that Akankwasa (1997) points out include language, especially since language and culture are two intertwined notions. This is confirmed by Williams (1977:21) who points out that, '...A definition of language is always implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world.' Similarly, Burden and Williams (1997:115) argue that '...language, after all, belongs to a person's whole social being; it is part of one's identity, and is used to convey this identity to other people'. It would be argued further that the languages used may convey subtle identities that influence post-conflict development in Rwanda.

The European colonial powers exported and encouraged the use of non-African languages in many African countries and contributed greatly to the elimination of indigenous cultures. In the words of Aime Cesaire in Ngugi (1987:67):

We cannot not pose the problem of native culture without at the same time posing the problem of colonialism, for all native cultures today are developing under the peculiar influence of the colonial, semi-colonial and para-colonial situations.

Language choice and language use in Africa, and specifically in Rwanda, is thus a product of colonial, semi-colonial and para-colonial situations affecting the country. Any study of language attitudes and language use therefore needs to recognize and account for the colonial situations affecting language choice especially as the situations influence post-conflict development.

The thrust of the literature identified is slightly different from the thrust in the present research. The thrust of Akanswasa's study is in education and African development and not language. The thrust of Aime Cesaire's proposition is domination of native cultures. The thrust of the present study is language and the position of language in post-conflict development. Indeed, the position of language will reflect the kind of empowerment in a country, which will determine development since development is participatory in nature. But at some point, the propositions on domination in Africa by scholars such as Akankwasa (1997) and Ngugi (1987) dovetail with the present study especially with regard to education, domination and language use in African societies.

Further, domination in many parts of Africa was made easier as a result of the package that came from the Western world. Non-indigenous languages (and ostensibly non-indigenous cultures) were part and parcel of the development package that Africa received. African cultures and languages were dismissed. Cultural domination in Africa was propped up by the belief that the Western world civilized Africa, a view sometimes held by the whites and sometimes held even by the elite Africans themselves. For instance, in 1931, a representative of the East African Women's League, Lady Eleanor Cole graphically presented the supposedly supreme position of White people and their Western civilization and domination over African cultures (cited in Kembo-Sure, 2003).

Similarly, in 1928, the British colonial secretary to Kenya also argued that with the spread of civilization from the West, '... (the African) native will desire more and more to associate himself with the language and literature of the race whose

civilization he adopts' (cited in Kembo-Sure, 2003:259). Kembo-Sure argues that, '...the language of the powerful will be the language of power and privilege as well'. In the current research, development and power are taken as close-knit concepts especially in a post-conflict context. The relationship between language, domination and development in Africa is identified and analysed.

While western civilization dominated language choice and development in Africa, the actual civilization package that Africa received may have been one of servitude, deprivation, poverty, and death. Negative effects of civilization are illustrated well in the poem by Angola's former president, Agostinho Neto (1989), Western Civilization, (see Appendix).

On the positive side, however, there was the struggle against domination in Africa, carried through a number of dimensions. One dimension was through the choice of language. African leaders like Nyerere, the first Tanzanian president pushed for the development of Kiswahili as a national language in Tanzania, and also as a lingua franca for Africa. At present, Kiswahili has been selected as one of the official languages of the African Union. Such support for African languages can ostensibly support African development. The role of an African language such as Kinyarwanda can also feature in the Rwandan post-conflict development.

In considering the choice of colonial languages in development in Africa as done in the present study, a question arises, whether the use of colonial languages can be subsumed under neocolonialism, or what Nkrumah (1956: 23) calls '...the sum total (of modern attempts) to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about freedom'. The modern attempts of colonialism would include religious, educational and cultural infiltration. The present research posits that the attitudes that emerge as a result of language choice will depend on whether the cultural infiltration in post-conflict development is positively or negatively viewed. Language choice, will in turn, impact in some way, on a specific post-conflict development programme

especially as a result of the perceived association between a development programme and a particular language.

Neocolonialism in Africa is fostered through aid. The aid itself may not necessarily include a component of language, but as Nkrumah (1956:17) argues, Western aid ‘...can dictate relations with the developed world and ...be extremely dangerous to the recipients’. The core priority areas of post-conflict development in Rwanda which are selected in the present study are, like much of the Rwandan economy, supported mainly by aid from the Western world. Part of this aid comes in the form of technology transfer. However, it has been pointed out by Roxborough (1986: 24) that ‘...It is not clear what effects this technology transfer has on the social structure of the country in question’. Some of the effects of technology transfer include language choice. In a number of cases, the technology transfer demands some requisite linguistic skills, that is, proficiency or necessary knowledge of the colonial languages from where the advanced technology was borrowed. For example, the reasons cited against the choice of Kiswahili and many other African languages such as Kinyarwanda, focus on the fact that the African languages are not suitable in a technologically advanced world. Such reasons, however, fail to recognize that Japan, South Korea, China and other Asian nations, developed technologically while using Asian indigenous languages. An illustration given by Chimerah (2000) indicates that Malaysia’s economy coincidentally took off when English was dropped as the official language, replaced by the indigenous language, Malay - in spite of the fact that Malaysia has as many ethnic languages as any country in Africa.

In concluding this section, it is recognized that language identity and domination influence the interaction among the Rwandan language users. Initially, the interaction may be motivated by intranational/ international and regional axes of linguistic domination as reflected by the language choices made, and as illustrated by the kind of language use in the different domains of the post-conflict Rwandan society. Literature on language use and development is discussed in section 2.3 below.

## **2.4 Language use and development within a linguistic blend**

This section will discuss literature concerning one of the other variables investigated in the present study, language use, which is broadly considered to include language choice and the different domains where the main language codes are used. Any study of language use in Africa needs first to be cognizant of the multilingual nature of African societies. Fardon and Furniss (2000) call multilingualism ‘...the lingua franca of Africa’. The use of many languages in Africa is often seen as a problem (Fardon and Furniss 2000:1). Thus, when analyzing language use, there is a noticeable apparent ‘oversupply’ of languages which according to Fardon and Furniss (2000:1) ‘...none do what they ought’. These languages have speakers ranging from many millions such as Hausa and Wolof to just a few hundreds or tens such as the El Molo and Ogiek languages (Batibo, 2005).

A typical speaker will have a wide-range of choices to use - the register and the varieties of language in his immediate environment (Fardon and Furniss, 2000). However, the same speaker will be limited over a wide-range or in more distant interactions. European languages introduced to the speaker through the European system of education were meant to fill the limitation that a language user had over wide distances in African multilingual settings although this has not been the case in reality because a number of the African language users do not even speak these European languages.

One angle in the relationship between language use and development is the influence that emanates from the colonial legacy bequeathed to countries in Africa. When African countries fought for liberation from colonial rule, central to the liberation struggles was a quest for political progress, a phase that has been identified by Agazzi (1988) as the liberation phase. Success after the liberation phase had a linguistic baggage for Africa. Countries such as Rwanda now had a linguistic diversity that included the colonial languages such as French and English. Also, there was

recognition in Africa that the liberation phase needed to be followed by the development phase, that is, a phase for social progress. However, as pointed out by Heine (1992), the colonial languages became inimical to Africa's development. Many proposals were made to develop indigenous languages as languages of empowerment, education and development in Africa.

Additionally, during the liberation phase, many African countries used languages such French and English as vehicles for nationalism. Kenya and Tanzania used Kiswahili. It is argued by Mazrui (1990) that Africa sometimes considered English as a vehicle for nationalistic aspirations and not simply the sole property of colonists. Rwanda used the French language. For instance, when Ghana's First Republic debated the question of a national language, it was pointed out in the Ghanaian parliament that:

The English language now serves to bind together all the tribes and cultures, which constitute Ghana as a nation and to impose a Ghanaian language in place of it, might provoke resentment of other languages as happened in India and Ceylon (Bodomo, 1997:475).

The language picture in Ghana was different from the picture in Rwanda where an indigenous language was the dominant language. In the example quoted from Bodomo (1997), the choice of language in India was being used as a reference point in support for Ghana's choice of language. Later in India, Hindi replaced English as the official language, and yet India is emerging as a strong economy in the world. However, long before Ghana's parliament used India as an example to justify the selection, choice and use of English, a prominent Indian nationalist, Gandhi had himself given an almost contrasting point of view regarding the use of English. In 1938, Gandhi (cited in Tambiah, 1967) indicated that the youth could only communicate effectively with the masses in a language that the masses understand.

Gandhi seemed to imply that learning English is a waste of time although he actually (and ironically so) used English in his fight for India's independence.

Further, it is pointed out by Heine (1992) that in Africa, the choice and use of language after independence did not bring the anticipated benefits since only a minority spoke the colonial languages. It is also possible that the use of colonial languages in Rwanda negatively affected the use of the native Kinyarwanda at the primary school level. During the liberation and post-independence phase, Rwanda also used a colonial language, French. A deliberate push for the use of English however came long after the post-independence phases, that is, during the post-conflict period.

Another pertinent point is the connection that may be established between the liberation phase and the post-independence development phase in Africa which was done through the use of language. The link between the two phases is illustrated by Dowuona (1969) in Bodomo (1997:475) who highlight the case of language use and choice in Ghana during the liberation phase. It is noted:

There was a new emphasis on English. Although the study of Ghanaian languages as a subject was retained, this new emphasis led to a gradual neglect of Ghanaian languages. The allocation of periods for these languages was progressively reduced in the upper rungs of the school ladder.

With several pre-independence organized political systems, Ghana was forced, by its unique circumstances, to select English. There was a similar case in Uganda too, where English is still viewed as the sole unifying language. According to Chimerah (2000:111), '...Uganda's history of total rejection of Kiswahili is long, persistent and consistent'. But unlike in Uganda, in Kenya and Tanzania, an African language, Kiswahili was seen as the unifying language during the liberation and post-independence phase (Chimerah, 2000).

Ndabaga (2004:27) on Rwanda, also outlines the new emphasis on colonial languages and notes that in 1962 after Independence, ‘...the language of instruction from primary one to primary three was Kinyarwanda, while French became a medium of instruction from primary four to primary six’. As a consequence of borrowing and using colonial languages in different countries in Africa, Rwanda included, a blend in language use resulted in these societies. The present investigation looks at the Rwandan multilingual blend from a post-conflict development axis and how language attitudes affect the resultant linguistic blend.

McGregor (1971) has noted that using English or any other foreign language in the post-independence phase in Africa does not mean abandoning the African languages. African languages can help to strengthen the teaching of another language. A language such as Bemba can be used in some southern African regions like Zambia; Hausa, Bambara or Wolof would be used in the Western African regions, and Kiswahili would be used in the East and Central African region to strengthen the teaching of the non-indigenous languages in those respective regions. What McGregor (1971) proposes is a complementary role between the use of African languages and European languages in African development. The present research specifically investigates the roles played by the main languages used in post-conflict Rwanda’s development.

In concluding this section, it is worth noting that Rwanda did not consider the African language that existed in its linguistic blend, Kiswahili, as a national or an official language. Instead, after the 1994 genocide, the country embraced non-indigenous languages French and English as its official languages. The country has gone further to create linguistic categories that are based on these non-indigenous colonial languages namely, the Francophone and Anglophone categories within the larger Kinyarwanda speech community. This study thus focuses on emergent linguistic groups which may result into different speech subgroups based on language use and language identity in Rwanda.

#### **2.4.1 Language use, linguistic competition and post-conflict development**

Another angle in the connection established between language use and post-conflict development is linguistic competition. This section reviews literature that discusses linguistic competition as a salient feature of post-conflict settings. In the present study, two non-indigenous languages, English and French compete for use in various socio-economic and political domains in Rwanda. A third language, Kiswahili, in spite of its clear African credentials, is neither recognized as an official language in Rwanda nor as a national one. It is to be expected that linguistic competition would strongly emerge as language is used in Rwanda, and specific language attitudes would exist in the eco-sociopolitical domains of post-conflict development in Rwanda which would be different from the kind of competition likely to occur where other African languages such as Bemba, Hausa or Wolof are used.

In specific countries, the use of some key indigenous African languages would have been ideal in the existing linguistic competitiveness. Nevertheless, in a number of situations, the indigenous languages have been neglected. Mohamed Ismail of Somalia in acknowledging linguistic competition in the use of language has accused educated Africans of committing treason against their own languages when the poet chants:

Oh my friends,  
the Somali language is very perplexed;  
it is all anxiety in its present condition,  
the value of its words and expression are being gagged by its own  
people...  
it accuses its speakers of neglect...  
it is orphaned and its value is weakening  
(Source: Ngugi, 1993: 21).

Relevant to the study is the view that any post-conflict reconstruction of a devastated country such as Somalia or even Rwanda, critically involves the role of language, language choice and language use and the role operates within the context of linguistic competition.

On a positive note in the linguistic competition in Rwanda, the indigenous language, Kinyarwanda may have been marginalized but not neglected. The case is different in Ghana. Dowuona (1969) in Bodomo (1997) have, for instance, argued that African languages in Ghana were neglected. These languages were seen as barriers to national integration since every ‘tribal’ or ethnic group would strive to promote their ‘own’ language, thereby fueling tribalism (Bodomo, 1997). What is captured in this observation on Ghana is the role of language in inter-ethnic competition. The current research discusses interethnic competition camouflaged under European lexical terms, Anglophone and Francophone.

Political and social progress in multi-ethnic post-independence Africa also operated within the context of linguistic competition. Competition in the African multilingual context also involved decisions being made regarding language. McGregor (1971) has shown that the decisions included African countries abandoning their own languages in preference to foreign languages. But in the Rwandan case, politicians did not have to make difficult decisions regarding the only native language. Kinyarwanda was not an ethnically distinguishing language as was the case in other African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria or Ghana which had ethnically distinguishing languages. In these countries, it has been argued that colonial rule recognized linguistic groups but these groups were categorized as tribes, and according to Osamba (2001:44), it led to ‘...stronger and more rigid ethnic relations’. In Rwanda however, rigid ethnic relations between the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa groups were never entrenched through different languages in the post-independence period. It is now that rigid relations in terms of language are emerging in post-conflict Rwanda epitomized by the lexical terms Anglophone and Francophone.

Waites (1999) has also argued that while African politicians were trying to make post-independence decisions in terms of language, African economies between 1957–1964, were deeply in the shackles of the colonial masters. In the Rwandan case, Kahombo (1980) has pointed out that the post-independence political leaders were graduates of some of the seminaries established by the colonial government from 1936. According to Waites (1999:203), most African states were independent ‘... but economies generally remained strongly marked by the colonial heritage, and their development heavily influenced by bilateral relations with the former colonial powers’. On one plane, language use and choice would reflect this colonial heritage and domination and perhaps extend to development. It is a moot point that the stakeholders dominating foreign investment in the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire), Burundi and Rwanda were French-speaking Belgians. Therefore, while the use of Kinyarwanda in post-independence Rwanda may not have presented a problem in terms of selection and choice of language, the African language selected operated in an economy and development paradigm that was influenced by foreign forces. The influence would be greater after the genocide, that is, during the post-conflict development context where different Western powers would push for their interests. There would be influence on the kind of language used within the education system, the wider socio-economic setup in a country and, the competing linguistic forces would influence the direction taken by post-conflict development in Rwanda.

Also, in many parts of post-colonial Africa, European languages were, ostensibly, meant to fill a void in the competitive multilingual environment. The result of the use of European languages is what Ngugi (1993:9) identifies when he says: ‘...the development of literature in Africa was mediated through European languages’. The use of the European languages is said to have affected Ngugi as a person, and as a writer, till he started writing in his native language, Gikuyu. Ngugi (1993, 1987) also argues that using African languages is like moving the centre, a move that may be compared to the kind of eco-sociopolitical shift that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s

in Africa when, according to Agazzi (1988), many African countries agitated for independence, for their own self-government and for development.

The present investigation recognizes that Rwanda has a programme for post-conflict development known as Vision 2020. In this Vision, the Rwandan people are to play an active role as participants in the post-conflict development process. The role that language is to play and which language is to be emphasized in the transformational and transitional vision of development and post-conflict reconstruction in Rwanda is, however, not clearly stipulated in Rwanda's Vision 2020. At this point, therefore, it is not clear the direction Rwanda would adopt with regard to language, yet language planning has been identified by Webb (2007) as part of the strategic planning for a country. Nevertheless, whatever position adopted in Rwanda with regard to language choice may, in part, hinge on the language attitudes of the users, and how particular speech communities and subgroups push their interests in the multilingual competitive environment. A specific language's position and effectiveness in developing Rwanda's vision for development may thus have a relationship to the language attitude within the Rwandan multilingual context.

Finally, the present research focuses on language use and language attitude in a country that has undergone a prolonged period of violence and oppression. Much of that time, the native language, Kinyarwanda, was the language widely used in the country. Rwanda got its independence in 1962 and its first post-independence president, Gregoire Kayibanda, nominated only Hutus (his tribesmen) to his government. This fact may have ingrained a sense of ethnicity in Rwanda though it was not based on language nor on language identities; in fact, nowhere does language actually feature in the past ethnic problems of post-independence Rwanda. However, the linguistic categorization emerging in Rwanda at present, the Anglophone and Francophone categories, has inherent identity markers that could easily be compounded to reflect and re-engineer ethnicity and complicate earlier socio-ethnic categorization. It is therefore important to consider linguistic competition and identity as forces that can influence and determine the kind of language attitudes in the

country. The issue of language use, identity and development is discussed in section 2.4.2 below.

### **2.4.2 Language use, identity and development**

The use of language invariably also focuses on language choice and identity. Kembo-Sure (1997) in a study of language attitudes, use and proficiency in Kenya, outlines an aspect of language and identity and shows that most Kenyans still respect their traditions and cultural practices, despite the fact that English, a colonial language, is an identity marker in Kenya. In Kembo-Sure's (1997) argument, one can easily identify the linguistic backgrounds of the speakers by the way they speak English although one cannot easily predict the possible target destination for Anglophone speakers, and perhaps, therefore, the kind of other speakers an Anglophone speaker in Kenya is likely to have an affinity for.

Similarly, it may initially be assumed that in Rwanda, English language users may have an affinity with other Anglophone speakers, and be attracted to Anglophone post-conflict development programmes. Similarly, for French language users, this assumption would imply having and recognizing an identity with other Francophone speakers and by extension, be attracted to programmes in French. Such assumptions stem from the categorizations that exist in Rwanda today which depends on language. Edwards (1985:129) notes that language is the 'central linchpin of identity'. This is the same position taken by Ager (1990:5) who also argues that people who speak the same language form a language community, and these speakers will tend to have a shared identity. The present study focuses on emergent Anglophone and Francophone identities in Rwanda especially as the identities are reflected in the core priority areas of Rwanda's post-conflict development.

One obvious form through which linguistic identities may be reflected in the core areas of post-conflict development is through the intra-group distinctiveness that would exist within the speech communities. Friends and colleagues will recognize an

individual through the linguistic mannerisms. There are, however, some of the elements of linguistic identity peculiar to the linguistic situations that obtain in Africa which have been noted by Ager (1990) who argues that language may be a strong link for identity, but it is actually not a sufficient link to form a community. In the definition by Ryan et al (1982), a speech community is generally taken to be a community all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and norms for the use of the language variety.

In the present research, a group of language users in Rwanda may have an identity with other perceived users of Kinyarwanda, but the users themselves may not speak Kinyarwanda. Language use in Rwanda may therefore create bi-dialectical sub-communities as identified by Ager (1990); the communities may regard themselves as distinct from the mainstream language community. In some cases, the French used in a country such as Rwanda may be nearly incomprehensible to a native French speaker. In such a situation, the notion of language community needs to be re-defined in order to include the common attitudes that speakers have towards language, the frequent interaction (face-to-face or media), the common meaning, and finally, the common use of verbal repertoire and the range of preferred linguistic and stylistic choices. All these may be features that would influence post-conflict development. It is noted in concluding this section that the present investigation considers the common language attitudes and language use patterns amongst the communities in post-conflict Rwanda's development, especially as they relate to linguistic and ethnic identities. The issue of ethnic identities in Rwanda is discussed in section 2.3.3 below.

#### **2.4.3 Language use, ethnicity and development**

The linguistic population referred to as Banyarwanda may not have had symbolic linguistic communities before as argued above. Therefore, the relationship amongst the language users will be Rwanda-specific, in sociolinguistic ways different from the ones analysed by others (Kembo-Sure, 1997; Ager, 1990). Rwanda can have country-

specific problems, subsumed under a proposition of balancing emerging language policies with the concept of the world as a global village as argued by Simala (2002). But Rwanda's emerging linguistic sub-communities may also be based on ethnicity and as noted by Taylor (1980), '... equally clear is the intimate relationship between language and ethnicity'. Language in Rwanda can thus relate to political communities (communities with regard to region and country), or symbolic communities, that is, communities with regard to ethnic groups (Ager, 1990).

Ethnicity is a salient notion in language use, but as Rupesinghe (1996) argues, it is difficult to define as it consists of subjective and objective elements, a mixture of perception and external contextual reality which is what accords ethnicity its meaning. It is further observed that ethnicity reflects the existential and social components, and is related to identity whose search, according to Northrup (1989), is said to have propelled human civilization.

Some studies may assume that the ethnic groups in Rwanda are similar in orientation to many ethnic distinctions in Africa. However, an analysis of the Hutu – Tutsi ethnic distinction in Rwanda by Destexhe (1995) shows that the massacres in Rwanda cannot be attributed to the deep-rooted and ancient hatred between two ethnic groups. The underlying assumption here is that the ethnic identity in Rwanda is country-specific. In fact, the Hutu and Tutsi cannot even correctly be described as ethnic groups: the two groups both speak the same language and respect the same traditions and taboos. It would be extremely difficult to find any kind of cultural or folkloric custom that was specifically Hutu or Tutsi (Destexhe, 1995).

In conclusion, the short section has observed that language categorization may be influenced by ethnicity. However what exists in Rwanda is what Chretien (1985) has described as 'tribalism without tribes', a situation which is unlikely to be found in the ethnic differentiation in most parts of Africa. The way ethnic differentiation would be reflected in the emerging linguistic categories would be specific to Rwanda. Hence, the linguistic categories would influence the implementation of post-conflict

development from the point of view of the language code used, and the language attitude towards that language code. The import of this observation to the present study is that the linguistic issue investigated is, in part, a product of a historical process as post-conflict development is also a historical process (Ogot, 1999). The study relates the variables - language use, language attitude and post-conflict development - which are all historical in orientation, influenced by ethnicity, and investigates a sociolinguistic process that would be a product of broader linguistic realignments.

#### **2.4.4 The context of language use in post-conflict Rwanda's development**

The context of language use in the research is Rwanda. Like many other African countries, Rwanda is multilingual where no less than four main languages are used, and many matters of language use would focus on language in education, especially as it would be related to the human resource capacity in the country. Human resource and the development of human resources would be a major asset for Rwanda, a point noted by Rutayisire (2002). Rwanda's post-conflict development and human resource capacities depend on a solid knowledge base. A knowledge-based economy rests upon a linguistic base as it depends on the languages used, the target group's competence in the language used, and the acceptability of the languages used. Arguing on the same lines, Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:4) identify '...restricted access to knowledge and skills' as one of the language-based problems that relate to development and governance in Africa.

In discussing the relationship of language, language use and post-conflict development in present-day Rwanda, therefore, the historical distinctions and categorizations within the Rwandan speech community naturally come up. Rutayisire (2002) indicates that the paramount feature when discussing national development in post-conflict Rwanda is peace, unity and reconciliation. The three vital areas in post-conflict development are historically linked to three population outflows and migrations in Rwanda. The population outflows have an inherent identity and are

closely tied to the present multilingual situation in Rwanda. Rutayisire (2002) outlines the three population outflows and migrations out of Rwanda in the past forty years and relates them to the triad of peace, unity and reconciliation. In the period 1959, there was a group of refugees called the *Abapagasi*, that is, those Rwandans who crossed the borders in search of employment. Later, some other Rwandans crossed the same borders to seek asylum and were called refugees. After 1994, Rwandans crossed the borders with yet another label, genocide agents. In the context of present-day transformation in Rwanda, the linguistic influences accruing from the migrations of the *Abapagasi*, refugees, and genocide agents become relevant. The three groups of people have established and taken up new linguistic mannerisms from the places where they settled, and some of the linguistic mannerisms have been brought back to post-conflict Rwanda.

In addition, it has been argued that the transformation of Rwanda can mainly be done through education, based on the belief that it is the right of all the people of Rwanda to live a life free of poverty, hardship, oppression and insecurity (Republic of Rwanda, 2001: 4). In documents detailing the Rwandan post-conflict transformation, peace, unity and reconciliation play a prominent role. Language use in post-conflict development does not however feature in Rwanda's present policy formulation.

In conclusion, the present investigation contends that language is a factor in the development of a multilingual setting such as post-conflict Rwanda, and there is need to recognize this importance when formulating development policy. As noted in government documents such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper in Rwanda, poverty reduction cannot occur in circumstances of severe insecurity and anarchy (Republic of Rwanda, 2001:10). The past cases of insecurity and anarchy in Rwanda were not brought by linguistic differences but by perceived 'ethnic' differences as there was no marked linguistic distinctiveness before the 1994 genocide. Nevertheless, it is a manifestation of an emerging linguistic distinctiveness when people, schools and policies are labeled as Anglophone and Francophone as is the case in present-day Rwanda. The present research is therefore an attempt at

investigating the emerging linguistic distinctiveness in post-conflict Rwanda's development from the perspective of language attitude and language use. Literature on the final variable language attitude is discussed in section 2.5 below.

#### **2.4.5 Language attitudes and development**

One of the three main variables investigated in this study is language attitudes. There are many studies that have explored the notion of language attitudes. Each study considers a specific geographical region, and some of the conclusions drawn for one region can be applicable in another multilingual setting. The literature on language attitude is growing. As correctly observed by Strauss (1945:329), ‘... the literature revolving around attitudes has grown... yet the concept, despite its key position, is marked by considerable confusion.’ On his part, Adegbija (1994) traces the socio-historical origins of the current language attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa, offers a socio-historical background on language attitudes and suggests that findings from attitude studies can be helpful in language policy planning and implementation in Africa.

Language attitudes have implications in education and development in Africa, and not recognizing this may negatively impinge on development. Adegbija (1994) identifies the positive attitudes accorded to European languages such as English and French in Africa basically being attitudes of superiority which have their base in the aggressive language policies of Africa’s colonial masters. Consequences of this were the negative attitudes toward African languages.

In a multilingual situation, there will be a positional interplay informed by a number of sociolinguistic factors. The position of each of the four languages used in the development matrix in post-conflict Rwanda is also influenced by a number of factors. Making reference to sub-Saharan Africa, Adegbija (1994) identifies the factors as including the numbers of speakers, favourable socio-historical forces, or decree. Elugbe (2000) has, for example, argued that in Nigeria language choice was

given a whole section in the 1997 and 1981 National Policy on Education which addressed the role of language in education, unity and independence, three important issues in national development. However, no such emphasis has been underscored in the Rwandan multilingual situation.

In some cases, too, studies on attitude differ in their theoretical leaning. There are a number of studies that have considered attitude from the racial standpoint, a point noted by Masson et al (1994). Though the focus in such studies would be on race, and therefore somewhat different from the focus in the research, the principles of attitude formation and formulation would be similar whether the focus is on language attitude or racial attitude.

There are scholars who have criticized the attitude concept itself such as Polter and Wetherell (1987) cited in Masson et al (1994); the criticism may also apply to the study of language attitudes. According to Masson et al (1994) attitude theory assumes that people have a relatively enduring attitudinal position or a stable orientation to specific social objects; this is the same position posited by Bain (1928). Of relevance is the fact that language is a social object and a determinant of human relations. In fact, Wardhaugh (1993) observes that social structure is understood better through the study of language. In similar thinking, the present research holds that social structure, language attitude and post-conflict development in a country are likely to dovetail into each other.

Further, there are studies on language attitude that investigate linguistic dynamics within the diversity of a speech community. In a multilingual setting, there are likely to exist many speech communities whose members would, in the postulation of Mulaudzi (2000:23), ‘...share the same norms with regard to language, and have the same set of social attitudes towards language.’ The same set of social attitudes will influence a community’s reaction to a specific object and this set of attitudes would, as outlined by Katz and Hass (1988) include ‘...a conscious co-existence of positive and negative attitudes’. In this study, it is contended that the set of attitudes within

each of the speech communities in Rwanda may influence implementation of post-conflict development in the country.

Although linguistic diversity is never exactly the same for every region, recommendations and conclusions from each of the studies on language attitudes may be generalizable from one region to another. However, the linguistic identities of the language users in specific regions show particular characteristics and peculiar relationships. It is partly for this reason that the research focuses on specific identities, language attitudes, characteristics and relationships that exist in the Rwandan linguistic milieu.

### **2.5.1 The nature of attitudes.**

Attitudes may be studied from different angles. For example, an outline of attitude studies is given by Anderson (1974:42), but the studies do not define the nature of attitude. Anderson points out that the term attitude is used in a number of generally undefined ways which include the lexical terms used to represent attitude such as the term “attitude” itself, and the phrases attitudinal evaluations, attitudinal processes, speech evaluations and stereotypes. A clearer view of attitude is offered by Webb (1992:433) who sees language attitude as a mirror of indirect but semi-conscious social and psychological perceptions of a category of language users defined by territory, ethnicity or social grouping. Physical and psychological territory, ethnicity and social grouping are social factors that would be critical in post-conflict Rwanda’s development.

It would be useful to look at attitudes in general from five angles identified by Strauss (1945) namely: attitude formation, attitude change, attitude disappearance, attitudes and personal organization and finally, how attitudes influence behaviour after their formation. These five angles may mirror how language attitudes affect post-conflict development in Rwanda, and would therefore be relevant to the current study.

Attitudes can be considered from a mentalist point of view. In this view, as observed by Fasold (1984), an attitude is an internal state that influences the organism's response. Attitudes are therefore considered as consisting of the sub-components: cognitive, affective and conative. Salasiah (1997) goes further to argue that the components of attitude are linked to a person's values and beliefs and will influence the choice of language by promoting or discouraging the language code used in a specific domain. Salasiah's (1997) propositions are based on a study of language attitudes in Malaysia; however, the propositions differ from the present study since they are based on features of language proficiency, but are in a way similar to the study on language attitude and proficiency in Kenya done by Kembo-Sure (1997). Salasiah (1997) concludes that there is no significant correlation between attitude and proficiency across educational levels since teaching methodology, assessment procedures, and other instructional/psychological variables also facilitate proficiency. The study by Salasiah (1997) shows that there is a significant difference in attitude towards English and Bahasa Malay which depends on one's ethnic background. A similar strand would exist in Rwanda; there are possibilities of an ethnic variable being couched in a linguistic variable and thus affecting language attitude.

The concept attitude would also be considered as a major feature in social psychology; social psychologists concentrate on the structure of attitude systems. This theoretical leaning may be influenced by the mentalist position in the study of attitudes discussed above. Along the same lines, Anderson (1974) presents a summary of aspects of attitudes in social psychology as being: state of readiness of attitudes, mental and neural aspects of attitudes, organization through experience and exertion of a directive influence for attitudes.

A further position in the study of attitudes is the view that attitude is behavioural. In this view, an attitude is inferred from the responses that people make to social situations. Wassink (1999:57) observes: '...language is the theater for the enactment of the social, political and cultural life of a people'. It is argued that language attitudes are a salient component and an embodiment within the theater of language

identified by Wassink (1999); the theater would also come out clearly in Rwanda's post-conflict setting.

It has also been observed by Cargile and Giles (1997) that studies on regional variation are behavioral and look at attitude as a predisposition to react to stimuli. One's attitude is judged from the observable, evaluative responses a person tends to make (Britannica.com, 2004). A specific feature of language attitudes within the behaviourist standpoint is the concept of variation which works in tandem with the concept of self-categorization as has been argued by Dominic and Hogg (1987). Self-categorization is investigated in this study from the point of view of the linguistic groupings that exist in Rwanda. The linguistic groupings are Anglophone and Francophone. The belief that the person receiving the message has, and the evaluation of the sender by the receiver will, as argued by Bradac (1990), influence how the recipient receives and accepts the message. The messages in the present study include the different core areas of post-conflict development in Rwanda. Bradac's (1990) argument thus captures part of the variable in this study, that is, a specific recipient of a development programme is likely to react in particular ways that are based on the language that the programme is dressed in.

It would be argued in concluding the subsection that Rwanda's post-conflict reconstruction is closely tied to the linguistic re-organization in the country. Arguing on re-organization, Baker (1992:21) says, '...Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community'. Language engineering will be related to social engineering. Of relevance is the notion that the language attitudes that Baker (1992) identifies are intricately tied to the eco-social-political networks that exist in a multilingual country such as post-conflict Rwanda. Success or failure in post-conflict development may thus not just relate to language but also to other areas of Rwanda's social-cultural sphere, and it is the social-cultural sphere that will link language attitude and language use. Literature on the link between language attitude and language use is discussed in section 2.5.2 below.

## **2.5.2 Language attitudes and language use**

The connection between language use and language attitude has been investigated in studies such as one by Pyoli (1998) who investigates language use versus the culture of the majority speech community. Pyoli's (1998) study based on the language contact situation with Russian speakers identifies the positive actions being made to revive a minority language, Karelian, first, as a written language and second, through teaching the language as a mother tongue. The efforts identified by Pyoli (1998) fall into what Fishman (1967) outlines to be corpus planning. Coopers (1989) further argues on corpus planning, and points out that, in the modern definition of corpus planning, people make deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to acquisition, structure or functional allocation of linguistic codes. Relevant to the present research is the fact that deliberate efforts of language planning are likely to relate to language attitude. Some of the deliberate efforts in post-conflict Rwanda will be analysed in this study.

Pyoli's study (1998) also illustrates a relationship between positive attitudes and linguistic behaviour. Russian is regarded as a high prestige language in education and socio-economic mobility and therefore, parents are not motivated to teach Karelian which is a minority language to their children. Instead, the high prestige language is taught. It is proposed in Pyoli's (1998) study that there is a need to teach children the minority language since it is important for the children to speak their mother tongue, Karelian.

An important area in the link between language attitudes and language use is social categorization which, according to the arguments of Gudykunst and Schmidt (1987), plays an important role in influencing language attitudes. Along similar lines, Wassink (1999: 60) has pointed out that Fanakalo, a Creole in South Africa is reserved for work contexts where the participants are in a relationship of unequal power. In such a context of unequal power, language attitudes will carry social meanings, a point that has been supported and also noted by Adendorff (1993). What

is relevant to the present research is that one, post-conflict Rwanda is emerging from an unbalanced social ethnic set-up and two, there is also the likelihood for an emergent unbalanced sociolinguistic set-up in Rwanda. The two observations will make the language attitudes in Rwanda to also carry fairly complex social meanings. It is the same line of argument that Smith (1999) considers in the study of language attitudes in Nigeria where attitudes are studied from both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic points of view.

Another relevant study that considers the link between language use and language attitude was one done in South Africa by Sondlo (2000) who gave a questionnaire to a group of Xhosa learners attending an English medium school in an attempt to assess how the learners education and attitudes are influenced by two target languages: Xhosa (an African language ) and English (a colonial language). From the number of responses, the learners in Sondlo's activity indicate that language is indeed a powerful tool in shaping one's success in education. Learners in Sondlo's study expressed a positive attitude towards the African language, Xhosa and in fact, the learners revealed that their ideas came in Xhosa when they brainstorm in an examination thus suggesting that in some places in South Africa there may be need for tuition to be conducted in an African language, Xhosa. Relevant to this study is the conclusion made by Sondlo (2000) that language is an important facilitator of good human relations in educational institutions. Post-conflict development is participatory and dependent on human relations. Thus, post-conflict development will hinge on the kind of language selected and the attitude of the users to the language(s) chosen.

According to Mulaudzi (2000: 3) the users' attitudes to language, '...are in fact acquired as a factor of group membership and this forms part of the process of enculturation in a particular speech community.' Therefore, if we use language to discriminate between groups as observed by Mulaudzi (2000), and as would be likely in the Anglophone-Francophone Rwandan setting, it would also follow that some

specific beneficial post-conflict development programme may end up being restricted to a few people. This restriction may be based on the language used.

Restriction from the benefits of a development policy may also operate from another angle: the recipient may hold a negative attitude towards the language in which the development policy is given. Sarnoff (1970:279) views attitude as ‘...a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects’. This is a reaction that may be three-dimensional: affective (feelings), cognitive and psycho-motor (acts). Hence, the recipients may present a triad reaction to a post-conflict development policy: what they feel about the policy, what they think concerning the policy, or what they do about the policy. Nevertheless, the triad reaction is linguistically based and a trivalent symbol between language, solidarity and ethnicity.

Arguing on African languages, Myers-Scotton (1995) notes that languages like English will tend to symbolize education and authority while the local language(s) may symbolize solidarity and/or ethnicity. In the present study, it is believed that the functional allocation of linguistic codes such as Kiswahili, French, English and Kinyarwanda in Rwanda may influence the behaviour of the language users and encourage the spread of one language in the country thereby influencing post-conflict development policy.

However, the effectiveness of the influence in behaviour may depend on an individual’s attitude to the language(s) used and this will further spread the language(s). There are a number of factors identified by Lewis et. al. (1982) that assist in the spread of a language. One of the most important of these factors is attitude which may operate through the efforts that limit the functions of indigenous languages. Relevant to the present study is the fact that limiting the functions of a language may mean not using the language in the formulation of a post-conflict development policy. What is specifically focused on is the attitudinal interaction between the main languages in the Rwandan socio-economic post-conflict development matrix. The present study investigates language attitude with regard to

formal and informal domains of language use: language use in the home and language use in the office and relates this to post-conflict development. Literature concerning language attitude and post-conflict development is discussed in section 2.5.3 below.

### **2.5.3 Language attitudes and post-conflict development**

Baker (1992) and Gardner (1968) have acknowledged the contribution of language attitudes to language learning. The approach has, however, not been extended to post-conflict development as would apply to the Rwandan multilingual situation. It would be argued that development and language attitude have not been fully studied, and less so in the Rwandan context. One of the reasons is what has been identified by Nancy (1972) who argues that goals of development do not render themselves to direct or full measurement.

Five general models of development namely: the organic model, the input-output conceptual model, the capacity-performance model, the system model and the technological – educational model have been proposed by Nancy (1972). The output-input model likens national growth to factory production and development will depend on the inputs in the process such that the product is a function of the input. It is suggested in the present study that language can also be treated as an input into Rwanda's post-conflict development process. Since this model of development integrates social and economic variables, it is further observed that language attitudes and language use fit neatly in the system model of development since, as Nancy (1972) points out, development is an evolving system of factors that influence and are influenced by each other, directly or indirectly. This study, therefore, fills a gap that Nancy (1972:99) identifies in the system model of development, a gap that is referred to as ‘...our imperfect knowledge of the influences of different factors upon each other.’ It is argued that the development models identified by Nancy (1972) though dated, might be valid. In the present research, however, only twelve core areas of Rwanda's post-conflict development are identified and investigated.

## **2.6 Conclusion of the chapter**

This chapter has reviewed literature on language attitudes and related it to language use and development, the variables of the research. Using the literature review as the base, the study establishes an index for language applicability and appropriateness in the post-conflict development setting in Rwanda, and gives an index of language use in order to determine the language attitudes and the variability of language attitudes. The variables of the study are discussed in detail in the following chapter (i.e Chapter three) which outlines the research design and methodology.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Research Design and Methodology**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter briefly discusses the research design that is adopted in the present study and outlines the area studied. The population, sample and the sampling procedures for the study are described. A discussion of the research instruments selected and used in the study and the data collection procedures are also outlined. Finally, the chapter describes some ethical aspects of the research and discusses the type of data analysis that is used in the study.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

The present study is descriptive and adopts a cross-sectional design. The study is designed in such a way as to investigate the relationship between language and development from the perspective of language attitude and language use. It is believed that the cross-sectional design would enable the researcher collect current and representative data that investigates and relates the variables of language attitudes, language use and development in Rwanda. The study involves analysis, classification, and enumeration or measurement. Arguing on descriptive studies, Good (1972, cited in Odeo, 2003:120), points out that descriptive studies focus on present facts or on prevailing conditions with regard to the nature of persons, a number of objects or class of events. The prevailing and current language situation in the study is a historical process. The study is an investigation of post-conflict issues but it also needs to recognize the influence of historical events. Along this argument, Best and Kahn (1993:105) state:

A descriptive study describes and interprets what is, although it often considers past events and influences as they relate to current conditions.

Based on the above point, an analysis of the relevant historical events is, therefore, made especially those that concern post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda.

It has been pointed out that one of the weaknesses of the descriptive research design is its superficiality (De Vaus, 1999). Superficiality is overcome in the study by triangulation in the collection of data, and in the design of research instruments. The data from the questionnaire is used in addition to other primary and secondary sources. The sources that are used include a historical survey of political happenings in Rwanda, actual observation of language use in selected spheres in Rwanda, and data recorded from written documents.

### **3.3 Variables in the study**

The three variables which are investigated in the study are:

- i. Post-conflict development in Rwanda
- ii. Language use
- iii. Language attitude

#### **3.3.1 Development**

One of the variables in the study is post-conflict development. Development has been noted to be an elusive concept. Benaars (1993:75) summarizes this elusiveness and notes:

What in fact is development? ...From the start, we must note that 'development' as a term appears to be clouded, if not in mystery, certainly in ambiguity. There is no clear consensus about the usage of the term.

The focus of the present study is on the post-conflict development goals of Rwanda as identified by the government in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (Republic of Rwanda, 2001). The core areas of post-conflict development are geared towards the improvement of material standards of living, a fact aptly outlined by Hoogvelt (1978: 150) who observes:

In the definition of development goals, the improvement of material standards of living of the people is invariably formulated as the ultimate aim of development.

In the Government document (Republic of Rwanda, 2001), the twelve core priority areas of development for the country are identified which include:

- i. Good governance
- ii. National unity
- iii. Reconciliation
- iv. Improving labour efficiency
- v. Enhancing the quality of life of the poor and vulnerable
- vi. Improving labour productivity/output
- vii. Diversifying the Rwandan economy and industrialise
- viii. Curbing AIDS
- ix. Global participation of Rwanda
- x. Regional participation of Rwanda
- xi. Creating opportunities for Rwandans
- xii. Creating training opportunities for Rwandans.

In the collection of data, respondents in the study were required to indicate the appropriateness of each of the four main languages, Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili as they apply to each of the core areas of Rwanda's post-conflict development.

Selecting the specific areas of development is in line with the proposition by Ayers (1995: ix) on development when he points out that: ‘...Development is inevitably a normative concept but it is important to be precise about its dimensions.’ Itemizing the core areas is one of the ways of establishing the precision of Rwanda’s post-conflict development. Seers (1995:53) further notes that ‘...development means creating the conditions for the realization of human personality’. The core areas of post-conflict development strive for the realization of the human personality. In the present study, it is believed that the conditions will involve the use of language and the attitudes towards language.

### 3.3.2 Language use

The second variable investigated in the study is language use. The focus is on how the respondents use Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili in a number of given situations. Eight different situations are identified and they are:

- |       |                                       |                 |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| i.    | Language use in the home              | ( <b>LUHO</b> ) |
| ii.   | Language use in official settings     | ( <b>LUOF</b> ) |
| iii.  | Language use in written communication | ( <b>LUWR</b> ) |
| iv.   | Language use and note taking          | ( <b>LUNT</b> ) |
| v.    | Language use in the media.            | ( <b>LUME</b> ) |
| vi.   | Language use to strangers             | ( <b>LUST</b> ) |
| vii.  | Language use in public meetings       | ( <b>LUPM</b> ) |
| viii. | Language use when quarrelling         | ( <b>LUQR</b> ) |

Further, the study investigates the students’ feelings in different language use contexts when and where the different languages are employed. The focus here is on a respondent as the hearer rather than the speaker. The relationship between the language use situations and the respondent’s feelings is based on five different language situations viz:

- i. Feelings towards a language when the language is heard.
- ii. Feelings concerning the settings where a specific language is used.

- iii. Feelings concerning the use of the language in the print media.
- iii. Feelings concerning the use of a language in school.
- iv. Feelings concerning the position of a specific language in the education system, generally.

It is believed that feelings towards language use and the actual situations of use would dovetail with the respondents' attitude towards the languages which are employed in different domains in Rwanda. The central areas of the language attitude variable are explained in the following section.

### **3.3.3 Language attitudes**

The third variable investigated is language attitude. The focus here is on investigating the respondents' attitudes towards each of the four languages: French, English, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili. The investigation was done by designing eight statements for each of the four languages. The respondents were asked to rate on a three-point scale the applicability of each language in each of the eight statements designed. To ensure consistency and reliability, the same statements are used for all the languages. There are, therefore, 32 close-ended items on language attitude in the questionnaire.

In addition to the 32 close-ended questions on attitude, there are also four open-ended questions investigating the respondents' attitudes. The open-ended items are based on three levels namely:

- i. Advantages of one knowing each of the languages in Rwanda.
- ii. Disadvantages of one not knowing each of the languages in Rwanda
- iii. The benefits for Rwanda if more people were to speak and use the four languages: Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili.

The study also investigated the respondents' attitudes on the two perspectives between Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili. These two perspectives are:

- i. Whether the respondents considered the relationship between the languages to be important.
- ii. Whether the respondents valued the relevance of these languages to their identity.

Some attitude studies do, sometimes, use matched-guise formats (Lambert, 1972).

The present study did not adopt this highly indirect approach but rather selected a mild and indirect form of reporting attitude.

### **3.4 Sampling Technique**

#### **3.4.1 Population**

The target population comprises university students in Rwanda's public universities. There are four major public universities in Rwanda namely: the National University of Rwanda at Butare; Kigali Institute of Science and Technology, (KIST); Kigali Institute of Education, (KIE) in Kigali; and one university in the Ruhengeri region of Rwanda that offers agriculture-based courses. Other new universities in Rwanda have been founded, and because the universities are fairly new and were established long after the research had started, they are outside the scope of the present study.

#### **3.4.2 Background information on the selected sample**

The National University of Rwanda (UNR), one of the universities selected in the study, is located in Rwanda's Butare region which is about 200 kilometres from Kigali city. While Butare has developed as a university town, the surrounding area is largely rural. In 1994, about 594 UNR students and lecturers were killed in the genocide (This information was corroborated and confirmed by two respondents namely, C. Rukikanshuro and A. Bahizi who gave the researcher primary information in June, 2002). The Butare region was called Astrida in pre-independence Rwanda. Graduates from the former church-sponsored college in Astrida were mainly French-

speaking; they are the ones who formed a great percentage of the Rwandan civil service before 1994.

The second University is Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST). KIST was established in 1997 in order to meet the growing demands for a trained and skilled workforce in industry. Programmes in KIST are skewed towards science, technology, business and management. Many of the programmes are conducted in English and very few programmes are in French. In fact, the university is commonly known by its English acronym KIST which stands for Kigali Institute of Science and Technology. The French equivalent for KIST is rarely used. It is not clear whether this influences or affects the kind of language used in the day-to-day running of the university.

The third University is Kigali Institute of Education commonly known as KIE. The University trains secondary school teachers in Rwanda, and is moving towards training tutors for primary school teacher colleges. By 1997, 65% of the teachers in Rwanda were untrained (Kigali Institute of Education, Distance Education Training Document, 2003). For many years after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, many of the people in the teaching profession were foreigners; some were from Francophone Democratic Republic of Congo and others were from Anglophone Uganda. Other members of the teaching workforce were from Burundi, a few of the teachers were from Tanzania and a small number came from Kenya. The import of this is that the teachers had gone through different systems of education. It is important to note that the education systems through which the teachers in Rwandan schools had gone used different languages as the media of instruction. The teachers' language background would thus be expected to produce a linguistic cocktail that would affect the way the curriculum was implemented, and lead to a mix of the languages that are to be given prominence within the education system in Rwanda. Against this backdrop, Kigali Institute of Education was established as a university in 1998 to offer Bachelor of Education programmes in the arts and in the sciences. Additionally, to accomplish this task, the university founded a distance-training programme (DTP) initially

sponsored by Britain. Many of the modules produced by the DTP as from 2002 were published in both the French and English.

### **3.4.3 The language dimension and the target population.**

Two of the universities commonly use a French acronym. These universities are Universite Nationale du Rwanda (UNR), and another commonly known as Institut Supérieur d'Agriculture et d'Elevage (ISAE) an agricultural university whose acronym is French-based. UNR, the oldest university, and for a long time the only university in Rwanda, offers courses in various disciplines. Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), on the other hand, is a university based in Rwanda's capital city, Kigali; it offers courses in science and technology, and conducts its programmes mainly in English with a few programmes being offered in French. The third university is Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) also located in Kigali city. The University used to balance between the way its English acronym KIE (i.e. Kigali Institute of Education) and the French acronym, ISP (i.e. Institute Superior Pedagogique) were used. However, at present, the French acronym is not frequently used.

### **3.4.4 Sample**

The study adopts a multi-stage sampling procedure. The public universities in Rwanda were initially stratified in terms of the '*observed preference*' to language use. The table below indicates the universities and their '*observed preference*' of language use in terms of either English and/or French.

**Table 1:** ‘*Observed preference*’ of language use in Rwandan tertiary institutions

University		Observed Preference of language use	Status of surrounding
1.	UNR	French	Rural/Urban
2.	KIST	English	Urban
3.	KIE/ISP	French/English	Urban
4.	ISAE	French	Rural

The phrase ‘*observed preference*’ of language use is used in the study because the researcher has had an opportunity to conduct semester – length lectures in communication in English at the three public universities in Rwanda: UNR, KIST and KIE (see Appendix). The researcher was, thus, able to make informed global decisions with regard to aspects of the design of the study. A relevant suggestion relating to research design with respect to the sources of knowledge in research has been made by Mugenda et al (1999:3) who point out:

Research is an important source of knowledge because it is objective and involves systematic procedures...Different researchers are bound to apply research procedures relative to their own realities... Experience is a common mode of obtaining knowledge. Human beings learn through their experiences in life.

Moreover, during the time of the field research, the fourth university, ISAE, was relocated from the rural-urban setting of the Kigali prefecture (province) to the Ruhengeri/Gisenyi rural provinces, where the university now has a rural hinterland. During the study, it was felt that this relocation would introduce other extraneous variables into the study that could not be fully controlled during the research. According to Mugenda et al (1999), one of the causes of error includes the changes in

conditions when one is conducting research. For this reason, the university ISAE has not been included in the final sample of public universities used and selected in this study, thus minimizing the error in research.

The sample was finally selected from UNR, which has a French, rural/urban setting and is located at the Butare prefecture (Province). The other university selected is KIST which has an English-based urban setting and is located in the Kigali prefecture (province), where the capital city of Rwanda is located. The third university is KIE which has a French-English based urban setting, and is located at the Kigali city prefecture (Province). The maps in the Appendix section give a map of Rwanda and the different provinces of Rwanda.

The research may at first appear to be skewed towards an urban Rwandan setting. This is however justified in the sense that although Rwanda had over ten provinces, the public universities were for a long time only concentrated in two provinces namely Butare and Kigali city. In any case, Rwanda has now merged a number of its provinces to form the current five provinces. There are now new universities in the Mutara and the Kibungo regions of Rwanda, provinces that previously did not have any.

The study also adopts a stratified random sampling procedure to get the respondents for the study. Students from the science and arts disciplines were selected. It is presumed that the 53 respondents of the study produced data that would, meaningfully, be analyzed in terms of language attitude, language use and post-conflict development.

Brown (2006) argues that generalizability in research is hinged on the degree of representation that exists between a sample and the population. While the sample of 53 respondents may initially appear small, attempts were made to select respondents from sources that are as unbiased as possible. All students selected were Rwandan citizens, from the two sexes, and they included both those who had traveled out of the

country and those who had not traveled. Hence, their varied views on language use and language attitude were represented. The study thus provided a fair representation that had a higher degree of accuracy about the data and the results analysed from an eclectic sample of the university student population in Rwanda. The data were also supported by triangulation in order to maintain generalizability and eliminate inherent biases. The personal details of the sample of the 53 university students used are given in the Appendix H. The appendix shows the profiles of the respondents namely: sex, competence in language(s) spoken, religious affiliation and the languages that are mainly used in the areas that the respondents had visited in the previous eight years. The 53 respondents came from all the then twelve prefectures (provinces) of Rwanda namely: Butare, Byumba , Cyangugu., Kibungo, Kigali City, Kigali Ngali, Gikongoro, Gisenyi, Gitarama and Umutara (Appendix B2) .

The sample size used in the study is kept at a manageable level of 53 respondents due to time and financial constraints. Nevertheless, the sample is adequate, especially since the questionnaire is also supplemented with additional research instrumentation; the items for the variables investigated are detailed, and are analyzed in depth. Additionally, the decision concerning the final sample size was eventually arrived at after carrying out a pilot study that considered the length of the questionnaire used to collect data. The pilot study is discussed in section 3.5.4.

### **3.5 Data collection procedures**

#### **3.5.1 Instrumentation**

The instrumentation used in the study is multi-faceted. The tools that are used include the questionnaire, written records and documents from selected language use domains that focus on aspects of language use.

### **3.5.2 The questionnaire**

The different sections of the questionnaire investigate aspects of the variables of the study. Section A and section B of the questionnaire investigate aspects of language attitude for each of the four languages. While section A is close-ended, section B of the questionnaire is open-ended. Section C investigates language attitude vis-à-vis the core priority areas of Rwanda's post-conflict development. Section D focuses on the respondents' competence in the languages. Section E focuses on the respondents' feelings with regard to possible different domains of language use.

The respondents' competence is indicated in the questionnaire and the order in which the respondents learnt the languages also outlined. One section of the questionnaire concentrates on the students' language use in various domains: in official settings, informal settings, spoken and written communicative situations, in the print and electronic media, language use when quarrelling and finally, language use with strangers, and in public meetings. The final section has the personal information of the respondents in terms of the respondent's disposition, bio-data and the respondents' general comments. The questionnaire is attached in the Appendix section.

### **3.5.3 Themes in the questionnaire**

The questionnaire was self-administered. The researcher first explained to the respondents how the questionnaire was to be completed, left it with them and collected it later. This partly accounts for the fairly high rate of the questionnaires that were returned. Table 2 presents a summary of the different sections of the questionnaire.

**Table 2: Different sections of the questionnaire**

<b>Section in the questionnaire</b>	<b>Theme covered in the section</b>
A	Aspects of language attitudes (close-ended items)
B	Aspects of language attitudes (open-ended items)
C	Language attitudes vis-à-vis post-conflict development in Rwanda
D	Competence in the language used in Rwanda
E	Feelings with regard to domains of language use
F	Language use and domains of language use in Rwanda
G	Respondents' personal information
H	Respondents' personal information
I	Respondents' personal information

### **3.5.4 The pilot study**

In the pilot study, and during the review of the questionnaire by experts, the following questions acted as a guide in the discussion and assessment of the research instruments. This assisted in suggesting improvements to the questionnaire. The guiding questions included:

- i. The need to situate the specific items in the questionnaire before the global items.
- ii. The need to increase or decrease the number of response alternatives for the items investigating language attitude. These alternatives were finally reduced from five to three using the scale 1-3. During the pilot, the respondents had problems deciding on whether to select the midpoints within the scale of 1 – 5 that had been used in the pilot

- questionnaire. The respondents also had problems differentiating the midpoints 2, 3, and 4 in the original scale.
- iii. The need to balance between negatively worded statements and positively worded statements in order to maintain reliability.
  - iv. The need to label only the end-points of the scale that was used for language attitudes or whether to label each point of the attitude-scale. It was finally decided that only the end-points of both the attitude scale and the scale for the post-conflict development variable be labeled.
  - v. The need to change the design of the questionnaire if the one that was used in the pilot appeared confusing. A matrix format for some items was finally adopted.
  - vi. The need to translate the questionnaire into French. It was finally decided to maintain the questionnaire in English since having two sets of questionnaires; one in English and one in French would reduce the reliability of the study.
  - vii. The length of the questionnaire as it may appear too long to the respondents. To reduce the length of the questionnaire, a matrix format for a number of items in the questionnaire was used while still maintaining the original variables being studied.
  - viii. The type of measurement of the variables of the study, that is, post-conflict development vis-à-vis language use and language attitude. The questionnaire was finally adjusted to reflect the focus of the study.

The above issues, among others, enabled the research to come up with the final design of the questionnaire that was given to the respondents, and whose data is analysed.

### **3.6 Data analysis procedures**

The type of data analysis used in the study is mainly dependent on data elicited from the 53 university students. The analysis is done with regard to the independent

variables, post-conflict development vis-à-vis language attitude and language use which are the dependent variables.

### **3.6.1 Scales in the study**

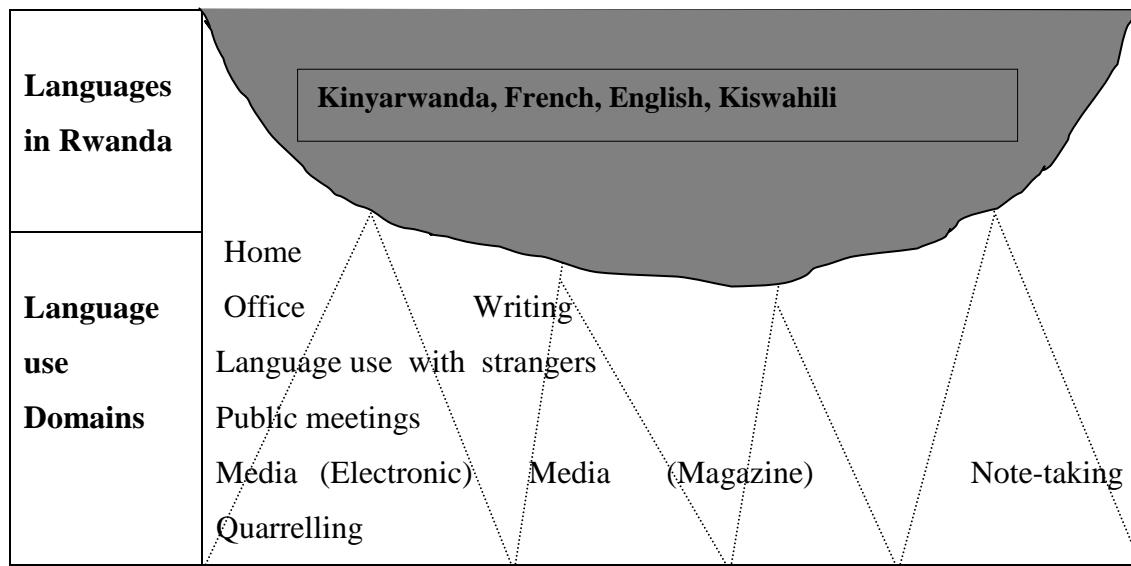
Nominal and ordinal scales are used in the analysis of the data. The ordinal scale is used in cases when comparing respondents on the different ranges of language attitude. The ranges of language attitude necessitate a need to establish paradigms for the comparison of the respondents' language attitudes.

The nominal and ordinal scales are used because the variables in the study are categorical variables. For instance, having a positive attitude towards a language such as Kinyarwanda is not to be considered as being any better than having a positive attitude towards French, or any other language. It is, therefore, important to focus on frequency in the analysis of statements that depict positive and negative attitudes towards the languages used. The nominal scale is also applied to the post-conflict development variable. This had labels for each of the twelve categories (see section 3.3.1) to which the four main languages would be appropriate although at varying degrees. The twelve categories are given as core areas of post-conflict development in this study.

### **3.6.2 Patterns of data analysis**

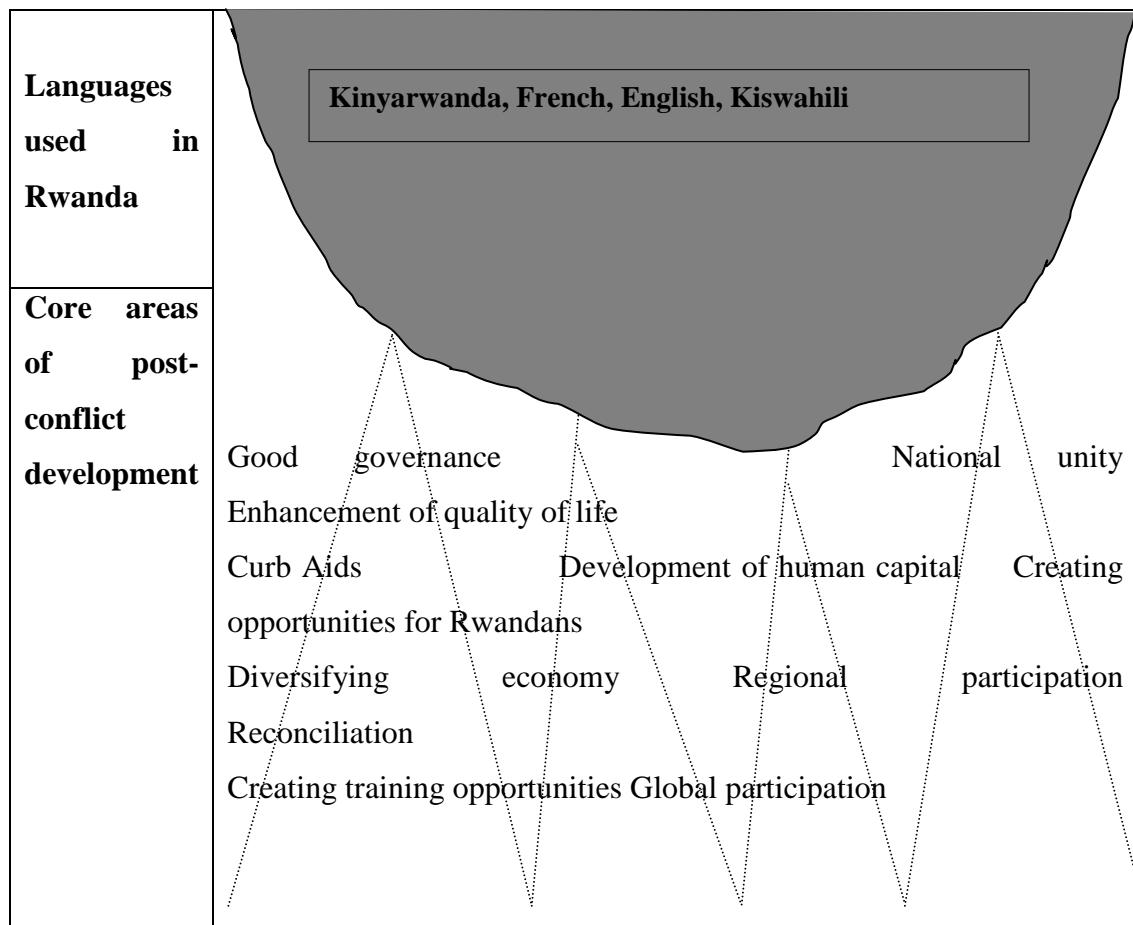
Before carrying out the quantitative and qualitative data analysis, a number of data analysis patterns and frames are established. The first pattern in the study looks at the relationship of the four main languages used in Rwanda to the different language use domains. This pattern is presented in the table below. The pattern assisted in analysing data for the objective language attitude in Rwanda.

**Table 3: Patterns of language use in selected domains**



The pattern in table 3 above assisted in the development of a data analysis scheme for the objective: investigating the different language use domains. The second pattern of data analysis related the language use variable and the appropriateness of each of the four main languages to the core areas of the post-conflict development variable. This pattern is shown in table 4 below.

**Table 4: Patterns of language appropriateness in the core areas of Rwanda's post-conflict development**



The pattern on language appropriateness assisted in the adoption of a data analysis scheme used to investigate the perceived roles of each of the main languages used in the country's post-conflict development. The pattern also assisted in the analysis of the role of each of the languages in the process of post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda.

The third pattern of analysis relates the language attitudes of the respondents to each of the main languages used in Rwanda. There are 8 items that focused on the

students' attitude towards each of the main languages. The same statements are used for each language in order to control any tendency towards bias.

The fourth pattern of analysis is grounded on the open-ended section. The pattern is based on three pre-determined sub-sections: advantages of knowing a specific language in Rwanda, disadvantages of not knowing a specific language and the benefits to the country if more people were to speak a specific language. This section provided more in-depth data on the respondents' feelings with respect to the importance of Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili languages. By restricting the general paradigms to three in the open-ended section, the study was able to generally restrict the answers given and eliminate the tendency of respondents providing information which is not relevant to the stipulated objectives. With respect to the use of open-ended questions, Dooley (1995:144) points out that '...open-ended questions can produce rich and interesting answers.' The data collected in the open-ended pattern further assisted in the analysis and comparison of data collected from the close-ended section of the language attitude pattern. The different responses in the open-ended section were categorized in terms of the global percentage distributions and the commonality of views and feelings expressed by the respondents.

The fifth pattern of analysis in the study is historical. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) note that historical research requires the researcher to consider information from the past. The present study is historical insofar as language policy, language use and post-conflict development in Rwanda are historical in orientation. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) also observe that historical orientation in research may include interpretation of trends in the attitudes and events of the past.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

The participants in the study gave their consent before filling in the questionnaire. This consent was given by more than the 53 respondents who returned the questionnaires and whose data was analysed. Seventy-five copies were originally sent

out, of which 64 were returned representing 85% of the total number. Nine of the questionnaires had incomplete sections and were therefore not used. The final 53 questionnaires that were analysed represented 70% of those originally sent out.

Secondly, the subjects were informed of the purpose of the study and of their roles. This was important because the study started only about six years after the genocide and any queries that concerned peoples' attitudes, preferences or feelings, and places of travel were first viewed suspiciously. In fact, three years before the study, there were bouts of insurgency in the northern part of Rwanda. There was thus a likelihood for mistrust and suspicion during the research.

Thirdly, the data collected were kept confidential and at no time did the respondents indicate their names on the questionnaire. The questionnaires were given out based on the labels: **K** for Kigali Institute of Science and Technology, **KIE** For Kigali Institute of Education and **B** for National University of Rwanda, Butare. These questionnaires were coded using the ascending serial numbers 1 to 53. During the analysis, it is only these numbers that were used.

### **3.8 Conclusion of the chapter**

The present chapter has outlined the descriptive and cross-sectional nature of the study. It defines the core variables of the study namely, language attitude, language use and post-conflict development. The chapter identifies eight language use settings, and explains the various aspects of the main domains of language use, that is, language use in the home, in official settings, and in the print media. The twelve core areas of post-conflict development are described in the chapter. Finally, the chapter describes the patterns of analysis for language attitude, language use and post-conflict development. The patterns of analysis are identified as being both quantitative and qualitative based on both the primary and secondary types of data.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Language attitudes and Language use in Rwanda's Post-conflict Development**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents and discusses the data on language attitudes and language use in Rwanda's post-conflict development. The data collected is grouped into different categories. First, there is data that relates to language attitudes in post-conflict Rwanda. Second, there is data that discusses domains of language use. Third, there is data which relates to the core areas of post-conflict development. The categories of data assist in analysing the variables, language attitudes, language use and post-conflict development in Rwanda.

The two variables: language attitudes and language use in Rwanda are related to the post-conflict development variable. The study selected university students as its focus and considers the Rwandan multilingual blend which is unlike the linguistic blend in other African countries. The context in Rwanda has no discernible direct ethnolinguistic correspondence between the ethnic groups in the country and the speech communities as would, for example, be found in Kenya or in South Africa. The Rwandan linguistic blend is a special ethnolinguistic milieu where language use may influence development in the country's post-conflict reconstruction. Further, the study discusses the linguistic situation in terms of the different categories of language users in Rwanda, and the sociolinguistic domains where each of the four main languages is used. Language choice is taken to reflect group identity and/or solidarity, and is also based on the speaker's identity which is itself a product of the speaker's perceived competence and fluency in the languages used.

Additionally, the chapter explores the language attitudes that underlie the multilingual blend in Rwanda by assessing the sociolinguistic parameters that operate between language use and language attitude, and which result from a

linguistic sandwich of two ‘colonial’ languages, French and English, an African language - Kiswahili, and an indigenous language, Kinyarwanda. The linguistic parameters are seen as pervasive, relevant and ubiquitous indices that would punctuate Rwanda’s post-conflict development.

## 4.2 Variable analysis

Questions were formulated in order to capture the different aspects of post-conflict development, language attitude and language use (see Appendix A). First, the research questions consider the language attitudes of university students towards English, French, Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda. Second, the questions also consider the language use context(s) and domains of language use for the university students of each of the four main languages in Rwanda. Third, the questions identify the languages’ perceived roles in Rwanda’s core areas of post-conflict development. The role of language in reconciliation, a vital process in Rwanda’s post-genocide reconstruction is discussed in chapter five.

The objectives mirrored the questions of the study namely:

- i. Investigating the language attitudes that are held and manifested by university students in Rwanda,
- ii. Investigating the different spheres/domains in which each of the languages French, English, Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda is used by university students,
- iii. Examining the interaction between each of the four languages used in Rwanda and the roles of the languages in the core areas of post-conflict development,
- iv. Determining the role that each of the four languages used can play in the process of reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda.

Responses are then analysed and discussed based on the objectives above.

## **4.3 Language attitudes held by university students in Rwanda**

The questionnaires were used to elicit language attitude data with questions testing language attitudes not being contiguous. However, the items and responses on language attitude in the questionnaire are grouped together. Data is then classified under two broad levels: attitudes towards the use of the languages (discussed in section 4.3.1), and attitudes towards the functions of the languages (discussed in section 4.3.2).

### **4.3.1 Attitudes towards the use of language in Rwanda**

The attitudes towards use of language focus on specific areas which are:

- i. the respondent as an addressee in classroom settings,
- ii. the respondent as the addressee in social settings,
- iii. the respondent as a user of language in the print media, and
- iv. the respondent as a policy maker. When the respondent was put in the shoes of a language policy maker, for example, they were supposed to suggest what needs to be done with regard to training people in the different languages that are used in Rwanda.

Some of these areas which are discussed in the subsequent sub-sections do show a connection between language attitudes and the receptive linguistic skills that come out as one uses language.

#### **4.3.1.1 Language attitudes when the student is an addressee in the classroom**

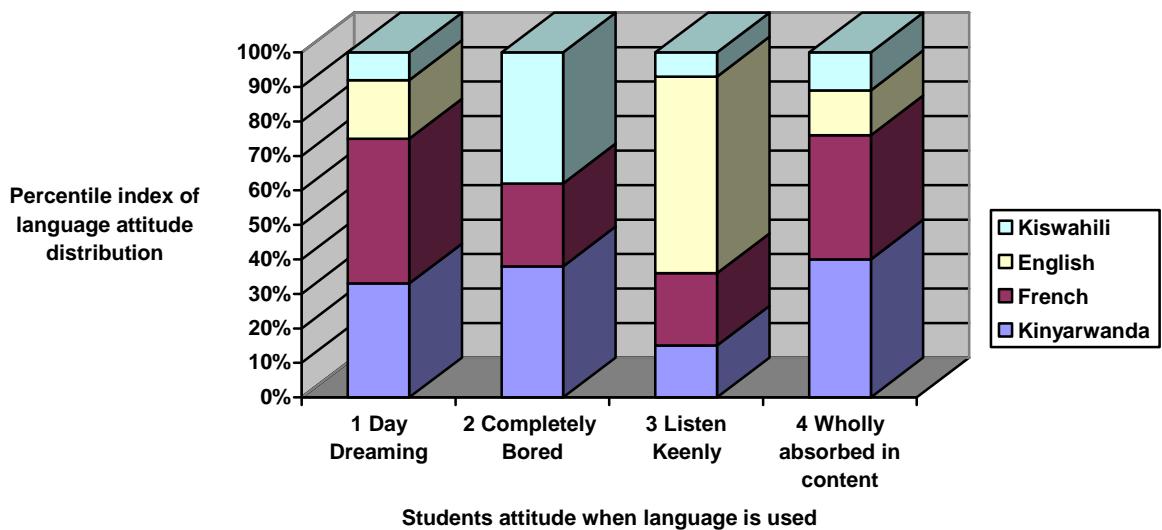
The university students supplied data on whether they would daydream where the language is used (DD), be completely bored (CB), listen keenly to the language being used (LK) or be wholly absorbed in the content conveyed by the language as a result of the language used (WAC). Data for the analysis of the student's attitude when s/he is an addressee in the classroom is presented in the table below.

**Table 5: Percentage distribution of the university students' language attitudes when an addressee in the classroom**

Language	Students' attitudes when language is used			
	Negative orientation		Positive orientation	
	I daydream (DD) %	I am completely bored (CB) %	I listen keenly (LK) %	I am wholly absorbed (WAC) %
Kinyarwanda	33	38	15	40
French	42	24	21	36
English	17	0	57	13
Swahili	8	38	7	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%

**N = 53**

**Figure 3: Percentage distribution of students' language attitudes in classroom language use settings**



The percentage index for daydreaming, boredom, listening and level of absorption of content when a specific language was used acts as a mirror of a respondents' interest in the language. A low percentile index in the daydreaming section (DD) would, for example, suggest a higher interest in the language use setting. Indices for daydreaming (DD) and complete boredom (CB) represented a negative orientation towards language. On the other hand, indices for listening keenly (LK), and indices for being wholly absorbed in content (WAC) represented a positive orientation towards language.

There could be other factors that may engender boredom in the classroom and not just the language used. Such factors would include language proficiency of the student, presentation of the self by the addressee and the student's preparedness to learn. In this regard, Kanevsky and Keighley (2003:1) note that '...the cumulative effects of boredom on classroom learning are symptoms of a complex interaction of factors.' The present study, however, considered the university student's alertness vis-à-vis boredom when a specific language was used in the classroom settings.

The following discussion regards data from the responses with respect to the language attitudes in situations where each of the four languages was used in the classroom. In settings where Kiswahili would be the language of classroom communication, 8% of the respondents indicated that they would daydream. On the other hand, in English language use settings, 17% of the respondents indicated that they would day-dream when they were the addressees in classroom communicative settings. The data would initially suggest that more university students might be interested to hear English and Kiswahili being spoken since these languages have a low score in the negative orientation. This contrasts with 33%, that is, the percentile index for daydreaming when Kinyarwanda was used and 41% which is the index when French is the language of classroom communication. Thus French and Kinyarwanda rank higher than English and Kiswahili in the negative orientation scale in classroom language use settings.

A salient observation from the data is that a good percentage of the university students daydream or feel that they are daydreaming in Kinyarwanda and French languages settings. Worth noting in this observation is the fact that these university students have been exposed to Kinyarwanda and French longer than they have been exposed to English or Kiswahili. It may be concluded that the university students feel that they become more alert rather being bored when the languages they have been exposed to least are being used in classroom settings.

The observation also confirms the view that in human nature, there is always more attraction for what is novel. The affinity for novelty is shown in the linguistic situation obtaining in Rwanda. Kiswahili and English are both seen as novel languages in Rwanda as compared to Kinyarwanda and French. For instance, although English had been introduced to Rwanda as far back as 1961, it only became an official language after the renewal of the fundamental law on 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1996, two years after the 1994 genocide. Kiswahili, on the other hand, has been see-sawing between a policy that supports its use and a policy that does not support it all the way back to Rwanda colonial past.

The argument on language exposure vis-à-vis positive and negative orientation towards language would further be propped up by data on attitudes in other language use settings. One relevant dimension in this regard is alertness. Students' alertness when language was used in class was compared to their boredom in different classroom language settings. There was no university student who indicated that s/he became completely bored when the English language was the language of communication in the classroom. On the contrary, Kinyarwanda at 38% and French at 24 % are languages that elicited tendencies of boredom when they were used in the classroom setting yet these languages have been in Rwanda for a longer time. The university students are pulled more towards settings where English is used even though the language is a recent introduction to Rwanda's social and education setting. While the pull towards English may exist for the university student in Rwanda, s/he may however not be proficient in the English language at present.

The above observation confirms what Adegbija (1994:3) has pointed out concerning language use in sub-Saharan Africa when he says that,

Many of the indigenous people are ignorant of the day to day happenings in government circles and are unable to participate effectively in national life.

Part of the ignorance stems from a lack of access to information in the languages that people understand. It would be argued that in Rwanda, the English language is attractive to the university students even though the students are not competent in this language.

Further, the study investigated the university students' attitude as they listened to classroom content delivered in each of the languages by considering the extent to which students would be absorbed in the content communicated (WAC). Of the university students sampled, 57% indicated that they were keen listeners in the classroom setting when English was used. This contrasts with the 36% cumulative percentile for both Kinyarwanda at 15% and French language at 21%. 7% of the university students were not keen listeners to the content when Kiswahili was the language of communication and neither were the students wholly absorbed in the content conveyed via the Kiswahili language as they represent only 11% of the respondents. Although 57% of the university students felt that they were keen listeners in English language classroom settings, they were however, never really absorbed in the content conveyed via the English language since only 13% indicated that they would be wholly absorbed in English language-based content. It is worth noting here that 40% of the respondents indicated that they became wholly absorbed in the Kinyarwanda-based content which is a much higher percentage than the 13% percentile index for English. The explanation is that Kinyarwanda is a native language for most of the students in Rwanda and a home language, while English is used only in restricted sociolinguistic settings in Rwanda.

The import of the statistics on language use in Rwanda may be three-fold:

- i. Since the students become wholly absorbed in Kinyarwanda-based settings, there is need to encourage the use the native language and factor it into the materials being prepared in Rwanda's post-conflict settings.
- ii. Not many university students are engrossed in English language based content. Hence, insistence on the use of English in Rwanda locks out many, attractive as the language may seem to be in Rwanda's post-conflict development context.
- iii. Only a few students (11%) became wholly absorbed in Kiswahili based content. Hence, there is need therefore to make deliberate efforts to develop Kiswahili since post-conflict Rwanda has joined the East African Community, and Kiswahili is a major language in the region where Rwanda hopes to play an active role.

From the foregoing, it would be suggested that, initially, language users in Rwanda seem to have a negative language attitude towards their own native language, Kinyarwanda. The negative attitude towards Kinyarwanda may, however, be superficial since it is noted that the same respondents become wholly absorbed in Kinyarwanda-based content. It would therefore be argued that there is need to explore Kinyarwanda as the most likely beneficial language of conveying Rwanda's post-conflict development programmes.

#### **4.3.1.2 Attitudes towards language use in the print media.**

The study also investigated the university students' attitudes on the frequency of reading magazines written in the four languages were the students to have an opportunity. The four aspects compared were: (i) reading newspapers and magazines

often in the language, (ii) reading newspapers and magazines in the language fairly often, (iii) not reading newspapers and magazines in the language often, and (iv) never reading newspapers and magazines in the language at all.

Language attitude and language use in the print media was considered from a frame of possibility rather than what actually occurs in Rwanda. One reason for this is that there is a limited choice of newspapers and magazines that exist in the news-stands in Rwanda at present. Hence, a number of the students in Rwanda may not have much exposure to a variety of print media. In addition, a number of the magazines came after the 1994 genocide (see table below), and their sale is restricted largely to urban areas like Kigali city, the university town at Butare and some of the former provincial headquarters like Gisenyi, Gitarama and Ruhengeri. The foregoing notwithstanding, the selection of specific print media may be hemmed in by the type of newspapers that the reader selects. A majority of the newspapers selected in the study were of the same type basically reporting the same type of news albeit with a difference in the languages used.

Some of the magazines that have been in the news stands before the genocide and after the genocide are indicated in the two tables below.

**Table 6: Some of the newspapers and magazines sold in Rwanda before 1994**

<b>Language used</b>	<b>Newspaper/Magazine</b>	
Kinyarwanda	i	Kinyamateka
	ii	Imvaho
	iii	Kangura
	iv	Kanguka
	v	Ishakwe
	vi	Kurererimana
	vii	Hobe
	viii	Isibo
	ix	Abinazareti
English	i.	-
French	i.	La Releve
	ii.	Dialogue
Kiswahili	i	-

**Table 7: Some selected newspapers/magazines available after the 1994 Rwandan Genocide**

Language used	Newspaper/magazine	
Kinyarwanda	i	Umuseso
	ii	Inganzo
	iii	Ingabo
	iv	Imvaho
English	i.	New Times
	ii.	Newline
	iii.	Champion
French	i.	La Releve
	ii.	Le Soft
	iii	League de Driot de L'homme
Kiswahili	i	-

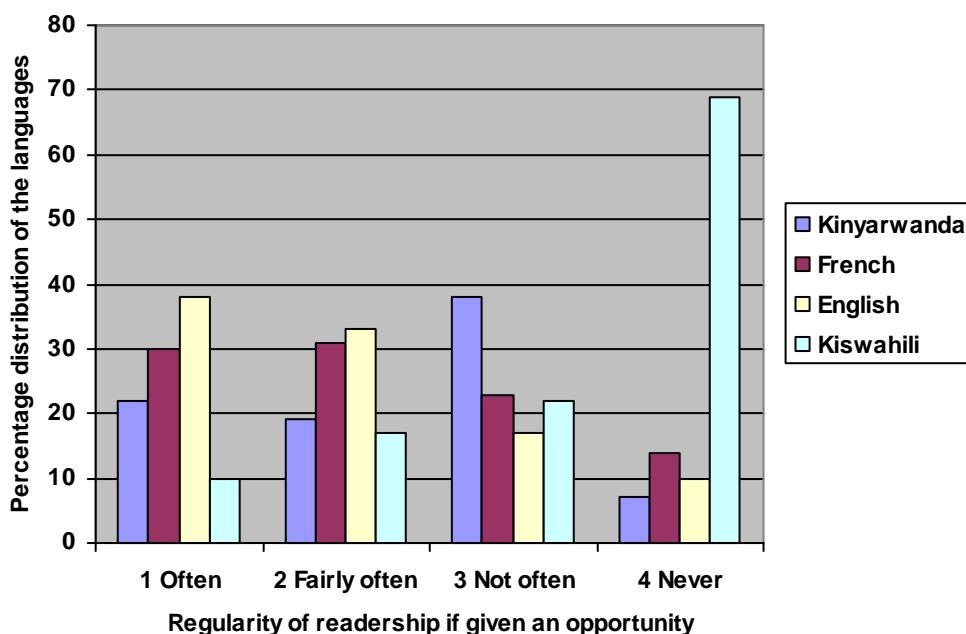
In addition to the print media indicated in the tables above, there are some magazines sold on the streets in Rwanda that are from presses in the neighbouring countries. These newspapers include *The Daily Nation* and *The Sunday Nation* from Kenya, and *The Monitor* and *The New Vision* from Uganda. The content in this print media is usually skewed towards happenings and events in the countries where the newspapers and magazines are published. It needs to be noted that the print media from outside Rwanda nonetheless give the Rwandan readership exposure to different language codes. The preferred choice and the students' actual selection of these print media partly show the students' attitude to the languages used in the newspapers. Data from the respondents on language in the media are given in the table below.

**Table 8: Percentage distribution of the university students' language attitudes in the print media**

Language of print media	Frequency of readership if the students were given an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines.			
	Positive orientation		Negative orientation	
	Often (%)	Fairly often (%)	Not often (%)	Never (%)
Kinyarwanda	22	19	38	7
French	30	31	23	14
English	38	33	17	10
Swahili	10	17	22	69
	100	100	100	100

**n = 53**

**Figure 4: Percentage distribution of university students' language attitudes in the print media**



The labels ‘*often*’ and ‘*fairly often*’ represent a positive orientation towards language use in the print media. Of the university students investigated, a total of 71% indicated that they would prefer to read English language newspapers often or fairly often, if they were to get an opportunity. 61% of the university students indicated that they would prefer to read newspapers and magazines in French often or fairly often, while 41% indicated that they would prefer magazines and newspapers in the native Kinyarwanda often or fairly often. This compares to a total of 27% of the students that would prefer to read Swahili newspapers often or fairly often.

From the statistics, it can be observed that in terms of the cline of language preference in the print media, more university students would prefer print media which is written in English (71%), then the print media written in French (61%), and thirdly, the print media that is written in Kinyarwanda (41%). Kiswahili ranks a distant fourth in this cline of preference as it represents only 27% of the responses that show language preferences in the Kiswahili print media.

Further, it can be observed that English newspapers and magazines in Rwanda are a fairly recent introduction in the Rwandan market. Thus, the positive attitudes for English in Rwanda would perhaps be a product of the global influence that English has had. It would also be accounted for by the dominating influences exerted by the English language over other languages in Africa. The English language in Rwanda is seen as the language of the global market. In addition, the present Rwanda political leaders tend to mainly use English when they are not speaking in Kinyarwanda on national Radio rather than using French. The use of English in Rwanda confirms a claim advanced by Batibo (2005:20), who argues that in Africa,

The ex-colonial language was seen as a vehicle of modernization and technological advancement and as a link with the developed world, as well as a means of social promotion and access to white-collar jobs.

Although English is not an ex-colonial language in Rwanda and its use is not supported by Rwanda's colonial past, nonetheless, in the context of the current politico-socio-economic settings, English ranks highly in the group of languages of wider communication. English is already an official language in Rwanda although in reality, the Kiswahili language has more speakers. The 2003 population census in Rwanda gave the percentage of speakers per language in the country. The table presented in the appendix J shows that Kinyarwanda is the home language in all the provinces.

The English language seems to dominate other languages in Rwanda as it has done in many other African countries. In this regard, a Nigerian illustration showing the domination that the English language has over other languages is given by Adegbite (2003:188) who blames elitist interests for '... the dominance of English over the indigenous languages in Nigeria and the attendant positive attitude towards the language.' Similarly, the attitudes towards English existing in Rwanda at present is also positively skewed even if some of the English language-based newspapers on which this positive attitude is based may not directly be relevant to the Rwandan socio-economic developmental context. It is possible then that the use of English in Rwanda is supported by elitist interests. Unfortunately, the use of English in the print media may thus contribute little to Rwanda's post-conflict development since many people are not fluent in the English language.

Another language in Rwanda, Kiswahili, may be an important language in the East and Central African region. In support of this, Kinge'i (1999) observes that Kiswahili has potential as a tool for social communication and development. This would be true since it is estimated that only 20% of the people in this region speak or understand English, and even fewer know French (Kinge'i, 1999).

From the findings of the present study, though, 69% of the university students in the study would never wish to read a newspaper or magazine written in Kiswahili. Since a number of the students have never seen a newspaper in Kiswahili, they just imagine

that they would wish to read newspapers written in Kiswahili. This is despite the fact that Kiswahili is a Bantu language like Kinyarwanda and both languages belong to the Niger-Kordofanian language family (Greenberg, 1966). There is hardly any Kiswahili newspapers and magazines on the newspaper stands. Yet there are English language newspapers from outside Rwanda such *The Daily Nation* from Kenya and *The New Vision* from Uganda sold in the streets of Rwanda. The same position does not obtain in the region. For instance, it is rare to find a Kenyan newspaper on the streets of Kampala, Uganda, language of the print media notwithstanding. In fact, because of this occurrence in Uganda, the Nation newspapers of Kenya decided to buy the Uganda newspaper Monitor, instead of propagating the Nation newspaper itself (BBC World Service Trust, 2008).

In addition, there is a group of university students in Rwanda who would never wish to read print media in their own native language, Kinyarwanda. This would show a lack of a reading culture in Rwanda, but more importantly, it may show the students negative orientation towards the native language, Kinyarwanda. From the data, 7% of the respondents indicated that they would never select a Kinyarwanda newspaper or magazine even if they got such an opportunity. All the students selected for the study were Rwandan citizens. Therefore, some of these students may represent some emerging ethnolinguistic identities in language in East and Central Africa. Mbori (2005) has shown that there are emerging identities in both Kenya and Rwanda and many people who belong to these emerging identities do not speak the language of their parents. The first language for these emergent language-based identities may sometimes be a variety of Kiswahili, or a variety of Kinyarwanda, and not the recognized standard Kiswahili variety or standard Kinyarwanda language. Such a category of language users may not have much regard for their indigenous standard Kinyarwanda though the speakers form part of the community of Kinyarwanda language users in Rwanda.

A further category of university students, that is, 10% of the respondents in the present study have had exposure to English but would never wish to read a newspaper

or magazine written in English. This represents a negative attitude towards English. The whole study sample has already gone through a mandatory one-year elementary course in communication skills in English. This researcher had an opportunity of conducting lectures in the English communication skills course. It was confirmed from the Communication Skills syllabus that rudimentary concepts and skills are tackled in the communication skills course. The Communication Skills course in Rwandan universities conducted in English and French aims to impart skills that students will require in order to read a newspaper or magazine written in English or French. Some of the concepts tackled in the Communication Skills course are given in the Appendix.

#### **4.3.1.3                  Language attitudes when the student is an addressee in social settings**

The university students' attitude towards the use of language in social settings was investigated from four perspectives that ranged from complete interest (an index for positive attitude) to complete boredom (an index for negative attitude). It has been argued that how social life is conducted partly depends on the attitudes that people hold (Kioko and Muthwii, 2003). Ryan et al (1982) cite a study by Rosenthal (1974) which shows that from a tender age children make social decisions based on the language attitudes that have already been formed, or that the children acquire the language attitudes of the majority culture (Cremona and Bates, 1977 cited in Ryan et al, 1982). It is then argued that part of what language users have as their communicative competence, is indeed language attitude (Ramirez, Arce-Torres and Politzer 1978, cited in Ryan et al, 1982). Language attitudes in the research are seen to interact closely with previous social categorization in Rwanda.

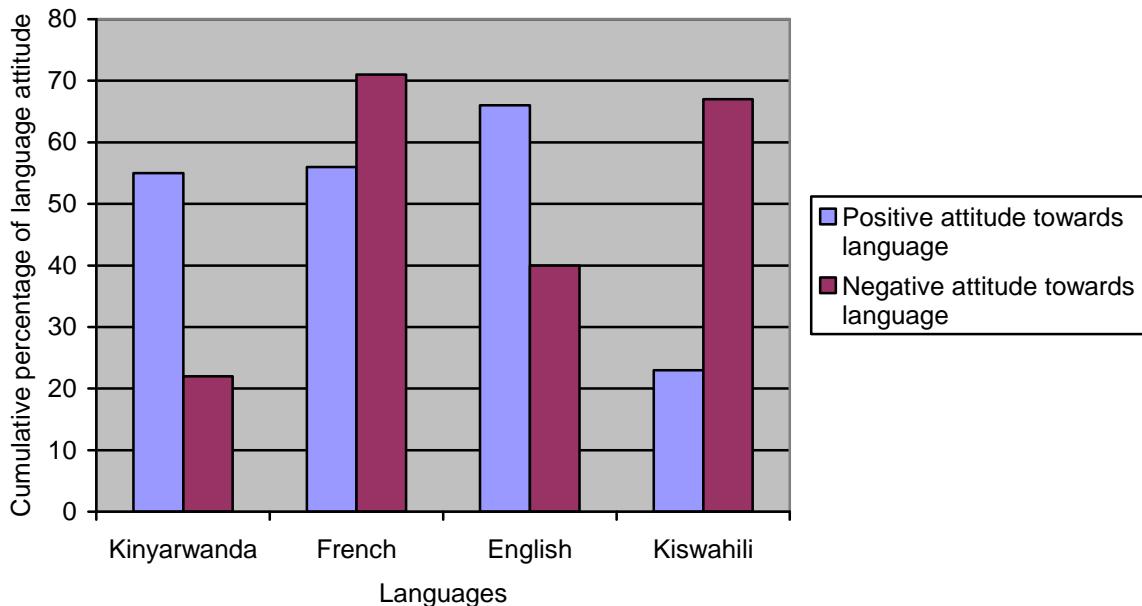
The interaction between students who hold different language identities can be subsumed under the term acculturation. The process of acculturation is a linguistic seesaw that operates depending on how a language user identifies with the languages that are used in a specific social setting. The data collected with regard to the

respondents' attitudes to language use in social settings is presented in the tables and figures below.

**Table 9: Percentage distribution of the university students' language attitudes in social settings**

Language	Attitudes of students when language is used in social settings			
	Positive Orientation		Negative Orientation	
	Completely interested in speaker (CIS) %	Wholly absorbed in content (WAC) %	Forced listening (FL) %	Completely bored (CB) %
Kinyarwanda	32	23	10	12
French	28	28	39	32
English	38	28	35	5
Kiswahili	2	21	16	51
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Figure 5: Comparative chart between positive and negative attitudes towards each language in social settings**



It can be noted from the data on language attitudes in social settings that the university students generally have an averagely distributed positive attitude towards the three official languages: Kinyarwanda 55%, French 56% and English 66%. Kiswahili, which is not an official language ranks least as it represents only 23% of the responses on the language attitude positive scale, and 67% on the language attitude negative scale. The English language ranks highest in the language attitude positive scale. This ranking is perhaps due to the global influence of the English as it is the language of the internet and global business (Crystal, 1997).

The four languages were also compared along the negative scale of language attitudes. Attitudes towards French in the social settings at 71% show a highly negative attitude, followed by Kiswahili at 67%, and then English at 40% on the same negative scale. University students who have a negative attitude towards Kinyarwanda language represent only 22%.

The high ranking of Kiswahili in the negative attitude scale can partly be attributable to the language being neither an official nor a national language in Rwanda. On the other hand, interesting is the high rating of French on the negative language attitude scale as it accounts for 71% of the respondents. Yet, French is and has been an official language in Rwanda for a long time.

The high percentile negative ranking for the French language would perhaps be related to the functions of the language in the past. According to Cooper (1989), the determinants of a language's functions may include political and socio-economic activities of a community. This would explain the high rating of French on the language attitude negative scale. Ngugi (1987) has also argued that language embodies and symbolizes the common beliefs and psychological make-up of the community of users. Hence, it would additionally be argued in the present study that perhaps the high ranking of French in the negative attitude scale would directly be related to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, where the French (that is, the state and political machinery) were accused of complicity in the Rwandan genocide. This is additionally supported by the fact the France has not apologized for the 'perceived' complicity in the genocide, even if the political leaders in Rwanda have always wished for such an apology.

Moreover, there was a sense in which linguistic interests played a role in the 1994 Rwandan genocide. For instance, Romeo Dallaire, a commander of the United Nations forces in Rwanda during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, reports that one Belgian contingent commander during the Rwandan genocide recommended that all UN staff going into the HPZ (Humanitarian Protection Zone) travel with French units for protection:

He judged that it was crucial that they be French speakers in order to help build trust in the people...In only one of the three sub - zones of the HPZ were the militia unarmed. In another, they wore

special bandanas and were assisting the French to maintain order (Dallaire, 2004: 472).

The university students' responses about language use in social settings would be related to general language use patterns in the region. Data in the present study can be further analysed and compared with a number of propositions by sociolinguistic scholars on the language situation and the languages of communication in the Great Lakes Region that includes countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. One such proposition is by Kishe (2003:218) who notes that in '... the present situation in the Great Lakes region ...communication relies on foreign languages or different ethnic languages'. Along the same lines, King'ei (1999) believes that Kiswahili is the *de facto* lingua franca for the region. Kingei's propositions might be true, but the present study notes that in Rwanda, Kiswahili language ranks low in the university students' rating the positive attitude scale.

In concluding this subsection, it is noted that different attitudinal strands towards the languages used in social settings in Rwanda are recognized. The attitudinal strands would determine the kind of post-conflict roadmap in Rwanda is likely to take since, in the words of Bodomo (1996: 34), '... the language factor weighs in heavily on issues of development thinking in every society.' It has also been pointed out that although European languages – a product of colonization - are entrenched in Africa's heritage, the languages are removed from many ordinary people in Africa, yet development is intended for the ordinary people (King'ei, 1999). It is posited that one language factor relevant in post-conflict development is language attitude and language use in social settings especially as they relate to the participation of Rwandan people in development. Along these lines would also be the role of knowledge that Huskainen (1993) identifies; worth noting is the fact that issues of knowledge directly involve language attitude and language use not only in social settings, but also in post-conflict development contexts.

#### **4.3.1.4 Students' language attitudes as language policy makers**

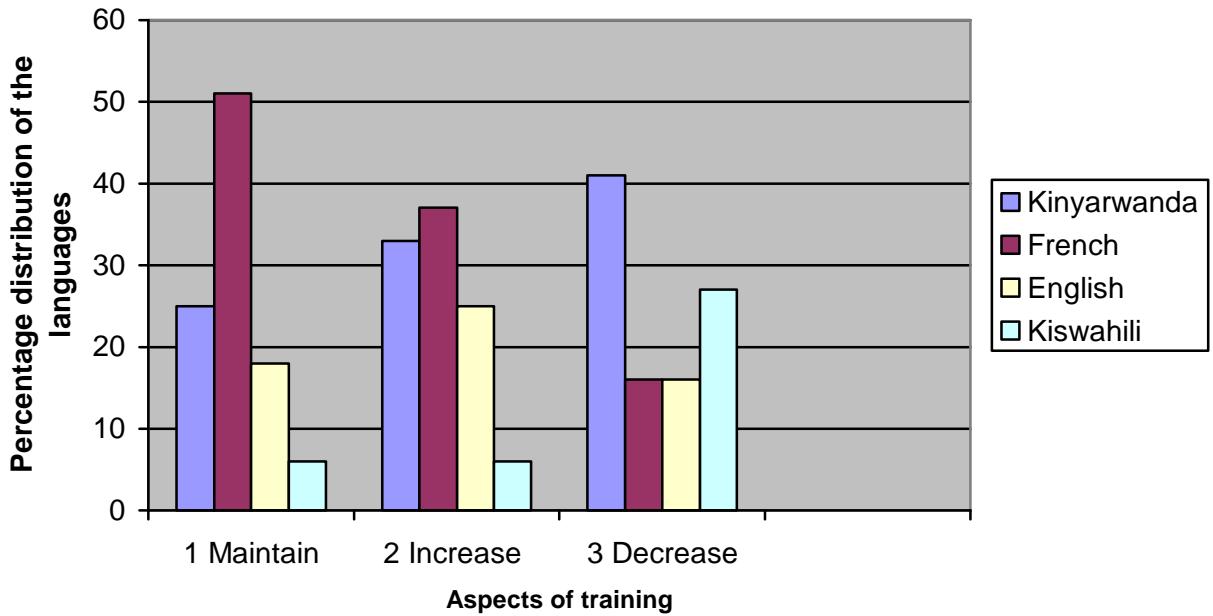
Another analysis of language attitudes focuses on language policy. The students were required to indicate their attitude on each of the different languages were they to be the language policy makers in Rwanda. Language policy-making may be looked at from many angles. Three of these angles were selected in the study: give language users a choice when selecting the languages to be trained in, force people to train in the language, or remove the language from Rwanda's training programmes and language policy. These three choices represented the university students' attitude to language use, language training and language policy.

The investigation of language policy also focuses on the future status of the languages. The university students were to indicate whether there was need to maintain training in the languages (as the training in each language exists at present), increase the current training in each of the languages, or decrease the current training for each language. The purpose of this was to forecast the respondents' attitudes vis-à-vis the future prospects for each of the languages. The data obtained in the aspects of language policy, language attitude and training is presented in table 10 and figure 6.

**Table 10: University students' language attitudes towards future training in the languages used in Rwanda**

<b>Language</b>	<b>Positive attitudes towards the language</b>		<b>Negative attitudes towards the language</b>
	Maintain training as it is (%)	Increase training in future (%)	Decrease training in future (%)
Kinyarwanda	25	33	41
French	51	37	16
English	18	25	16
Kiswahili	6	5	27
Total	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 6: Language attitudes towards future training in the languages**



From the data on training in the languages, 41% of the university students would consider decreasing current training in Kinyarwanda. This is the highest proposition for all the four languages. The second highest segment with respect to decreasing training is taken by Kiswahili (27%). French and English are equally distributed at 16%. This represents a positive orientation as the two languages, English and French, are ranked low in the negative attitude scale. On the other hand, the two African languages are ranked highly on the negative scale of language training. It seems that the university students do not recognize the role of Kinyarwanda or even Kiswahili in post-conflict development. Metropolitan languages such as English and French are viewed positively perhaps because they are international languages and thus are likely to offer more opportunities to the students on the international market.

Data on whether to increase training showed that Kiswahili had only 6% of the instances, the same figure given with regard to maintaining training in the Kiswahili language. In terms of increasing current training in language, Kinyarwanda comes

second at 33% to the French language which is selected in 37% of the instances. English is third since 25% of the university students proposed an increase in training in the English language in Rwanda.

The data indicate the low pedestal on which the two African languages, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili, are placed. There is a discernible skewedness for the English language towards maintaining current training (18%) or increasing current training in the language (24%), rather than decreasing the training in English represented by only 16% of the university students.

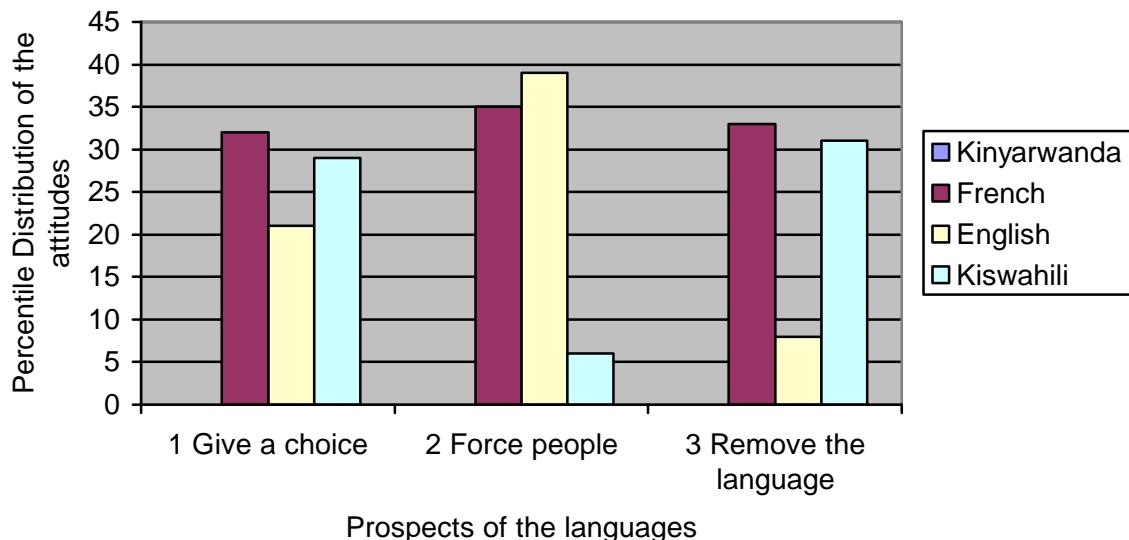
A somewhat different picture emerges regarding students' attitudes towards training in French. Of the university students investigated, 51% feel that training in French should be maintained at its current level while 37% of the university students feel that training in French needs to be increased. Comparatively this represents a positive language attitude towards training in French. It can be pointed out that there is an underlying positive attitude towards training in French, perhaps because a number of these students may have had longer exposure to the language owing to the fact that French has been used in Rwanda from the time the country became a Belgian colony.

A further dimension was in respect to the future of the languages in Rwanda. The students indicated positions they would place the languages with regard to their future development. Data regarding the future of the languages is shown in the table and figure given below. It emerges from the table that students would even want people to be forced to learn English and neither Kiswahili nor Kinyarwanda.

**Table 11: University students' attitudes on the future of the main languages in Rwanda**

Language	Give Rwandan people a choice (%)	Force all people to learn the language (%)	Remove language from the curriculum (%)
Kinyarwanda	18	20	28
French	32	35	33
English	21	39	8
Kiswahili	29	6	31
Total	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 7: Language attitudes on the future of the languages**



#### 4.3.2 Attitudes towards language functions in Rwanda

The study further considered another level in the study of language attitudes and language functions in Rwanda. Two sets of language functions are identified along

the lines identified by Kembo-Sure (1997) and Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000). One set of language functions include using language to get a job, using language to communicate outside Rwanda, using language to develop the country and finally, using language to interpret government policies. A second set of language functions that the university student responded to are: using language to understand other users, using language in order to be recognized socially, using language in order to think and behave like users of the language and finally feeling that the language would make the user a better person.

#### **4.3.2.1        The connection between language attitudes and language function**

A speaker's perceived evaluation of a language function may not in reality reflect the actual language function or use(s). Rather, the speaker's evaluation will mirror the function the speaker or user believes the language to have. In addition, Clair (1982) has argued that social and political forces operating within the history of a nation may also help to shape language attitudes within the nation. For instance, Castellano, the official dialect in Spain had a strong socio-historical political support, with other Spanish language varieties now abandoned in favour of the Castilian variety of Spanish (Carranza, 1982 in Ryan *et al*, 1982). Thus, the recognition of the function of a standard language, and the recognition of the three official languages in a multilingual setting, such as Rwanda, would be considered as part of a socio-historical political process of linguistic legitimization (Clair, 1982), as well as linguistic purification (Polenz, 1972 cited in Ryan *et al* 1982). A further argument would be that a speaker's attitude might align with a language function identified after a process of political socialization.

Language functions may therefore operate at two levels. The first level is the use to which a language is actually put in reality. In such a situation, languages in contact specialize and stratify and this is determined by the socially dominant group (Laponce, 1987:266). The second level of looking at language function is socio-

psychological. In a multilingual setting, language users may be categorized and labeled, and in fact, the Pygmalion effect will be reflected as the languages are used.

Additionally, the power of labeling which is a major feature of human experience, captured in a number of arguments such as by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), may also be seen in the way the speakers of a language perceive and label the functions of a language in society. The use to which a language is put thus partly depends on the attitude that a speaker has towards the specific language. Alternatively, the attitude that a speaker has towards a language will also depend on the function to which the speaker feels the language may be put. In this case, language is used to categorize personal experiences and meanings. Hence, different language functions may trigger different sets of attitudes shown in a range of applicability from high applicability of language to function to a low applicability to function. This is discussed in section 4.3.3 below.

### **4.3.3 Applicability of language to function.**

Eight statements assessing the relationship between language attitudes and language function generated a language's applicability index. A student who felt that a particular language was highly applicable would select the highest level 3 (High applicability). If the same student felt that the language was lowly applicable, the student would select the lowest level 1 (Low applicability). The maximum number of instances for each level of applicability per language was the 8 language functions' multiplied by 53, the total number of respondents. Hence, the highest index for language applicability for all respondents would ideally be 424 instances. The actual responses per language are given in the tables below. The percentage contribution of each level of applicability is then calculated.

Each of the eight statements captured aspects of the language functions for each of the four main languages in Rwanda. The respondents rated the statements in terms of

the applicability of each language to each function. The language applicability index was three-tiered:

- i. A high applicability index, that is, the student feels that the language is highly applicable to the language functions in Rwanda.
- ii. An average applicability index, that is, the student feels that the language is averagely applicable to the language functions in Rwanda.
- iii. A low applicability index, that is, the student feels that the language is least applicable to the language functions.

Data depicting the languages applicability index is presented in the table below.

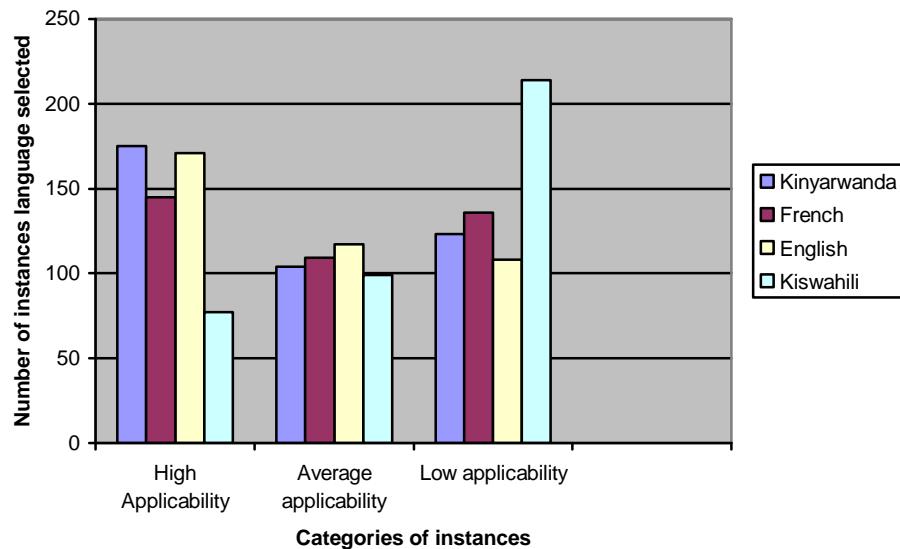
**Table 12: The applicability of language to function in Rwanda**

<b>Language</b>	<b>Instances of language applicability to language function in Rwanda</b>			
	<b>High applicability instances</b>	<b>Average applicability instances</b>	<b>Low applicability instances</b>	<b>Total number of selected instances</b>
Kinyarwanda	175	104	123	402
French	145	109	136	390
English	171	117	108	396
Kiswahili	77	99	214	390

**Table 13: Percentage distribution of how languages in Rwanda are related to function**

Language	Percentage distribution of instances of language applicability to language function in Rwanda			
	High applicability %	Average applicability %	Low applicability %	Total percentage %
Kinyarwanda	43	26	31	100
French	37	28	35	100
English	43	30	27	100
Kiswahili	20	25	55	100

**Figure 8: Instances of language attitude, language applicability and language function**



From the data, the language with most instances in the high index column would be considered as the language that has the highest applicability to many of the functions to which language would be put in Rwanda. Kinyarwanda is selected in this category. The least applicable language in Rwanda would be the language with the many instances in the low index column. Kiswahili occupies this slot. It is worth noting here that the analysis of the functions was done globally rather than in terms of one language vis-à-vis a specific function per language. One reason for this is that development is a multifaceted variable and it is sometimes not useful to analyse just one facet of the development variable.

#### **4.4 Patterns and domains of language use by university students in Rwanda**

Patterns of language use in the different domains were investigated. It has been pointed out that domain analysis and language behaviour was an offshoot of pre-war multilingual settings (Fishman, 1965). In the analysis of language use in domains, it is necessary to recognize that language choices are sometimes related to topic. Five broad categories represented the different domains of language use. These were:

- (i) Informal domain
- (ii) Formal domain
- (iii) Writing domain
- (iv) Emotional domain
- (v) Public domain

Three domains had six possible instances of language use. The emotional and public domains of language use had fewer instances of language use. The three domains, informal, formal and writing domains are therefore discussed together.

The six different instances of language use in each domain were given in order to define unambiguously what the informal, formal and writing domains entailed. Responses in each of the subsections where the university student used language gave

a detailed coverage of each of the three domains. This is discussed in section 4.4.1 below.

#### **4.4.1 Patterns of language use in the informal, formal and writing domains**

The informal domain comprised the various ways language was used at home and other social but informal settings, and this is covered under the category label LUHO. Second, the formal domains consist of language use in six official settings and were labeled LUOF. Third, the writing domain is categorized into two: written communication in six informal settings (LUWR), and language use when taking notes (LUNT). The analysis of language use patterns identified varied language contact situations as exhibited through the domains ranging from the home to the formal situations out of the home.

For each domain, the students indicated the most preferred language from the four languages: Kinyarwanda, French, English and Swahili. The selection of preferred languages was then related to each sphere of language use in Rwanda. The data elicited were categorized into four levels of language preference per domain namely: excellent language use, good language use, fair language use and poor language use.

In the three language use domains LUHO, LUOF and LUWR, the use of a particular language would be classified as excellent in a specific domain if out of the possible maximum number of six instances, a language was used in 5–6 times. A selection of four times out of the maximum six instances, represented good language use while a selection of a particular language in 2-3 instances represented fair language use. Finally, a selection of 0–1 was taken to represent poor language use. The range of language use is represented in the table below for the three domains: LUHO, LUOF, and LUWR.

**Table 14: Classification of patterns of language use in the home domain, (LUHO), Formal office domain (LUOF) and writing domain (LUWR) in Rwanda**

Level of language use	Number of possible times a language is selected	Classification of language use pattern.
Level 1	5 – 6	Excellent
Level 2	4	Good
Level 3	2 – 3	Fair
Level 4	0 – 1	Poor

The Rwandan universities that were sampled are located in urban settings. However, the students themselves hail from the urban, peri-urban and rural settings. In the research, the patterns of language use focused on the home, work and neighborhood. In most parts of Africa language use patterns are fairly compartmentalized (Myers-Scotton, 1995). The same compartmentalization of language use patterns does also exist in Rwanda. In the study though, these patterns of language use were viewed from the point of view of language attitude. Ryan et. al. (1982:216) argue,

Speech is far likely to be dependent on how speakers cognitively represent their characteristics and subjectively define the scene than any objective classification imposed from without.

Hence, the categorization of language use patterns in a paradigm of domains would depend initially on the speaker's subjective and attitudinal identification.

Additionally many scholars have considered paradigms of language use domains from the point of view of group and personal identities (Tajfel and Turner 1979), or from settings, purpose and participants (Brown and Fraser 1979). The research considers these paradigms in terms of language use. In arguments presented by Ryan et al. (1982) formal domains tend to be status oriented whereas the home, family and

neighbourhood contexts will tend to stress solidarity. Therefore, the choice of language in a domain may show a relationship between language attitude and status, and language attitude and solidarity. In the context of development, group solidarity and status become relevant variables when viewed through language in post-conflict settings.

It is further argued that language switching prevalent within the language use domains will depend on the educational level, occupation and age (Myers-Scotton, 1995). However, Rwanda presents peculiar switching patterns because of the language setting which is different from the setting in Kenya or Zimbabwe and the diverse multilingualism existing in these two countries. The table below shows different types of multilingual settings in selected countries in Africa ranging from a high diversity of multilingualism where Kenya and Zimbabwe belong, and a low diversity of language. Rwanda falls in category B, the group of low linguistic diversity.

**Table 15: Types of multilingualism in selected countries in Africa**

<b>Category A:</b>		<b>Country</b>	<b>Population</b>
High Linguistic Diversity	1	Cameroon	17,378,386
	2	Chad	8,720,110
	3	Democratic Republic of Congo	58,731,656
	4	Ghana	21,356,649
	5	Kenya	34,222,866
	6	Nigeria	159,404,137
	7	Tanzania	37,979,417
	8	Zimbabwe	12,247,589
Category B:  Low Linguistic Diversity	1	Burundi	7,909,395
	2	Comoro Islands	666,044
	3	Djibouti	779,684
	4	Libya	6,135,578
	5	Morocco	30,182,038
	6	Rwanda	8,807,212
	7	Sao Tome Principe	170,319
	8	Seychelles	84,189

Adopted from: Batibo (2005), and World-gazetter.com, updated March 31, 2006

Based on the above scenario in Africa, it is argued that in countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe there is no single group with both enough numerical and enough political dominance to make its language the natural choice. There are several groups of enough size and power to dispute the awarding of official status to any other indigenous language. But Rwanda, unlike the countries above, tends towards linguistic homogeneity and ranks in the group of countries such as Burundi (Kirundi dominant) Botswana (Setswana dominant), Lesotho (Sesotho dominant) and Madagascar (Malagasy dominant). Nevertheless, the linguistic homogeneity in Rwanda that may be seen in the domains of language use are punctuated by the use of

Kinyarwanda, English, French and Kiswahili. It is this linguistic interaction and language users that will influence how post-conflict development programmes are received, and how effectively the Rwandan people participate in development.

The influences of Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili on the language use patterns within the domains also depend on individual multilingualism which is itself multifaceted, and different from institutional multilingualism. Individual multilingualism is both functional and commercial, and in Africa it permeates the whole social fabric [UNESCO 1997]. The UNESCO document (cited in Wolff, 2000: 316) further notes that individual multilingualism forms part of the socio-political and socio-linguistic characteristics of most speech communities. Institutional multilingualism on the other hand, considers three dimensions. One dimension is where certain functions are reserved for certain languages irrespective of actual usage by the people. The second dimension is the identification of languages with different communication patterns as illustrated by the pervasive use of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda. The third dimension is the demand to use more than one language in a specific setting as in the case for English, French and Kinyarwanda. At universities in Rwanda, documents are drafted in English, French and Kinyarwanda. One such document is given in the Appendix. The selection of language in each of the language use domains shows how the university students balance both individual multilingualism and institutional multilingualism in a post-conflict development context.

Additionally, language use patterns within the domains also act as a mirror of social and communicative distance that may exist between and amongst the Rwandan language users. Wolff (2000:304) defines the social and communicative distance as the deliberate or subconscious signalling of degrees of intimacy, solidarity, respect, taboo, exclusion and discrimination. This can be done by choice of the language, and by patterns of a kind of code mixing that represents social nearness. As post-conflict development is participatory, it will tend to be affected by the social nearness of the participants.

There are three minor language use domains in the study. One domain is the affective domain, in which data was sought concerning the language the university students felt they used when quarrelling (LUQ). The second domain of language use, the public domain, considered two areas namely: the language used with strangers (LUST), and the kind of language chosen and used in public meetings (LUP).

#### **4.5 The roles of the main languages in Rwanda's post-conflict development**

This section considers the roles of the four main languages in Rwanda's post-conflict development and reconstruction. Coyne (2007) identifies post-conflict reconstruction as one of the most relevant policy issues in the World at present and goes further to point out that common knowledge among a country's citizens contribute to the way activities are coordinated. Language is likely to be the bedrock upon which the coordination of post-conflict development and reconstruction is based.

All the 53 university students in the research responded to the eleven core areas of post-conflict development by indicating each of the languages in the order of appropriateness. The specific core areas are identified from the areas given by the Ministry of Finance and which form the main focus of Rwanda's development strategy encapsulated as Vision 2020.

The responses from the university students are given a value of language appropriateness (see Appendix). The data achieved answer the objective of the study namely, to investigate the perceived roles of each of the main languages used in Rwanda in the country's post-conflict development, and the discussion is given in subsection 4.5.1 below.

The languages whose appropriateness in post-conflict development is investigated are Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili. The range of appropriateness of a

language to a specific core area of post-conflict development is based on four levels namely:

- a. a very high appropriateness if the university student gave a given language a score of 1 in the selected area of post-conflict development.
- b. a high appropriateness if a language is given a score of 2 in the selected area of post-conflict development.
- c. a medium appropriateness if a language is given a score of 3 in the selected area of post-conflict development, and
- d. a low appropriateness if a language is given a score of 4 in the selected area of post-conflict development.

The individual scores of appropriateness in each area of post-conflict development are given in the Appendix.

#### **4.5.1 Language appropriateness to the core areas of post-conflict development**

Data in percentages relating to appropriateness of the each of the languages Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili in the core areas of post-conflict development is given in the table below and discussed in the subsequent paragraphs. Appendix H indicates the three levels of appropriateness for the four languages in each of the eleven core areas of Rwanda's post-conflict development. Each of the figures is given as a percentage of the rating that students gave each language in each area of post-conflict development.

Of the eleven core areas of post-conflict development identified, Kinyarwanda language is ranked as the most appropriate language in eight core areas. These areas are: national unity (96%), dissemination of AIDS messages (91%), governance (86%), quality of life (72%), labour productivity (64%), opportunities for Rwandans (54%), enhancement of human capital (52%) and global participation (43%). However, Kinyarwanda was not ranked highly in the core areas of training, diversifying the economy and regional participation.

The language ranked highly as being the most appropriate in the core area of regional participation is French. This is perhaps because the university students recognize Rwanda as a Francophone country some of whose neighbours are other francophone countries namely Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Rwanda also uses a currency called a franc, a term that is similar to the currencies that are also used in the two countries. In any case, the ethnic mix in Burundi is almost similar to the ethnic mix in Rwanda where the Hutu are the majority and the Tutsi are the minority. In addition, power relations have always oscillated, in similar pattern, between the two ethnic groups in both countries.

An interesting statistic is the low 6% that is given for Kiswahili as being the highly appropriate language for regional participation. One would have expected Kiswahili to rank highly in regional participation since the Rwandan people and the Rwandan economy interact closely with the peoples and economies of Tanzania and Kenya where the Kiswahili language is the national language. Nevertheless, the fact that many of the returnees to Rwanda after the 1994 genocide were from Uganda, where Kiswahili is not a prestigious language, would account for the language's low rating in the core area of post-conflict development, regional participation.

On the other hand, the dominating role of the English language in the World at present is also confirmed in Rwanda's post-conflict development where the language is ranked as the most highly appropriate language in the area of training and diversifying the Rwandan economy. In the two areas of post-conflict development, no student indicated that Kiswahili would be the highly appropriate language. Indeed, the Kiswahili language is consistently indicated as the lowly appropriate language in all the core areas of Rwanda's development (Amidu, 1995).

The low sociolinguistic rating of Kiswahili is implicitly also recognized within the East African community economic block where the development of Kiswahili was one of the key areas that Rwanda and Burundi were asked to look into when being admitted to the Community in 2007. The low rating of Kiswahili in the research

seems to support arguments by skeptics like Amidu (1995) who questions the position of Kiswahili as an international language.

#### **4.6 Conclusion of the chapter**

The present chapter has outlined data based on the university students' responses on each of the variables of study, that is, language attitudes, language use and eleven core areas of post-conflict development. The chapter has further discussed data that seeks to answer the objective that attempts to investigate the language attitudes held and manifested by university students in Rwanda. Also discussed in the chapter is data that investigates the different domains of language use for the languages Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili. Finally, the chapter has also examined the appropriateness of each of the languages in the eleven core areas of post-conflict development namely: national unity, dissemination of AIDS messages, governance, quality of life, labour productivity, opportunities for Rwandans, enhancement of human capital, global participation, training and diversification of the Rwandan economy.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Language and Reconciliation in Rwanda's Post-conflict Development**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In the present chapter, one of the objectives in the present study, namely, investigating the role of language in reconciliation in post-conflict Rwanda, is met through an analysis of the historical events that have resulted in the current Rwandan linguistic situation. In a sense, therefore, the interpretation in the present chapter is somewhat different from the analysis in chapter four whose focus was on quantitative data based on the responses from the university students. However, one feature exists in this chapter and is also a feature of the previous chapter, that is, the last section of chapter five also bases its interpretation on the university students' attitude towards the role of language in post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda.

In focusing on the role of language and reconciliation in Rwanda, it is argued that development cannot meaningfully occur if a society is full of suspicion and mistrust amongst its language users, especially when the mistrust has roots in a country's violent history. It is then contended that the core areas of development in Rwanda can effectively be analysed in the context of reconciliation vis-à-vis language. The pace of post-conflict reconstruction and development can be influenced by how soon and how fast Rwanda deals with its divisive past. Hence, the country needs to recognise any emergent linguistic categorization that may exist alongside previous divisions, which is either camouflaged in new linguistic labels, or which would take novel sociolinguistic dimensions. The present chapter finally discusses and interprets the university students' responses on the role of language in post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda.

## **5.2 Language use in the context of Rwanda's reconciliation**

The mass fleeing of Rwandans from the country in recent times can be traced to 1959 (African Rights, 1995). A big percentage of those who left Rwanda in 1959 were mainly members of one ethnic group, the Tutsi, and a few were the Hutu who were seen to sympathize with the Tutsi monarchy (Semujanga, 2003). Those who remained, many being members of the more populous ethnic group, the Hutu, viewed the ones fleeing as foreigners. But both communities the Hutu and the Tutsi, spoke the same native Kinyarwanda language.

After fleeing Rwanda in 1959, the migrants settled in a number of Anglophone and Francophone countries in the East and Central African region (Prunier, 1999). The migrants not only acquired specific linguistic mannerisms, but also learned new languages which they, together with their children- some born outside Rwanda's borders, would bring back to Rwanda in the post-genocide period in 1994. With these new languages and linguistic leanings there was likely be a new form of linguistic identity, and new linguistic sub-groups emerging within the Rwandan speech community. Studying reconciliation and the use of language in development therefore requires that an analysis be made to Rwanda's recent history. This is discussed in the following section.

## **5.3 The historical basis to language attitudes and reconciliation in Rwanda**

In order to understand the efforts towards reconciliation in Rwanda after 1994, and be able to place the role of language in present-day Rwanda in perspective, there is need to first focus on the group that wielded power during Rwanda's immediate pre-independence and post-independence periods. One region, Bugoyi in Rwanda, can illustrate this, as it represents the general administrative set-up when Rwanda was colonized by the Belgians (Republic of Rwanda, 1999).

Before Rwanda got its independence from Belgium in 1962, within the Bugoyi area, and during the reign of King Rudahigwa, there were nineteen chief-assistants. The nineteen chief-assistants were all Tutsi's, except two who were Hutu, namely: Baganizi Issac of Busoro and Ugarashebuja Alain of Nyundo. These chief-assistants were dismissed by the colonial government even though they were Hutu (Republic of Rwanda, 1999). The colonial government through the then Governor, Colonel Logiest, dismissed many Tutsi administrators throughout Rwanda (African Rights, 1995). Also, the Hutu administrators like many other Tutsi masses, fled Rwanda in 1959 as they were seen to identify with the Tutsi. In the case of the two chiefs cited above, there is a clear case of categorization determining the kind of decision that was made with regard to the way people were grouped in Rwanda and the effect of such grouping. Therefore, in colonial Rwanda, people were given identities. The ascribed identities determined the way members of the identity groups were treated. Similar identities like the ones in present-day linguistic categorization in Rwanda would also produce results similar to previous ethnic categorization.

Further, towards Rwanda's independence in 1962, there was a deliberate programme to view and categorize the Tutsi as foreigners in Rwanda, although it was the ethnic group that always produced the King and which controlled political power in pre-independence Rwanda. The Tutsi group has always also been a minority group. Through a deliberate categorization programme by the Belgian colonial government, the Hutu were given power in the 1960s as the Tutsi were perceived to be outsiders. According to a Republic of Rwanda (1999:89) document;

Provisional leaders, appointed by Logiest in the early 1960's conducted a campaign for PARMEHUTU ideologies centred on solidarity of Hutus, (and) hatred against Tutsis saying they are foreigners who oppressed Hutus.

Colonel Logiest was a Belgian special resident who arrived in Rwanda on November 9<sup>th</sup> 1959. Under a special programme to change power relations in Rwanda, Colonel Logiest replaced Tutsi chiefs and chief-assistants who had been killed, imprisoned or dismissed. The Hutu chiefs appointed to take over from the Tutsi were sponsored by Hutu-leaning political parties called PARMEHUTU, APROSOMA and RADER (Semujanga, 2003).

In addition, the change in power relations continued in Rwanda's parliamentary elections. The elections for parliament and for the monarchy in Rwanda on 25<sup>th</sup> September 1961 further confirmed the change in power relations which was a major feature during the period preceding and following Rwanda independence in 1962. It has been pointed out that,

80% of the voters rejected the monarchy, (and) therefore, Rwanda moved from the *Tutsi Monarchy* into *Hutu Republic*' (Republic of Rwanda, 1999: 94; italics added).

What the italicized expressions above show is that the labeling and categorization of individuals and institutions has been a salient feature in Rwanda's history. Hence, any current linguistic categorization and labeling has the potential to re-engineer the labeling that has existed in Rwanda in the past.

Moreover, in the lexicon of the Kinyarwanda language, there exist lexical items such as *Inyenzi* 'cockroach' which were words used to refer to the Tutsi. Other words used for the Tutsi were '*inkontanyi*' which originally meant 'fighter', and which has been used by both Tutsi and Hutu leaders in the past albeit with different interpretations. From one angle the term *inkontanyi* was a rallying call to fight for Tutsi rights in Rwanda. But from the perspective of some Hutu leaders, the Kinyarwanda lexical terms *inyenzi*, *inkotanyi* and *icyitso* 'accomplice', meant a person to be killed (Semujanga, 2003:206). In the context of the present study, it is argued that the use of such Kinyarwanda lexical items evokes elements of opposing identities which is a

part of the social reality which would be represented within the language. The Kinyarwanda lexical terms above also represent a clear profiling of the Rwandan people. It is thus further suggested that profiling that creates labels or tags can affect Rwanda's post-conflict reconciliation programmes, as people will now identify programmes with specific categories or groups of people.

A number of efforts towards post-conflict reconciliation have been put in place in Rwanda after the genocide. Part of the efforts involved the setting up of the Unity and Reconciliation Commission, provided for by the Rwanda Law number 03/99 of 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1999 (Republic of Rwanda, 2000). One of the achievements of the commission is having succeeded in prohibiting,

Any reference to ethnic group in individuals' identity cards, in employment and school promotion, and to uproot the policy of ethnic and regional balance, so that people can enjoy equal rights based on their personal skills' (Republic of Rwanda 2000:13).

In an effort to do away with categorization and labeling, there was also the change of the national flag (see appendix) , and the Rwandan national anthem. The old national anthem was based on a Rwandan folk tune and would have been a reflection of categorization within the Rwandan culture.

Another change in post-conflict reconciliation is in the administrative setup. At the beginning of the present study, there were twelve provinces (or *Prefectures*, as these were called in French). The provinces were Butare, Byumba, Cyangugu, Gikongoro, Gisenyi, Gitarama, Kibungo, Kibuye, Kigali, Kigali Ngali, Ruhengeri, and Umutara. However, during the period of the present study, the provinces were merged and the new names that were given were now based on the names of the compass namely: South, North, East, West and Kigali, the province where Rwanda's city is located.

A further effort towards post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda that aimed at dealing with categorization and labeling was the formation of a government of national unity in July, 1994. The new post-genocide government incorporated members from both the Hutu and the Tutsi groups. However, in post-genocide Rwanda, there has been the use of terms such as '*this Anglophone government*'. Admittedly, the use of *Anglophone* with regard to government does not have overt ethnic overtones. However, the phrase develops some semantic markedness especially when it is noted that a number of leaders in government are either the sons of those who fled in 1959, those who left in 1969, or those Rwandans who grew up outside Rwanda in various Anglophone settings and acquired new linguistic mannerisms. It does not matter to a user of the phrase '*Anglophone*' that the persons in government may themselves not actually be fluent in English. *Anglophone* and *Francophone* are thus terms that are used for purposes of linguistic identity, but have undertones of social, cultural and political identity. The terms *Anglophone* and *Francophone* would thus be inimical to Rwanda's efforts towards reconciliation.

It has been argued that the way a person is nurtured greatly influences the way such a person grows up. In a presentation that shows that culture can be used to re-establish the unity of Rwandans, Kayihura (1999) cited in Republic of Rwanda (1999:82), avers in Kinyarwanda, '*Uburerere buruta uburuke*'. This directly translates into English as 'the way one is educated is better than the way one is born'. Kayihura's (1999) observation captures the importance attached to one's social nurturing as opposed to ones provenance. The social nurturing can play an active role in the perception and interpretation of current post-conflict development programmes in Rwanda.

Additionally, in the present educational setup in Rwanda, there are 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone' schools as there are 'Francophone' and 'Anglophone' classes within the schools. The students going to Anglophone schools, and Anglophone classes could easily grow up with the mental disposition that they are *Anglophone*. The same would happen to those students going to Francophone schools or Francophone classes as they could develop a disposition that they are *Francophone*. Each of these groups

would have an ascribed particular set of behaviour which is either developed by the language users themselves, or by other people that the language users interact with. The resultant identification will be mirrored in the way post-conflict reconciliation is implemented.

By and large, a socio-cultural connection to reconciliation can then be established in Rwanda. Such a connection leans towards the positions adopted by Goodenough (1957: 167) who states,

A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves.

The reason why the above statement would be applicable to the Rwandan language situation is that for a long time, children in Rwanda grew up knowing that they were either Hutu or Tutsi. Hutu children were to behave like Hutu, even if there was no tangible or clear way as to how a Hutu should behave. A similar requirement would also be expected of Tutsi children. Such a requirement underpins the illogical propaganda in Rwanda. The distinction between Hutu and Tutsi also has a similar orientation as the Anglophone/Francophone distinction that is emerging in Rwanda at present. These distinctions can easily feed illogical propaganda in post-conflict Rwanda.

Propaganda based on categorization has always existed in Rwanda's colonial and post-colonial history. It could sociolinguistically be brought up again in the post-conflict context. It has been pointed out by Semujanga (2003: 172) that the PARMEHUTU party that was founded by Rwanda's first president, Gregoire Kayibanda '...defined Hutu and Tutsi as two opposed "races", of which one, the Tutsi, had always dominated the other. The Hutu' PARMEHUTU propaganda was successful against the Tutsi because it presented an identity for the Hutu that was different from the Tutsi, and gave the Tutsi a dominating identity. As further noted,

The Tutsi was “the eternal enemy” of the Hutu and he had two faces: the one from outside was an inyenzi, a cockroach who was “nostalgic” for power and who “plotted his revenge,” while the one from inside was his accomplice’. (Semujanga, 2003:184).

Ironically, even those diehard prominent followers of illogical propaganda in Rwanda including President Kayibanda himself, and even the president of the interim Rwandan government of 1961-62, had Tutsi wives. The study therefore contends that no categorization, however innocuous it may seem, should be allowed to create social subgroups in Rwanda. Categorization in terms of language has the potential to do this, and if it is permitted, then it will negatively affect reconciliation and post-conflict development in Rwanda.

#### **5.4 The socio-cultural impact of linguistic categorization on Rwanda’s post-conflict reconciliation**

The categorization in Rwanda is ethnic and linguistic. The origin of the ethnic categorization and distinction that exists in Rwanda is steeped in controversy. For instance, the Rwandan National Unity and Reconciliation Commission Report (Republic of Rwanda, 2000:5) states that,

Ever since the arrival of white people, Rwanda has experienced bad governance based on discrimination and division of Rwanda which enabled leaders to maintain and reinforce their repressive regime.

Such an observation reinforces a debatable view that the division among Rwandans was a product of colonial rule. But, on another level, it would be argued that it is not the colonial rule that created the terms that represented the Rwandan ethnic groups namely: the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. The terms are distinctions that existed in pre-

colonial Rwandan society, although the groupings perhaps may not have had any discernible negative effects. However, the colonial powers capitalized on the socio-ethnic groupings and entrenched the distinctions within the Rwandan colonial social set-up. At present, Rwanda is a nexus of emerging cultures with a raft of attendant languages which operate in a post-conflict reconciliation context. Language use in Rwanda thus becomes critical not just because language by its very nature operates within a cultural setting, but also because language determines the social interaction between peoples.

On the one hand, a dominant group will try to defend its interests. The interests will include linguistic interests. The dominated group will also defend its interests, albeit in a comparatively weaker way. On the other hand, however, the process of reconciliation tries to bring together a dominated group and the dominant group. This is done by not necessarily making the two groups equal, but rather by creating an understanding of each group's interests. In the Rwandan case, the two major groups, the Anglophone and the Francophone groups, will try to foster individual and group interests. The Anglophone group will defend what they perceive to be Anglophone interests while the Francophone group will also try to defend what they perceive to be Francophone interests. It is perhaps in this regard that the Rwandan currency notes now include a text in English, on both sides of the currency note. Selected Rwandan currency notes are given in the appendix. There was no such a text before English became one of the official languages in Rwanda.

Subgroup interests in Rwanda will also be projected through different post-conflict development programmes. As a result of this, the way a group perceives a reconciliation programme will be affected by the extent to which the group feels its interests are represented in the specific development programme. In Rwanda, a number of programmes on post-conflict reconciliation are drafted in Kinyarwanda; some are drafted in English while others are drafted in French. None is drafted in Kiswahili, perhaps because the policy makers feel that Kiswahili is not a home language in Rwanda. Along these lines, it would be argued that programmes drafted

in Kinyarwanda may not present many problems of acceptability of language use. This is because Kinyarwanda represents the speech community of speakers of Kinyarwanda versus speakers from outside Rwanda, who are given the generic lexical label, *Abanyamahanga* (foreigners). But it should not be forgotten that English and French are also to be considered as foreign languages, what in the Rwandan context, would be termed as *abanyamahanga* languages.

### **5.5 Using language in Rwanda to lock out speakers of other languages**

Rwandans speak a foreign language to foreigners even when the foreigner is fluent in Kinyarwanda (Munyakazi, 1984). Munyakazi (1984) further considers this situation as a way of the Kinyarwanda speaker affording himself the opportunity to use the language and improving his/her competence in the language. But from another angle, this would be a way of maintaining distance between the native and the foreigner in Rwanda. For instance, the researcher in this study, who is a foreigner in Rwanda but fairly fluent in Kinyarwanda, had much of the discussions with Kinyarwanda speakers in a foreign language. Nzabonimpa (2004) has argued that it is the use of a language other than Kinyarwanda, which makes one to be considered a foreigner. He gives illustrations of these foreign nationalities as Ugandan, Congolese, and Burundian.

Being considered a foreigner in Rwanda may not, by itself, be negative. But Nzabonimpa (2004:106) goes further to argue;

Naturally no one would like to be labeled under the post-genocide circumstances, a foreigner in one's own country, despite the historical background of interlocutors...speaking English, therefore, about issues of social significance on a daily basis does not pave the way for socialization.

What makes Nzabonimpa's assertion on locking out other language users distinctive is the fact that Rwanda has had many social and political disagreements with its neighbours, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda. Rwanda, has always also wished to maintain a distinct social, geopolitical and linguistic difference from Burundi, although Burundi has the same ethnic mix like Rwanda. Also, Kirundi, the language in Burundi, is mutually intelligible with Kinyarwanda. In this case, therefore, it would be suggested that categorization of a language user as a foreigner by using language hides social and political differences that may exist between Rwanda and some of its neighbours. Further, categorization in terms of *Anglophone* and *Francophone* within Rwanda itself has the potential of hiding social and ethnic differences.

Finally, the foreign languages in Rwanda are used as labels to segregate Rwandans; the Rwandans who are Anglophone versus the Rwandans who are Francophone. Thus, if a specific reconciliation programme is perceived to be Anglophone or driven by Anglophone interests, its acceptability may be low amongst Francophone speakers. The same will apply to a reconciliation programme perceived to be Francophone or driven by Francophone interests.

## **5.6 University students' attitudes on the role of language in reconciliation**

Each of the four main languages was analysed in terms of the language's appropriateness in post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda. The university students were required to rate the language along four levels of appropriateness. Level 4 represented the most appropriate level while level 1 represented the least appropriate level. The university students' responses are presented in the table and figure below.

**Table 16: Percentages distribution of instances of language appropriateness to reconciliation in Rwanda**

Levels of language appropriateness in reconciliation	Percentage distribution of instances of appropriacy				
	Kinyarwanda %	French %	English %	Kiswahili %	Total %
Highest Level 4	98	2	0	0	100
Level 3	2	51	36	11	100
Level 2	0	43	53	4	100
Lowest Level 1	0	4	11	85	100

From the responses, Kinyarwanda is ranked as the most appropriate language for reconciliation. In the highest level of appropriateness, Kinyarwanda language accounts for 98% of the instances. French accounts for the other 2% of the instances while Kiswahili and English are not rated as languages that can be used in post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda.

Kiswahili accounts for 85% of the instances in the lowest level of language appropriateness in reconciliation. This is followed by English at 11%. It would be argued that language may be a divider in some respects in Rwanda. It is perhaps because of this that the words of the Rwandan national anthem were changed in January, 2002 as it was felt that the lexical items used had elements of the divisions among the Rwandan people. The foregoing notwithstanding, the new national anthem is also in Kinyarwanda. With this new change in the words of the national anthem, the language used is to be regarded as a way of uniting the Rwandan people.

Generally, it would be argued that the languages that the students feel to be the most appropriate for post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda is Kinyarwanda. French is not ranked highly at the highest level of appropriateness (level 4) nor at the lowest level

of appropriateness (level 1), a fact that may be explained historically. One explanation is that France has been accused of complicity in the Rwandan genocide, especially as the French were in charge of the 1994 *Operation Turquoise* in the southern areas of Rwanda. The second reason is that Rwanda's colonial power, Belgium, introduced and developed French in Rwanda. But much more importantly, Belgium has been accused of having entrenched the ethnic divisions in the country especially after the 1960s Hutu revolution (African Rights, 1995; Republic of Rwanda, 1999; Semujanga, 2003). English is also not ranked as being highly appropriate in post-conflict reconciliation because it would be felt that in Rwanda, a former Francophone system has been replaced by a new Anglophone system. Moreover, the language has not been entrenched within the population.

It would therefore be pointed out that university students in Rwanda establish a link between language and the sociopolitical happenings. In a sense therefore, language use in Rwanda has the potential of acting as an agent of division much as it would also act as a uniting agent. This could hinder the pace of post-conflict reconciliation in the country.

### **5.7 Conclusion of the chapter**

The present chapter presents a socio-historical analysis of reconciliation in Rwanda. It is argued that the present linguistic blend in Rwanda is a result of socio-political events in the past, and that language attitude and use are an active feature of Rwanda's current socio-political events. Hence, it is argued that since university students do establish a link between language and socio-political events, programmes of reconciliation in post-conflict Rwanda would need to recognize the role of language, especially owing to the fact that languages have been known to, sometimes, provide embers for divisive sociolinguistic categorization.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

The chapter aims at bringing the ideas discussed in the thesis together, and be able to identify different strands of issues that result from an analysis of language attitudes and language use in post-conflict Rwanda. Chapter six gives a general conclusion of the current study through a review of the preceding five chapters. The first section of the chapter (6.1) presents a summary of the issues discussed in previous chapters while section 6.2 presents a case for the harmonious co-existence of languages in post-conflict Rwanda. Finally, the last section (6.3) draws conclusions with regard to language attitudes and language use for the whole thesis.

#### **6.1 Review of preceding chapters**

##### **6.1.1 Chapter one**

The aim of this study was to investigate the position of language attitudes and language use in post-conflict Rwanda. Its relevance stems from the fact that although Rwanda is a country of low linguistic diversity, the languages that exist draw strong connections towards linguistic identity. The analysis of linguistic identity is important since from 1959 onwards, Rwanda has been plagued by negative divisions and social categorization that culminated in the 1994 genocide. To counter the divisions, the post-genocide Rwandan government has made efforts to reduce the ethnic differentiation between the Hutu and the Tutsi. This has been done through the formation of a government of national unity, and through other deliberate efforts which include the formation of the Unity and Reconciliation Commission. However, the efforts do not include the role of language in fanning division.

Chapter one hence gives an outline of the language situation in post-conflict Rwanda which is labeled a ‘linguistic blend’. The linguistic matrix blend mainly involves the use of Kinyarwanda, French, English and Kiswahili languages. It is argued that each of these languages would dominate in specific language use contexts. But in so doing, the main languages would also excite in the speakers of the other languages aspects of identity and attitude that would affect how post-conflict Rwanda develops, whether in education or other socioeconomic settings. For instance, the development programmes would be seen to belong to specific speech communities and be owned by those speech communities even if the members of the communities are not fluent in the languages ascribed. The emergent linguistic categorization will also influence how the country embarks on reconciliation given that the language codes used would further create new sociolinguistic divisions within the linguistic blend in post-conflict Rwanda.

The first chapter therefore presents the research problem and goals that focus on the interaction of the language attitude variable and the language use variable. It is argued that these variables need to be considered not just in the Rwandan post-conflict language policy, but also in the country’s post-conflict development policy.

### **6.1.2 Chapter two**

The second chapter discusses the conceptual framework and literature review. In the chapter, it is pointed out that while the use of language is social, language being a social phenomenon, the attitudes towards language are socio-psychological. The study thus adopts the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), a social-psychological conceptual framework by Ryan et. al. (1982), which underpins the variables studied.

It is argued in the chapter that the different aspects of the Communication Accommodation Theory such as convergence and divergence are relevant in the study of language attitudes in a post-conflict setting. The speakers of different languages

have varying attitudes and these may be reflected in social settings and domains where the languages are used. It is also noted that the use of language would influence how development in a country is perceived and implemented particularly as a result of emergent sociolinguistic categories. Hence, the study considers the variable of development in post-conflict Rwanda from the perspective of language.

Additionally, in the second chapter, a review of literature is presented that focuses on aspects of language attitude, language use, identity and post-conflict development. It is observed that no study has discussed the role of language from the perspective of language attitude and use particularly as they relate to post-conflict reconstruction and development in Rwanda. There would be other studies that have considered language attitude and use in other multilingual contexts. However, no study has related the notions to a multilingual post-conflict situation whose categorization and divisions are products from social, ethnic, historical and political underpinnings.

### **6.1.3 Chapter three**

Chapter three presents the design of the study and the methodology that the study employs. In the chapter the variables of the study: language attitude, language use and post-conflict development are defined and their relationship given. The study adopts a descriptive-historical research design rather than an experimental one. The university students selected for study are described and the instruments and research tools used such as the questionnaire are given in detail.

Chapter three also describes the cross-sectional dimension of the study and the different patterns of coding the data and analyzing it. The analysis employed is qualitative, quantitative, uses observation of events and considers secondary data given in records and documents. The three universities, the National University of Rwanda, Kigali Institute of Science and Technology and Kigali Institute of Education, from which the sample of 53 students was selected and who answered the questionnaire, are also described fully.

#### **6.1.4 Chapter four**

Chapter four is an analysis, discussion and interpretation of language attitudes, language use and post-conflict development data from 53 university students. The data that is analysed is grouped into three paradigms depending on the three variables: language attitude, language use and post-conflict development. The patterns show that university students daydream when the languages that they have been exposed to longer are used in the classroom settings. The university students however become more alert when the languages they have been exposed to least are used. This gives a sociolinguistic confirmation of an aspect of human nature, that is, a language user will be attracted to what is novel irrespective of his/her level of competence especially if such a language occupies a prestigious position.

In the domains of language use in the study, it is illustrated that students would prefer English language newspapers and magazines to French language newspapers and magazines. This confirms the fact that English is considered the language of wider communication even in so-called *Francophone* contexts like post-conflict Rwanda where the users are not fully proficient in the English language. It is debatable whether the negative attitude that the university students have towards Kinyarwanda newspapers such as Imvaho and Ingabo newspapers is a result of poor reading habits. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that Kinyarwanda media did play a great role in accelerating the 1994 Rwandan genocide (Republic of Rwanda, 1999, Prunier, 1999, Semujanga, 2003, Dallaire, 2004). It is further observed that there is a sociolinguistic asymmetry of language use and language attitude in the print media in post-conflict Rwanda: negative attitudes exist towards the widely-used native Kinyarwanda, which is also the home language.

Further, it is pointed out in the chapter that in some social settings in Rwanda the three languages, Kinyarwanda, French and English all have a fairly well-distributed

positive attitude. In the same social settings of language use, Kiswahili is viewed negatively. It is thus concluded that Kiswahili in Rwanda has sometimes been viewed positively and sometimes negatively in Rwanda's history. Thus, even though Kiswahili is the lingua franca in the East and Central African region, it yet to be fully recognized and developed in post-conflict Rwanda. There is therefore a need to develop the Kiswahili language given that Rwanda joined the East African Economic Community (EAC) in 2007, and the languages of the EAC are Kiswahili and English. If the country does not also adopt Kiswahili, post-conflict Rwanda may be economically disadvantaged. The country may also not reap the full benefits of being a member of the Community, notwithstanding the kind of language attitudes that exist within the country itself. The lack of recognition for Kiswahili is further evidence of a sociolinguistic asymmetry that exists in Rwanda and which is identified above. The sociolinguistic asymmetry will be an active ingredient in emergent categorization in post-conflict Rwanda.

Finally, the chapter points out that the languages used in Rwanda have varying ranges of applicability. It is thus proposed that the functions of the languages in each of the domains need to be re-defined in post-conflict Rwanda's multilingual language policy. If this is not done, the option is for the languages to be developed by the language users, yet the language users have attitudes that may divide the Rwandan people into unjustifiable cocoons of perceived linguistic groupings.

### **6.1.5 Chapter five**

Chapter five further develops the patterns of data analysis and interpretation by focusing specifically on the role of language in reconciliation in post-conflict Rwanda. It is argued that reconciliation basically recognizes that there exist opposing categories and groupings in a society. The groupings have historically been ethnic-dependent in Rwanda. However, in post-conflict Rwanda, there is the development of new categories that are based on language and which use the labels Anglophone and Francophone. The background of the study (i.e. section 1.2) discusses elements of

pre- and post-conflict Rwanda, particularly as the elements have contributed to the present sociolinguistic engineering in Rwanda.

In chapter five, it is argued that the emergent sociolinguistic groupings can hide the previous ethnic categorizations, influence how the language users perceive the programmes on reconciliation and also affect the pace of implementing policies aimed at reconciliation and development in post-conflict Rwanda. This is especially so given that the language situation in Rwanda today has a sociopolitical historical explanation. Similarly, the ethnic divisions Hutu-Tutsi in Rwanda also have a socio-historical political explanation. For this reason, the chapter analyses the socio-historical factors that have produced the current ethnic scenario. As noted in section 1.7 of the thesis, the social groupings of the respondents would have introduced extraneous variables into the study, which are difficult to control especially since the study solely focused on patterns of language attitudes and language use.

It is observed that linguistic differentiation emerging in post-conflict Rwanda is grounded in previous social and political events. Thus, there is a sense in which the differentiation within the linguistic blend will also reflect the current social and political events that relate to reconciliation in post-conflict Rwanda. The effect would be transferred to the post-conflict development programmes, and to those programmes whose target is to reconcile people in the post-conflict reconstruction context in Rwanda.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

This study focuses on linguistic categorization and language attitudes. It would be argued that the linguistic categorization that is discussed in this study is ideally also based on class. Class has not been discussed in the present study and will need further research. The element of history and culture as forming the foundation of the divisions in Rwanda is discussed in detail in section 1.1 of the thesis. Class in the community can be entrenched depending on the group which has the means of

production, and which group controls the language codes with which the means of production is given. As Fairclough (2001:3) has observed with regard to the relationship between language and power, there is need,

...to help increase consciousness of language and power, and particularly of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others.

In colonial Rwanda, class was engineered by the colonial administration (Melvern, 2000; Prunier, 1999). As reported in Semujanga (2003: 179) power relations have been changing in Rwanda where the colonial authority ‘...excluded the Hutu from positions of command in 1931, the Tutsi were dismissed from administration or killed in 1959’. There is need therefore to research on language and power in post-conflict Rwanda.

Additionally, Rwanda presents a case of ever-changing power relations. It is thus necessary to consider positively developing African languages such as Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili rather than entrenching negative attitudes towards the indigenous language. The languages are more inclusive than the metropolitan languages that have continued to create ethno-linguistic categories in post-conflict Rwanda. Another recommendation is to develop the pan-African language Kiswahili and integrate it into Rwanda’s post-conflict development programmes. This is particularly urgent now that Rwanda is a member of the East African Community, and the Community is moving towards political and economic integration within the East and Central African region where Kiswahili is an important lingua franca.

With respect to the emergent linguistic categorization in Rwanda, it is proposed that no sections of the Rwandan society should be excluded because of language as this would easily incite further conflict in Rwanda. Sociolinguistic categorization would also hinder the pace and acceptability of the programmes on reconciliation and reconstruction in post-conflict Rwanda.

It has been shown that the distinction between ‘Anglophone’ and ‘Francophone’ groups is not based on fact or competence. It would even be argued that this categorization in terms of language shows vestiges of neo-colonialism. Fosu (2005:238) has aptly observed that,

Colonial history played a major part in fostering conflicts in Africa...In many countries; the colonial power empowered certain ethnic groups over others.

It is possible that the categorizations in post-conflict Rwanda are engendered by foreign forces from which the country cannot benefit much.

In chapter five of the study, it has also been observed that Belgium carried out a selective empowerment in Rwanda; the colonial administration favoured the Hutu against the Tutsi and Twa. It is recommended that, at present, as Rwanda receives foreign aid, the country should not allow linguistic tags to form part of the package that it receives as such linguistic labels have the potential of fanning instability in a post-conflict setting. Finally, it is recommended that there is need to reformulate a deliberate language policy that recognizes the existence of the different language users in post-conflict Rwanda. The policy would also address problems of linguistic categorization in all sectors of the post-conflict Rwandan society.

### **6.3 Conclusion of the thesis**

The present study had four objectives: to investigate the attitudes held by university students in Rwanda, investigate the different spheres of language use, examine the role of language in post-conflict Rwanda’s development; and investigate the role of the four languages in post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction in Rwanda. From an analysis of both primary and secondary sources, it has been shown that language is a carrier of history and culture. It would thus be related to people’s identity. This

becomes critical in a society like Rwanda that has been affected by divisions and ethnic differentiation in the past.

It has been pointed out that the Kinyarwanda language can act both to divide and to unify. In cases where the language has served to divide, there has been a change of national symbols such as the national anthem. But the study suggests that some aspects of the language could be harnessed so as to play a positive role in Rwanda's post-conflict development.

In addition, the study shows that there are competing languages in each of the domains of language use in Rwanda. In the analysis of the university students' use of language in the different domains, it is noted that some languages like Kinyarwanda dominate in some spheres such as the home, while other languages such as English are dominated in these spheres. However, the domination of language in the different domains is not all-encompassing since there are domains such as the formal domains where colonial languages such as French and English dominate. But in the domains where the colonial languages dominate, a language such as French, though older in Rwanda and used more often than Kiswahili, has been given a strong negative perception. It is argued that this may be explained by the perceived role of the French government during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. It is thus concluded that there is a historical linkage between language and other historical sociopolitical events in Rwanda. It is therefore observed that this linkage would be closely related to the identity of a people, and this would affect the implementation of post-conflict development programmes either positively or negatively.

Further, the analysis of the language situation in Rwanda, which is referred to in the study as a 'linguistic blend', has shown that there exist distinct language categorizations: Francophone and Anglophone. No such clear-cut delineation exists for the users of Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili. In chapter five, however, it is pointed out that the non-use of Kinyarwanda makes one to be categorized as a foreigner. Based on the above, the study suggests that post-conflict Rwanda needs to use

language not to create categories, but rather as a way of communicating ideas and programmes in the post-conflict development context. It is the ideas communicated in present-day Rwanda which would greatly contribute towards the country's post-conflict development.

Penultimately, with regard to post-conflict development in Rwanda, the study proposes that there is need to identify viable options in the Rwandan multilingual setting so as to accelerate the pace of reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction. In so doing, the study argues for the consideration of the human and cultural conditions in the country inasmuch as the present linguistic conditions in Rwanda are a product of colonial and post-colonial upheavals and heritage.

Finally, language is used within a specific reality. Hence, in the study, it is pointed out that the reality of language use involves the domains, punctuated by the users' attitudes towards the languages used, and also determined by how the users relate amongst one another in post-conflict Rwanda. Therefore, there is a need to identify and analyse social and development programmes in post-conflict Rwanda from the point of view of the language(s) through which the programmes are transmitted. It is hoped that the study has opened new vistas and novel horizons for further studies in the role of language attitude and language use in conflict settings.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: The student questionnaire

The university student questionnaire

**Dear Sir/Madam,**

I wish to take a few minutes of your time. This questionnaire is part of a Phd research programme at the University of South Africa by Bob Mbori titled: *Language and Development in Africa: A case study of language use and attitude in Rwanda*. Your responses are valued highly and are **confidential** and **anonymous**. You **DO NOT** have to write your name anywhere on this sheet of paper.

**PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS.**

#### **PART ONE**

**A:**

Rank statements (A<sub>1</sub> to A<sub>4</sub>) in order of importance using the numbers **1-3** as the statements apply to you. Indicate **1** before the statement that you think is **most applicable**, **2** applicable and **3** to the statement that is **least applicable**.

Tick as applicable: (1) means *Most applicable* ....(3) means *Least applicable*

**A<sub>1</sub>:** I would LIKE to speak better French because:

		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
1	French will be useful in getting a job			
2	I will use French to communicate outside Rwanda			
3	French will help me to understand the French-speaking people and their ways			
4	I will be able to develop my country if I speak French			
5	A knowledge of two languages makes me a better educated person			
6	I will be able to interpret government policies			
7	French will enable me to think and behave as a French-			

	speaking person			
8	One gets recognised socially when he speaks French			

Tick as applicable: (1) means *Most applicable* .....(3) means *Least applicable*

**A<sub>2</sub>:** I would LIKE to speak better English because:

	1	2	3
English will be useful in getting a job			
I will use English to communicate outside Rwanda			
English will help me to understand the English-speaking people and their ways			
I will be able to develop my country if I speak English			
A knowledge of two languages makes me a better educated person			
I will be able to interpret government policies			
English will enable me to think and behave as an English-speaking person			
One gets recognised socially when he speaks English			

Tick as applicable: (1) means *Most applicable* .....(3) means *Least applicable*

**A<sub>3</sub>:**

**I would LIKE to speak better Swahili because:**

	1	2	3
Swahili will be useful in getting a job			
I will use Swahili to communicate outside Rwanda			
Swahili will help me to understand the Swahili-speaking people and their ways			
I will be able to develop my country if I speak Swahili			
A knowledge of two languages makes me a better educated person			
I will be able to interpret government policies			
Swahili will enable me to think and behave as a Swahili-			

speaking person			
One gets recognised socially when he speaks Kiswahili			

Tick as applicable: (1) means *Most applicable* ....(3) means *Least applicable*

**A4:**

**I would wish to speak Kinyarwanda because:**

	1	2	3
Kinyarwanda will be useful in getting a job			
I will use Kinyarwanda to communicate outside Rwanda			
Kinyarwanda will help me to understand the Rwandan people and their ways			
I will be able to develop my country if I speak Kinyarwanda			
A knowledge of two languages makes me a better educated person			
I will be able to interpret government policies			
Kinyarwanda will enable me to think and behave as a Munyarwanda			
One gets recognised socially when he speaks Kinyarwanda			

**B:**

What <b>advantages</b> are there for being able to learn <b>French</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What are the <b>disadvantages</b> for not being able to speak <b>French</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What <b>benefits</b> will the <b>country</b> gain if more people were to speak <b>French</b> well? (Use only a few words)
-	-	-
What <b>advantages</b> are there for being able to learn <b>English</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What are the <b>disadvantages</b> for not being able to speak <b>English</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What <b>benefits</b> will the <b>country</b> gain if more people were to speak <b>English</b> well? (Use only a few words)
-	-	-
What <b>advantages</b> are there for being able to learn <b>Kiswahili</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What are the <b>disadvantages</b> for not being able to speak <b>Kiswahili</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What <b>benefits</b> will the <b>country</b> gain if more people were to speak <b>Kiswahili</b> well? (Use only a few words)
-	-	-
What <b>advantages</b> are there for being able to learn <b>Kinyarwanda</b> in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What are the <b>disadvantages</b> for not being able to speak <b>Kinyarwanda</b> well in Rwanda? (Use only a few words)	What <b>benefits</b> will the <b>country</b> gain if more people were to speak <b>Kinyarwanda</b> well? (Use only a few words)
-	--	-

- C. Each of the languages in Rwanda can be used to disseminate and explain the policies and programmes of the government to the general population. Below is a list of some of these priority areas of development. Rate the appropriateness of each of the languages Kinyarwanda (**K**), French (**F**), Swahili (**S**) and English (**E**) in terms of the order in which they can be applicable for each area of development. Use the initials **K, F, S, and E.**

	Areas of development	Role of languages ( <b>F, K, E, S</b> ). In each row, put the languages in order of appropriateness			
1	<b>Good Governance</b>				
2	<b>National Unity</b>				
3	<b>Reconciliation</b>				
4	<b>Improvement of labour efficiency</b>				
5	<b>Improvement of quality of life in Rwanda</b>				
6	<b>Development of workers' output</b>				
7	<b>Curb AIDS</b>				
8	<b>Regional Participation of Rwanda</b>				
9	<b>Global Participation of Rwanda</b>				
10	<b>Creating Opportunities for Rwandans</b>				
11	<b>Creating training opportunities for Rwandans</b>				
12	<b>Diversifying Rwandan Economy/Industrialize</b>				

- D. i.** Which languages do you know? How well do you speak them? Tick in each of the following cells using the 9 point -scale. Give the languages in the order in which you learnt them.

Languages I speak in the order in which they were learnt		My competence in each of the languages								
		Greetings only			Satisfactorily			Fluently		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										

- ii. How would you rate your competence in language? Assume your competence in language in general is out of 100%. Now rate that competence in each of the languages below in terms of percentages out of 100.

Language	Percentage in competence
Kinyarwanda	out of 100
French	out of 100
English	out of 100
Kiswahili	out of 100
Others	out of 100

- E.** For each of the statements 1-5, tick the closest feeling that applies to you in each of the languages French (**F**), Kinyarwanda(**K**), English(**E**) and Swahili (**S**).

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Choice of feeling</b>	<b>Languages</b>			
		<b>F</b>	<b>K</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>S</b>
1 When I hear somebody speak the language,	a. I become completely interested in the person				
	b. I become completely bored				
	c. I have to force myself to keep listening to the speaker				
	d. I become wholly absorbed in the subject matter				
2 During classes where the language is used,	a. I have a tendency to daydream about things				
	b. I become completely bored				
	c. I have to keep myself listening to the speaker				
	d. I become wholly absorbed in the subject matter				
3 If I had the opportunity and knew enough of the language, I would read newspapers and magazines in the language:	a. as often as I could				
	b. fairly regularly				
	c. probably not very often				
	d. never				
4 If I had the opportunity to change the way the language is taught in schools, I would:	a. I would keep the amount of training as it is				
	b. Increase the amount of training				
	c. Decrease the amount of training				
5 I believe the language should be:	a. taught only to those who wish to study it				
	b. taught to all high school students				
	c. omitted from the school curriculum				

F. Put 1, 2, 3 and 4 to refer to the way you use each of the languages. **K** stands for Kinyarwanda, **F**-French, **E**-English, **S**-Swahili in each of language situations given below. Use the scale given below.

**1** means you use the language all the time;    **2**-three quarters of the time;

**3**-half the time; **4**-less than a quarter of your time

		K	F	E	S
In which language do you talk to	Your parents				
	Your brothers and sisters				
	Your wife/husband/boy-/girlfriend				
	Colleagues at work/college				
	Doctor in hospital				
	Priest				
In which language do you talk in the	Bookshop				
	Post office				
	Market				
	Bank				
	Government ministry				
	Library				
In which language do you write a letter to	Parents				
	Brothers and sisters				
	Wife/husband/boy-/girlfriend				
	Colleagues at work or college				
	Government ministry				
	Business company				
In which language do you take notes					
In which language are the newspapers and magazines that you read					
In which language do you usually quarrel in					
In which language would you talk to a stranger for the first time					
In which language are the public meetings that you usually attend					
In which language are the broadcasts which you listen to on radio					

- G.**    i.    **Sex:** Male: \_\_\_\_\_ Female: \_\_\_\_\_                      ii. **Religion:**
- iii. Languages that are spoken in the countries that you have visited in the 8 years.  
If no country visited put a dash.
- 1.\_\_\_\_\_ 2.\_\_\_\_\_ 3.\_\_\_\_\_ 4.\_\_\_\_\_ 5.\_\_\_\_\_
- H.**    Do you have any other comment on the role of language in a country's development?  
Write your comment in a language of your choice in the space provided.

Thank you for your time.

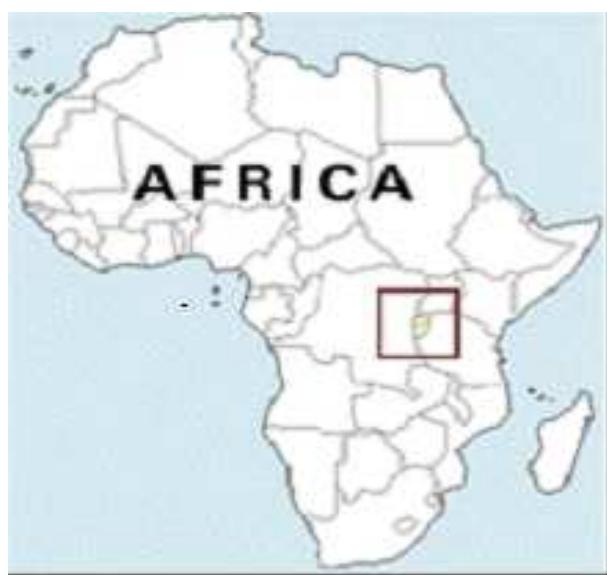
Yours sincerely,

**Bob Mbori**, B.Ed, MPhil

Kigali Institute of Education, PO Box 5039, Kigali, Rwanda.

Email: [bmbori@yahoo.com](mailto:bmbori@yahoo.com)

Appendix B1: Map of Rwanda showing major locations



## Appendix B2: Detailed map of Rwanda with the former administrative provinces



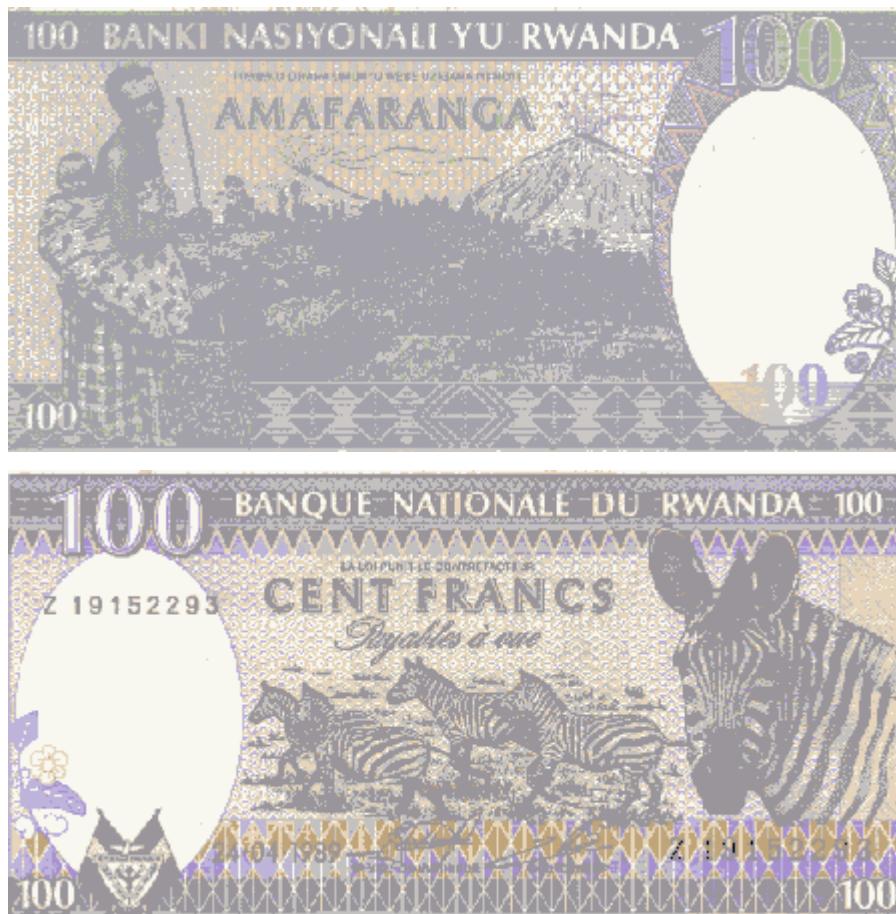
Map No. 3112 Rev. 2 UNITED NATIONS  
December 1997 (Colgate)

Department of Public Information  
Cartographic Section

Source : <http://www.berkeley.edu/news/students/2003/rwanda/about.shtml>

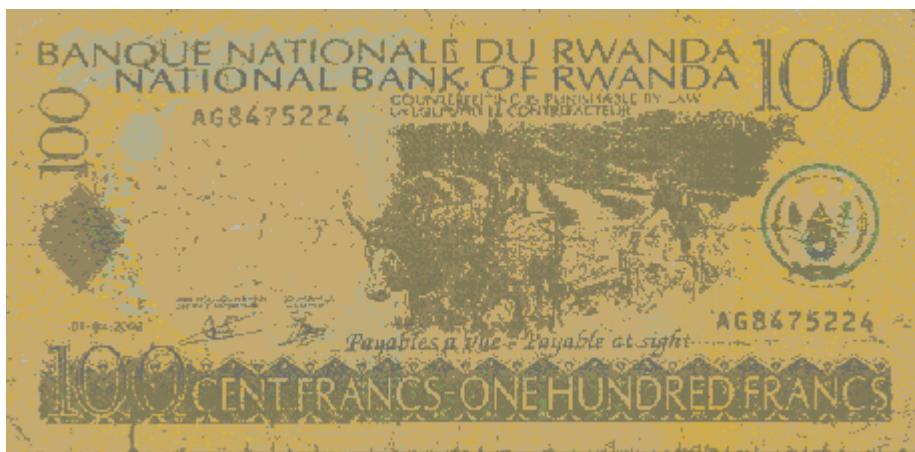
**APPENDIX C1: The change in the language used in the Rwandan currency notes (The Old 100 Franc Rwandan Note)**

(Side one and side two); text is given in only French and Kinyarwanda



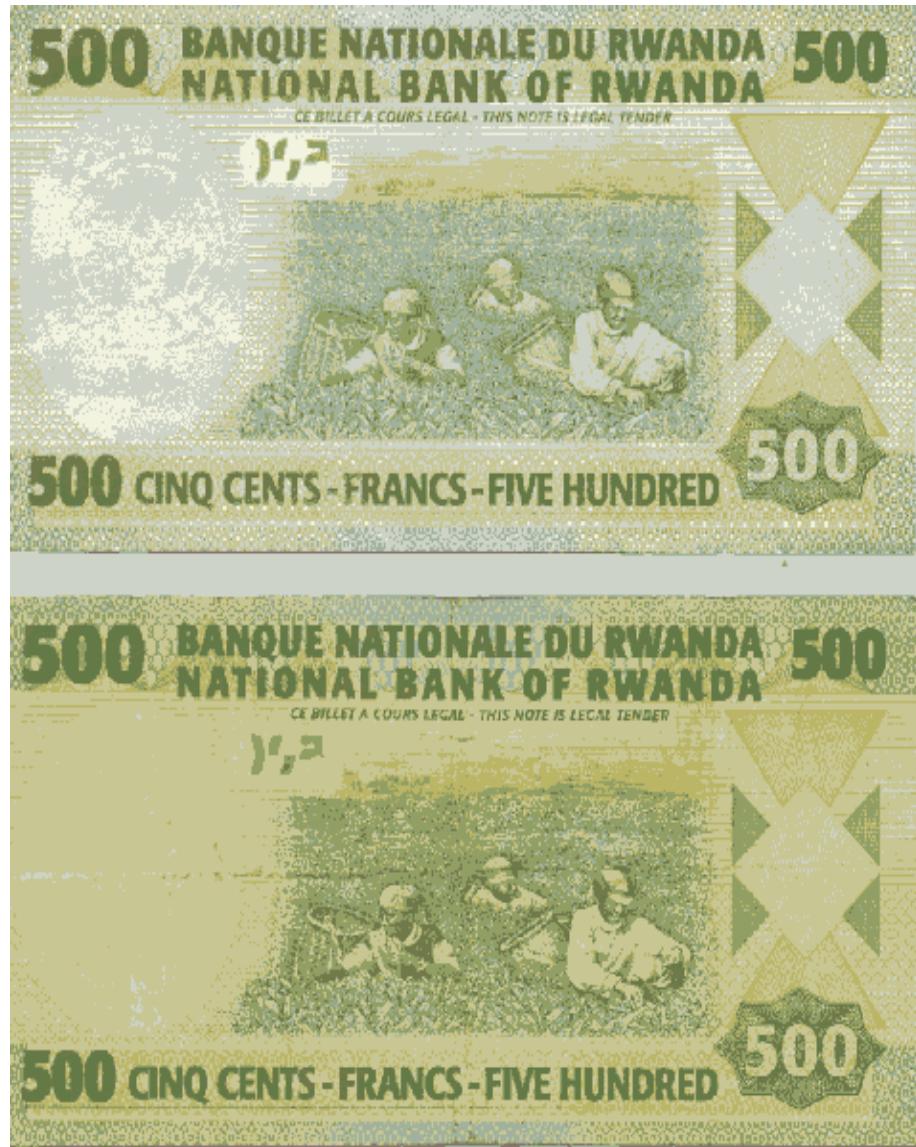
**APPENDIX C2:** The New 100 Franc Rwandan Note (Side one and side two)

Note the addition of the English language text on the note that was not in previous currency notes.



**APPENDIX C3:** New 500 Franc Rwandan Note (Side one and side two)

Note the addition of the English language text on the note that was not in previous currency notes.

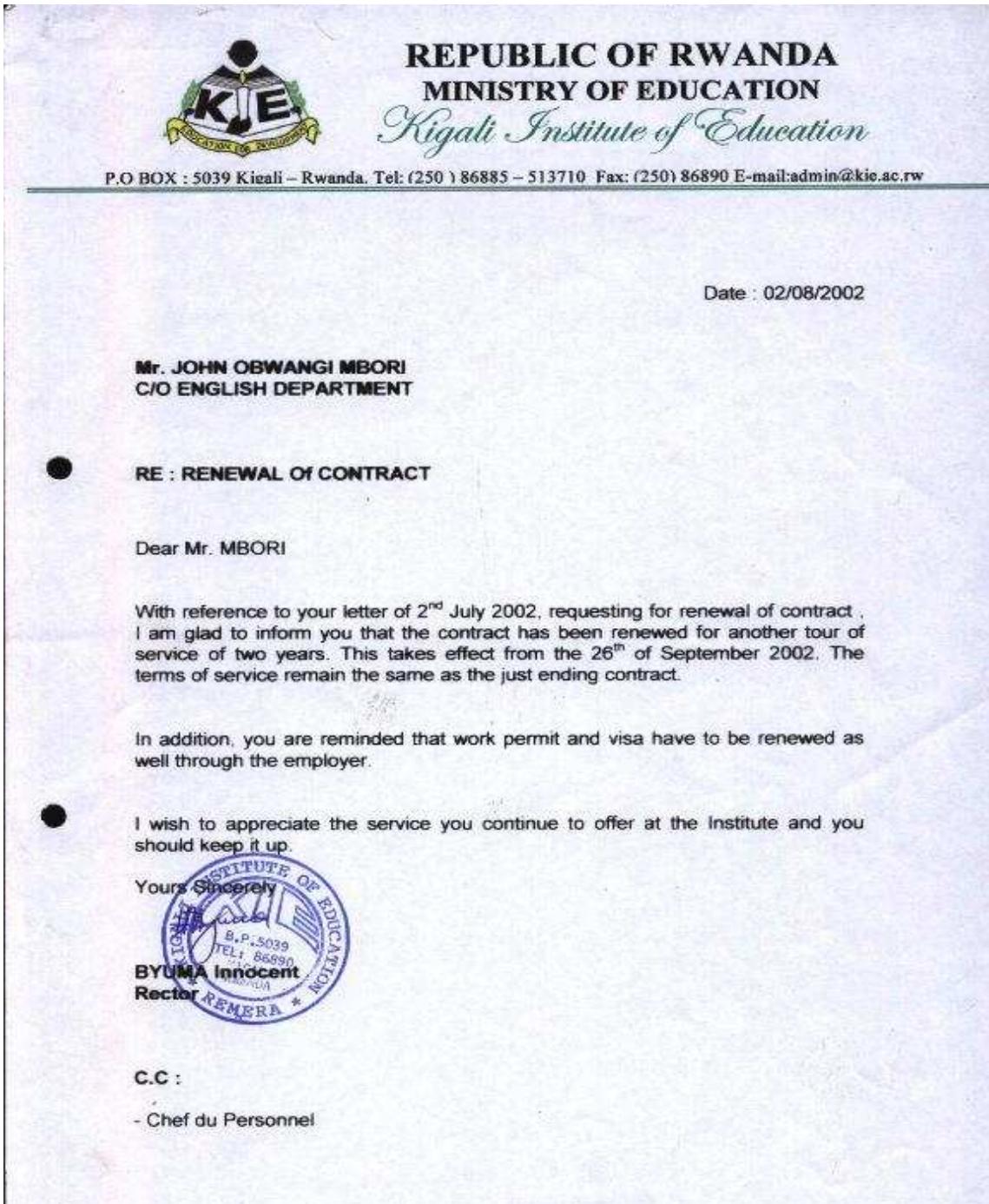


#### **APPENDIX C4: The New 1000 Franc Rwandan Note (Side one and side two)**

Note the addition of the English language text on the currency note that was not in previous currency notes.



**Appendix D1:** Researchers semester length appointment to teach language in some universities in Rwanda (**Kigali Institute of Education**)



C.C :

- Chef du Personnel

**Appendix D2:** Researchers semester length appointment to teach language in some universities in Rwanda (**Kigali Institute of Education and National University of Rwanda at Butare**)



UNIVERSITE NATIONALE DU RWANDA

B.P 117 BUTARE, RWANDA, AFRIQUE CENTRALE  
TELEPHONE : 530105  
Fax : (230) 510210

**CONTRAT DE LOUAGE DE SERVICES**

**ENTRE LES SOUSIGNES**

Université Nationale du Rwanda, établissement Public de droit rwandais créé par le Décret-Loi du 16 Janvier 1981, tel que modifié, portant organisation de l'Enseignement Supérieur Universitaire au Rwanda, ci-après dénommée l'Université et représentée par Dr. Emile RWAMASIRABO, Recteur de l'UNR  
En vertu des articles 50 et 13 de Décret-Loi mentionné, d'une part ; et Monsieur MBORI Bob dénommé à KIGALI

**IL EST CONVENU CE QUI SUIT :**

Article 1 : L'Université engage l'enseignant à La Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines pour la période du 3<sup>me</sup> Semestre 2002/2003.

Article 2 : L'enseignant convient de donner l'horaire établi par la Faculté concernée.

Cours intitulé : «Lexicology and Terminology» ( 3<sup>me</sup> année Linguistique) 60 heures théoriques et .... heures de laboratoire (T.P.) ou stage.  
Il s'engage à avertir le Doyen au moins 45 heures à l'avance de l'impossibilité de donner un cours, laboratoire (T.P.) ou stage.

Article 3 : L'enseignant s'engage à se conformer au Règlement Général Intérieur de l'Université et au Règlement Intérieur de la Faculté concernée.

Article 4 : Les honoraires de l'enseignant sont établis 3.500 francs rwandais par heure de cours donné payable à 60% à la fin du cours.

Le reste sera versé lorsque l'enseignant se sera acquitté de l'ensemble de ses obligations (y compris la remise des notes d'examen de la 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> session) via la vis de la Faculté et de l'Université

Article 5 : Les honoraires payés à l'enseignant par l'Université sont soumis aux déductions à la source (aux frais du bénéficiaire) imposées par la loi rwandaise.

Article 6 : L'Université peut résilier le présent contrat sans préavis si les clauses de l'article 7 ne sont pas respectées. En toute autre circonstance, l'Université se réserve le droit de réaliser le présent contrat après un préavis de 15 jours sur recommandation écrite du Doyen de la Faculté concernée.

Article 7 : L'enseignant peut résilier le présent contrat, pour des raisons graves après un préavis de 15 jours. Cette résiliation ne peut être acceptée et ne pourra avoir ses effets qu'après envoi écrit du Doyen de la Faculté concernée.

Article 8 : Soit réserve des dispositions impératives en vigueur au Rwanda, l'Université n'a envers l'enseignant aucune obligation ou responsabilité que celle définie par le présent contrat.

Article 9 : L'enseignant à temps partiel résidant au Rwanda sauf à Butare, bénéficie d'un montant forfaitaire de 6.000 FRW à titre de frais de déplacement, aller-retour, dans le cadre du présent contrat.

L'enseignant effectue lui-même les arrangements de transport qui conviennent afin d'assurer les cours aux dates fixées par la Faculté.

Article 10 : L'enseignant à temps partiel qui doit séjournes à Butare, pour dispenser un cours 4 heures de cours par jour pendant plusieurs jours consécutifs bénéficie d'un montant maximum de 2.500 FRW par jour complément de séjour (24h).

L'enseignant effectue lui-même les arrangements de séjour selon sa convenance.

Article 11 : L'Université versera à l'enseignant, sauf preuves justificatives, sur réception du formulaire « Rapport de Dépenses de Voyage » approuvé par le Doyen de la Faculté et mentionnant le titre du cours, le nombre d'heures dépensées par jour et le montant totale à déclarer applicable.

Article 12 : Le professeur visant qui réside à l'étranger est pris en charge par l'Université quant au transport et au logement.

Dès son arrivée au Campus, le Professeur reçoit une allocation de 10.000FRW. L'Université lui octroie, en outre, un pécule de 5.000 FRW par jour.

Fait à Butare le 11/04/2003  
Professeur *Signature*  
M. MBORI Bob

Fait à Butare le 11/04/2003  
Université Nationale du Rwanda  
Président du Conseil  
Emile MUREMANZI  
Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines

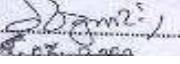
Dr. Bén BYANAFASHE  
Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres  
et Sciences Humaines  
*Signature*

Mr. Casimir KARURANGA  
Vice Recteur chargé de l'Administration  
et des Finances  
*Signature*

**Cette page pour information :**

- Monsieur le Recteur
- Monsieur le Vice-Recteur Académique
- Monsieur le Vice-Recteur Administratif et Financier
- L'Enseignant

**Appendix D3: Researchers semester length appointment to teach language in some universities in Rwanda (Kigali Institute of Science and Technology)**

 <small>KIGALI INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY AND MANAGEMENT INSTITUT DES SCIENCES, TECHNOLOGIES ET DE GESTION DE RWANDA</small>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>KIST</b> <b>TOWARDS A BRIGHTER FUTURE</b> <b>VERS UN AVENIR BRILLANT</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Avenue du Francia, B.P. 3508 Kigali, Rwanda Tel: +250 274-56137455 Fax: +250 271933071235 Website: www.kistar.ac.rw</p>
<b><u>LETTER OF APPOINTMENT ON PART-TIME BASIS</u></b>	
<p>RefKig/CCB/004 Mr. MBORI Bob CIO KIST Kigali, Rwanda</p>	
<p>Dear Bob,</p> <p>On behalf of the management of Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management (KIST), I have the pleasure to offer you an appointment on part-time basis as a Teacher of English in the Foundation Semester on the terms and conditions discussed and set out here under.</p>	
<p><b>1. Tenure:</b> Your appointment is on part-time basis for a period of 124 hours allocated to this session from 24<sup>th</sup> June to 12<sup>th</sup> October 2002. In case this is your first contract with KIST, please note that you will be on probation for a period of 13 contract hours of teaching.</p>	
<p><b>2. Duties:</b> You will be answerable to the Director, Part-time Studies for the performance of your duties.</p>	
<p><b>3. Working hours:</b> You will be required to teach hours allocated to the subject. The specific periods in the week will be determined by the Head of Department.</p> <p>Different course tests, end of Semester examinations, invigilations, marking and submission of results in part and parcel of the contract. The last batch of 40% of the remuneration's must be tied to this.</p>	
<p><b>4. Salary:</b> Your salary will be on hourly-contract basis of:            - Basic payment per hour 3,530 Frw            - Transport per day 1,000 Frw</p>	
<p><b>5. Termination:</b> Either party may terminate the appointment by giving to the other party a month notice in writing.</p>	
<p><b>6. Missing of Class:</b> If you are to miss a class for whatever reasons, you are required to inform the Director Center for Continuing Education 2 days before so that a replacement would be found in time.</p>	
<p><b>7. Lapse of offer:</b> If this offer is for whatever reason, not accepted within one week, it shall be deemed to have lapsed.</p>	
<p><b>8. Acceptance:</b> If you accept this offer will you please sign and return to the Rector the duplicate copy of this letter.</p>	
<p><b>9. Lastly:</b> Should you accept this offer I should like, on behalf of KIST, to welcome you to our growing academic community and to assure you that you will find the work both challenging and satisfying.</p>	
<p>Yours sincerely,</p>	
<p>Prof. Dr. S.B. LWAKAMAMBA Rector-KIST</p>	
	
<p>Cc:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Vice-Rector</li> <li>- Finance Officer</li> <li>- Part-time Studies</li> <li>- Personnel Officer</li> <li>- Dean SOLAS</li> <li>- Vice-Dean SOLAS</li> <li>- Head of Department (French &amp; English)</li> </ul>	
<p>I, .... JOHN OBWANGI MBORI ..... accept your offer of employment on part-time basis on the terms set out in this letter and will take up my appointment on ... 24<sup>th</sup> June, 2002</p>	
<p>Signature:  Date: 24.06.2002</p>	

## **Appendix E: The change in the Rwandan flag**

### i. The New Rwandan Flag



### ii. The Old Rwandan Flag



Note: Both the change in the national flag and national anthem was meant to create new symbols of unity in Rwanda and act as a way of reconciling the Rwandan people.

## **Appendix F: THE POEM: Western Civilization**

### **Western Civilization**

Sheets of tin nailed to posts  
driven to the ground  
make up the house

Some rags complete  
the intimate landscape

The sun slanting through the cracks  
welcomes the owner

After twelve hours of slave labour

Breaking rock  
shifting rock  
breaking rock  
shifting rock  
fair weather  
wet weather  
breaking rock  
shifting rock

Old age comes early

A mat on dark nights  
is enough when he dies  
gratefully  
of hunger.

Agostinho Neto

## **Appendix G: Objectives of selected English Language university Programmes**

### **General Objectives**

- To respond to the government policy of bilingualism
- To bring all students to a higher level of proficiency in English
- To sharpen and widen the students' linguistic skills in order to allow them to communicate in real life.
- To empower students to participate confidently in communication in English in the classroom and in the field specific work-places.
- To train students for International Tests recognized widely as language requirements for admission to all courses in higher education in US, UK, and many other English speaking countries.

### **Course Details:**

Academic Year	Course Title	Course Code	Duration
Foundation	General English I	LFC 1001	120 Hours
Year 1	General English II	LFC 1101	90 Hours
Year 2	General English III ESP	LFC 1201	90 Hours
Year 3	English for International Tests	LFC 1301	45 Hours

### **General English I: Objectives:**

- To develop students' ability and confidence to follow their lectures
- To build the all-important linguistic foundation for general English learners
- To enable students to learn the basic language forms and their uses in everyday life
- To improve their receptive and productive skills of the language.

### **General English II: Objectives**

- To strengthen students' productive and receptive skills.
- To review and reinforce students' linguistic skills acquired.
- To enable students to use the language in various situations confidently and appropriately.

### **General English III: Objectives**

- To develop and strengthen students' listening skills.
- To enable students to learn the techniques of speaking fluently and impeccably.
- To enable students to read long texts with comprehension
- To enable students to write paragraphs, essays and various types of letters.

### **English for Specific Purposes (ESP):      Objectives**

- To empower students to participate competently, confidently and appropriately in communication in English in the classroom, in real life and in the field-specific workplace.
- To encourage critical and creative thinking
- To enable students to read with comprehension technical and non-technical texts
- To familiarize them with various technical writing and improve their skills in writing

### **English for International Tests:    Objectives**

- To improve students' understanding of their strengths and weaknesses in each section of the TOEFL, the IELTS and the Verbal and Analytical Writing sections of the GMAT and to familiarize them with test taking strategies in order to achieve better scores in the tests.
- To improve students' ability to understand English as it is spoken in North America (as on the TOEFL test) and in the UK and Australia (as on the IELTS test)
- To improve students' ability to recognize language that is appropriate for standard written English (TOEFL)
- To improve students ability to understand as well as non-technical reading matter (TOEFL and IELTS).
- To improve students ability to understand and evaluate what is real and to recognize basic conventions of standard written English (GMAT)
- To improve students' ability to think critically and communicate complex ideas through writing (TOEFL and GMAT)
- To improve students' ability to think clearly, creatively and critically and communicate their views through speaking (IELTS).

**Appendix H: Appropriateness of Rwanda's main languages to the core areas of post-conflict development**

Languages		Percentages of language appropriateness to Rwanda's core areas of post-conflict development										
		Governance	National Unity	Labour Productivity	Quality of life	Human capital	AIDS	Regional Participation	Global Participation	Opportunities for Rwandans	Training	Diversifying the economy
Kinyarwanda	Highly Appropriate	86	96	64	72	52	91	66	43	54	42	21
	Appropriate	8	00	8	2	6	00	20	00	2	6	14
	Averagely appropriate	6	3	17	20	28	8	6	6	10	20	27
	Lowly appropriate	2	00	11	8	15	2	26	51	34	32	38
	Highly Appropriate	6	2	19	13	25	4	90	13	09	17	21
	Appropriate	55	47	46	42	46	47	52	62	58	46	55
	Averagely appropriate	38	48	24	35	19	45	33	21	23	30	19
	Lowly appropriate	2	2	11	9	9	6	7	4	9	7	4
French	Highly Appropriate	8	2	17	15	23	5	19	42	37	41	58
	Appropriate	32	40	38	46	48	38	29	34	46	38	27
	Averagely appropriate	54	49	33	31	23	41	38	22	19	15	10
	Lowly appropriate	6	10	11	8	6	16	40	2	8	6	4
English	Highly Appropriate	00	00	00	00	00	00	6	2	00	00	00
	Appropriate	6	13	8	10	00	15	17	4	4	10	4
	Averagely appropriate	4	00	26	14	30	6	23	51	48	35	44
	Lowly appropriate	9	88	67	75	70	76	53	43	49	55	54
Kiswahili	Highly Appropriate	00	00	00	00	00	00	6	2	00	00	00
	Appropriate	6	13	8	10	00	15	17	4	4	10	4
	Averagely appropriate	4	00	26	14	30	6	23	51	48	35	44
	Lowly appropriate	9	88	67	75	70	76	53	43	49	55	54

## Appendix I:

### Instances of appropriateness of language in Rwanda's post-conflict development

Data from the eleven core areas of Rwanda's post conflict development

#### A. Language Key

1. Kinyarwanda
2. French
3. English
4. Kiswahili

#### B. Appropriateness Key

1. Highly appropriate
2. Appropriate
3. Averagely appropriate
4. Lowly appropriate

Language	Governance	National Unity	Labour Productivity	Quality of life	Human capital	AIDS	Regional Participation	Global Opportunities for Rwandans	Training Diversifying the economy
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
1	3	1	3	4	2	3	4	4	4
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
1	1	1	3	1	1	1	4	1	1
1	1	1	4	3	1	1	1	4	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	4	1
1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	4	1
1	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	4	2
1	1	1	3	2	2	1	4	4	2
1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	4
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
1	1	1	4	3	3	1	1	4	1
1	1	1	4	1	4	1	1	4	3
1	1	3	3	3	4	1	1	3	4
1	2	1	4	1	3	4	1	3	4
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1









4 4 4 4 Language

2 4 4 4 Governance

National  
Unity  
2 4 4 4

Labour  
Productivity  
2 4 4 3

Quality of  
life  
2 4 2 2

Human  
capital  
3 4 3 3

2 4 4 4 AIDS

Regional  
Participation  
2 4 → 2

Global  
Participation  
Opportunities for  
Rwandans  
2 4 3 3

4 4 3 4 Training  
Diversifying  
the  
economy  
3 4 3 4

**Appendix J: Percentages of the Rwandan population according to language spoken by province in Rwanda**

Kiswahili.	English	French	Kinyarwanda	Language spoken	Percentage of speakers per province in Rwanda																						
					Kigali city		Gitarara		Butare		Gikongoro		Cyangugu		Kibuye		Gisenyi		Ruhengeri		Byumba		Umutara		Kibungo		Country Total
					97.6	99.4	99.6	99.2	99.3	99.4	99.6	99.4	99.6	99.4	99.6	99.3	99.3	99.1	99.4	%	%	%	%	%	%		
					%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
					17.7	2.1	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	3.7								
					%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%								
					9.2	0.9	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.0	2.9	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.8								
					%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%								
					15.9	1.1	1.0	1.8	0.5	3.6	2.1	3.5	1.1	1.6	1.6	1.9	2.5	3.0									
					%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%								

Note: The sum is likely to be above 100% in a number of cases since a person can speak more than one language.

Source: Republic of Rwanda (2003). 3<sup>rd</sup> National Population Census.

**Appendix K: Profiles of the 53 respondents selected in the study**

Respondent no.	Questionnaire code	Nationality	Sex	Language Fluency						Religion	Languages spoken in countries visited by respondent
				K	F	E	S	O			
1.	B2	Rwandan	M	7	8	4	2	-	X		i. English
											ii. Swahili
											iii. Kirundi
2.	B4	Rwandan	M	9	7	6	8	2	X		i. Swahili
											ii. English
											iii. French
3.	B6	Rwandan	M	7	7	6	6	2	X		i. Swahili
											ii. French
											iii. Lingala
4.	B7	Rwandan	M	9	7	7	5	1	X		i. French
											ii. English
											iii. Swahili
5.	B9	Rwandan	M	9	6	6	6	-	X		i. English
											ii. Swahili
6.	B13	Rwandan	F	9	9	6	5	-	X		i. Not travelled
7.	B15	Rwandan	F	9	4	4	9	1	X		i. Luganda
											ii. Lingala
											iii. Lunyankole
8.	B16	Rwandan	M	3	6	6	9	6	X		i. Swahili
											ii. French
9.	B23	Rwandan	M	8	4	8	-	-	-		i. Not travelled
10.	B25	Rwandan	M	9	8	4	6	1	X		i. French
											ii. Swahili
11.	ISP 1	Rwandan	M	7	2	8	1	-	-		i. English
12.	ISP2	Rwandan	F	6	3	5	2	1	X		i. English
											ii. French
											iii. Luganda
											iv. Swahili
13.	ISP3	Rwandan	M	4	2	8	2		-		i. English
											ii. French
											iii. Swahili
											iv. Kirundi
14.	ISP4	Rwandan	F	6	4	7	1		X		i. English
											ii. French
											iii. Swahili
15.	ISP6	Rwandan	M	9	4	8	-		X		i. English
											ii. French
16.	ISP7	Rwandan	M	7	5	7	4	-	-		i. Swahili

										ii.	French
										iii.	English
17.	ISP9	Rwandan	F	7	4	8	1	5	X	i.	French
										ii.	English
										iii.	Luganda
										iv.	Swahili
										v.	Lunyankole
18.	ISP13	Rwandan	F	5	9	6	4	1	-	i.	English
										ii.	French
										iii.	Swahili
										iv.	Luganda
			M	9	3	8	5	2	-	i.	English
19.	ISP14	Rwandan								ii.	French
										iii.	Luganda
										iv.	Lunyankole
			M	9	5	9	3	2	X	i.	Luganda
										ii.	English
20.	ISP16	Rwandan								iii.	Swahili
										iv.	Kirundi
										v.	Lunyankole
21.	ISP17	Rwandan	F	7	2	7	1	-	-	i.	Not travelled
22.	K7	Rwandan	F	9	9	4	1	-	X	i.	French
										ii.	English
										iii.	Swahili
										iv.	Lingala
23.	K10	Rwandan	F	4	2	5	5		X	i.	Kiswahili
24.	K13	Rwandan	F	7	4	8	1		X	i.	Not travelled
25.	K25	Rwandan	M	8	6	5	2		X	i.	Not travelled
26.	K17	Rwandan		4	7	5	-	-	X	i.	French
										ii.	Lingala
										iii.	Swahili
27.	K18	Rwandan	F	8	5	5	3		-	i.	Not travelled
28.	K20	Rwandan	M	7	5	4	6		-	i.	Not travelled
29.	K21	Rwandan	M	9	6	6	3	9	X	i.	Kirundi
										ii.	French
										iii.	English
										iv.	Swahili
30.	K22	Rwandan	M	7	4	6	2		X	i.	English
										ii.	French
										iii.	Swahili
31.	K24	Rwandan	M	7	7	6	5	5	X	i.	Swahili
										ii.	French
										iii.	Lingala
										iv.	English
32.	K25	Rwandan	M	8	3	9	4	8	X	i.	French

										ii.	Swahili
										iii.	Luganda
33.	K26	Rwandan	M	7	8	7	6	X		i.	Swahili
										ii.	French
										iii.	Kirundi
										iv.	Lingala
34.	KIE2.5	Rwandan	F	8	7	6	1	-	-	i.	French
35.	KIE 3.5	Rwandan	M	7	4	4	1		-	i.	Kirundi
										ii.	Amharic
36.	KIE4.5	Rwandan	F	9	8	7	2			i.	French
										ii.	Swahili
37.	KIE 5.5	Rwandan	F	9	8	6	2			i.	French
										ii.	Swahili
38.	KIE 6.5	Rwandan	M	8	6	4	5	1	X	i.	Kirundi
										ii.	French
										iii.	Swahili
39.	KIE 7.5	Rwandan	M	9	6	3	1		X	i.	Not Travelled
40.	KIE 9.5	Rwandan	M	9	8	7	6		X	i.	French
										ii.	Swahili
										iii.	Lingala
41.	KIE 10.5	Rwandan	M	7	1	8	8	5	X	i.	Swahili
										ii.	English
										iii.	Luganda
42.	KIE 11.5	Rwandan	F	2	2	5	3		X	i.	English
										ii.	French
43.	KIE 13.5	Rwandan	M	7	7	7	7		X	i.	Not Travelled
44.	KIE 14.5	Rwandan	F	9	7	7	6	2	X	i.	Not Travelled
45.	KIE 17.5	Rwandan	M	9	6	6	8		X	i.	Not Travelled
46.	KIE 19.5	Rwandan	M	9	1	9	1		X	i.	Not Travelled
47.	KIE 20.5	Rwandan	F	7	7	8	1		X	i.	Not Travelled
48.	KIE 23.5	Rwandan	M	9	5	7	1	1	-	i.	Not Travelled
49.	KIE 25.5	Rwandan	M	9	7	8	1	1	-	i.	French
										ii.	English
50.	KIE 32.5	Rwandan	M	9	8	8	7	7	X	i.	French
										ii.	Swahili
										iii.	English
										iv.	Kirundi
51.	KIE 38.5	Rwandan	M	9	9	8	8	3	I	i.	Kirundi
										ii.	Swahili
52	KIE 46.5	Rwandan	F	9	8	7	6	3	X	i.	French
										ii.	English
										iii.	Lingala
53.	KIE 47.5	Rwandan	M	9	7	6	7	6	T	i.	English
										ii.	French
										iii.	Swahili

										iv.	Kirundi
										v.	Luganda

**Legend1:**      **Sex**

M –    Male,   F –    Female

**Legend 2:**    **Religion**

X-       Christian,      I-       Islam          T-       Traditional

**Legend4**      K-Kinyarwanda, F- French, E- English, S- Swahili, O- Other

**Legend 3:**    **Respondent's fluency in language used**

1-3    Fluent in being able to greet in the language

4- 6    Satisfactorily fluent in the language

7- 9    Highly fluent in the language