THE EXPERIENCES OF RWANDAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS' HISTORY TEACHERS IN TEACHING THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI AND ITS RELATED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

By

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DECLARATION

I, J.L.Buhigiro declare that

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DEDICATION

To Jeanne Mugiraneza

ABSTRACT

After the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994, a moratorium was placed on the teaching of history in Rwandan secondary schools. This was done because the subject was considered as one of the causes of the Genocide. When reintroduced the subject contained content related to the Genocide. This study was motivated by the idea of understanding the experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.

This study adopted a qualitative approach with a sample of seven history teachers from across Rwanda. A range of research methods, including drawings, photo-elicitation, semi-structured interviews and self-interviews, were used for gathering the data for this thesis. It was found that the commencement of teaching the Genocide was a daunting task which inspired fear and anxiety. This was due to the fact that the Genocide is a recent event and the wounds are still fresh in the minds of both teachers and learners who were affected in one way or another by the event.

Due to the sensitivity of the topic the participating teachers, as stipulated by the curriculum, hardly used the participatory approach. Equally, parents feared talking to learners about certain topics related to the Genocide. The overarching reasoning being to prevent hatred ideas, that could contradict the official version of the history of the Genocide, from finding its way into classrooms. Consequently, teachers were more inclined to use teacher centred methods and comply with the curricula and official version of the history of the Genocide. This was done so as to educate patriots capable of preventing genocide, and promote unity and harmonious living. Moreover, the prevalence of teacher centred methods led the teacher to avoid the actual Genocide by focusing on topics such as the pre- and post-colonial histories of Rwanda.

In the teaching process, a range of issues including the content, the curriculum, the collaboration with parents and the teaching methods have been identified as controversial. Issues such as, for example, the double genocide theory and the naming of the Genocide were considered as controversial. Additionally, certain

resources such as films proved to be inappropriate because they traumatised learners. Consequently learners' emotions also hindered the achievement of the stated aims as most of the teachers lacked the ability to deal with such situations. Evidence from teachers' experiences indicated that most controversial issues were actually raised by the learners.

In the analysis process, the theoretical framework on teaching controversial issues by Stradling (1984) and other scholars did not totally fit the Rwandan context. Some specific positions, such as playing devil's advocate and risk-taking, were avoided for not propagating Genocide denial or divisive ideas. Instead alongside indoctrination and stated commitment, compliance for self-care emerged as the best explanation for why the history teachers taught the Genocide and its related controversial issues the way they did.

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CHAPTER 1
CONTEXTUALISING THE RESEARCH JOURNEY

1.1 Introduction

In 1994, around one million Tutsi were killed by the then interim government and anti-Tutsi groups from different political parties and the general population. This intent to exterminate the Tutsi negatively impacted on the country in all domains - people killed, vandalised infrastructure, traumatised people, children without any assistance, millions of refugees and the change of the political regime. This controversial topic is embedded in the Rwandan secondary schools' history curriculum and I decided to analyse how it is taught in those schools.

Conceptually, there is no universally accepted definition of what a controversial issue is. Controversial issues are generally challenging and engender debates due to the lack of one fixed viewpoint. For Woolley (2010, p.2) "any issue can feel controversial when people hold different beliefs, views or values. Some issues are controversial because of their subject matter, for example whether experimentation should take place on human embryos". Other topics are controversial because there is a misunderstanding about their integration in the school curriculum, for example, whether it is appropriate to teach the Genocide against the Tutsi in the Rwandan secondary school setting. It means that some people may support the idea and others may reject it. Indeed, some controversial issues are sensitive because they relate to particularly painful or divisive times in the history of a country. Consequently, people question their introduction in the history lessons fearing that they might renew old wounds and create tragic problems in educational settings (Stradling, 2001).

Facing these challenges is an educative aim. Teaching controversial issues is of paramount importance in educational settings because most controversial topics, such as Islamophobia or racism, are related to learners' daily lives (Woolley, 2010). Invariably controversial issues are addressed through reflection, debate and evaluation. It implies that by dealing with these topics learners acquire not only concepts but also other skills such as listening to others, defending one's ideas by

use of evidence (Manyane, 1995) and in the process it also increases learners' sense of tolerance (Chikoko, Gilmour, Harber & Serf, 2011).

The Genocide against the Tutsi committed in Rwanda in 1994 is perceived as a controversial issue for a range of reasons - not only due to its sensitivity, but also due to lack of agreement on some issues such as its naming, the numbers of the victims (from five hundred thousand to around one million), the perpetrators' numbers due to the different categorisations attached to them, its causes and the role of local and international actors. A good example that makes it controversial relates to the naming for the Genocide against the Tutsi which has been attributed different names. From its link with other massacres, *Intambara* (war), *Itsembabwoko* (Genocide) and *Itsembatsemba* (massacres) (Nkusi, 2004; Ntakirutimana, 2010), it was named, in the preamble of the Rwandan constitution, the Genocide against the Tutsi (Republic of Rwanda, 2010). However, in other official documents, such as the *Law on the crime of genocide ideology and other related offences*, it is called the Genocide committed against the Tutsi (Republic of Rwanda, 2013) or the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in the Rwanda Commission for the fight against the Genocide publications (CNLG, 2011). In the Rwandan history curriculum, there is no single harmonised term. The 2008 history curriculum for Ordinary level uses the Genocide of Tutsi (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008) whereas that of the 2010 version uses both the Tutsi Genocide and the 1994 Tutsi Genocide (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010). To add 1994 may imply that other massacres against Tutsi are also considered as Genocide. The *History Teachers' Guide* (2010) uses the Genocide against the Tutsi. More importantly, most foreign publications use the Rwandan Genocide (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Prunier, 2008; Stanton, 2004; Straus, 2004; Yanazigawa-Drott, 2014) without specifying that the Tutsi formed the targeted group due to their identity not due to their political ideologies (Nkusi, 2004) as was the case for the Hutu also killed in 1994.

At the beginning of my research, I was convinced that I was going to use the term employed in the history curriculum. As the history curricula were translated from French to English and due to translation issues, there was no harmonisation for the Genocide hence different names were used in the curricula. In this research, I prefer to use the Genocide against the Tutsi found in the 2010 *History Teacher's Guide* and

the Rwandan constitution because it makes clear the targeted group and does not cause any confusion. The use of different names at the outset shows the lack of a harmonised term and it is a good start to indicate how controversial the topic is.

Conceptually, authors have defined the term genocide differently and some people tend to confuse it with other crimes against humanity. Briefly, the United Nations defined genocide as specific acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, national, ethnic, racial or religious groups (Jørgensen, 2001). Different scholars such as Kissi (2004) or Straus (2001) proposed other conceptualisations as the previous one are viewed as being deficient. It does not include, for instance, the killing of political groups. On the other hand, the word genocide has also been used in areas where other crimes against humanity have been committed (Kissi, 2004).

The teaching of controversial and emotional issues is of paramount importance in a country such as Rwanda which experienced the Genocide against the Tutsi. In this case, teachers need to demonstrate why and how this tragedy occurred in order to prevent it in the future (Kennedy, 2008). They should, as per the curriculum, teach how these atrocities were ended in other countries such as Bosnia and Germany and how the consequences were dealt with, because education about historical facts in itself is insufficient to prevent Genocide. Measures to be taken in order to prevent such a tragedy should, by dint of the curriculum, be highlighted by teachers while teaching this emotional issue. Thus, people who had the courage to care for others have to be highlighted to guide learners in their decision-making (Eckmann, 2010; Maitles & Cowan, 1999; Strom, 1994). In this regard, I am interested in analysing *The experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers in teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.*

Even if some efforts were made, such as the designing of a new curriculum and the production of a textbook on the history of Rwanda, I am convinced that it is time to look at how teachers are dealing with the Genocide against the Tutsi and controversial issues by using the fresh teaching approaches which can foster enquiry, critical reflection and mutual understanding. Some studies pointed out teachers' different attitudes while facing controversial issues in other countries (McCully, 2010; Maitles & Cowan, 1999; Wassermann, 2011). It should be

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interesting to understand to what extent the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues is done in the Rwandan context and their motivations in this regard. The motivation being that no specific study has been done on this in secondary schools – and hence my dissertation which focuses on *The experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers in teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.*

This introductory chapter provides an overview of my study. At first, I explain the context of the study by briefly presenting the current Rwandan socio-political and economic situation. The history educational background and the statement of the problem are also outlined to understand the importance of history teaching in the changing Rwandan society. My position and short biography as a researcher are also described. At the same time, I explain my rationale and motivation for the study. Thereafter, I also outline the purpose and focus of the study. Moreover, I outline the critical questions which guide this study. Furthermore, the theoretical and methodological considerations which guide this research are also outlined. Finally, in this chapter I present the organisation of the study and give a brief summary.

1.2 A brief contextualisation of the Rwandan scene

Rwanda was effectively a German (1897-1916) and then a Belgian colony (1916-1962). Since the precolonial period, three social groups, Twa, Hutu and Tutsi, were living on the same land sharing the same language and culture with only minor differences (Republic of Rwanda, 2000). Colonialists (1897-1962) who in addition brought their own criteria to categorise Rwandans exploited these minor differences. After independence (1962), the political context was characterised in general by a lack of social justice and discrimination against the Tutsi. In 1994, the then interim government executed a Genocide against the Tutsi (République du Rwanda, 2004). This tragedy devastated Rwanda: "[E]ighty percent of the population was plunged into poverty and vast tracts of land and livestock were destroyed … The already poorly developed productive infrastructure was completely destroyed and the nation was robbed of a generation of (…) doctors, public servants and private entrepreneurs. Thus, the consequences of [the] [G]enocide have devastated Rwanda's social, political and economic fabric" (Republic of Rwanda, 2000, p.11).

According to the fourth population and housing census held in 2012, Rwanda has a total population of 10 515 973 people (The Republic of Rwanda, 2012) in an area of 26 338 square kilometres. In 2014, the population density was 460 people per square km (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.POP.DNST). This landlocked country is located in central eastern Africa. It is surrounded by Uganda in the north, Tanzania in the east, Burundi in the south and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the west. The Rwandan location, away from ocean ports, increases the price of imports and exports. As a railway project is still underway, the use of roads increases transportation costs, not only for locally manufactured products, but also for the exporting of raw materials. This challenge hinders economic development (Republic of Rwanda, 2000). In addition, the country mainly exports tea and coffee whose prices are fixed by powerful economic powers. Deposits of different minerals are scattered and unknown. But, reserves of natural gas in Lake Kivu are estimated at 60 billion cubic metres (Republic of Rwanda, 2000).

Facing socio-economic challenges, the Government of Rwanda put in place a long-term policy, Vision 2020, to change Rwanda into a middle-income country. In order to achieve this goal, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy was devised as a successive five-year medium-term programme (The Republic of Rwanda, 2012). As a result, Rwanda's real economic growth exceeded eight percent a year since 2005 and is one of the highest in the world (NISR, 2015; World Bank Group, 2015). The services sector on its own contributed more than half of the Gross Domestic Product which was 718 American dollars per capita in 2014 and the country received considerable foreign aid for government expenditure (World Bank Group, 2015). A report from the NISR (2015, p.v) also reveals that business establishments increased by 24.4% between 2007 and 2014.

Despite these economic improvements, the agricultural sector specifically is still facing challenges. According to Republic of Rwanda (2000), this sector was accounting for more than 90% of the labour force. It is characterised by small plots "(80 percent of land holdings are less than 1 hectare [ha], often divided into three or four plots), and more than 70 percent of agricultural land is on hills or the sides of hills" (Giertz, Mudahard, Gray, Rubaiza, Galperin & Suit, 2015, p.xi). This situation is an obstacle to commercial agriculture.

In the education sector, the consequences of the Genocide were not only material but also affected personnel. During the post-Genocide period, there were insufficient trained teachers due to death, some being jailed or in exile. Most of the learners were also traumatised by their experience during the Genocide. Schools thus reopened in a divided society as the Genocide was committed by people living in the same community and sharing the same culture.

As will be discussed below history education was accused of being one of the causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi due to stereotypes and theories taught since the colonial period (Bianchini, 2012; Gasanabo, 2010). Consequently, different history curricula were elaborated on to shape a new vision for the country. This task was not easy because of certain controversies surrounding the history of Rwanda which will be explained further down. Nevertheless, between 2007 and 2014 education outcomes increased at all levels of education with net attendance from 17.8% to 23% and from 1.7% to 3% respectively in secondary and tertiary education. However, there was a decrease in the numbers attending primary education (NISR, 2015).

Politically, the present Government argues that the country is stable, due to its post-Genocide leadership and policy of national unity. Since 1994, President Pasteur Bizimungu led a new government composed of the Rwandese Patriotic Front and political parties which were not involved in the Genocide. In 2000, President Bizimungu was voted out by the Parliament which appointed Major General Paul Kagame the then Vice President and Minister of Defence as President of the Republic of Rwanda. In 2003, he was elected to rule a seven years' term and is now serving his second term. Under the Kagame administration, the country consolidated peace and pursued rapid economic progress (http://www.gov.rw/home/history/). These achievements motivated the amendment of the constitution and a referendum allowing the current leadership to participate in the next presidential elections. Despite these achievements, the Rwandan government is criticised by its political opposition in exile and other international organisations for its lack of freedom of expression and political pluralism. This political situation shapes the teaching of the

Genocide and its related controversial issues (Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy & Longman, 2008).

1.3 History educational background

In the context of the above, and considering the focus of the study, it is important to know how in the big educational framework historical knowledge was transmitted since precolonial times. In traditional Rwanda, children's education was done, not only by the family, but also by the lineage and social corporations (*itorero* for boys and *imbohero* for girls) (Kanakuze, 2005). During evening gatherings at the royal court or in different families, history was communicated to people orally by professional or semi-professional storytellers who were in general men. One of the main educational sources was historical tales, *ibitekerezo*. *Ibitekerezo* (*igitekerezo* in singular) which are narratives of various lengths considered to be historical and not fictional. The term *gutekereza* means to think and aims at communicating one's thoughts to the public so as to narrate events of the past. In general, it applies to all historical narratives without considering their origins or style (Vansina, 2000) be they the royal court or any family. *Ibitekerezo* could also talk about different periods of the past. They were long and complex and dealt with events which happened before the 20th century to differentiate them from *amakuru*, which were concise and recent (Nkulikiyimfura, 1992).

Official storytellers constructed the official historical tales with the most well-known being related to military expeditions. The heralds chosen by the commander in chief of an expedition, *umugaba w'igitero*, had to narrate to the king the course of the expedition. Thereafter, official storytellers had to construct a version of the account following official ideology to be transmitted from generation to generation. However, the court did not prevent people from having local tales transmitted freely with much exaggeration (Nkulikiyimfura, 1992; Vansina, 2000). Thus, there were controversies surrounding the various versions of a single historical tale.

Vansina (2000) points out the main topics discussed in official tales from the royal court and local ones. Conspiracies at the court, achievements of extraordinary divination, cattle herds and wars were focused on in official tales. The second category of tales dealt with the problems of land occupation and issues over the

rights of cattle. Rwandans thus used to know their history through oral sources such as genealogies, songs, war poems, pastoral poems, proverbs and legends which dealt mainly with behaviour (Byanafashe, 2004; Heremans, 1973; Nkulikiyimfura, 1992). Another official source, *ubwiru*, which was a range of state secrets in the form of poems describing ceremonies to be performed for the welfare of the kingdom and the durability of the king's rule, was only known by the king's advisers, *abiru.* However, the population participated in the course of its different ceremonies by fulfilling tasks recommended by *ubwiru* such as the participation in the first fruit festival, *umuganura* (Kagame, 1947).

The above traditional way of communicating historical knowledge existed and evolved over time and continues up to today. However, it was interrupted by the colonial system which introduced a formal education system which challenged what existed and introduced European history into this system. Since 1925, the education system was, because of a decision by the colonial government of the time, dominated by the Catholic Church, which aimed at training good Christians and the auxiliaries of the colonial administration. In this regard, the teaching of the history of Rwanda was not an important issue. Gasanabo (2010) notes that the history of Rwanda was known in primary school through a course entitled *Causeries,* (meaning Talk) and in secondary school, it was discovered during the reading of some texts in French or in Kinyarwanda. For Buhigiro (2012) the role of history in education was to demonstrate the importance of the European colonisation. A point in case is that in the final year of secondary schools, the history which was taught focused on the Belgian royal family, World War I and King Leopold II. Thus, there was a lack of cultural pluralism in this typical colonial education. Despite this lack of interest in local culture, Catholic missionaries urged Alexis Kagame who was still studying at the Nyakibanda Seminary, to collect different traditions in line with Rwandan culture (Nyagahene, 1997).

Broadly speaking the colonial negligence of Rwandan history remained in place until independence. Gasanabo (2010) highlights the history education evolution in the post-independence period. Overall, the first and second republics (1962-1994) were not very interested in the teaching of the history of Rwanda. Vansina (2000) notes that in the 1960s and thereafter, the large collection done by the *Institut de*

Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale, currently kept at the library of the University of Chicago in the United States, (Nyagahene, 1997) was neglected by Rwandan researchers to not focus on the monarchy. The political situation was unfavourable to the kings' regime which was considered as feudal and which was evicted at the end of the colonial period. Immediately prior to independence in 1961, a history programme for secondary schools proposed by the *Secrétariat National de l'Enseignement Catholique* (National Secretariat for Catholic Education) was adopted and taught in the final year of secondary schools. An emphasis was put on the settlement of the population by the three "ethnic groups", Twa, Hutu and Tutsi in different phases; the succession of kings' with a special focus on King Kigeli Rwabugili (1853-1895); the War of Rucunshu which evicted Mibambwe Rutalindwa from power (1895); German and Belgian rule (1897-1962) and evangelism in Rwanda. Thus, no reference was made to traditional economic and spiritual life due to missionaries still having an influence over the education system (Gasanabo, 2010).

In this process of history teaching, no textbooks were available, thus teachers had to rely on their own sources and interpretation (Gasanabo, 2010). However, the *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda* which stated the different origins of Rwandan social groups, written by Father Roger Heremans, was distributed in schools by the Ministry of Education. The first two volumes of history textbooks for secondary schools were published in 1987 for the precolonial period and 1989 for the colonial period.

Due to the way history was taught, Tutsi learners were frustrated (IRDP, 2005; Buhigiro, 2012). The teaching was done to please and praise the post-independence authorities by insisting on negative aspects of *ubuhake*, exploitation of the Hutu by the Tutsi (IRDP, 2005) and other topics. Some authors (Des Forges, 1999; Gasanabo,2014; Hilker, 2011; Mamdani, 2001) mentioned that this contributed to the Genocidal propaganda which precluded the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 as the history taught instilled an ideology of ethnic division within and outside the classroom (Buckley-Zistel, 2009). Consequently, there was a reduction of history teaching after the Genocide (Bianchini, 2012; Bentrovato, 2013; Duruz, 2012; Freedman et al., 2008).

During the post-Genocide period, the review of the history curriculum in 2008 heralded changes in as much as teachers had to be the guide or facilitator in history teaching (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008). Thus, two big changes happened in the post-Genocide period namely the position and role of the teacher and the designing of the new curriculum. The existing teachers did not have sufficient skills to teach in the way provided for in the new curriculum. Regarding the designation of the new curriculum, it has to follow the new education policy which promoted unity and reconciliation. In this process, "the Government [of Rwanda] believe[d] that education should be aimed at recreating in young people the values which have been eroded in the course of the country's recent past" (Republic of Rwanda. Ministry of Education Science Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p.4). "Ethnic" classification of students and teachers was stopped and schools were used as tools for peace building. But, in what follows I will explain how, due to the different interpretations of Rwanda's past, teaching history and developing a new curriculum became a serious challenge.

As history teaching has been characterised by divisive aspects, it was not easy to design a new curriculum which fits the post-Genocide context. A series of consultations about strategies on how to approach Rwanda's past and how to teach it without a colonial discourse about 'ethnic' identity were held: the first meeting, organised by the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research on the education system in Rwanda, recommended to the *Bureaux Pédagogiques* (Curriculum Development Departments) and the Institute of Science and Technology Research to, due to the ideological manipulations which characterised previous documents, write a textbook and guidelines for history teaching (Bianchini, 2012). This new idea was considered as a moratorium on history teaching until the guidelines on how to teach history were available. Subsequently, a commission comprised of lecturers from the National University of Rwanda and the Institute of Science and Technology Research began a "reflection process" to revise the history of Rwanda (Buckley-Zistel, 2009).

In the meanwhile, the National Curriculum Development Centre developed a new curriculum in 1998 for the Ordinary Level (Centre National de Développement des

Programmes, 1998). Contrary to the previous curriculum, it did not focus on 'ethnic groups' but on clans and lineages and the 1959 revolution (to be explained in the next chapter) was now considered as socio-political violence. In my assumption there was a belief that clan and lineage' identities could not be used for dividing Rwandans in as much as the three social groups shared them. Thus, it could contribute to the official policy of unity and reconciliation. The exclusion policy and dictatorship regime of the first and second republics (1962-1994) were but mentioned. The war launched by the Rwandese Patriotic Front in 1990 was considered as a Liberation War (Bianchini, 2012).

The above-mentioned commission, however, was dissolved due to a lack of funding. Another conference held in October 1998, recommended that the teaching of civic education should return to traditional Rwandan values (Buckley-Zistel, 2009). Other meetings related to history teaching and writing reached no agreement. But, one in November 1998, at the National University of Rwanda, suggested the creation of a national commission for revising Rwanda's history, which was to operate under the auspices of the National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation and the History Department of the National University of Rwanda. It was also suggested that a team should compose a reference textbook for school textbooks and engage with the training of history teachers. This last objective was not achieved, in all probability due to lack of agreement on the portrayal of the history of the 1959-1962 period (Bianchini, 2012).

As security and living conditions were improving in the 2000s, and the cooperation with donors was also increasing, the History Project was re-launched. In 2006, international scholars and curriculum development specialists from the Human Rights Centre at the University of California and the organisation Facing History and Ourselves, an American non-profit organisation interested in the development of educational resources and teacher training in post-conflict societies on injustice and prejudices with a particular focus on injustice and prejudices in Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, were approached (Bianchini, 2012; King, 2013; Weldon, 2006).

Teaching history was now considered essential to social reconstruction as Rwandans were losing patience with the slow process of official decision making

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regarding the teaching of the subject (Freedman et al., 2008) as a moratorium placed by the Ministry of Education immediately after the Genocide had remained in effect for over a decade (Bianchini, 2012; Freedman et al., 2008). This moratorium was alleviated by allowing teachers to skip controversial issues. This reduction in teaching history was preventing Rwandan learners, not only in acquiring critical thinking skills, but also in learning about national cultural values and different aspects of the Rwandan civilisation as well as the Genocide. In addition, they could not detect easily divisive ideas contained in former textbooks and different documents (IRDP, 2005).

From the outset, the Rwandan Ministry of Education limited the role of Facing History and Ourselves to that of informed outsiders who would facilitate and offer resources and advice. The ministry was clear that only those Rwandans would be allowed to write an official version of Rwanda's history or develop an official history curriculum (Freedman et al., 2008). The Facing History and Ourselves project had no overt authorisation to write or create the history curriculum. Its Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education specified that the materials and resources "could be used as models as the MINEDUC [Ministry of Education] through the NCDC [National Curriculum Development Centre] develops a history curriculum for Rwandan schools" (Freedman et al., 2008, p.673).

Together with Rwandan academics (working on behalf of the Rwandan Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research), Facing History and Ourselves compiled a comprehensive reference book for secondary school teachers entitled *The Teaching of History of Rwanda. A participatory approach* designed to serve as a reference manual for history teaching (Byanafashe, 2006). That American organisation also trained around 400 history teachers around the country in the use of learner centred approach and by making comparison between the Rwandan case with the Weimar Republic (Freedman et al., 2008).

After the departure of Facing History and Ourselves, a new history curriculum for Ordinary Level (for 13-16 years learners) was developed in 2008. This was done mostly by Rwandan experts who participated in the training organised by the American organisation. Later, some of the trained teachers also worked on the

Advanced Level curriculum. The Ordinary Level is composed of three years after completing primary school and is followed by an Advanced Level of three years which completes the secondary school. History is compulsory at the Ordinary Level while it is the same for some options of the Advanced Level. The history curriculum of the Ordinary Level, developed in 2008 in French, and subsequently translated into English, was guided by important government documents such as the *Vision 2020*, the *Strategy for Poverty Reduction and the Strategic Plan for Education Sector and Education for all policy* (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008). In this regard, it aimed at:

- educating citizens to know the Rwandese and universal values of peace, respect of human rights, gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity and good governance;
- promoting moral, intellectual, social and professional education towards the promotion of knowledge, skills needed for sustainable development;
- developing learners' spirit of patriotism and love of work.

In addition, the 2008 programmes aimed at allowing learners to be familiar with their immediate and remote environment through the contributions of revolutions in Africa and worldwide. The notions of peace, tolerance and reconciliation are also highlighted in the curriculum. An innovation of this programme is related to the importance given to the history of Rwanda. Instead of being offered only in the last year as previously done (Centre National de Développement des Programmes, 1998; National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008), it is stretched over the three years of Ordinary Level. This choice was motivated by the wish of the National Curriculum Development Centre to provide enough knowledge to learners related to their home country. In a nutshell , this level of study aims at enlightening learners with critical thinking skills by looking at different human experiences so that they can live in a world without ethnic or religious discrimination.

In year 1, topics related to the precolonial history of Rwanda are discussed. For instance, the beginning and expansion of Rwanda, the most important monarchs' achievements and the components of the traditional civilisation are part of the discourse. Due to the spiral approach used in the curriculum, the evolution of Africa

from the Prehistory up to the 19th century is also taught. Thus, the main kingdoms, the contacts between Africa and other continents and their consequences are analysed. In year 2, to ensure continuity, the mechanisms of the colonial conquest in Africa and the impact of colonisation in Africa are presented. More particularly, the colonial period in Rwanda helps the learners to understand its effects on Rwandan society. Other parts of the world are presented by showing their contribution to humankind with specific reference to American and European Revolutions. In the last year of Ordinary Level, particular attention is drawn to connections between tradition and modernity through Japanese and Chinese case studies. The challenges and opportunities of independence of Rwanda help the student to discuss more recent events for a better understanding of the present situation (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008).

The structure of the 2008 curriculum presents general orientations, general objectives and objectives for each year. The curriculum structural layout is composed of three columns including specific objectives for each topic, the topic itself and the teaching/learning activities. For each topic time allocation has been proposed and the learning situation suggested to teachers. This implies that teachers also have the ability to use their own innovation and to take into account their school environment (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008). In fact, regarding the methodological approach, the history curriculum recommends, more importantly the use of a participatory approach in the teaching process. The proposed activities in the 3rd column are for helping teachers to conceive an appropriate teaching situation. The teacher has to develop the spirit of critical thinking on given historical events.

Although the 2008 curriculum aimed at developing a participative approach of learners (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008), some analysts think that this approach contradicts the Rwandan Government will of inculcating a new vision and version of the history of Rwanda (Freedman et al., 2008; Hilker, 2011) by promoting a national identity instead of forms of 'ethnicity'.

The subsequent 2010 history curriculum was designed for Advanced Level and for combinations which have history such as History-Economics-Geography, History-

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Economics-Literature and History-Geography-Literature. It deals with topics already taught at Ordinary Level but more emphasis is placed on the enhancement of critical thinking. It was recommended to foreground, not only the history of Rwanda to help the youth of the country to clearly understand their society, but also to be informed about what took place in other parts of the world without forgetting their cultural identity. Apparently, as with the previous curriculum, the intention was to highlight the importance of 'Rwandaness'. For the general objectives, there was only an accent on precolonial Rwanda whereas the content comprises the colonial period and post-independence which includes aspects related to the Genocide and post-Genocide periods. This curriculum has the merit of diversifying teaching/learning activities (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010).

The 2008 and 2010 history curricula are progressively being phased out and replaced, for grade 1 and grade 4, by a new curriculum effective by the 2016 academic year. Other grades will be phased out progressively. The new curriculum, published in 2015, links history and citizenship and "the syllabus is responsive to the needs of the learner and shift from objective knowledge based learning to competency based learning" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p.24).

In this new proposed curriculum, the Genocide is still one of the most recurring topics (Gasanabo, Mutanguha & Mpayimana, 2016). For Ordinary Level, in grade 1, the focus is on the conceptualisation of genocide and its difference from other mass atrocities. In grade 2, the causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi, its planning and execution are part of the syllabus. For grade 3, the consequences of the Genocide and how Rwandans re-built society after the event are analysed. The syllabus for Advanced Level (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b) looks, in grade 4, at the similarities and differences between the Genocide against the Tutsi and other genocides. In the next grade, the curriculum proposes to evaluate different forms of Genocide ideologies and the denial in Rwanda and other countries. In grade 6, special attention is paid to measures of genocide prevention. It is important to explain why I decided to carry out research on the Genocide against the Tutsi as embedded in the history curricula and to explain how I approached the topic because my identity impacts on the research process.

1.4 My positionality and motivational rationality as a researcher

When the Genocide against the Tutsi erupted, I was 27 years old. I was teaching history and civics in a secondary school in central Rwanda, a region which was one of the most affected by the Genocide against the Tutsi. At the beginning of the Genocide, my family was attacked two times. Attacks stopped by mid-April when an influential person who did not manage to flee to his region of birth was obliged to join my family. I remember that one night a group of militia conducted a member of the *Forces Armées Rwandaises*, the official army defeated during the Genocide, to eliminate that person considered as an accomplice of the Rwandese Patriotic Front. By chance, that military recognised the person and no incident happened. In the meanwhile, a neighbour got certificates of loss of identity cards for the visitors and some members of the larger family who were directly targeted by the perpetrators. At the end of the Genocide, some members of the larger family were killed and others fled the country. Thus, as with many inhabitants of Rwanda I endured the effects of the Genocide. Hence, my positionality is informed by my lived experience as well as being a history educator.

After the genocide, I taught not only in the same secondary school but I also joined the former Kigali Institute of Education, (currently College of Education of the University of Rwanda) in charge of teacher training. At the Kigali Institute of Education, I was involved in the preparation of the first post-Genocide history programme. This was done in collaboration with some external experts from the National University of Rwanda. The designed programme was inspired by programmes from sister institutions in the African Great Lakes region such as the former National University of Rwanda, the Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Bukavu (Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Makerere University (Uganda). One of the curriculum innovations was the introduction of a course on genocides. As will be explained in more detail below I was involved in different activities related to the teaching of history in post-conflict countries including a project aimed at supporting new teachers in "developing genocide education in schools in Rwanda" (Wiesemes, 2011, p.144). Thus, my interest in the teaching of the Genocide and controversial issues kept evolving and growing. At the Kigali Institute of Education, I was also involved in a review of the history curriculum for Rwandan secondary schools. As I had participated in Facing History and Ourselves trainings, in collaboration with

historians from the National University of Rwanda, we were requested to review the curriculum and help the curriculum developers to integrate learners' activities. In the process, I became aware of what was expected of teachers in the field.

As explained at the outset, Rwanda suffered deeply from the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. I have also mentioned how after this catastrophe, history teaching was considered as one cause of the Genocide. To avoid the occurrence of such a problem, the 2008 and 2010 history curricula aimed at promoting mutual understanding; living in harmony without "ethnic" distinction; religious distinction or other forms of discrimination that can rupture Rwandan society. Thus, the promotion of a culture of peace among the learners by the employing of critical thinking became a priority of history education in the post-Genocide period. It proved not easy to achieve this in as much as Rwandan history contains different controversial issues. If the teaching of controversial issues is not well managed, it has the potential to exacerbate division in the whole society.

My interest in teaching the Genocide and controversial issues was a result of my personal interest in history. I learnt the history of Rwanda in primary and secondary school. Later on, I discovered that some topics taught in secondary school were controversial. However, teachers were using their authority to present us with only one version. At university, I was enrolled in the department of history. It was interesting to learn about the past of my country because most of the events such as the achievements of various kings were new and fascinating to me. At the university, history became even more fascinating as lecturers stressed the relevance of critical skills. Historical sources and some events were challenged resulting in interesting debates. For instance, I noticed that some historical sources, *ubucurabwenge*, king genealogies, or *ubwiru* were guided by official ideologies and contradicted unofficial sources. Another example was the king's role in the establishment of the first Catholic missions in Rwanda. In primary school, we were taught that King Yuhi Musinga by sending missionaries - also called White fathers due to the colour of their white cassocks - to different places such as Save, Zaza, Rwaza and Nyundo had a hidden agenda. The king believed that the population of the mentioned regions, who were stereotyped by other Rwandans as bad people, would chase away the missionaries. At university we used archival documents from the White fathers'

headquarters in Rome, including White fathers' letters to study their actions. We noticed that they had in fact themselves requested to go to those specific places as they were densely populated and located at strategic places near the Rwandan borders. This they did to counter the Islamic and Protestantism influences from the Tanganyika Territory [modern day Tanzania], Uganda and the Belgian Congo [modern day Democratic Republic of the Congo]. Another issue which challenged what we had learnt in primary and secondary school was the settlement history of the Rwandan population. The inaugural lecture of Professor Emmanuel Ntezimana criticised the well-used different phases of migrations done by the three social groups. Another course on *Introduction to Prehistory and Archaeology* also rejected the above theory which explains that in this process, Twa came first and were considered as the autochthonous and were followed by Hutu migrating from Bahr-el-Ghazal region (Sudan) near Lake Chad and finally the Tutsi came from the horn of Africa. But the region of origin of the three groups kept changing considering either authors' interests or interpretation.

When a student colleague at the National University of Rwanda wanted to write a research project on the 1959 violence in his area of origin, and the persecution of Tutsi in the post-independence period, he was discouraged by a lecturer. The lecturer told him that it would be difficult to find enough oral and centrally located primary sources related to the topic. Considering the socio-political situation of the time the lecturer told him that he could not supervise such a study. Rather he advised him to look at the socio-political evolution of that historical region and integrate some data related to the socio-political violence and Tutsi persecution. It was then that I again noticed that Rwandan history was full of controversial and sensitive topics and I became curious to know how an unimaginable topic such as the Genocide against the Tutsi which affected my country is presented to learners - specifically when it is still fresh in the minds of people.

At a professional level, after the Genocide, the recommendations from different workshops which were discussing new ways of teaching the history of Rwanda and its re-writing were misunderstood and led to a kind of unofficial moratorium of the subject. Some colleagues went on teaching history by skipping some aspects which for them were controversial. In light of the above I was surprised to see one question

on the Genocide, one of the most emotional issues in the history of Rwanda, included in the 1998 National Examination at the Advanced Level of the secondary school. In fact, after secondary school, all learners were obliged to pass a National Examination to get a certificate in order to gain admission to tertiary education. To answer the question asked about the Genocide, I assumed that learners used their own skills and knowledge and not what they had learnt in class. I felt that there was a need to understand how teachers taught the Genocide as an issue and wanted to analyse the challenges they faced in the process.

Subsequently, I was involved in training sessions organised by Facing History and Ourselves, I noticed that some Rwandan teachers were not trained historians, while others were expatriates who were not familiar with the problems of Rwandan historiography and Rwandan society. Another group was composed of teachers who were trained before the Genocide against the Tutsi. Therefore, they were trained in a system which was considered as one source of divisions in Rwandan society. I was wondering how the use of a participatory approach, as recommended by Facing History and Ourselves for post-conflict societies, could be fruitful with these different categories of teachers all teaching history in Rwandan schools. This training for in-service teachers proved to me that there was also a need for capacity building as well as addressing the challenges of teaching the history of Rwanda. As the main concern at that particular time was about the participatory approach and controversial issues, I believed that it was important to conduct research on how teachers responded to this proposed teaching methodology while discussing controversial issues. In fact, the teacher is a key element in applying these new pedagogies and this depends mainly on her/his competences.

As stated earlier the resurgence of divisive ideologies in Rwandan secondary schools was another motivation which encouraged me to think about the teaching of controversial issues. I was interested to know if the teaching of controversial issues was not at the origin of re-emergence of divisive ideas in Rwandan schools because if not well taught controversial issues provoke anger, hatred, and other negative emotions. As my home institution was in charge of training secondary schools' teachers, it showed concern about divisions in secondary schools. In this regard, the Kigali Institute of Education made contact with an experienced institution which was

teaching the Holocaust in its history programmes. I was involved in a project in partnership with the University of Nottingham (United Kingdom) and the Kigali Institute of Education on Education for community cohesion.

The aim of the project was to develop teachers who could employ a range of pedagogies to promote community cohesion in both formal and non-formal educational settings. It was also envisaged that this project work should enhance peace and citizenship education in both Rwanda and the United Kingdom with a particular focus on exploring issues concerned with Genocide education and community cohesion in the Rwandan context. The project helped both academics and learners to think about their own prejudices (Wiesemes, 2011). As part of the Rwandan team I gained an interest in Genocide education and the teaching of controversial issues. I noticed that the Holocaust was still taught many years after its execution in European countries (Cavet, 2007; Rutembesa, 2011a). In Rwanda the Genocide was included in the curriculum immediately after the atrocities. I felt it was a challenging issue in as much as the topic was extremely emotional. Thus, the community cohesion project gave me insight into some of the problems faced by teachers while dealing with the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwandan secondary schools.

The Genocide was not the only challenging issue in teaching the history of Rwanda. Other controversial issues are reflected in some published works or were discussed by teachers during their training. As illustration of other controversial issues is the following - when I was teaching the history of Rwanda from 1900 up to the present in my second year at the Kigali Institute of Education, I experienced a hot debate in the class. After learners' presentation on the main political parties on the eve of independence, one learner was interested to know whether what happened in Rwanda in 1959 was a 'revolution' or not. The class was divided into two groups so as to debate for and against the issue. Each group argued their case and I feared they would quarrel. Fortunately, no incident happened. I realised that no guidelines to discuss such issues were given to teachers or learners and I felt it was important to develop educational strategies to guide such situations and to identify other challenging issues while teaching the history of Rwanda.

Indeed, I was more convinced to initiate a study after presenting a paper on *Challenges of participatory approach in teaching about the Genocide* at a conference organised in 2010 by the Rwanda Commission for the Fight against Genocide. During discussion time, one participant was interested to know if the question regarding the person who grounded the presidential plane on April 6, 1994, considered as the immediate cause of genocide by some authors, could be discussed in a Rwandan class. As presenter I could not give my own view as most of the influential participants rushed to provide a common official view on the question. Consequently my interest to know, not only how such situations are discussed in secondary schools, but also the teachers' reactions in front of such challenging questions grew even more. As different studies analysed how the Holocaust or controversial issues are taught in some post-conflict countries such as Northern Ireland (McCully, 2006) or South Africa (Wassermann, 2011) I found it very important to investigate how these concepts are perceived through Rwandan teachers' experiences while teaching the history of Rwanda.

Consequently, I decided to undertake research on *The experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues* to gain deeper understanding of these issues in the Rwandan context by enrolling for a doctoral programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. In light of the above, in the following section, I will explain the research problem which inspired me to undertake this study.

1.5 Statement of the research problem

The teaching of the Genocide is now part of the history programme in Rwandan secondary schools. This topic has attracted many researchers and it is why there is a range of publications on different aspects of the Genocide against the Tutsi such as historical and journalistic texts (Destexhe, 1995; Melvern, 2000; Nkunzumwami, 1996; Prunier, 1997; Semujanga, 2003; Wende, 2014), personal accounts and testimonies (Dallaire, 2004; Kayihura & Zukus, 2014), the role of Churches (Bizimana, 2001; Longman, 2010), the role of the international community (Cumberland, 2012; De Saint-Exupéry, 2004; Melvern, 2000; Uvin, 2001; Verschave, 1994), the denial of the Genocide (Péan, 2005; Ruzibiza, 2005) and the post-

Genocide transformation (Clark, 2010; de Brouwer & Ruvebana, 2013; Ingelaere, 2008; Sezibera, Van Broeck, & Philippot, 2009) to name but a few.

In this rich literature on the Genocide, very few authors published papers related to the teaching of this topic in Rwanda and few books focused on this particular aspect appeared (King, 2013). Those who engaged with this topic explored some problems theoretically faced by teachers or presented small scale research projects about learners' views on learning Rwandan history including the Genocide (Bianchini, 2012; Buhigiro, 2011; Mutwarasibo, 2011; Rutembesa, 2011a). Other scholars (Bentrovato, 2013; Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Duruz, 2012; Freedman et al., 2008; McCully, 2012) point out the use of one narrative while teaching about the precolonial period and the role of colonisation in dividing Rwandan society. According to Wiesemes (2011, p.144), "anecdotal evidences suggests that many teachers shy away from this [teaching about the Genocide] for a range of personal, social and professional reasons".

After the designing of the 2008 and 2010 history curricula, no specific study has focused on teachers' experiences about the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. In addition, the methods used were mainly interviews. This study therefore aims at analysing the history teachers' experiences on how these issues are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools and why they are taught that way by using research methods which were not previously used. Therefore it is worthwhile explaining the purpose and focus of my study.

1.6 Purpose and focus of the study

The focus of the study is therefore to provide a critical understanding on how Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers experience the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The purpose of the study is therefore to identify controversial issues related to the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi so as to understand the ways the Genocide and its related controversial topics are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools and reasons behind those pedagogies. This research also helped me to propose a model of teaching the Genocide and controversial issues which fits the socio-political situation of a post-Genocide African country.

1.7 Research questions

As Jansen (2007) notes, research questions help the researcher to specify the focus of the study. It gives the researcher the boundaries to work within during the research process. My research questions guided me in the review of the literature related to my study. In addition, the questions assisted me during the data gathering process. Furthermore, the research questions posed guided me during the data analysis.

Bearing the above in mind, the following questions were designed to guide this study:

- What are the controversial issues related to the Genocide against the Tutsi that are being taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools?
- What are the participants' experiences on how the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools?
- Why the participants have the experiences they have on how the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues are taught the way they are in history in Rwandan secondary schools?

1.8 Theoretical considerations

Teachers react differently to the educational advantages of teaching controversial issues and this has prompted theorisations of the teaching of these issues. The most prominent being the model propounded by Stradling (1984). Stradling proposed the following categorisation of teachers' approaches when teaching controversial issues: the balanced approach, procedural neutrality, stated commitment, and indoctrination. The balanced approach implies that the teacher should offer learners a range of alternative pieces of evidence and that different points of view on each issue should ideally be raised in each lesson. This approach would also allow learners an educational entry point as they can share knowledge from the community and the media while being supported by the teacher.

Procedural neutrality, also conceptualised as neutral impartiality, involves adopting a strategy in which the teacher's role is that of an impartial chairperson. The teacher would allow all learners to explain their ideas, provide evidence when needed, and

avoids, in theory at least, the assertion of his or her own allegiances to the issue. In stark contrast to the balanced approach and procedural neutrality stands the stated commitment approach which is not far removed from overt teacher centredness, exclusive partiality, or being a determined advocate, or indoctrinator. This approach emanates from teachers rejecting the possibility of maintaining an impartial line and hence takes a clear and unambiguous position on the controversy. The major potential problem in teaching controversial issues by means of stated commitment is the risk of indoctrination or one-sidedness. The latter is usually associated with attempts to teach something contrary or in the absence of any evidence at all. The stated commitment approach can be successful if it serves to challenge learners to think, to clarify their own opinion, to be aware of the contradictions in their thinking and to sort out fact from value-judgment. However, this implies that learners can challenge the powerful position teachers hold by being allowed to challenge the biased positions they hold.

Building on the theory by Stradling other scholars have added further categories. An important category is the so-called avoiders who completely exclude topics deemed controversial from their teaching (Kitson & McCully, 2005). Their avoidance may be attributed to a lack of teaching skills, personal beliefs, societal pressure and numerous other reasons. But, some are well intentioned either arguing that pupils lack the maturity to grasp controversial issues, or teachers follow the learners' wish of avoiding the controversial issues because of the fared consequences of learning about it. Related to avoiding as an approach is that of containing whereby teachers as containers choose topics which are similar, far from home or parallel. For instance, a teacher in Rwanda, instead of dealing directly with the Genocide against the Tutsi would prefer to tackle a different Genocide or the Holocaust. Finally, peace-making as a teaching approach whereby teachers appease the tension related to controversial issues by touting forgiveness (Wassermann, 2011), acceptance of the past and new found liberty and unity were added to the initial Stradling theorisation.

1.9 Methodological considerations

In researching this study, I adopted a qualitative approach by employing career life stories/narratives. Regarding career life stories, "people make sense of their lives according to the narratives available to them. Stories are constantly being structured

in the light of new events, because stories do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives …" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p.2). In this study, career life stories were chosen due to the nature of Rwandan culture where values and traditions were transmitted from one generation to another (Vansina, 2004). The use of career life stories was found appropriate to research the experiences of Rwandan secondary school history teachers on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues that are related to historical events to safeguard the importance of orality in Rwandan culture.

Concerning the research approach, for Merriam (2009, p.5), "qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experience, how they construct their world, and what meaning they attribute to their experience". Thus "qualitative researchers want to know what the participants in a study are thinking and why they think the way they do" (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006, p.431). The purpose of qualitative research is thus to promote greater understanding of not just the way things are, but also why they are the way they are (Amin, 2005). In this study, I have adopted an interpretivist paradigm (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). This was because my aim is to understand history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools. At the outset, I have to premise that this research is purely qualitative. By analysing the views of eleven Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the study does not aim to generalise the findings rather to understand the phenomenon according to the selected teachers.

In qualitative research there are no clear rules on the size of the sample and in the case of this research it was informed by 'fitness for purpose' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). This was so because I emphasised the uniqueness, and idiographic and exclusive distinctiveness of the phenomenon under study. As such the research participants represent themselves, and nothing or nobody else (Cohen et al, 2011). Consequently participants contained at least one of the following characteristics: a specialised history teacher; a non-trained history teacher; a teacher from a well-equipped school in terms of educational resources; a teacher from a school with poor educational resources and a genocide survivor teacher were selected from seven secondary schools from Kigali City and up country. The emphasis on these

categories was motivated by the desire to ensure that rich thick research data on teaching experiences related to the Genocide were obtained from a wide range of history teachers with different background and from different Rwandan settings.

By dint of the controversial nature of the topic being researched, different data generating methods were used. These included drawings, photo elicitation, semi-structured individual interviews, and the writing of a short statement. Holm (2008) points out that an image is not neutral and is produced with specific intentions in mind. Consequently the history teachers were asked to create a drawing depicting their teaching experiences of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. They were given ten minutes to complete their drawings. Most important were not their drawing skills but the meaning assigned to their depiction of their experiences.

One of the positive aspects related to the use of visual methods and a drawing in the case of this research is to deflect attention away from personal sensitivities by projecting them onto another external object (Cohen et al., 2011). Furthermore, visual images have the ability to facilitate discussion on controversial issues and in so doing increase participation in the research process (Carnes, 2009). In terms of photo elicitation a range of images related to the general history of Rwanda and the Genocide from the Internet were presented to the participating history teachers. The thinking was to allow them to explore and engage with the selected photographs to elicit teaching experiences that would be difficult to otherwise produce (Motalingoane-Khau, 2010). The photographs provided helped teachers to talk about teaching methods, content and challenges they faced in teaching.

The drawings, as well as the images selected for the photo elicitation part of the research served as a starting point to the semi-structured individual interviews (Kings & Horrock, 2010). At first, the drawings of the research participants were discussed. This was followed by a conversation about the photos selected during the photo elicitation exercise. During the interviews the participants were listened to carefully and probed for clarification on how their drawings and the selected photos spoke to their experiences of teaching the Genocide. The interviews were thus used to construct detailed accounts of specific educational experiences related to the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi and to avoid misinterpretation of the

drawings. Lastly, participants were asked to produce a short written statement on experiences related to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues that were not touched on by the research methods employed. The aim was for teachers to draw on their memories outside of their formal participation in the research process (Bryants & Livholts, 2007; Jansson, Wendt, & Åse, 2008; Lapadat, Black, Clark, Gremm, Kranja, Mieke, & Quinlan, 2010). In so doing they were empowered, through the act of writing, to maximize the depth of description of experiences they had about teaching the Genocide (Bryant & Livholts, 2007; King & Horrocks, 2010).

The data from participants' drawings were put in a separate chapter and analysed by means of semiotic analysis (Johnson & Christensen, 2008) because drawings are able to reveal some sociological insight that is not accessible by other means. Photo elicitation, semi-structured individual interviews, and the writing of a short statement were utilised to construct eleven career life stories but only seven were chosen according to specific criteria to be part of this study due to a huge amount of data. Thereafter they were analysed by means of open-coding (Cohen et al., 2011). The themes that emerged after saturation was reached were used to construct the experiences of the Rwandan teachers on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issue. In the case of this research emphasis was placed on the teaching aims, historical content, teaching methods experienced and rationale behind the way the content is taught. This thinking is based on Thien's ideas (2014), that the aims, content and teaching methods are the trinity of education.

1.10 Overview of the study

This study is structured into nine chapters. After this introductory chapter, the second one presents the historical background on Rwanda. This background comprises the precolonial, colonial, post-colonial and post-Genocide periods to demonstrate not only the root causes of the Genocide but also to explain how this human tragedy occurred and how its effects were dealt with.

In the third chapter I engage with the literature review and the theoretical framework with a particular focus on the conceptualisation of controversial issues and Genocide. I refer to a rich literature showing the rationale of teaching the Genocide

including for instance the historical knowledge and the genocide prevention. In the case of controversial issues, I explain different skills gained by learners while studying them. Different approaches used in this process are also described in this literature review chapter. Some special cases concerning the teaching of controversial issues in post-conflict countries are presented with special attention paid to Northern Ireland and Cambodia while case studies for the Genocide refer to the Holocaust and Rwanda. This chapter also deals with the theorisations of the teaching of controversial issues due to different attitudes adopted by teachers while teaching these issues.

The methodology used for this research is highlighted in the fourth chapter. As I am interested in understanding teachers' experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues I describe the choice made for using interpretivist paradigm and qualitative approach. Similarly, I explain that due to the nature of the topic which is sensitive, the data gathering was done by means of visual methods and interviews. Furthermore, I present the sample composed by different categories used in this study. The next aspect discussed in this chapter is related to the journey and issues of analysing and interpreting career life stories and drawings. Moreover, in this chapter, I explain ethical considerations issues followed by the trustworthiness of the research study.

In the fifth chapter I deal with the participants' drawings and their meanings. The first one is Arian's drawing related to a cross and a classroom situation. The second done by Mukamuhire depicts a person between two walls. The third drawings were done by Murezi and are about a sad giant facing other persons who are hand in hand. The next one drawn by Semana depicts a man using his machete to butcher a kneeled one. Rukundo's drawing presents a man ascending a ladder. Françoise's drawing shows a kneeled person and another one touching her. Finally, Mukakalisa did two drawings and the first one depicts a reflective person while the second is related to a classroom situation. The names which are used in this study are pseudonyms for anonymous purposes.

In the sixth chapter, I describe the above mentioned participants' career life stories (Arian, Mukamuhire, Murezi, Semana, Rukundo, Françoise and Mukakalisa). The

constructed stories deal with the participants' educational and professional background, first encounters with the teaching of the Genocide, aims, contents and their teaching methods and a final commentary. The seventh chapter thematically analyses the findings related to history teachers' experiences in line with their commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the aims and content. Other issues such as the teaching methods, resources, the role of emotions, place of the learners and the community involvement are discussed in the eighth chapter. The discussion is therefore divided into two chapters in view of manageability. The study is concluded in chapter 9 by providing a logical conclusion to the study through a reflection on the emerged findings and by developing my thesis and recommendations.

1.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I gave an overview of my thesis. At first, I provided a general presentation of Rwanda, my position and my short biographical position as a researcher. I also explained the rationale and motivation for the study. The research problem, purpose and focus and research questions and theoretical considerations are highlighted. Finally, I presented the methodological consideration and the structure of the study. In the next chapter, I present the historical background which contributed to the eruption of the Genocide and the management of the post-Genocide period. The following chapter was designed mainly to briefly explain the root causes of the Genocide against the Tutsi because the Genocide cannot be considered as a historical accident rather an event which has its ramifications in the Rwandan past. In other words, the historical background helps to uncover the unknown (Johnson & Christensen, 2008) in line with the causes, sequences and consequences of the Genocide. Therefore, I provided the context in which the Genocide occurred and the post-Genocide management of the event. Thus, the knowledge of the context helps the reader to better understand teachers' attitudes while tackling the Genocide and its related controversial issues. By showing the link between the past and the Genocide, I provided information about policies which have and have not worked in shaping Rwandans' relationship which are discussed in class while teaching the Genocide. In the same context, I analysed the role of individuals, agencies or institutions in the Genocide. The purpose of the historical background is not the accumulation of dates or description of past events but along

with the historical background I also give an interpretation of the complex past events and individual personalities who influenced what happened in Rwanda leading up to the Genocide and the Genocide itself. Thus, it is important to understand history in a history education dissertation for a better understanding of the content teachers are dealing with and the context in which teachers are operating.

CHAPTER 2

JOURNEYING THROUGH THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF
THE GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter on the background to my study, I explained the rationale which guided me to conduct a study on *The experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues*. I also clarified the purpose of my research which is to understand the ways the Genocide and its related controversial issues are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools and reasons behind the pedagogies followed.

In this chapter, I engage with the historical background up to the aftermath of the Genocide. In this, I analyse Rwandans' relationship before the pre-colonial period and also during the colonial and post-colonial period. It is crucial to know, in the context of this study, whether the Rwandan social groups were eternal historical enemies so as to sink into such tragedy or if there are other factors which contributed to shaping their relationships. On one hand, the section on the precolonial period in this chapter describes socio-cultural aspects which linked Rwandans. On the other, the chapter deals with different aspects which negatively impacted on Rwandan social cohesion. The role of the colonial powers in shaping relationships and introducing 'ethnic identities' is discussed with emphasis on the exclusion policies which first favoured Tutsi and later, on the eve of independence, the Hutu. The post-independence period section shows the continuity of divisive policies and the eruption and course of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Finally, the chapter outlines the challenges Rwanda is facing post-Genocide and the efforts made, not only to overcome the effect of the Genocide including Genocide denial, but also the new ways which are shaping Rwanda's development. However, for post-Genocide Rwanda, this chapter does not deal with economic programmes such as the Vision 2020 and other different policies put into place by the Rwandan Government to boost the economy which is among the fastest growing in Africa (NISR, 2015; World Bank Group, 2015). This is deemed to be beyond the focus of

this thesis. Rather, the focus is put on policies which aimed at fighting social injustice.

All-in-all this chapter is about the historical roots of the Genocide in Rwanda – a necessary backdrop to understanding how the aforementioned event and related controversies are taught in a contemporary context.

2.2 Understanding the pre-colonial period of Rwandan history (14th century-1897)

This section has at its heart the relationships between Rwandans in the pre-colonial period. The beginning of this period is controversial. For instance, Kagame (1972) positions the beginning of the Rwandan kingdom in the 10th century because he includes on the royal list some kings considered mythical. In his publications Vansina (1961; 2004) does not keep to the same dates due to his comparison of Rwanda to neighbouring kingdoms. However, Mbonimana (2011) proposes the 14th century because of the advent of kings firmly rooted in historical tales and this explanation persuaded me to adopt the 14th century. Regardless of this historical debate, in the context of this thesis, what were the historical relationships between Rwandans like?

Since the pre-colonial period Rwanda was peopled by three social groups, Twa, Hutu and Tutsi. Apart from some regional differences the literature on pre-colonial Rwanda agrees on different components of the traditional culture being shared by the three social groups (Nizurugero, 2004). For instance, the language Kinyarwanda (Des Forges, 1999) was an important unifying component with its proverbs, songs and legends. All three social groups also shared the same clans and each one had its totem, in general an animal, respected by clan members (d'Hertefelt, 1971; Nyagahene, 1997). Across the social groups values such as kindness, love, and tolerance were encouraged and cowardice, jealousy, avarice, and killing were discouraged. An example of enforcing the values was discouraging killers, with Rwandans using the threat of a vendetta against the killer's family. Sometimes a bride, for reconciliation purposes, could be offered between the killer's and victim's families (Crepeau & Bizimana, 1979; Mbonimana, 2001).

Traditional religion was another institution which helped to shape a national precolonial identity. For instance, Rwandans believed in one God, *Rurema* (the Creator). He does not need any gifts because of his kindness. Other cults like *Kubandwa* were not only a way of worshiping but also a sign of friendship and an occasion for a local feast with neighbours. People who had completed all steps of *Kubandwa* namely initiation (*kwatura*), confirmation (*gusubizaho imandwa*) and sacrifice (*kubagira*) were considered one united community.

Small regional difference existed, for example in northern Rwanda the cult of *Nyabingi,* a single lady who would have lived in Karagwe and Ndorwa prevailed, whereas in the southern part the predominant hero was *Ryangombe* (Berger, 1981; Mbonimana, 1973-74). However, on one hand, *Nyabingi* priests were considered as healers and on the other as aspiring to acquire many material goods (d'Hertefelt, Trouwborst, Scherer, Vansina & Luwel, 1962).

In pre-colonial Rwanda, across social groups, the family was a key element of social organization. It fulfilled many roles such as economic production, socialization and sexual reproduction. It was composed of the husband, his spouse/s and children. Within this patriarchal organisation the man was the chief of the family. In this polygamous society every wife had her enclosure and her husband used to visit her (Nahimana, 1993). When the husband died, his wives could re-marry with someone from her late husband's family.

The Rwandan society appreciated women's roles but also minimised their social status. Due to their role in reproducing children, traditional Rwanda respected women. However, women had to be protected by their husbands and their families. But the wife owed respect and submission to her husband. The husband's authority over his wife was recognised by culture and society. This was confirmed by many proverbs and other taboos which created a distinction between men and women. For instance, *nta nkokokazi ibika isake ihari,* no hen crows in the presence of a rooster meant that it was forbidden for women to talk in public and the woman had no right to lend out the family bull without her husband's authorisation. Despite this attitude vis-à-vis woman, girls were respected and educated carefully because of the dowry they will bring their family. This is proved by names like *Mutumwinka* (the one who is

supposed to bring cow) and *Mukobwajana* (the one who will bring a dowry of 100 cows). Furthermore, marriage was an opportunity to expand alliances with other lineages (Kanakuze, 2005; Mukanyamurasa, 2004).

In terms of political life the Rwandan kingdom started as a small polity at Gasabo, near Lake Muhazi and expanded by conquering other surrounding chiefdoms (Kagame, 1972). The king was considered as the father of all lineages. He came from the Nyiginya clan and was Tutsi. Nkaka (2013) notes that once he was enthroned he was no longer considered as Tutsi or Nyiginya due to the sacredness of the Rwandan kingdom and the role he has to play in the society. But, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa during the precolonial period were not used for "ethnic" identification. In fact, the king was at the top of the political hierarchy and viewed as having supernatural powers. Even though his power supposedly had no limits he was assisted by *abiru* (advisers) and the practice was that the queen mother ruled the country when the king was still a minor. Queen mothers came from specific clans and mostly from the Abega, Abakono and Abaha with a few of them from the Abasinga, Abagesera and Abazigaba (Nyagahene, 1997). The king's *abiru* came from specific lineages such as the Abakobwa, Abanemuhinda, Abatege and Abenegitandura (Kagame, 1947). The privilege was given to them frequently due to their achievements at the royal court.

At a territorial level the kingdom was divided into different districts. Each was ruled by three chiefs recruited from the three social groups (Kagame, 1975). There were the chief of landholding in charge of collecting all agricultural loyalties for the royal court, the chief of pastures in charge of collecting products from cattle keeping and the chief of the army who was in charge of the king's defence (Prunier, 1997). In some regions one chief could accumulate the power of collecting both agricultural loyalties and those from cattle (IRDP, 2005). The defence of the national territory was done by all Rwandans despite what was written by Maquet (1954) that the Tutsi were combatants and Hutu were in charge of plundering. In fact, the Twa were known as competent fighters (Sherti, 2014) and there were some regiments made-up exclusively of Twa or Hutu. Some lineages could even have their own troops (Nyagahene, 1997).

Despite the exiguity of the territory some regions enjoyed their own administrative organisation. For instance, in the north of Rwanda the administrative power was in charge of family chiefs and this region was semi-independent. Even though a different organisation was observable this did not bother the central authority because all conquered regions were paying tributes to the Rwandan king (Nahimana, 1993; Ntezimana, 1980). Thus, there was no administrative homogeneity cutting across all of the Rwandan territory but this did not mean that unity of sorts did not exist. This diversity escaped some authors such as Kagame (1972) and Maquet (1954).

In the precolonial period, some social activities were done in communities and symbolized the unity of Rwandans: for example *ubudehe*; *umubyizi*; *umuganda*. The first one consisted of cultivating as a group for a family. The second refers to one day spent working for a friend who was unable to complete agricultural work. The third was communal work done by means of helping a friend to build his traditional house. In addition, barter exchange favoured unity, not only between Rwandans, but also with neighbouring kingdoms. For Chubaka (as quoted by Nyagahene, 1979) talking about barter trade between Rwandans and the people from Bushi in the current Democratic Republic of the Congo observed that

> The big profit that one could have from his first journey in Rwanda was to create himself friends who could host him. These friends earned from barter trade because they guided the tradesmen in the market. Thereafter, this friendship was materialized by the blood pact between the two parts exercising a moral constraint (Nyagahene, 1979, p.164) (my translation from French).

The quote also shows that a blood pact was done between people from two different kingdoms to mark their friendship.

Despite the positive aspects of Rwandans' relationship in the pre-colonial era and a lack of open wars between the social groups a series of conflicts and intrigues existed. Sometimes at the royal court plots were organized, mainly after the king's death, to evict opponents or designated heirs. Such political intrigues led to the killing of many suspected opponents, especially under the King Kigeli Rwabugili (1853-1895) (Vansina, 2004; Kagame, 1972; Minisiteri y'Amashuru makuru n'Ubushakashatsi mu by'Ubuhanga, 1988). Additionally, although some institutions were put in place for socio-economic or political reasons, they ended up exploiting

the population. For instance, the clientship system, *ubuhake*, aimed at getting a cow and protection from the patron, a cattle owner. Some patrons became good friends of their clients. The latter could learn, mainly during evening gatherings, some cultural issues from the patron. However, as many cattle owners were Tutsi, some authors such as Maquet (1954) depicted *ubuhake*, as an institution put into place to dominate the Hutu. But even the Hutu who were cattle owners had their own clients. Some Tutsi became clients of more important persons to get either cows or protection (Kayumba, 2004).

Uburetwa, a form of imposed labour, was another controversial institution. This consisted of two working days per week (a Rwandan traditional week was made of five days) per adult being set aside for the politico-administrative chief without reward. It was characterized by social injustice due to its exploitation of the local population. Its origin was controversial. Some traditions mention that it was institutionalised by King Kigeli Rwabugili (1853-1895) as punishment for Hutu farmers who had contributed to the Rwandan reverse in the war against Nkole. Other oral sources attribute its beginning to Chief Seruteganya who imposed loyalties on Bugoyi farmers and thereafter the system was expanded all over the kingdom (Mbonimana, 2003). Vansina (2004) considered *uburetwa* as one of the institutions which contributed to the tearing apart of Rwandan society before the colonial period started.

However, most negative images of traditional Rwanda was fore mostly propounded by the first European explorers such as Oscar Baumann who arrived in Rwanda in 1892 looking for the source of the Nile River and Count Gustave von Götzen who visited Rwanda in 1894. They referred to Rwanda as a kingdom where the majority of its Bantu population was exploited by the Tutsi, who were considered foreigners (Vidal, 1991). Rutayisire and Munyaneza (2011) note that a careful reading of the first explorers' writings shows that there was a contradiction in their documents due to a lack of clear knowledge of Rwandan institutions. Some of the explorers' documents mentioned that "ethnicity" determined the distribution of economic activities and power. Hence the Tutsi were described as pastoralists and Hutu as cultivating farmers. But in reality no economic activity was done exclusively by one specific social group. Regarding, the power, the north of the country was

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predominately led by Hutu families. Even in certain instances the Twa also participated in the administration (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011).

Regarding social identities, Rwanda was peopled, as indicated earlier in this chapter, by three 'social groups', Twa, Hutu and Tutsi. Researchers are lacking the appropriate concept to use in qualifying this. In the first historical writings the Twa, Hutu and Tutsi social groups are either called races or castes (Maquet, 1954), elsewhere they are referred to as social categories (Twagiramutara, 1980), social classes or social groups (Newbury, 1998) and ethnic groups. In the words of Vansina, "the history of these terms is complex" (2004, p.134). This confusion is due to the fact that all three social groups belong to the same culture. They used the same language, share the same clans and lived in the same territory.

There is a literature which considers the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa as socio-economic classes (Ingelaere, 2008; Kayihura, 2004). In this view the Tutsi meant wealthier people possessing cattle. Poorer families with little or no land, and no cattle were called Hutu. Mobility was possible and a family acquiring cattle could become Tutsi or lose that status when they had no cattle, a sign of wealth in precolonial Rwanda. But some authors (Newbury, 1998; Vansina, 2004,) argued in favour of the changing character of Hutu, Twa and Tutsi identities during the precolonial period. Vansina (2004, p.134) notes that initially the Hutu was not used as a term for all people living by farming but as a degrading term that referred to rural boorishness or loutish behaviour used by the elite. Before Yuhi Mazimpaka, at the court, they used to call servants Hutu even those from Tutsi origin. The term Hutu was also used to name all foreigners to an area.

Today the two main 'ethnic' categories in Rwanda are referred to as Hutu and Tutsi. But it was not always that way. Newbury notes that "two hundred years ago, many people in this area [Rwanda] did not claim these identities; they [were] identified by neighbourhood (locale) and kin group" (1998, p.134). As the Nyiginya kingdom kept expanding, with the new development of armies, the words Tutsi meant any combatant, political elite and Hutu non-combatants (Vansina, 2004). In Newbury's words, "these categories of Tutsi and Hutu gradually came to over-ride in importance the local identities and to encompass virtually the entire [Rwandan] population, in a

process which was only completed under colonial rule" (1998, p.83). Most non-combatants were from lineages of farmers and the ruling class eventually began to call farmers Hutu and in contrast the word Tutsi, now applied to all herders, whether from Tutsi origin or not (Vansina, 2004). But, all cattle owners did not hold leadership positions. For instance, the Abagogwe living in the north-west of Rwanda and the Abahima in the north-east sought to avoid state power in favour of sharing in it (Des Forges, 1999). Another reason which makes the understanding of these terms difficult is the lack of homogeneity in their historical evolution through different regions of Rwanda (Newbury, 1998) and due to their political exploitation, it became difficult to analyse them objectively.

Considering the Hutu as farmers and Tutsi as herders and elite/ruling class remained the case till the mid-19th century when the distinction between chief of land and chief of grass and imposition of *uburetwa* on farmers not on herders divided Rwandan society in two hierarchized and opposed social categories - Hutu and Tutsi (Vansina, 2004). In all of the above most of researchers do not focus on the role of Twa in the socio-political evolution of Rwanda. They were in general potters and were famous in traditional dance at the royal court and participated in wars as combatants. However, the classification into social groups was based not on origin but on economic and social aspects. He distinguishes four social classes. The first one, exclusively Tutsi, was composed of kings' dignitaries - clients, chiefs and other officials. The second was made-up of warriors exempted from paying loyalties and living on their specific lands, mainly the border area. The third were composed of the *biletwa*, free peasants without land ownership but performing two or three days of imposed labour per week. The fourth social class was composed of the Twa who were ceramists and potters. Thus, social, economic and political aspects contributed to the designation of the social groups in precolonial Rwanda (Byanafashe, 2011; Czekanowski, 1917).

However, Des Forges (1999) goes further and shows that the superiority myth of a governing elite originated in precolonial Rwanda. Consequently, during the colonial period, the social classes were considered as " ethnic" groups (Nyagahene, 1997) and the social mobility which characterized them in traditional Rwanda ended as it was now recorded in identity cards and used by the colonial powers to choose candidates to be appointed in administrative posts. Thus, these identities became

fixed and reinforced divisions between Rwandans and in the process culture, language and other aspects shared by Rwandans in traditional Rwanda, with the advent of European influence, started losing their importance.

2.3 Rwanda under colonial rule - Changes and continuity (1897-1962)

During the colonial period, Rwanda was first ruled by Germany. Not many changes were made due to the short period Germans occupied Rwanda but also due to their policy of familiarising themselves with local institutions before undertaking deep changes. The second colonial power was Belgium. Under the Belgian colonial administration, many positive and negative changes took place in Rwanda in different domains. This was due to the collaboration between the colonial masters and the Catholic clergy. The following subsections analyse German and Belgian rules in Rwanda as part of the journey through the historical roots of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

2.3.1 German rule in Rwanda (1897-1916)

As a result of the Berlin Conference of 15th November, 1884 to 26th February 1885, and other settlements (1886/1890) between the British and Germans related to that conference (Nahimana, 1987), Rwanda was designated a German protectorate (1897-1916). Other African German colonies were Togo, Cameroon, South West Africa and German East Africa which encompassed Rwanda. Internally, the date of 1897 is considered as the beginning of the colonial era because the royal court received Captain Von Ramsay, Head of the District of Udjidji in Tanganyika, and he gained allegiance from the Rwandan authorities. However, the German presence was prepared by explorers, including Von Götzen, who was the envoy of the German Empire and arrived in Rwanda in 1894.

The German protectorate over Rwanda meant that Germany had not to impose her power over Rwanda. Rather, both countries had to understand how to share power. But there was no voluntary and mutual consent between the two countries as the terms of being a protectorate were imposed on Rwanda. Germany committed to protect the Rwandan kingship, which was threatened by internal opposition. In fact, King Yuhi Musinga (1895-1931) came to power after a putsch evicting Mibambwe Rutalindwa and the former was supported by his mother and uncles from the Abega

clan. Some residents, who were unhappy with the coming to power of Yuhi Musinga, opposed the new king. On the other side, as Germany was trying to impose its hegemony in Europe by concluding a series of alliances with different countries, the Rwandan traditional administration was requested to avoid entertaining relationships with any European State in the region which would be against Germany. Germany did not remove traditional chiefs but rather used them in their colonial enterprise. This indirect rule was applied in Rwanda because the German colonists were very few and this new protectorate was far from Dar-es-Salaam which was the headquarters of German East Africa (*Deutsche Ostafrica*). It was therefore difficult to institute an efficient colonial administration.

What German protection brought was a change in culture. Churches, especially the Catholic Church, played a big role in the life of Rwandans after the arrival of the Germans. The first Catholic mission was created at Save in the south of Rwanda in 1900. In the process missionaries collaborated with the colonial administration. However, the trust between missionaries and colonial masters was hampered by the fact that Germans were considered by the White Fathers as Protestants. Moreover, most of the first missionaries were French who had their own prejudices, based on European events, against the Germans. In spite of their misunderstandings, the "Germans and White Fathers mastered their internal conflicts during the 16 years they lived together and they collaborated to start the domination and exploitation of Rwanda" (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011, p. 215) (my translation from French).

Under German rule "ethnic" issues were allowed to fester. In 1905 Richard Kandt, (as quoted by Sherti, 2014) who became the first German Resident, was astonished about Wahutu (Hutu) behaviour because they kept complaining to him about the injustice they were experiencing. Instead of engaging with the problem, Kandt laughed at his Hutu interlocutors because they were the majority. In Kandt's writings the Watutsi (Tutsi) are considered foreigners who came from Ethiopia to subjugate other people in the Great Lakes region. Thus, a social problem which existed in Rwanda started to be presented in terms of ethnic conflict. However, other German officials   such as Maw Wintgens, Acting German Resident, was worried about Tutsi domination and wanted an establishment of the rule of law. These emerging colonial mind-sets were eventually inherited by Belgium.

Overall, Germany's contributions were limited and included some roads and paths in Kigali, the introduction of coffee trees, the planting of eucalyptus trees along paths, introduction of a currency, encouragement to export hides, the creation of Kigali as a fixed capital of Rwanda, introduction of chiefs' sons school and the projects of building a railway and transferring some Rwandans to Tanganyika Territory to work in sisal plantations (de la Mairieu, 1972; Nahimana, 1987). On the other hand Rwanda suffered from losing territory given to the Belgian Congo (the current Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Uganda which was under British rule.

Germany's rule in Rwanda ended due to the outbreak of the First World War which started in Europe and extended into the colonies. The Germans were defeated because their troops in Rwanda and the whole of German East Africa were composed of a few soldiers and their colonies were scattered and encircled by those of other European powers. After negotiating with the Big Four winners of the First World War (France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States of America) and more specifically with Great Britain, Belgium gained Rwanda and became the new colonial power. This was confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles which decided on the fate of the German colonies (Kagame, 1975; Nahimana, 1987; de la Mairieu, 1972; de Lacger, 1959). Belgium agreed to hand over to Britain all territories Belgium was occupying in the East of the African Great Lakes region after the German defeat. However, she kept Rwanda and Burundi cut off their regions of Gisaka, Mutara and Mubali on the side of Rwanda while Burundi lost Bugufi. This settlement was reached so as to allow Britain to fulfil her project of building a railway from the Cape to Cairo.

In short, German colonial rule was brief compared to the Belgian period. Most of the changes under colonialism were thus done by the Belgian colonial administration supported by certain Catholic Church leaders.

2.3.2 Belgian colonial rule (1916-1962)

The Belgians as colonial overlords kept introducing new policies and activities. Compared to the German period, under the Belgian colonial rule many radical political changes took place. In political life, the indirect rule embedded in the League

of Nations mandate to Belgium was not respected. In collaboration with Catholic Church leaders the king's powers were, between 1916 and 1922, slowly eroded. For instance, freedom of religion was proclaimed. Normally, the king was considered as God's representative on earth and he was seen as a go-between between the people and God. However, the introduction of Christianity prevented him from controlling the Rwandan population as he did. In addition, chiefs and sub-chiefs had to be appointed by him only with the Belgian Resident's consent. More importantly, the king's judicial power was jeopardized. He no longer had the power to kill or save anybody (*jus gladii*) and a Belgian representative had to assist him during trials. Thus, he could no longer exercise judicial power without appeal (Nahimana, 1987).

Even more radical politico-administrative reforms occurred after 1925 and were known as the Mortehan Reforms, after George Mortehan, the Belgian Resident in Rwanda who implemented orders given to him by Charles Voisin, the Vice Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. The Mortehan Reforms aimed at reorganizing the territorial administration by merging different political entities and shaping a system the colonists could understand and manage. However, these changes were characterized by exclusion because most of the appointed chiefs were Tutsi. From then on only one chief was appointed at the head of the new designated districts. This change ended the trilogy of traditional chiefs coming from all social groups. Additionally, the king's authority was reinforced in the regions where it was not strong or effective and several Hutu and Twa chiefs were removed. This was done following the advice given by Léon Class, a catholic missionary priest and then bishop (1922-1945), to the Belgian administration, because of their "ethnicity".

Furthermore, King Yuhi Musinga, who was unhappy due to the weakening of his power and who had refused to be baptised, was evicted by the Belgian colonial administration in 1931 (Des Forges, 2011). He was replaced by his son, Mutara Rudahigwa, who was more open not only to Belgian reforms but also to Christianity. As a result, more Rwandans became Christians and chiefs who were not converted to Catholicism found that their political situation was volatile (Buhigiro, 2012). In all of this ideas of superiority took root and Father Class, talked about the Tutsi intellectual superiority and that they were therefore born to rule (de Lacger, 1959). In such

thinking, he was influenced by the Hamitic myth and the colonial policy of divide and rule (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011).

The Hamitic myth has been rejected by many scholars (Nyagahene, 1997; Sanders, 1969; Twagiramutara, 1980). However, it keeps influencing some authors and Prunier (1997) is one recent case. This myth supports the idea behind Tutsi superiority. When European explorers came to the African Great Lakes region they found well-structured kingdoms and they thought that these were constructed by people with a high degree of knowledge. Thus, they gave a Nordic origin to the Tutsi and depicted them as people who were more intelligent and thus born to rule. In addition, they recognised particular physical traits to all Tutsi (thin, tall, long nose) and described them as pastoralists.

The first European 'historians' were thus influenced by a racial ideology which was in fashion in Europe. This ideology categorized human races to depict some as being superior to others. Their reasoning dominated the first books written by Europeans on the history of Rwanda (Baumann, 1894; Von Götzen, 1895). In general most of the first authors, being the missionaries or colonial administrators, were not trained historians. Pagès (1933), Delmas (1950) and d'Arianoff (1952) are examples. Trained ones such as Vansina (1961) and d'Hertefelt (sociologist) only came in the 1950s and for writing on Rwanda they conducted systematic research contrary to the first generation which was mainly influenced by the sources from the royal court. But, the first writings continued influencing the trained historians of the second generation.

The appointment of Tutsi in most positions by the Belgians, following the advice from Father Class, was a strategy of dividing Rwandan leaders so that they did not oppose colonial rule. However, Des Forges (1999) rejects the idea of a divide and rule strategy but notes that the Belgian colonial administration was putting into practice racist convictions common to most Europeans of the time. Be as it may with the Mortehan Reforms the colonial administration favoured some Tutsi who have done some modern/Western formal education and who were baptized in the Catholic Church. Thus, the colonial administration was favouring Christian Western educated Tutsi and not all Tutsi (Kayihura, 2004) because the educated ones were able to

become auxiliaries of the colonial enterprise. By dint of this reform the Belgian colonial administration for all intents and purposes used direct rule, contrary to the League of Nations directives.

The political rule was underpinned by educational initiatives. Since 1925, education was dominated by the Catholic Church. This was based on the decision by the colonial powers to entrust schools to the Catholic Church because priests knew the vernacular language, had required expertise and had time available. In addition, Belgian administrators were considered by the missionaries as traditional allies because they came from Belgium, a Catholic country. Therefore, the collaboration between colonists and missionaries became complicit in the management of colonial matters (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011).

The education system in colonial Rwanda aimed at training catechists, native clergy and laity auxiliaries. The intellectual point of view was not the most important, rather elementary literacy based on religious instruction proved to be key. The school of chiefs' sons started under the Germans was reinforced and upgraded to train them to become the enlightened administrative auxiliaries and to also train instructors for public schools to educate the Tutsi in turn to become clerks. A focus was placed on modern and traditional sports and Kiswahili was replaced by French (from grade 4) to discourage the expansion of Islam because Kiswahili, due to its mixture with Arabic and African languages, was considered a language for Muslims. However, missionaries were unhappy with schools which did not place a special emphasis on Catholicism. In addition to the special education given to the Tutsi, seminaries created by the Catholic Church continued to train the Rwandan elite. Yet, their graduates were not privileged such as those who did the *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, who were recruited into the administration and could also be given a house (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011). Thus, there was a kind of frustration amongst the Rwandan elite who studied in seminaries because they were not promoted in administrative positions as their colleagues from the *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*.

On the economic front Rwandan development was conceived according to the needs of the Belgian Congo. In this regard, a customs union was created between Rwanda, Burundi and Congo and due to huge and unexploited Congolese resources some

Rwandans were sent, to work in Congolese mines from the time of the 1920s. De la Mairieu (1972) and Kagame (1975) describe different socio-economic activities undertaken by the Belgian colonial administration such as road and aerodrome construction, fight against famines, fight against erosion, construction of schools and health institutions, introduction of new food and industrial crops and expansion of a modern economy by the use of money instead of barter trade. Most of these activities were done under harsh conditions and traditional authorities underwent unpopular sentiments from the general population because these traditional authorities had to coerce people to work hard to reach targets fixed by the colonial administration. As a result, some Rwandans migrated to British colonies where working conditions were more favourable and easier for getting money to pay taxes.

As some scholars (Arnold, 2005; Kagame, 1975; Wepman, 1993; Wines & Majerol, 2015) point out, after World War Two, different factors contributed to the decolonisation not only of Rwanda but also of other Third World countries. The colonised countries had participated in the war against the Axis powers which were mainly Germany, Italy and Japan. Rwanda was not involved in the fighting due to its statute under the League of Nations. However, it contributed to war efforts by increasing the production of raw material or enlarging roads for facilitating the passage of British trucks (Buhigiro, 2012; de la Mairieu, 1972). Thus, the contacts with other countries which aspired to acquire their freedom inspired Africans who participated in the war to claim their independence once back home. Economically, African countries benefited either from the increase of the wartime exportation to Europe or to European investments in Africa.

This new development contributed to the creation of urban centres and unions which were informed through reading about the ideas of independence (Wepman, 1993). Thus, the demands for freedom were faced by a broke and war ravaged Europe from its colonial subjects all over the world (Wine & Majerol, 2015). European colonial powers were disposed to accept colonies obtaining self-government due to their war efforts. Thus colonised people's loyalty received the reward of independence (Wepman, 1993). Western powers, mainly the United States of America through the Atlantic Charter, an agreement between the American President Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on the future of the world, were in

favour of freedom of nations and their counterpart the Soviet Union was against the exploitation of nations due to its ideology of communism. The United Nations also recognized the right of nations to govern themselves.

In the 1950s, the political evolution of Rwanda was judged by the United Nations to be very slow. As the socio-political and economic demands of the Rwandan elite became more pressing the colonial administration believed that it was time to prepare the country for autonomy and independence (de la Mairieu, 1972; Kagame, 1975; Rawson, 1966; Wines & Majerol, 2015). The Rwandan elite, whether privileged or not by the colonial authority or by Christian missions, contested colonialism more and more and reforms were implemented. Changes were consequently put into place by the decree of July 14 1952, which aimed mainly at allowing Rwandans to participate more widely in political structures. This participation to power was characterised by the creation of different councils – the council of sub-chieftaincy, the council of chieftaincy, the council of territory and the National High Council presided over by the king. This situation created turmoil among the Rwandan elite. Both the Hutu elite, who were excluded from power, and the Tutsi who were benefiting more from the colonial system but not earning the same salaries as their white colleagues or not having the true decision making power, were frustrated by these changes. The Tutsi elite continued to claim more changes but the Belgian authorities were not willing to take them into account because they believed it was too early to make important changes arguing that Rwandans had not yet acquired political maturity (de la Mairieu, 1972; Rawson, 1966).

In 1957, members of the National High Council published *Mise au point,* a document openly requesting the Belgian administration to allow Rwandans more participation to power and to end inequalities between Belgian employees and their Rwandan counterparts - for instance when doing the same job, Belgians were better paid. The Belgian colonial administration did not react. The same year, another document *Note sur l'aspect du problème racial indigene au Rwanda* known as *Bahutu Manifesto,* was published by Hutu leaders. Instead of attacking the colonial administration, the document stated that the Tutsi had a monopoly in all domains.

The *Bahutu Manifesto* attracted the attention of the colonial administration, Catholic Church and the media. Thereafter, the colonial administration changed its point of view and supported the claims of the Hutu leaders (Logiest, 1988). It is not easy to explain this change in allegiance and mind-set but it was possibly influenced by the new ecclesiastic leaders and a new group of Flemish colonial administrators who were in favour of the Hutu petitions (Prunier, 1997). It is also argued that the Belgian administration expected to acquire international backing by supporting the Hutu movement and it was a way of circumventing reforms requested by both the Hutu and Tutsi elites and to avoid showing their responsibility in the matter. Instead, the Belgian administration preferred to show that all Rwandan political problems were created by the Tutsi (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011). By supporting the Hutu's petitioners, the colonial administration did not take care of the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa masses who were uneducated and poor. The political debate thus became dominated by "ethnic problems" (Rwanda Parliament. The Senate, 2010; Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011).

The main political parties, which were authorized since 1959, were *Parti du Mouvement pour l'Emancipation Hutu* and *Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse* and were dominated by the Hutu. The Tutsi elites were divided mainly into two political parties: *Union Nationale Rwandaise* and *Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais* which had a unifying aim. The unexpected death of King Mutara III Rudahigwa in July 1959, increased tensions between both social groups (Perraudin, 2003) which kept sending each other and the colonial administration provocative messages and petitions as the King had failed to understand requests regarding the social malaise which was done in 'ethnic' terms. One of the most well-known is Joseph Habyarimana Gitera, who despite his initiative to promote the social masses in the 1950s, became the first one to announce that the Tutsi are Rwanda's enemies and he proceeded to dehumanise them by comparing them to snakes. Gitera called on the Hutu to resist Tutsi domination and to avoid cohabitation with the latter. The Catholic Church was obliged to react against Gitera's hate speech of 27 September 1959 and to warn Christians against Gitera's divisive stance which was not in their view Christian (Mbonimana, 2004).

In 1959, a tense political climate existed and socio-political violence occurred. The colonial administration was no longer on good terms with the traditional authorities and the royal court. The meetings of political parties were characterised by insults and the *Union Nationale Rwandaise* was opposed to other main political parties. In the meantime, the mistreatment of one Hutu chief, Dominique Mbonyumutwa by *Union Nationale Rwandaise* youth at Byimana, cranked up the conflict. Rumours about his death were propagated throughout the country. At the same time, violence against the Tutsi started in central and northern Rwanda and spread all over the country. This atmosphere was followed by a counteroffensive by some members of the *Union Nationale Rwandaise* and royalists. Some Tutsi were killed, their houses burnt and a good number of them was obliged to go into exile. Most of the Tutsi chiefs were also jailed (Kagame, 1975; Logiest, 1988; Rutayisire, 2011). In the meantime, the Belgian administration seemed to be inactive and justified its inability to a lack of sufficient security forces and the unfavourable topography of the country. But the royal court considered this attitude as support for the Hutu.

The colonial administration supported the Hutu political parties and replaced absent or jailed Tutsi chiefs with Hutu (IRDP, 2005). Moreover, through elections the Hutu dominated parties managed to control the legislative assembly and the administrative entities. For the Belgian administration, it was impossible to support the monarchy composed of only 15% of the population. It preferred to put into place a democratic regime supported by the majority (Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011). It is in this divided climate that Rwanda achieved its independence in 1962. On one hand, the replacement of Tutsi by Hutu leaders was considered by some authors as a 'Hutu revolution' (de la Mairieu, 1972; Lemarchand, 1995; Murego, 1976; Taylor, 1999). On the other hand, it was viewed as a 'period of violence'. In the view of the latter group, a revolution should have been directed against the Belgians who were the true owners of power (IRDP, 2005; Kagame, 1975; Rutayisire, 2004).

The Belgian colonial period was characterised by a series of reforms in different domains of national life. The Belgian policies contributed to antagonising Rwandan society. During this period, the identity card was introduced and Rwandan social identities were recorded. Social groups which were fluid became rigid and mainly used for promotion in administrative positions. Tutsi were the first to be favoured but

later the decolonisation process which required colonial powers to allow more powers to local population brought tensions between the ruling class and the colonial administration. The Belgian reversal to support Hutu dominated political parties brought violence mainly against Tutsi and pushed some of them to go into exile. Thus, this period is seen as one of the remote causes of the Genocide and is also controversial because the role of both Rwandans and Belgians are discussed differently. This period with some controversial issues is part of the history taught in secondary school and needed to be analysed to understand the challenges teachers face to explain what happened. After independence, the socio-political violence and unequal treatment between Hutu and Tutsi did not stop as will be explained in the next section.

2.4 Post-colonial Rwanda (1962-1994): Learning from the past?

After independence Rwanda was not characterised by a rule of law. The social injustice targeted different groups. The Tutsi remained affected under the first and the second republics (1962-1994). The Genocide against the Tutsi of 1994 is partly a consequence of injustice which kept affecting the Rwandan society in the post-colonial period. During the existence of the two republics there emerged a new form of injustice characterised by unequal treatment between the northern regions of Rwanda and the southern areas.

2.4.1 First and second republics' failed journey (1962-1994)

The first republic (1962-1973) failed in its attempt of uniting Rwandans. The exclusion of the Tutsi in key domains such as the army was a legacy of colonial rule. For instance, Colonel Guy Logiest, Belgian special military resident (1959-1962) and High Representative (1962) contributed to the creation of the national army on the eve of independence. He affirmed that he did his best to ensure that the Hutu would be the majority in the army because their political parties had won the elections. As a result he put into place a local force composed of 14% and 86% respectively for Tutsi and Hutu in theory, but practically the Hutu composed almost 100% of the force. Belgians were consequently a national force dominated by Hutu as it was the case in the political domain. In 1961, the school of military officers was opened. Thereafter, the first six military officers were promoted to lieutenant, included Juvenal Habyarimana who became the second Rwandan president (Logiest, 1988). Thus,

the creation of the Rwandan post-independence army originated by means of an injustice against the Tutsi and Twa.

Even if it was declared by the interim President Dominique Mbonyumutwa (28 January 1961-26 October 1961) in his speech of 1 January 1961 that all Rwandans were equal in rights without considering "ethnic groups", family, colour or religion, this was not respected in education. According to him, "schools which will not respect directives regarding quotas according to the number of every ethnic group will be closed or given to other owners" (Byanafashe, 2006, pp.166-167).[1] Thus since the inception of the republic, quota systems were used to govern the education system.

In political life, the first republic (1962-1973) was characterised by the end of the multiparty system regardless of the fact that it was embedded in the constitution. The opposition was eliminated through intimidation, arrests, physical violence or negotiations. The *Parti du Mouvement pour l'Emancipation Hutu* weakened other political parties either dominated by Hutu or Tutsi and later these parties ceased to work. President Grégoire Kayibanda affirmed that many parties distracted the population and hence acted as a hindrance to development. Another characteristic of the first republic was its valuing of Hutu identity (Freedman et al., 2006). As a result, Tutsi kept being considered as foreigners. Gasanabo (2010) notes that after independence (1962), a number of publications described the Tutsi as enemies or exploiters of the Hutu and scholars were discouraged to write objectively about the kingship. The dissertation of Murego (1975) on the 'Rwandan Revolution' justifies the Hutu domination in the same manner as some parts of de la Mairieu's book (1972). The situation which prevailed due to the Mortehan Reforms was thus projected in a remote past. Thus, Murego tried to find some justifications for the "new order", the Hutu dominated regime which came to power on the eve of independence.

The problem of Rwandans who were in exile since the 1959 upheavals was not considered favourably at the time and most of them were living in neighbouring countries. After different attacks organised and executed by Tutsi in exile, some of

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[1] The teachers' reference book was first written in French and thereafter translated into English. Some sentences in the English version are not very clear.

their relatives in Rwanda were killed as retaliation (Mugesera, 2004). An accumulation of challenges led the first republic to political instability which pushed the president, by the early 1970s, to rely on people of his region of origin in central Rwanda for the majority of ministerial positions.

When President Kayibanda was overthrown on 5 July 1973 by Major General Juvenal Habyarimana (1973-1994), the major aim was to restore peace and unity for Rwanda to develop. Even if the Habyarimana regime (1973-1994) did initiate some changes in the socio-economic sphere of life by increasing infrastructure such as medical centres, water supply, roads and schools in different regions, the big share of the budget was concentrated in the north and north-western region of Rwanda (IRDP, 2005). Thus, the economic undertakings factor favoured certain regions.

At the beginning of the Habyarimana regime, there was a short period of hope for the mistreated Tutsi. But this optimism progressively disappeared because the implementation of the quotas' policy was reinforced and extended to key domains of socio-political life such as getting a job and enrolment in secondary and tertiary education. The quotas were to be applied according to the number of the population per regions, 'ethnic' groups and gender. In the education sector, alongside the quotas, examination results and continuous assessments also had to guide the choice of new candidates (Rutayisire, Kabano & Rubagiza, 2004). Practically, this quota policy was used to exclude not only Tutsi but also people from the south and central Rwanda, the region of the previous president, from key positions in national life such as the National Army, territorial administration and secondary and higher education (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Byanafashe, 2006; Uwamahoro, 2009). Due to their exclusion, the Tutsi relied mainly on the private sector (Staub, Pearlman, Gubin & Hagengimana, 2005) or had to change their "ethnic identity" to be considered as Hutu to gain entrance to some positions (Freedman, 2006; Mugesera, 2004).

The discrimination against Tutsi was coupled with the refugee problem which remained unresolved. The refugees in exile who were predominantly Tutsi were not granted a full guarantee of safety to return to their home country. Despite separation, ties between some Hutu and Tutsi families in exile were not completely broken. For instance, during the Tutsi exile some Hutu kept sending provisions to their friends

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outside the country or became their children's godfathers (IRDP, 2005). However, as with some Rwandan intellectuals, refugees were concerned by a lack of rule of law in the country. After futile efforts of negotiations between the refugees and the Government of Rwanda through the United Nations' mediation and other countries, they decided to attack Rwanda in 1990 from Uganda. This happened during a period where Rwanda was suffering economic misery following the fall of coffee prices on international markets and the regression of rural agricultural production (Newbury, 1995).

The war which started in October 1990 between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the then Rwandan government was accompanied by internal displacements of the population and economic problems inside Rwanda. Despite the war and economic austerity, Rwanda made effort in political liberalisation. During the 1990 Franco-African Summit at La Baule in France, the French President François Mitterrand had announced to his African counterpart new links between aid and the quality of governance (Coleman Kitchen & Jean Paul, 1990; Manon, 2012). As Rwanda was receiving western aid and accused by the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the pressure of internal intellectuals of not respecting democracy, a National Commission for Synthesis was put into place in September 1990 to prepare a new constitution which was adopted the following year and the multiparty system was also reinstituted since 1991. Political parties became strong in cities but rural areas were sceptical about the role of elections in changing rural areas status (Newbury, 1995). At the same time, in the 1990s, through propaganda, a spirit of hatred against the Tutsi and their accomplices started to evolve (Thompson, 2007). Much of this was due to the creation of many independent newspapers such as *Kangura* and *Umurwanashyaka* which were not respecting professional deontology (Chretien, 1995). Building on negative aspects of *ubuhake* Hutu ideologues to assemble Hutu against the Rwandese Patriotic Front did their best to show that the Tutsi had dominated the Hutu for a long time (IRDP, 2005; Kuperman, 2004).

Due to the pressure and mediation from the international community, internal opposition and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, the then Rwandan Government was in August 1993, obliged to sign the Arusha Peace agreement with the rebels to end the war. The agreement was considered as a Fundamental Law of the transitional period

and belligerents decided to promote national unity and reconciliation. Seats in the parliament and the cabinet had to be shared between the Rwandese Patriotic Front, the former single party and the internal opposition. Members of both bodies, the parliament and the cabinet, had to be designed by their parties. Disagreement within political parties and the manipulations of the Habyarimana entourage delayed the establishment of both institutions. The assassination of Melchior Ndadaye who was killed in a failed Tutsi-led putsch in Burundi in October 1993, divided the Rwandan political parties. Among most political parties, one group wanted to share power with the Rwandese Patriotic Front when another one worked to raise Hutu consciousness and was opposed to power sharing with the Rwandese Patriotic Front (Kissi, 2004; Newbury, 1995). The second group was known as Hutu power (Des Forges 1999; Scherrer, 1999).

The signed Arusha Peace agreement increased political tensions in Rwanda because hardliners in the government were unhappy with the share attributed to the Rwandese Patriotic Front which got 5 ministers out 20 and 11 members of parliament out of 70. The army was also a source of tension on two aspects. Firstly, the Rwandese Patriotic Front had to gain 40% of the enlisted rank and file positions and 50% of the officer positions. Secondly, there was no clear policy of demobilisation which created mutinies in the former Rwandese Armies Forces. Furthermore, the refugee problem was exploited by hardliners to promote fear among the population. It was decided through the Arusha peace agreement that people who had left Rwanda ten years or more before could reclaim their land. In rural areas, people were sceptical about the respect of this provision (Kuperman, 2004; Newbury, 1995). Till the eruption of the Genocide misunderstandings within political parties hindered the transitional institutions' establishment.

When the airplane of President Juvénal Habyarimana was grounded on 6 April 1994, a systematic killing of Tutsi and some Hutu opponents was initiated by some military officers (Des Forges, 1999). The Genocide was perpetrated not by a strong but rather a weak state (Kissi, 2004) led by an interim government of Jean Kambanda in collaboration with "the akazu elite, their state machinery, Hutu-Power factions of all political parties and a huge number of common people against Tutsi" (Scherrer, 1999, p. 13). *Akazu*, literally a small house, and in this context means an informal

entourage of few dignitaries close to the President Juvenal Habyarimana and his wife's families organised its militia, *Interahamwe* which at the beginning was the youth association of the ruling party. Hutu-power factions refer to the political parties' factions created since 1993 and who opposed the power sharing with the Rwandese Patriotic Front composed mainly by Tutsi in exile and who wanted to return to their homeland.

2.4.2. Execution of the Genocide against the Tutsi

Alongside the grounding of the presidential jet, the reviewed literature deals with different views about the causes, the execution and the effects of the Genocide. In this subsection, I explain some aspects which are not analysed in the literature review. Regarding the causes of the Genocide, advocates of the naturalistic view talk about a traditional hatred between the Hutu and Tutsi. For instance, "there are many examples of journalists and commentators quoted in news reports citing ancient tribal hatred" (Straus, 2006, p.96). However, concerning this primordial view, one can note that no war between Hutu and Tutsi was mentioned, except some power related misunderstandings (Vansina, 2004). The structural view put forward socio-economic problems which affected Rwanda since the 1980s due to prices of exported commodities as a cause. According to this argument an economic profile of the household members during the genocide could determine the probability of a household member participating in the killings (Verwimp, 2005). In this regard, some people with poor living conditions participated in the killings and looted neighbours' wealth or acquired their land and this is evidenced by a link between population pressure and intensity of violence (Verpoorten, 2012). The economic or demographic aspects seem to have been facilitating factors because in all poor or densely populated countries people do not necessarily kill each other.

Cultural aspects such as strong obedience to authorities also facilitated the Genocide in some ways (Hilker, 2011). During the first republic one of the most admired values was to be Hutu and to belong to their 'ethnic' majority (Freedman et al., 2008). The killing of Tutsi was perceived as a way of protecting the Hutu 'ethnic' group. The struggle for power between on the one hand the Rwandese Patriotic Front and internal political opposition and on the other hand the then Rwandan government was also mentioned as one of the causes because the dignitaries of the

Habyarimana regime feared losing power (Jones, 2002). In this regard, anti-Tutsi propaganda was organised through the media. The literature mainly from Rwandan refugees, states that the Genocide was due to the anger of the population caused by the death of their President (IRDP, 2005). However, there are other examples of presidents who were killed but their deaths were not necessarily followed by extermination. The death through the grounding of the presidential airplane on April 6, 1994 led to an attempt to exterminate all Tutsi and democrat Hutu in opposition (Chrétien, 1995; Dallaire, 2004; Hron, 2011; IRDP, 2005; Melvern, 2000; Prunier, 1997; Rutembesa, 2011b; Verwimp, 2011).

The airplane crash is considered in some documents (Lemarchand, 1995; National Curriculum Development Centre, 2011; Robinson & Ghahraman, 2008) as the immediate cause of the Genocide and others (Rutembesa, 2011b) reject it and consider it as a pretext to the Genocide. They argue as such because there were other reasons such as the exclusion policy, hatred propaganda and repetitive killings of the Tutsi which could lead to the same catastrophe. However, Rutembesa does not provide any other incident which in his view provoked the Genocide. It can thus be argued that the extermination of the Tutsi was possible and was motivated by a range of different reasons.

Regarding the grounding of the presidential jet near Kigali International Airport, the airplane was carrying not only the Rwandan President and some of his collaborators, but also the Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira. There are controversies around the persons involved in the crash. For Des Forges (1999, p.255) "the RPF [Rwandese Patriotic Front], politicians opposed to Habyarimana and the circle of his own supporters all might have wanted the Rwandan president dead and could have found the means to bring down his plane". Some scholars posit that the Rwandese Patriotic Front was considered responsible for this act (Onana & Mushayidi, 2002; Prunier, 1997; Reyntjens, 1996). Chrétien (1995) rejected this view and added that Onana's publisher, Duboiris, who is accusing the Rwandese Patriotic Front, is not even recorded on the professional listings of publishers. According to Rutembesa (2011b), the hypothesis of accusing the Rwandese Patriotic Front was put forward by French officials as their government had supported the former regime against the Rwandese Patriotic Front. An electronic source revealed that in France, the

intelligence departments do not have the same view as the author on the event (Rigaud, 2013).

The defeated leaders and different political associations in exile and persons working closely with the French army were also identified by Rutembesa (2011b) as advocates of the Rwandese Patriotic Front hypothesis. For the supporters of Rwandese Patriotic Front theory, the killing of the president was a sabotage of the Arusha Peace agreement signed by two parties in August 1993. Secondly, it aimed at evicting a president who had prevented the Rwandese Patriotic Front from seizing power by force. The grounding of the airplane is also seen as way of taking power without sharing as planned in the Arusha agreement (Reyntjens, 1996; Rutembesa, 2011b). Thus, one argument is that the Genocide was a result of anger due to the death of the President. Longman (2010) rejects the idea that the Genocide was a result of a spontaneous uprising of the Hutu population against the Tutsi, and that these events were inevitable. He emphasizes the organization of the Genocide by the government and military officials, who in several cases had to intervene in order to see that the Genocide was fully accomplished (Longman, 2010).

Another explanation related to the grounding of the presidential airplane underlines the role of the Habyarimana's circle and members of his family-in-law helped by foreign military experts (Prunier, 1997). To kill the president was a way of creating confusion and disorder leading to the failure of the Arusha peace agreements and to the elimination of Tutsi and Hutu opponents. The inner circle of President Habyarimana is also accused by the current Government of Rwanda which affirms that the former Rwandese Army Forces had acquired 16 -surface-to-air missiles used to ground the airplane. In addition, the former army had been trained by the French Army to manipulate the missiles. A government report reveals that the missiles should have targeted the presidential plane from Kanombe hill which hosted Kanombe military camp instead of Masaka as previously argued by Jean Louis Bruguière, who was the leading French investigating magistrate in charge of counter-terrorism affairs, who had accused the Rwandese Patriotic Front of having grounded the plane (République du Rwanda, 2009).

The third explanation for the Genocide accuses foreign diplomats and military troops based on the reactions of Belgian and French soldiers in Rwanda after the death of the president. It is claimed that after the crash white soldiers were on the scene of the accident (Rutembesa, 2011b). Briefly, there are different views on President Habyariman's death considered on one hand by some people as the immediate cause of the Genocide but also on the other hand rejected by others. The purpose of describing all these views is not to find who is guilty but rather to show different viewpoints on this sensitive issue which can be challenged by looking at their weaknesses or strengths through available evidence. In general, there is no unique cause of this unimaginable Genocide, they are multiple and intertwined. Some causes, such as the demographic aspects seem to have been facilitating factors while others such as the power of ideology which led to the discriminative policies (Chrétien, 2005; Newbury, 1995; Verwimp, 2005) seem to have played a determinant role.

The extremist Hutu ideologues used the death of the president as a tool for anti-Tutsi propaganda and the extermination started across the whole country to avenge President Habyarimana's death. One day after his death the most important political opponents were killed, some of whom were Hutu. The same day the killings engulfed almost the whole country with the aim of killing Tutsi and weakening the political opposition. At the outset, the population was not aware that the Tutsi were targeted and consequently some Hutu requested Tutsi families to hide them (Des Forges, 1999; Rutembesa, 2011b).

After the death of President Habyarimana, the new government which was composed of leaders from the five most important political parties *Mouvement Républicain National pour le development et la Démocratie*, *Mouvement Démocratique Républicain*, *Parti Social Démocrate*, *Parti Libéral* and *Parti Démocrate Chrétien* extended the killings in the until then untouched southern and central regions of Rwanda (Newbury, 1998). The population involved in the killings was pushed to nullify Tutsi resistance in some places such as Bisesero, Nyarubuye and Rwamagana (Ndayisaba, 2011).

Different factors led to the failure of the resistance by the targeted people. Victims' harsh living conditions, the country controlled by organisers, vicinity between victims and perpetrators because the former were hidden in known places, imbalance of weapons, and the high number of perpetrators led to the reversal of Tutsi resistance. Moreover, the Tutsi were defeated for instance in Rwamagana due to the support of the militia and soldiers from other places (Ndayisaba, 2011). The involvement of the interim government through the distribution of firearms to *Interahamwe* militia or to the population as means of civilian auto-defence and the control of identity cards at roadblocks weakened the resistance (Des Forges, 1999). Resisters to the Genocide in places such as Bisesero or the Bugesera swamps seem to have been largely self-sufficient, but others, through flight, hiding, or buying their safety usually survived by means of help from the Hutu (Des Forges, 1999).

There were different strategies used in the Genocide killings. In the beginning the killings targeted either specific individuals or the Tutsi as a group. Firstly, Hutu leaders who could legally seize power and who could oppose the Genocide were eliminated. Their names were sometimes broadcasted on *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*. Secondly, the Tutsi became the target. They had taken refuge mainly in administrative offices or churches. Travelling documents were refused to the Tutsi and they were hunted from their shelters and killed (Des Forges, 1999; Rutembesa, 2011b).

The genocidal acts were committed by using different weapons "grenade, gun, machete, *impiri* (club), sword, knife, drowning, arson, stick, rock, and barehanded assault" (Straus, 2004, p.88). Other techniques in killing and torturing were also utilized such as to drown people in rivers, to throw grenades into a crowd of victims, to hit children against walls or trees and by slicing tendons (Des Forges, 1999; Jones, 2002; Straus, 2004). In the process of exterminating the Tutsi and their Rwandese Patriotic Front accomplices analogies and agricultural metaphors were used in coded message. For instance, killing was compared to farming or extermination to a "job" (Hron, 2011).

The killings were organized by different institutions and people. Firstly, the role of the Rwandan government was obvious because killers were not prevented from

continuing their extermination process or brought to justice as can be gleaned from the following passage:

> On April 10, Colonel Gatsinzi then temporarily chief of staff, and the Ministry of Defense ordered subordinated to halt the killings of civilians, using force if necessary. The Ministry of Defense sent a second, weaker command on April 28 "to cooperate with local authorities to halt pillage and assassinations." But neither the general staff nor the Ministry of Defense enforced the orders, leaving subordinated to conclude that the directives had no importance. In fact, as some officers had observed from the start, the authorities countermanded the official orders by another message, passed discreetly to like-minded officers who executed the informal order to kill rather than the official directive to stop the killings (Des Forges, 1999, p.177).

Des Forges (1999) attempted to clarify the composition of the perpetrators of the Genocide. Kimonyo (2008) talks about a popular Genocide because people from all layers of the society were involved. In fact, criminals, clergymen, political leaders, elites, unemployed youth, peasants and ordinary people were all involved. Among ordinary people are those who since 1990 were displaced by the war between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the then government. Another category of perpetrators was composed of non-Rwandan citizens. This category included Hutu refugees from Burundi. In Southern Rwanda, there were mostly 400 000 Hutu Burundian refugees (Newbury, 1995). By killing Tutsi, Burundian refugees wanted to avenge Melchior Ndadaye, the Hutu President of that country. Furthermore, members of the army also aided in the killings by distributing firearms. The *Interahamwe* paramilitary group, which was supported by *Akazu* (Kissi, 2004; Scherer, 2002), and other political parties' militia also participated in the Genocide. Another category of perpetrators came from other institutions such as the media. For instance, Rwanda Radio and the *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* propagated hatred propaganda and revealed where victims were hidden (Allen & Norris, 2011; Des Forges, 1999; Kissi, 2004; Rutembesa, 2011b; Thompson, 2007; Verwimp, 2011; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014).

Gender violence was another aspect of the Genocide against the Tutsi. After targeting men supposed to have ties with the Rwandese Patriotic Front, rich men, educated Tutsi and mature learners, the perpetrators directed their extermination plan against women, children, the elderly and other apolitical persons (Jones, 2002). Women suffered greatly during the tragedy because they were raped, massacred

and subjected to other brutalities (Des Forges, 1999; Jones, 2002; Mukamana & Brysiewicz, 2008; Uwizeye, 2011) such as the cutting off of breasts or the disembowelment of pregnant women (Straus, 2004). The number of raped women is controversial. For instance, Shyaka (2011) advances a figure of 6 689 raped women. Other sources mention an "estimate of 250,000 to 500,000 rapes committed during the 12 weeks of the genocide" (Jones, 2002, p.81).

The role of the Rwandese Patriotic Front to halt the Genocide was also decisive. After the refusal of its proposition by the Rwandan Army to collaborate with the United Nations Mission of Assistance in Rwanda to save victims, the Rwandese Patriotic Front decided to intervene through three axes (East, West and Kigali City Centre). The third axis had the mission to break the blockade against the Rwandese Patriotic Front battalion in charge of protecting the Rwandese Patriotic Front officials who were waiting to swear in transitional institutions. This battalion was stationed in the parliament building, *Conseil National de Développement*).

The strategy was to infiltrate the Government troops, disorganise them by the use of mortar sharing. Some authors note that the target was more a military or political victory than to save Genocide victims (Des Forges, 1999; Kuperman, 2004). Jyoni wa Karega (2011) dismisses this point of view. He posits that the military victory argument is supported by those who wanted to tarnish the Rwandese Patriotic Front image because the purpose of using all these axes was to attract governmental forces in the North to get a quick victory in the East, Central and Southern Rwanda where more Tutsi were being killed. The objective was achieved by saving some Tutsi and capturing certain perpetrators. By July 1994, the interim Government was defeated and fled to Zaïre.

Alongside the military action, the Rwandese Patriotic Front diplomatic battle was also a contributing factor in ending the Genocide. An effort was made to counter the then government propaganda accusing the unjust invasion by the Rwandese Patriotic Front supported by Uganda to be one of the causes of the Genocide (Jyoni wa Karega, 2011; Kuperman, 2004). Kuperman's interviews with Rwandese Patriotic Front high cadres affirmed that they were aware that the continuation of the war would cause the death of some Tutsi as retaliation but on a small scale. But, this

does not justify the injustice against Tutsi in Rwanda since the late 1950s and the systematic killings which were organised during the Genocide. The Rwandese Patriotic Front delegations managed to convince the United Nations that what was happening in Rwanda was a genocide. Another diplomatic campaign was against the biased French peacekeeping mission in Rwanda. Furthermore, a diplomatic effort was made to get the change of the United Nations peacekeeping mission mandate so that it can protect civilians and to end the Genocide chaos. However, some international institutions such as the African Unity Organisation noted human rights violations against Hutu population during and after the Genocide due to new recruited soldiers who avenged their relatives killed during the Genocide. In all, the Rwandese Patriotic Front was able in military and diplomatic domains to oppose the Genocide (Jyoni wa Karega, 2011).

Despite the intention to exterminate the Tutsi, some Rwandans were not bystanders. They risked their lives by hiding Tutsi and other targeted people. Some accounts reveal how the Hutu cooperated with the Tutsi to push back killers and some of them died saving Tutsi (Buhigiro, 2011; Kabwete, 2007). The resistance against the perpetrators of the Genocide was guided by the courage of some Hutu to save other human beings. Some Hutu also saved targeted people due to political or familial ties. Another category of people ambiguously preferred to hide some victims but also participated in the killings (Fujii, 2009). These Hutu who saved Tutsi were considered by the authorities, the Rwanda Radio and *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille collines* as traitors (Des Forges, 1999; Rutembesa, 2011b). They were intimidated by having their houses attacked.

In spite of Tutsi killings, there is a conceptual tension about what happened. The United Nations has put into place the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda through the resolution number 955 of 08 November 1994 to punish those who committed the Genocide and other human rights violation in Rwanda. However, the use of the term Genocide in the Rwandan context is still denied by some scholars. They equate it to simple war between Hutu and Tutsi (IRDP, 2006; Kambanda, 2014). Some lawyers acting for perpetrators base their denial on the fact that "all the top Rwandan military officers, including the supposedly infamous Colonel Bagosora, were found not guilty of conspiracy or planning to commit the genocide" (Erlinder,

2008, p.2). As Genocide preparation was not proved by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, they argue that it was not a genocide. Other reasons include the fact that all *Interahamwe* were not Hutu and that people who died included Tutsi, Hutu, Twa and foreigners killed by both the *Interahamwe* and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (Kambanda, 2014). Genocide is therefore considered by these scholars as massacres or civil war. On the other hand some scholars argue that the Tutsi were killed as a target group and a genocidal continuum can be traced through Rwandan history (Gouteux, 2002; Rutembesa, 2011b). Moreover, Bizimana declared that the Hutu killed during the Genocide must be considered as victims of crime against humanity (Ntakirutimana, 2014). The next section looks at the role of the international community during the Genocide. Understanding the role of different actors in the Genocide is of paramount importance because it is stated in the history curriculum. In addition, it is important to know different reactions of the international community to know to what extent different countries or institutions contributed to deter the genocidal process.

2.4.3 The inefficiency of the reaction of the international community

Another dimension of the Genocide against the Tutsi is the attitude of the international community towards the event. The latter was at times based on incompetence or even accomplices. At the outset of the killings the term Genocide was not used by the international community to describe what was happening in Rwanda. In the United States of America, the administration under President Bill Clinton officials avoided using the word Genocide for fear that using it would have obliged the United States of America to take action due to moral obligations when the country had a huge presence of its troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. Moreover, Americans were also traumatised by their troops killed in Somalia. In the discussion about the use of the term genocide there was perhaps a legal malpractice of American officials. The State Department Legal advisors' office questioned if there was the requisite intent in the killings in Rwanda (Stanton, 2004). The Office of the Secretary of Defence warned that in the case of a genocide in Rwanda, the American Government was committed to intervene. However, a military intervention is not legally required by the 1948 Genocide Convention to stop a genocide. (Heinze, 2007; Stanton, 2004). According to Stanton (2004) the State Department was mistaken and direct statements and systematic killings of Tutsi were proofs of intent

to commit a genocide. Moreover, the presidential decision directive taken after American soldiers' killings in Somalia limited American involvement in United Nations peacekeeping missions but accepted American intervention in case of a genocide. Des Forges (1999) observed that the delay to recognise the Genocide allowed the perpetrators to organise their plans and silence any potential opposition to their act.

Despite the never again expressed by the international community aimed at taking concrete action against any brutality after the Holocaust, the international community failed to stop the Genocide in Rwanda in a period less than five decades after the Holocaust of the Second World War. The United Nations which had troops in Rwanda and the international community were informed about plans to exterminate Tutsi (Des Forges, 1999; Prunier, 1997; Stanton, 2004; Verwimp, 2011). Before 1994, a Genocide continuum was observed in different regions of Rwanda, most prominently in 1959, 1963, and in the 1990s where Tutsi were killed and no concrete action taken for future prevention (Hron, 2011).

The 1990s pre-Genocide killings which targeted Abagogwe, a group of Tutsi in North-West of Rwanda and other Tutsi in Bugesera, Kibilira were interpreted differently by the international community. One perspective has it that they were considered as the response to attacks by the Rwandese Patriotic Front on behalf of the population that felt threatened (Kuperman, 2006; Lemarchand, 2002; Reyntjens, 1996). They were also seen as a means of consolidating the Habyarimana regime power by gathering all Hutu under difficult condition (Des Forges, 1999). Moreover, Verwimp (2011) notes that the pre-Genocide killings can be described as a case of 'ethnic' cleansing. As Tutsi were considered as pastoralists, the Habyarimana regime had adopted a policy of converting pastoral lands into agricultural ones and into *paysannats* – the prime agrarian settlement scheme. This regime used the war between the Patriotic Front and the then Government (1990-1994) as a pretext to finish off the last remnants of pastoralism in Rwanda (Verwimp, 2011). Even if, the idea of "ethnic" cleansing can be accepted, the association of pastoralism with the Tutsi only is based on dated theories.

The Rwandan society has been agro-pastoralist for many centuries and in the 1990s there were new socio-economic activities brought about by European influences

which were not necessarily distributed according to social classes. Very few groups of Tutsi, such as Abahima, were practicing pastoralism. Hence there were other motives about the choice of regions for the killings. Verwimp himself mentions that massacres took place in regions where the regime had strong support, regions densely populated and where the population of Tutsi was the highest in the northern prefectures and rural Kigali. The high presence of Tutsi in regions where the Habyarimana regime had strong ties should have been the main reasons which guided the killers and not economic ones as discussed by the author.

Regarding the failure of the international community to prevent the Genocide, no appropriate measure was taken against the training of militia and the distribution of weapons to civilians (Des Forges, 1999; Gouteux, 2002; Hron, 2011; IRDP, 2005). Instead of using the peacekeeping troops to stop the Genocide the United Nations did not want to use its soldiers so that they did not die in the killings rather continued to discuss the engagement embedded in the peacekeeping protocols (Des Forges, 1999). On their side, French and Belgian troops came to evacuate their nationals (Stanton, 2002). In the process some two thousand unarmed civilians were left in Kigali by Belgian peacekeepers. On April 21, the Security Council withdrew most of the United Nations troops leaving a few hundred to protect civilians already directly under the United Nations flag. Thereafter, a large number of refugees began leaving Rwanda to neighbouring countries mainly Zaïre (current Democratic Republic of the Congo), Burundi and Tanzania. This massive exodus was a threat to the stability of the entire region. Contradictory belligerents' positions also prevented the UN from continuing discussions about the sending of stronger force with a mandate to protect Tutsi civilians (Des Forges, 1999).

Among developed countries, a well-equipped force to the United Nations mission was only sent by Belgium. Despite the United Nations Security Council major powers failure to act, its president, Colin Keating from New Zealand had called for an increase in peacekeepers' forces once the slaughter began (Berdal, 2005). Later on, France decided to send its troops to intervene through the controversial *Opération Turquoise* (Berdal, 2005; de Saint-Exupéry, 2004; Gouteux, 2002; Melvern, 2000; Prunier, 1997; Tauzin, 2011) discussed in the literature review. Stanton (2004) details other weaknesses of the international community which did not manage to

prevent the Genocide in Rwanda and states what it should have been done to prevent the tragedy. For instance, the international community did not react on pogroms of Tutsi which occurred early in the 1990s. During the Genocide, the Security Council led by the United States and the United Kingdom instead of changing the mandate of the peacekeepers' mission so that it can intervene rather reduced the number of troops.

2.4.4 The post-Genocide transformation (1994 up to the present)

The aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi deeply affected Rwanda in all domains. Alongside one million people having died in a period of hundred days, the displacements were unnumbered. About two or three millions of Rwandans, including some suspected perpetrators, fled the country and went mostly to Zaïre (currently the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Burundi and Tanzania. In addition, the Genocide left behind many psychological problems. Genocide widows were raped and many have been infected with Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. In addition, many widows face serious problems such as trauma, depression, loneliness, and other challenges related to their living standards. Some of them left with serious wounds and injuries and are unable to work and pay school fees for the education of their children, as well as having no food and shelter to live in (Shyaka, 2011; Uwizeye, 2011).

A high number of orphans remained facing serious problems such as trauma as they saw how their parents, relatives and neighbours have been slaughtered. These traumatic scenes caused psychological problems in the lives of these children who are now young adults. Some children have been living in different orphanages, others remained in their family and many of them became the head of their households and took care of their siblings. In addition to the daily challenges, it was not easy for them to study or immediately find school fees. Overall, according to a survey done in 1998 by the Ministry in charge of social affairs (as quoted by Shyaka, 2011) there were 282 804 vulnerable survivors including raped women. Among them 30 105 were visibly traumatized and 49 299 had no shelter. None of these survivors was able to pay medical fees. More than 3 000 had become deaf, 2 904 blind and 465 mute (Shyaka, 2011). In general, the Genocide caused a disarticulation of the social structure and dislocation of Rwandan society.

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After the Genocide there was a climate of mistrust towards the Hutu by survivors who suspected them rightly or wrongly, to belong to the side of Genocide perpetrators. Some released prisoners also increased tensions between communities (Buckley-Zistel, 2006). In fact, there was an unfair global affirmation that all Hutus were involved in the Genocide (Fierens & Frère, 2009). Conversely some Hutu were unhappy due to their innocent relatives being jailed without clear evidence as perpetrators. The situation was further complicated by the fact that victims and 'perpetrators' had to live together. In many parts of the country, insecurity was nourished by persecution, threats and even murders of Genocide survivors who were considered as witnesses to the committed atrocities. Serious threats have led some people to relocate.

The destruction of family ties by the Genocide concerns both Hutu and Tutsi families. In families some Hutu women married to Tutsis have witnessed how their children and husbands were killed. Alongside their sorrow and sad experiences, in some cases these Hutu women have not been integrated within the Tutsi survivors (Buhigiro, Bagaye, & Munyakayanza, 2012).

From an economic point of view the destruction of houses, schools, hospitals, industries, businesses and important trading centres led to the disruption of the country's development and many Rwandans consequently experienced poverty. Before the October 1990 war between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the then Government, Rwanda was in a very fragile economic situation due to inefficient land use patterns and inadequate pasture and a deteriorating trade balance due to the falling prices and quantities of exported products, including tin, coffee and tea (Newbury, 1995). The Genocide of 1994 deeply affected a weakened economy (Prunier, 1997). The exploitation of scarce land was completely paralyzed by the extermination of a portion of the population as, for example, tea and coffee plantations were looted or destroyed. Simply put, the Rwandan economy was destroyed due to the devastation of the agricultural sector which was the basis of the economy. Industry and basic infrastructure were also destroyed. In addition, banks, state coffers and private property were looted. The tourism sector, which was one of the pillars of the national economy, was not operational during the Genocide. The

safety of animals in the national parks was not guaranteed. Forests were also destroyed causing environmental and ecological damage (IRDP, 2006).

Another big post-Genocide challenge was the number of alleged persons involved in the tragedy (Straus, 2004; Gourevitch, 2009). After the Genocide, and immediately after the Rwandese Patriotic Front victory, the Rwandan government began to arrest thousands of individuals on Genocide charges, and by 1999, Rwandan prisons held more than 120 000 people suspected of Genocide killings. As the judicial system was disorganised, the first Genocide trials only started in December 1996. Consequently, it was estimated that to complete the prosecutions it would have taken the courts working at full capacity over 100 years to complete the trials (Longman, 2010).

Regarding the high number of jailed persons, after the July 1994 military victory of the Rwandese Patriotic Front, both the international community and the newly installed Rwandan government embraced trials as a primary tool for promoting post-conflict social reconstruction. The United Nations Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in late 1994, which focused on prosecuting the top organisers of the Genocide, and the first trials took place in Arusha, Tanzania in 1997. Seeking to speed up the rate of prosecution and implicate the population more directly in the judicial process, the Rwandan Government launched a new system of non-professional grassroots justice in 2002, called *Gacaca* courts. This drew on a traditional Rwandan dispute resolution mechanism. *Gacaca* courts were organized in every locality in the country, using popularly-elected lay judges to treat most Genocide crimes. By early 2010, over 1.5 million cases had been heard in *Gacaca* courts (Clark, 2010; Ingelaere, 2008; Longman, 2010).

Despite their achievements as the *Gacaca* courts managed to hold many Genocide perpetrators accountable and to promote dialogue among Rwandans in different communities (Byanafashe, 2013; de Brower & Ruvebana, 2011), they were also criticized. There was a view that "trying crimes of Genocide and massacres in *Gacaca* would minimize the seriousness of these crimes" (Ingelaere, 2008, p.37). Another viewpoint considers *Gacaca* courts as "a retributive and punitive process

used to promote a repressive political agenda and to settle many personal vendettas" (Longman, 2010, p.49). Regardless of these critics, testimonies from the public helped some survivors to talk openly and to identify the location of the corpses of the Genocide survivors' family members killed during the Genocide. In addition, some killers pleaded guilty and demanded pardon from the survivors (Byanafashe, 2013). Some innocent prisoners were released due to *Gacaca* trials and in some communities, survivors and perpetrators were grouped in associations.

Another effort undertaken by the Government of Rwanda in view of promoting the rule of law, and mainly due to mass violation of human rights during the Genocide was epitomised by the creation of the National Commission for Human Rights in 1999. The Commission aims at sensitising the population on human rights issues. It has the power to initiate investigations in line with the violation of the law in Rwanda or as requested by aggrieved persons. The Commission's reports revealed a series of injustices regarding, for instance, the killing of Genocide survivors, its visits to prisons and the piteous living conditions of the Twa social group (Sherti, 2014). Some of the Twa are still marginalised by society and they consequently prefer to live in isolation. They are considered as the poorest citizens and their children drop out of primary school due to lack of support. Even if the Twa were represented in the Senate, they used to be victims of injustice during grass roots level elections where some of them were excluded from becoming elected members (Sena, 2007). Another strategy for fighting against injustice related to the post-Genocide period was the creation of the Ombudsman Office which prevents and fights against corruption and other forms of injustice. Since its inception in 2003, the Office received many complaints in line with injustice in job recruitment, land issues including those related to people who returned from exile and unfair contracts termination (Transparence Rwanda, 2008). The institution is weakened by a lack of power to prosecute individuals or institutions.

Rwandan relationships with other countries were another challenge. The conditions and circumstances that led to the 1994 change of regime in Rwanda, as well as the behaviour of the international community during those events, have destabilized relations between Rwanda and some neighbouring or distant countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007). For instance, the alleged role of France in the Genocide and

the accusations of Bruguière, that Rwandan officials participated in the assassination of the former President Habyarimana have led to the discontinuation of diplomatic ties between Rwanda and France from 2006 to 2012 (Delany, 2010; Verschave, 1994).

The exile of Rwandans in neighbouring countries, especially in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, resulted in the presence of the former Rwandese Forces and *Interahamwe* militia in the east of the country. The Rwandan combatants in the Congo became a security threat which destabilised the hosting country and the enormous and powerful interests of several companies or governmental or nongovernmental international organisations. Consequently a massive smear campaign against Rwanda was organised by the affected companies and organisations. A campaign of hatred among Congolese citizens against Rwanda was also organised by some Congolese politicians due to the feeling of humiliation caused by the war Rwanda had launched in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, officially to fight against Rwandan militia (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007).

In reality, the Congolese territory was used for assault and retreat against Rwanda. During 1996-97, the post-Genocide government decided to remove this threat by joining other countries such as Uganda, Burundi and Angola supporting the *Alliances Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo* led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila to overthrow President Mobutu and hereby end the source of insecurity. Another objective considered by Reyntjens (1999) as a pretext was to save Congolese Tutsi who were victims of injustice and insecurity in the Eastern Congo. Kabila's decision to request foreign troops, including Rwandan ones to return home, brought about a second war (1998-2001) which attracted a number of African countries due to various reasons such as economic interests or national security. Thus countries such as Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia supported militarily Kabila as the Democratic Republic of the Congo had become a member of the Southern African Development Community. Chad, Libya and Sudan were also involved in this war on the side of Kabila while Uganda and Burundi were on the side of Rwanda. This war, which created serious tension between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, was considered by the American diplomat Susan Rice as the 'first African world war'. The United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity invited

belligerents in peace negotiations which resulted in Lusaka agreements in July 1999. Thereafter, Rwandan troops were removed from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (IRDP, 2005; Olsson, 2004; Reyntjens, 1999; Sherti, 2014). Due to insecurity and human rights violation the Congolese youth clearly expressed the centrality of Rwanda "in the origins of the Congo's 'worst ever nightmare" (Bentrovato, 2014, p.17).

The Government of Rwanda tried its best to solve problems outlined above but the reality is that it is a heavy burden to be carried by a developing country. The first step was to put into place a government. In this regard, the Rwandese Patriotic Front which took power did not choose to rule the country alone. It incorporated other political parties in the process, except those which were actively involved in the Genocide such as the former single party *Mouvement Républicain National pour le Développment et la Démocratie* and its satellites mainly the *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* considered as anti-Tutsi at the outset (Kinzer, 2008). As Hutu, Tutsi and Twa had to continue living in the same territory, one of the solutions was the promotion of a unity and reconciliation policy. This decision was in line with Arusha peace agreements signed in 1993.

Unity and reconciliation are defined by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission as "a consensus practice of citizens who have common nationality, who share the same culture and have equal rights; citizens characterised by trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality, complementary roles/interdependence, truth, and healing of one another's wounds inflicted by our history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development" (Republic of Rwanda, 2010, p. 18). In this regard, the Commission established a series of governing principles including the promotion of Rwandan identity and to put forward national interests instead of those guided by ethnicity, blood relations, gender, religion or region of origin. Another guiding principle of the Commission is the fight against the Genocide and its ideology. This guiding principle is among the key mission of the National Commission for the Fight against the Genocide discussed later. Furthermore, the Commission urges Rwandans to strive to heal one another's physical and psychological wounds while building future interpersonal trust based on truth telling, repentance and forgiveness. Thus, the Commission educates and mobilises

Rwandans on matters related to national unity and reconciliation and undertakes research in the matter of peace and unity and reconciliation to make proposals on measures for eradicating divisions and for reinforcing unity. In addition, a series of strategies such as solidarity camps where different categories of people meet to discuss issues related to unity and reconciliation and programmes on radios are used by the Commission (Republic of Rwanda, 2010). Despite the Commission's achievements its approach has been criticised for not allowing an open and honest engagement with the past. In addition, the search of Rwandan identity does not allow a discussion around ethnic differences (Clark, 2010). However, most Rwandans (87%) in a recent study done by the Commission affirm that major issues related to the causes and consequences of the Genocide have been frankly discussed and that the trust between inter-group relations have increased (Republic of Rwanda, 2010).

The Rwanda Commission for the Fight against Genocide was also put into place in 2007 with the aim of stopping forever the resurgence of such atrocities. In addition, for the fight against an ideology of Genocide, a law was put into place to fight against Genocide denial (Republic of Rwanda, 2013). One scholar attempted to conceptualise the Genocide ideology:

> Genocide ideology is defined as an ideology which led to 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and still bears a high potential, if not checked upon, to lead to genocide. It is a set of organized thoughts and beliefs which use ethnic identity as a base, primarily for competition for power, but also for stirring up hate, conflict and violence as the main strategy to attain set objectives. It is rooted in the Hutu supremacy ideology as the core component, and the denial of the genocide against the Tutsi as the main branch (Kantengwa, 2013, p. 111).

In order to fight against the Genocide ideology, the Commission has set some strategies including the commemoration of the Genocide and keeping Genocide memory. The Commission is convinced that commemoration of the Genocide against the Tutsi aims at remembering its causes, such as exclusion and divisionism, and to fight against them. Another aim of commemoration is to react against any other genocide wherever it can occur. Thus, every year in April, the Genocide is remembered countrywide through speeches, public lectures, testimonies and prayers, and the solemn reburial of victims' remains. The conservation of remains in different museums is not only a tangible proof against the denial of what happened in

Rwanda but also a didactic aid for future generations. Genocide memorials are therefore considered as an educational centre which helps to teach the history of what happened at the sites and to remember the victims (Kantengwa, 2013; http://www.cnlg.gov.rw/uploads/media/10._ikiganiro_akamaro_ko_kwibuka.pdf). Despite these endeavours, the Commission is still facing the problem of Genocide denial. Deniers are not only Rwandans but also expatriates. A list of foreign scholars, journalists and politicians considered as Genocide deniers by the Commission was published in the media (Manzi, 2014). Another challenge is related to the well-being of Genocide survivors who still have various problems such as loneliness felt by old persons, houses, medical issues and school fees.

Efforts were also made in the education sector to stop the discriminatory practices of the former regimes. For example:

> The Rwanda National Examinations Council was put in place with the main mission of promoting national reconciliation and reconstruction through transparent, accountable and responsive assessment and evaluation (…). The Council has been conducting the examinations in transparency and placing successful candidates in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning on merit (Nzabalirwa, 2009, p.158).

Moreover, since 2009, in order to give to Rwandans more access to education as a sign of social justice and a way of improving knowledge, a Nine Years Basic Education programme was put into place (Republic of Rwanda. Ministry of Education Science and Technology and Scientific Research, 2008).

In view of assisting the demobilised combatants of the former Rwandese Army Forces and other rebellions or of the *Armée Patriotique Rwandaise* (troops of the Rwandese Patriotic Front), the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission was created in 1997. After the Genocide against the Tutsi, the country had to reduce the number of its soldiers in the military. Some minors had to return to school and unneeded soldiers during peacetime were demobilised. Sherti (2014) notes that the number of Rwandan troops was increased to pursue the external rebellions made up of the defeated army and *Interahamwe* militia on Congolese territory. In 2001 the Commission started the second phase of demobilisation because a peace agreement was reached during the 'first African world war' followed

by the withdrawal of Rwandan troops from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The main aspects of this phase are described as follows:

> The particularity of the second phase is that the demobilisation on one hand concerned members of the former Rwandese Patriotic Front Army and on the other hand the former Rwandese Army Forces and their new recruited forces who separated themselves from the rebellion based in Congolese forest. The fact that the Demobilisation Commission equitably deals with the Rwandese Defence Forces (FDR) and former enemies prove that it aims at "facilitating peace process in the Great Lakes region, contributing to unity and reconciliation between Rwandans and work for their welfare (Sherti, 2014, pp.310-311).

The above quote illustrates how the Commission contributes to unity and reconciliation by integrating members of the defeated army and the demobilised soldiers from the current Rwandese Defense Forces in normal life. What happened in Rwanda needs to be compared to other contexts which experienced a genocide.

2.5 Uniqueness or similarities with other genocides

The Genocide against the Tutsi occurred in a particular context. There is a need to find out similarities and differences with other genocides. According to Hron (2011), even if the Genocide against the Tutsi was considered as the "African Holocaust" or the "tropical Nazi genocide", it is differed from the Holocaust in different ways. In Nazi Germany, mass extermination was executed in hidden concentration camps. In Rwanda, the Tutsi were killed everywhere, for example in churches, on streets, in administrative edifices, in fields or swamps and during day or night time. Killers would hunt, rape, or torture Tutsis to death. Consequently an average of five people was killed per minute. Furthermore, in Rwanda, there was an issue of proximity. Neighbours slaughtered neighbours. Unlike the Nazis and Jews, Rwandans were sharing the same culture. They were living on the same hills and shared the same language and values.

The Genocide against the Tutsi was also compared to the case of Sudan, which the Bush administration (2001-2008) had qualified as Genocide. But this idea was rejected by the United Nations International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur (Kissi, 2004). There are some differences between Rwanda and Darfur by considering the number of dead people - more than one million people according to Rwandan official sources (République Rwandaise, 2002), in 100 days. This is hardly comparable to

an estimated 70 000 in 10 months or lack of intention to exterminate the whole group as happened in Sudan (Heinze, 2007; Kissi, 2004).

Regarding similarities and differences the three societies (Rwanda, Cambodia and Ethiopia) were undergoing rapid changes. In Cambodia the victims were defined on the basis of their ethnic and religious identity in view of creating a pure society. In Ethiopia, the word political mass murder (*politicide*) is used in as much as the opposition was targeted. In Rwanda, perpetrators killed on the basis of their 'ethnic' affiliation with an external insurgent group that threatened Hutu monopoly on power (Cook, 1997; Kissi, 2004; McDoom, 2007). Simply put, all mass murders in Africa and Asia cannot be included in the study of Genocide, unless they lead to the annihilation of ethnic groups (Kissi, 2004) or other groups indicated in the United Nations definition as discussed later.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted the historical background of Rwanda to understand the way to Genocide. Different components of the Rwandan culture which contributed to the social cohesion since the pre-colonial period were discussed. By way of contrast, some socio-economic institutions such as *uburetwa* or *ubuhake* which weakened intergroup relationships due to their injustice were also analysed. It was shown that during the pre-colonial period 'ethnic' identity was fluid but due to the introduction of the identity card under the colonial administration, 'ethnic' identities became fixed and were used to appoint chiefs and sub-chiefs. Thus, the "ethnic" identities became a tool used for political reasons. The role of the colonial powers with their collaborators among the Catholic Church and Rwandans themselves to tear the Rwandan society was therefore discussed. Furthermore, in the second chapter I showed how the post-colonial period was also characterised by social injustice. The discrimination coupled with other reasons such as the power of 'ethnic' ideology and fear of the Habyarimana regime to lose power due to the re-introduction of multiparty system and the pressure from the Rwandese Patriotic Front, economic problems due to the fall of commodities on international market contributed to the eruption of the Genocide. The categories of perpetrators, the targeted people, strategies and weapons used in the Genocide against the Tutsi were described. In this second chapter, I have also shown the inefficiency of the international community especially

the United Nations forces which were reduced instead of saving victims. The execution of the Genocide left Rwanda with a range of negative effects. The efforts done in the post-Genocide period to alleviate the consequences of the Genocide for a better future were also examined in this second chapter. In the next chapter, I engage with the literature review where I mainly present key concepts used in this study and the theoretical framework.

Alongside the consequences of the Genocide, which were numerous and unbelievable, the genocidal acts were committed by using a diversity of weapons. Other techniques in killing and torturing were also utilized. This inhumanity is one aspect which makes the teaching of the Genocide a very sensitive topic because the event is still fresh in the minds of teachers and learners. Moreover, victims and perpetrators were Rwandans living on the same hills and their children are now obliged to learn about these atrocities in the same schools. The teacher also is part of the Rwandan society. To a great extent, she/he is affected by what happened and has to deal with those atrocities with young learners. This sensitivity is crucial in the teaching of the Genocide. In addition, some aspects such as the grounding of the presidential plane, the role of France and the international community in the conflict, the numbers of killed people are controversial issues because people do not hold the same points of view about them. The situation is also complicated in as much as the school history is in tension with some scholars or sources including families and electronic sources which deny the Genocide. Thus, it becomes important to understand how these challenging topics are taught in post-Genocide Rwandan schools. In the following chapter, now that the historical Genocide has been unpacked, the literature depicting the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues will be reviewed.

CHAPTER 3

JOURNEY COMPANIONS: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL IDEAS

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the historical background of my study on *The experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers in teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues* by giving a brief review of the precolonial, colonial and post-colonial periods of the history of Rwanda. In this chapter, I present the literature review and theoretical framework for my study. The literature review situates my research in the context of existing similar studies. The literature review was also used in the analysis of the data gathered from the field.

In the first section I explain the rationale of conducting a literature review in a study. The next section looks at the understanding of controversial issues. As matter of fact, explaining what controversial issues are is important in as much as people do not agree on them as a concept and a methodology.

Genocide is another important term conceptualised in this chapter. The reader has to understand the nature of controversial issues and genocide and why it is relevant to learn these topics in history. Thus, there is a specific section on the relevance of teaching controversial issues. In the same section, I place a large emphasis on the use of evidence while teaching controversial issues. Furthermore, I discuss the role of history teaching in post-conflict societies and examine how controversial issues are dealt with in classroom settings and represented in textbooks and the implications thereof. In general, examples are drawn from the Holocaust and more specifically from Northern Ireland, Cambodia and Rwanda. In the case of Rwanda, some issues related to the Genocide against the Tutsi are still dividing different authors. In the next section I present different approaches of teaching controversial issues and genocides. In this section on teaching approaches, the Holocaust has been taken as a template for teaching genocides. Finally, in this third chapter, as gleaned from the literature, I present my theoretical ideas including positioning

theory and other scholars' theories about the teaching of controversial issues. Teachers' positionality in line with the teaching of controversial issues is very different for a series of reasons. The reader needs to know these diverse responses and their motivations. The integration of the theoretical ideas into this chapter gives it an uneven length but it is necessary for better understanding of the topic.

3.2 Conducting a literature review

Firstly, a literature review is a "thorough summary and critical analysis of the relevant available research and non-research literature on the topic being studied" (Cronin, Ryan & Coughlan, 2008, p.38). Thus, one of the main aims of a literature review is to ensure that the topic was not done elsewhere. In addition, it helps to show that the researcher is aware of the existing literature. In this regard, the literature review helps to show whether main issues including the theoretical, conceptual, methodological and substantive problems related to the topic under investigation are known to the researcher. Key terms, main topics and concepts for the research are elucidated by the literature review (Cohen et al., 2011). Therefore, the literature review is helpful to find similar or related research. Good research, "good because it advances our collective understanding" (Boote & Beile, 2005, p. 3) serves as orientation and inspires during the designing of the research questions and the identification of contradictory results which can be used as a starting point for the research. Bad research guides one on what not to do in the research to avoid mistakes (Flick, 2009).

In short, the empirical literature review helps to identify the niche for the research study. It "makes clear where new ground has to be broken in the field and it shows where, how and why the proposed research will break that new ground and/or plug any gaps in the current field" (Cohen et al., 2011, p.112). In the case of this study a critical examination of the literature allowed me to find out what Rwandan and international scholars wrote on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues and other close fields of research. Therefore, I discovered what was still to be done and the possibilities of new perspectives.

The literature review does not only report on empirical literature but also analyses the research methods used in earlier research to see if their assertions are relevant

(Boote & Beile, 2005). In other words, in addition to empirical literature, there is also methodological literature which guides on appropriate methods to be used in research in the context of the existing alternatives but also advises on how to avoid technical problems (Flick, 2009). This methodological aspect is discussed in a specific chapter (Chapter 4) related to research methodology because I find that it fits well with that particular chapter. My main focus for this chapter is on theoretical and empirical literature which is used for contextualisation, comparison and generalisations of findings.

When writing the thesis or any other research the existing literature helps to show if the findings confirm or contradict existing research (Flick, 2009). It is a disadvantage for the researcher when she/he does not understand the prior research (Boote & Beile, 2005) because she/he cannot manage to compare and contrast her/his findings with the exiting body of literature (Henning, Van Rasenburg, & Smit, 2004) and can claim to have discovered what is already known. To avoid such problems, I searched literature relevant to my research topic and my research questions from different online databases and the various University of KwaZulu-Natal libraries. In addition, I was obliged to look for some documents specific to Rwandan history in personal collections and in different libraries in Kigali City and at the University of Rwanda. I was guided by the principle of coverage which specifies different criteria for choosing what to include and what to exclude from the literature. Such criteria are for instance, topicality, breadth, relevance, availability and authority (Boote & Beile, 2005). For example, if few studies have been done on a topic, the strategy was to look at other similar fields. Thus, I looked for studies related to the teaching of the history of Rwanda in general and the aim of history teaching in post-conflict societies. When many studies were conducted on an aspect, the focus was put on key conceptual process. I noticed that a range of research studies has been done on the Genocide against the Tutsi in different aspects but very few of these discussed the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Thus, I decided on key aspects to analyse in the literature review in line with my topic and my research questions. I retained the main aspects namely the understanding of controversial issues, the conceptualisation of genocide, the teaching of controversial issues, teaching history in post-conflict societies and the positioning theory as the main issues to discuss in this section.

Finally, the following literature review is thematically organised (Henning et al., 2004). As a matter of fact, to design themes, I considered important topics to my research such as controversial issues, genocide and teaching history. For controversial issues and genocide, I had chosen to look at some typical cases or historical perspectives of teaching the genocide or controversial issues. In addition, I looked at theories to be used in this research. Therefore, the reader can understand not only the main concepts and how they are taught in Rwandan schools but also theories which helped me to analyse the data.

3.3 Conceptualising controversial issues and genocide

In this section, controversial issues and genocide which are the first order concepts to my study are unpacked in detail. At the outset, the term controversial issue has been used in slightly different ways (Stradling, 1984). Therefore this section serves to provide the conceptualisation of the term controversial issue. In addition, different reasons which make a topic controversial are also outlined. I present the place, space and timeframe for understanding a controversial issue. I will also explain my working concept of what constitutes a controversial issue. Secondly, the term genocide is also conceptualised. Moreover, in this section, I explain how the term genocide was misused to call for attention during conflict. I refer to the United Nations conceptualisation of the genocide mostly used as a reference in the conceptualisation of genocide. As the United Nations' conceptualisation has certain weaknesses, different critics provided by scholars are discussed followed by an alternative conceptualisation of the term genocide. Finally, the working conceptualisation of genocide is also explained in this section.

3.3.1 Controversial issues conceptualisation

Semantically, the *Free Dictionary Online* conceptualises controversial issues as structured discussion. The same source mentions controversy, a noun from the same family as controversial and defines it as "a dispute, especially a public one, between sides holding opposing views" (http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Controversial+issues). The same source goes on calling a controversy a public dispute concerning a matter of opinion". The *Thesaurus* shares the view of misunderstanding and calls a controversy "a

disagreement about something important; a dispute where there is strong argument; a contentious speech act"(http://www.freethesaurus.com/Controversial+Controversial issues). Briefly, the two online dictionaries semantically put forward the idea of a misunderstanding between a group of people about an idea and the disagreement brings a polemic in discussion. The idea of educational context is not mentioned in the previous semantic conceptualisations.

Conceptually, scholars do not explain controversial issues in the same way. However, all mention the idea of disagreement about ideas between groups of people. The shortest meaning was given by Manyane (1995). For him "at its simplest, controversy refers to a discussion about something which people disagree with or argue about" (1995, p.1). More multifaceted is the idea that, controversy is a disagreement between individuals or groups of people, societies or even neighbouring countries about ideas, theories, and conclusions. The attempt to resolve the disagreement is conflictual and can result in anger, emotions or bias (Chikoko et al., 2011; Hess, 2009; Johnson & Johnson, 1979; Johson & Johnson, 1997; Stradling, 2001; Stradling, 2003; Wassermann et al., 2008; Wassermann, 2011).

Consequently controversial issues can be understood in a classroom context as:

> (…) those problems and disputes which divide society and for which significant groups within society offer conflicting explanations and solutions based on alternative values. Such disputes may be about: - what has happened – the causes of the present situation – the desirable ends to works towards – the appropriate course of action to be taken – the likely effects of that action (Stradling, 1984, pp. 2-3).

More specifically, controversial issues can be socially divisive, sensitive and provoke prejudices. There is a distinction between a difficult or sensitive topic and controversial issues. In fact, some controversial issues are called sensitive "because they relate to particularly painful, tragic, humiliating or divisive times in a country's past, and there is a fear or concern that reference to them in history lessons might renew old wounds and divisions and bring back too many painful memories" (Stradling, 2001, p.99). Most topics have the capacity to be sensitive if they evoke an emotional response or there are competing ideas about how they should be understood or addressed (Lowe, 2015). In some countries such as Northern Ireland,

some families have been affected What by shootings, bombings or paramilitary groups' activities. Sensitive issues depend on individual. What is challenging for one person might not be for another. Referring to the Northern Ireland tragic past reminds learners of sad events characterised sometimes by defeats which humiliated their groups. Thus sensitive/difficult issues are delicate and some people might find hard to discuss them because of their background or experiences.

Topics become controversial for different reasons such as the cause, the content, people involved and the age of learners. The Historical Association in the United Kingdom emphasizes the causes of the controversy. Frequently social justice issues are at the basis: "The study of History can be emotive and controversial where there is actual or perceived unfairness to people by another individual or group in the past" (The Historical Association, 2007, p. 3). In the classroom context, an issue also may be controversial due to the disparities of the content offered in school history and other histories from the family/community or media (The Historical Association, 2007). As such it is not the issue itself that creates conflict but the participants' reactions due to their experience, attitudes and skills (McCully, 2006).

Issues may be controversial due to the content. In this regard, there are academic controversial issues (Stradling, 2001) also called empirical issues by Lockwood (1996). For academic controversies, there are "disagreements about what happened and why it happened and over significance" (Stradling, 2001, p. 99). For instance, to respond to the question about who grounded the presidential jet in Rwanda on 6 April 1994 requires the use of historical methods by collecting data related to the question to formulate the best answer supported by evidence. Knowledgeable people may continue to disagree on the instigator. As Lockwood puts it, the disagreement is around "the quality and relevance of evidence as well as the logic employed in coming to a particular conclusion" (Lockwood, 1996, p. 29). Another example is that some authors posit that the Genocide against the Tutsi was due to permanent conflict between the two main social classes, Hutu and Tutsi, while others find that the two social classes' relationships were harmonious during the precolonial period but were interrupted by colonial rule. Thus there are different schools of thought about the causes of the Genocide as a controversial issue.

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Regarding content, there are also socially divisive controversies which are associated with values (Lockwood, 1999). Socially divisive controversies divide nations and prompt people's biases and they are generally sensitive (Stradling, 2001). However, Stradling (2001) notes that all controversial issues are not necessarily sensitive. For instance those 'controversial public issues' (Waterson, 2009) such as nuclear disarmament, juvenile crime, divorce, quota policy or state assisted suicide which generate strong views but are not necessarily divisive or sensitive such as ethnicity or learners' cultural identity (McCully, 2006; The Historical Association, 2007).

Alongside the content, people also make a topic controversial. In some circumstances, some parents, politicians or pressure groups question why some issues are embedded in the curriculum. At the same time, for example, parents' committees could disagree on a particular teacher who has to teach a certain issue (Stradling, 1984). Before the introduction of the Genocide in the history curriculum in Rwanda, some people had opposed the decision arguing that it would not help to unite the Rwandan society (Rutembesa, 2011a). Accordingly, one group or community may consider an issue as controversial while it should not be the case for another one (Wassermann et al., 2008). For instance, the history and politics of the 1990s war and Genocide in Rwanda may be highly controversial in a class of learners including Rwandans from perpetrators' and survivors' families, but uncontroversial in a class of Mozambican-born school learners. The former group has different experiences hence evidence which should not be the case for the second group.

The age of people, or more specifically in the context of my study that of learners may, also make the teaching of an issue controversial. In fact, the strength of feeling about certain issues can be affected by the learners' age which can help them to be aware of some issues or not (The Historical Association, 2007).

The space and time frame are also factors to be considered in the understanding of controversial issues. A controversy does not have an everlasting character. The sensitivity can go away, return or last for many years. Some issues such as slavery in the United States of America or colonialism are still topical. In addition,

controversy varies from one group to another one (The Historical Association, 2007). In their paper comparing controversial issues and teacher education in South Africa and Britain, Chikoko et al. (2011) show that some topics such as human immunodeficiency virus and corporal punishment are raised by some African participants whereas it is not the case for British participants. The latter mentioned specific issues such as the Iraq war and the Middle East or immigration. The role of the community in the teaching of controversial issues is therefore a noteworthy concern for many authors (Burron, 2006; Manyane, 1995; McCully, 2006; Stradling, 1984). In addition learners may bring preconceived ideas from home influenced not only by their families but also by the media. But, it is more difficult to deal with the most recent controversial topics than the remote ones in history teaching:

> The more contemporary the issue the greater the problems for the teacher, mainly because the outcome may still be very difficult to predict: We do not have the benefit of hindsight regarding the significance of recent events; students are likely to bring with them into the classroom their own interpretations, experiences, judgements and prejudices; the primary sources of evidence are likely to be biased, incomplete and contradictory; and it is even difficult to establish criteria for determining what does and does not constitute valid evidence (Stradling, 1984, p. 3).

In this study, the term controversial issues is used for problems for which no common understanding is held by Rwandan society and sometimes may cause pain, anger and even fear due to their sensitivity. In general, some controversial issues are not discussed openly by the general public but in schools they are discussed in different ways. For this study my working concept relies mainly on Stradling's (1984) conceptualisation. Thus, controversial issues are those problems for which scholars, the general public, official circles and learners lack a common understanding regarding their conceptualisation, causes, sequences, consequences and action to be taken to deal with them. The discussion of controversial issues may or not bring polemic, anger, fear, painful memories or hope.

3.3.2 Conceptualising genocide

Genocide is one of the controversial issues which has been differently conceptualised and used. For instance, Glanville's (2009, p. 467) paper title, "Is genocide still a powerful word?" denotes a kind of deception because the author fears that the word genocide is not used properly. He argues that the word has lost

most of its ideational power in the sense that it has been detached from legal and political demands to be used in the context of genocide prevention. Some use this term by analogy during any violent conflict to call for attention. However, a careful analysis shows that when genocide was used to describe the extermination of Jews by the Nazis the concept was coined to not only name a particular type of violence but it also had a certain moral meaning. The term genocide was synonymous with the climax of human evil (Straus, 2001). This is why genocide has also been described as a "disease of the spirit" (Jørgensen, 2001, p.285). Despite the intent to use the term genocide for a particular circumstance, there is no one accepted conceptualisation and use of it. Hence, "From its inception, then, genocide has been an empirical, moral, legal, and political concept. To one person, "genocide" means evil and demands preventive or punitive action by a government; to another, "genocide" carries a circumscribed juridical meaning while to still others, it designates a specific type of mass violence" (Straus, 2001, p. 358). Thus, genocide became "an attractive concept. But these multiple dimensions also have made for a conceptual muddle" (Straus, 2001, p.359).

Conceptually, different scholars and the United Nations have tried to conceptualise the term genocide. Genocide is generally considered as one of the worst moral crimes a "government" (meaning any ruling authority, including that of a guerrilla group, a quasi-state, a Soviet, a terrorist organization, or an occupation authority) can commit against its citizens or those it controls (Rummel, 1997). In 1948, the United Nations approved and proposed the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the norm of prohibiting genocide became unconditional (Jørgensen, 2001). Since its adoption, the definition of genocide as set out in the Convention has not been altered and is included in the Status of the International Criminal Court. In terms of being a crime, the United Nations convention defined genocide as

> any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group" (Jørgensen, 2001, p. 286).

The above mentioned United Nations conceptualisation has been criticized by many scholars (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Harff & Gurr, 1998; Katz, 1991; Kissi, 2004; Straus, 2001). In his criticism, one of the scholars, Straus (2001), mentions that the first four elements of the convention mix lethal with non-lethal acts. Thus, people who are opposed to particular action invoked the Genocide convention. This is the case for instance of those who were opposing China's one-child policy. They claimed that it limited or reduced the population growth of particular ethnic groups. But, the intention is to reduce the high population growth. Another example is the prohibition of a particular language or religion which is considered by affected groups as genocidal. Secondly, only four protected groups are mentioned by the Convention and the political groups are not included in spite of their sufferings since the Second World War.

The political groups have been excluded because one of the victors during the War, the Soviet Union, rejected the idea that genocide could be committed against social classes (Straus, 2001). The Soviet Union opposed the inclusion of political groups to avoid the international communities' condemnation of millions of victims killed under Joseph Stalin's rule (Sherti, 2014). Thus, without agreeing on what genocide is, it becomes difficult for scholars to develop plausible comparative explanations of the phenomenon they study as they do not have the same understanding (Straus, 2001).

Returning to the shortcomings of the conceptualisation, ethnocide as reflected in (c) and (e) is also contested by scholars (Eng, n.d.; Straus, 2001). The argument is that it is difficult to prove guilt of genocide if the political or economic group, which can also be victimised, are not explicitly mentioned. Thus, to exclude political groups was a failure on the part of the Convention and was done due to the fear of the ratifying members who had not protected their political dissidents (Eng, n.d.). Signatories of the Convention agreed to prevent genocide but the Convention contains no article showing how to intervene in genocide outside of national borders (Glanville, 2009).

Bearing in mind that genocide is an exceptional phenomenon, and due to the shortcomings in the conceptualisation thereof, certain scholars (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Harff, 1998; Kissi, 2004; Straus, 2001) proposed their own definitions and declared that there is a need for an umbrella concept for genocide and other mass

killings (Straus, 2001). For instance, one scholar conceptualised "genocide as a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus" (Horowitz, 1976, p.18). This definition does not specify, the targeted group, as the United Nations definition. Horowitz's (1976) definition implies killing without distinguishing between innocent people and enemies.

Recently, the concept of genocide has been expanded on by scholars because it is viewed as more than an "act of state". There is an attempt to destroy rivals and political groups by non-state actors (Kissi, 2004). In the case of Rwanda, for example, Kimonyo (2008) talks about a popular genocide. For the same Rwandan case, the role of the elite has also been highlighted (Rutembesa, 2011). Thus, genocide or *politicide* are defined by Harff (as quoted by Kissi, 2004) as "the promotion, execution, and or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents – or in the case of civil war, either of contending authorities-that are intended to destroy, in whole or in part, a communal, political or politicized group" (Kissi, 2004, p. 116). Chalk and Jonassohn (1990) in turn consider genocide as one-sided mass killing where a state or other authority defines the targeted group it intends to destroy. The authors avoided mentioning the problematic concept of race or ethnicity. But, they clearly identified the actor, the targeted group as is defined by the perpetrators, and they point out the intent and that it is one sided killings (Straus, 2001).

Furthermore, genocide is different from ordinary mass violence because it is a specific type of mass violence with the aim of destroying a group (Straus, 2001). In addition, "massacre is never in any case synonym with genocide, although genocide always consists of one or several massacres" (Semelin, 2010, p. 379). This can lead to further conceptual muddling as the notion of massacre is also defined differently. It comes from the popular Latin *matteuca*, meaning "bludgeon", which contains the sense of butchery, meaning both the abattoir and the butcher's shop. Since the eleventh century, it meant the putting to death of animals and human beings. As such it implies a relationship of proximity and a type of "one on one" killing, mainly some civil wars scenarios, by slitting the throat. But the question that arises is related to when killers use technologies such as bombing. A further challenge is about the number of victims needed to constitute a massacre (Semelin, 2010).

In the case of Rwanda, the United Nations conceptualisation prevailed as it was used to incriminate perpetrators who committed the Genocide (Jørgensen, 2001). It is also necessary to emphasize the fact that even if the Hutu and Tutsi are not considered two distinctly different ethnic groups as they share the same culture, they were taken as separate ethnic groups since the colonial period, and it was recorded as such in identity cards. Different policies during the post-colonial period (1962-1994) continued to view them as two different groups and the killings followed these identity impositions. As there is no one accepted conceptualisation of controversial issues and genocide, it is important to understand how these issues are taught in school settings.

3.4 Relevance of teaching controversial issues

The literature conceptualised controversial issues as those topics for which groups of people have conflicting explanations. Genocide is one of them and there is no one accepted conceptualisation of genocide and its use. Despite the lack of agreement in the conceptualisation, the literature stresses the relevance of teaching controversial issues and not shying away from engaging with these issues in the classroom. Controversial issues are present in all subjects because of their importance in contemporary life as emphasised by different authors (Gary, 2007; Johson & Johnson, 1997; Leib, 1998; McCully, 2006; McCully, Pilgrim, Sutherland, & McMinn, 2002; Noctor, 1984; Philips, 2008; Stradling, 1984; Wasserman, 2011). Two main aspects are discussed in this subsection. Firstly, I presented how the teaching of controversial issues is important for learners' personal development on various levels. Alongside the general aspects of teaching controversial issues, I also analysed the role of teaching controversial issues in teaching history.

Regarding the significance of teaching controversial issues, some issues are related to a current situation and to learn about these issues can alleviate learners' curiosity. In other words, learners are regularly confronted by controversial issues in local, national and international news reports. Most of these controversial issues are related to issues such as the power and politics of race, gender, sexuality, and class-based inequalities. There are also other current issues such as Islamophobia or terrorism where learners are obliged to confront brutality, inhumanity and injustice

(Philips, 2008). Learners should have some information about such controversial issues to keep updated. Thus, controversial issues are taught in classrooms because they are topical and relevant to learners' daily lives (Holden, 2002; Philips, 2008; Stradling, 1984).

The teaching of controversial issues could increase learners' knowledge. By learning, about issues such as gender, Islamophobia and terrorism, learners can develop an understanding of the reasons for topics being controversial and their historical context. Moreover, through the examination of specific issues learners come to understand a range of theories, concepts and generalisations. Thus, another importance of teaching controversial issues is to help learners understand the context in which they live and the issues related to it. Similarly, the teaching of controversial issues can also equip learners with skills to make sound judgements. As Hess (2009) posits it can help learners to discuss and envision political possibilities. Different political views are aired and critically evaluated. In addition, discussion helps learners to enhance diversity and tolerance. In the same line, the teaching of controversial issues can help learners face indoctrination or hate media outside the classroom as explained by Burron (2006) with reference to the American context:

> Controversial issues are not only desirable content for the curriculum, they are imperative. In the Information Age, no American [or anyone else] can escape constant exposure to propaganda. Some of it will be the most hate-generating vitriol imaginable. Extremist groups abound. Their poison is promulgated on the Internet and a host of other outlets. Sound-bite cacophony on the airwaves has in many instances, replaced rational discourse in the public forum (Burron, 2006, p. 3).

Therefore, teaching controversial issues could equip learners with skills which enable them to deal with such issues. This can be done by means of a ''socio-cognitive'' debate facilitated by the teacher who can provide learners with principles to discuss with others. The debate could serve to encourage learners to build their own personal conceptualization on controversial issues (Cavet, 2007). In the process, learners can gain some knowledge by being exposed to ideas different from theirs. They can also obtain some transferable skills such as collecting and evaluating evidence, analysing statistics, presenting findings and explaining theories which they can use outside the school environment when facing controversial issues

(Manyane, 1995; Stradling, 1984, Wassermann et al., 2008). However, it is the educators' role to aid in the development of these abilities in their respective classrooms where balanced conclusions can be adopted (Holden, 2002; McCully, 2006). Coupled with a participatory approach, learning about controversial issues increases not only the development of communication skills but also learners' socialisation through group work and discussion where learners negotiate roles or ask for help (The Historical Association, 2007).

More specifically, the teaching of controversial issues is also, by dint of the nature of the subject, also important in teaching history. There are different motives for teaching controversial issues in history such as the essence of history itself, the development of critical skills, the application of critical skills to historical evidence, the development of multi-perspectivity and its implication for a democratic society. Secondly, some strategies of tackling controversial issues in history are reviewed. Even if it is not easy to discuss controversial issues it is in many ways the essence of history. The reality is that the past cannot be changed. However, it is difficult to describe it accurately and it can be viewed differently (Chapman, 2011). People do not always have the same view on an event. On the one hand, sometimes accounts are manipulated to convince people about some beliefs or implant in the readers' minds certain attitudes. On the other hand, people view the past according to the time and context in which the events happened. For instance, homosexuality practised during medieval times has been seen in the previous century as immoral. But, nowadays some argue that the acceptance of homosexuality means the existence of a tolerant society (Crabtree, 2001). The learner can, with the aid of the history teacher, understand the reason behind the two different interpretations. The development of multi-perspectivity is therefore at the heart of teaching controversial issues in history. Those who study history can progressively be aware of the diversity of perspectives (Burron, 2006; McCully, 2012; Manyane, 1995). The presence of controversy in history promotes greater understanding of another's perspective ; its absence blunts such understanding (Johnson & Johnson, 1979).

Given the existence of controversy in history, the use of historical evidence to deal with controversy in this subject has been supported by different scholars (Kitson & McCully, 2005; Leib, 1998; Manyane, 1995; Noctor, 1984). Historical evidence is

required to support someone's point of view and therefore can put an end to a controversy or can give rise to new disagreements (Manyane, 1995). Therefore, controversy is sometimes linked to the progress of historical knowledge or research (Cavet, 2007).

Secondly, while engaging with controversial issues in teaching history the use of evidence is closely linked to the development of learners' critical thinking. Critical thinking procedures such as "assessing authenticity, accuracy and worth of knowledge claims and arguments" (Savich, 2008, p.12) has to be applied to any controversial issue (Burron, 2006). Specifically, learners need to know how to apply critical questions to any historical source be it a picture, an oral source or a written document to discover what others say about the same source. Stradling (2001) gives a series of analytical questions to be asked about public statements, newspaper articles, film and broadcasting commentaries by politicians and any other persons interpreting the issue. In order to critically analyse the evidence, some key issues have to be taken into consideration:

> … appreciating the complexity of the issue; sorting out the arguments of the various groups and individuals involved (or the different historians: distinguishing between relevant and background information; identifying different potential sources of information; recognising the gaps in the information that is presented; recognising the limitations of this information; evaluating the likely biases of the people supplying the information; sorting out the similarities and differences in various accounts of the issue; handling conflicting evidence or accounts of what has happened" (Stradling, 2001, pp.100-101).

Therefore, critical thinking is important while deliberating on the usefulness, trustworthiness and reliability of historical sources as it relates to controversial issues.

A review of the literature has also revealed other implications in teaching controversial issues in history that are linked to critical thinking and multi-perspectivity. History taught by means of controversial issues can be the basis for citizenship education, because democracy is based on the primordial role of the people in decision making (Holden, 2002; Wassermann et al., 2008). Critical thinking about controversial issues in history therefore has the ability to prepare learners to be responsible citizens in a free society by preparing them on how to fairly evaluate various perspectives on an issue. Learners can be prepared on how to anticipate

barriers to achieving acceptance of their points of view (Burron, 2006) because discussion is a key element for the general social aims of democracy (McCully, 2006). In this regard empirical evidence exists that learners who regularly take part in classroom discussions in history are more likely to become interested in political processes by, for instance, voting, following the news in the media or influencing public policy (Barton & McCully, 2007).

In light of the above ideas, there is no loss by linking history and citizenship through raising questions about different ideas of what it means to be a 'good citizen' over time and context and the changing relationships between leaders and the society. Similarly, relationships between groups over time can inform present and future relationships between different groups in society. Thus, teaching controversial issues in history could help learners to be more understanding and more tolerant. A point in case is the argument that offering topics such as the Holocaust in history encourages respect for all in order to prevent atrocities from happening again (Philips, 2008).

It is also proposed in the literature that learners need to study about their country's past and how it relates to their present lives (Arthur, Davies, Wrenn, Haydn, & Kerr, 2001; Cole, 2007). The view is expressed that this would hopefully be done in a manner which supports democracy and responsible participation instead of re-igniting sectarianism and conflict (Murphy & Gallagher, 2009).

Despite the interests of teaching controversial topics in history there are some reservations about teaching it. This is based on teachers' competence and attitudes, community reactions and practical issues. Additionally there is a doubt about the educational value of teaching controversial issues because it may increase doubt and controversy amongst both learners and teachers (Waterson, 2007). McCully (2012), for example, doubts the success of multi-perspectivity when history learned at school is not related to young people's daily cultural and political experiences. Another doubt is related to methodological aspects related to teaching controversial issues. For instance, the discussion about controversial topics could be unproductive due to chorus style responses. This can result in only a few learners participating

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and is likely to undermine the benefits envisioned for open discussion (McCully, 2006; The Historical Association, 2007).

Furthermore, history teachers' attitudes and competence vis-à-vis controversies are another challenge in teaching such topics. Some teachers shy away from these issues. Escaping or avoiding controversial issues may be caused by a lack of skills and techniques for dealing efficiently with conflict in their classrooms. In addition some teachers may lack subject knowledge and a lack of understanding learners' misconceptions. However, there are also other history teachers who are competent but intentionally skip controversial topics arguing that either these issues are inappropriate for the age group or learners lack the maturity in understanding them. In some schools, teachers are complicit with the learners' line of not talking about the issues because controversial issues are very complex (The Historical Association, 2007). In other cases teachers are influenced by the school environment. For instance, in Britain, a school avoided selecting the Holocaust as a topic out of fear of anti-Semitic sentiment and denial of the Holocaust by the predominant Muslim learners (Philips, 2008).

History teachers as avoiders of controversial topics also fear that they could cause offence or end-up challenging views held in the community. Consequently, fearing litigation and conflict the wish to maintain a safe world is foregrounded. Other history teachers give little value to controversial topics or assume that they will be taught in other subjects for example in citizenship or religious education (Chikoko et al., 2011).

Regarding practical issues, some teachers do not tackle controversial issues arguing that the curriculum does not allow enough time for such discussions (Chikoko et al., 2011). Apart from issues related to the curriculum other constraints identified related to the teaching of controversial issues include a paucity of resources, inadequate teacher access to high-quality training and lack of being willing to take risks (The Historical Association, 2007). In the process, by avoiding certain types of conflict by not engaging with controversial issues, teachers lose important opportunities to increase learners' motivation, creativity, intellectual development and learning (Johnson & Johnson, 1979).

The teaching of controversial issues can help learners understand some issues related to their lives or current situation such as identity or terrorism. In their mission, schools have certain roles to play in the society including the necessity of developing learners' critical analysis. Teachers who avoid teaching critical skills through controversial issues can expose learners to propaganda and foster learners' inability to defend their ideas publicly by means of evidence. Teaching controversial issues can provide both teachers and learners an opportunity to reflect, to practice some skills related to controversial issues and to comprehend these issues and their historical context. In view of improving the educational context, teachers and learners could learn to listen and respect others' perspectives and could accept doubt and be challenged about their views. In general, teachers who avoid controversial issues lack either the mastering of the content or pedagogical skills to guide debate and dialogue. The socio-political context in which teachers operate also influences the teaching of controversial issues. Post-conflict societies dealt in different ways the teaching of history and more specifically teaching controversial issues.

3.5 Relevance of teaching genocide

As genocide is a historical event, its teaching should focus on educating about the genocide itself, the teaching against the genocide and teaching to prevent it. In this regard, leaners should know about facts, figures, dates, maps, about the patterns and common factors that can alert them to future dangers and uniqueness of each catastrophe because each society has its own culture (Kennedy, 2008). Afterwards, the history of memory, and the diversity of historical narratives should be known to the next generation (Eckmann, 2010; Totten, 2004).

Additionally, teaching about the genocide could raise awareness of ways in which some people like separating, isolating, and segmenting persons based on any number of classificatory variables such as race, religion and ethnicity (Kennedy, 2008). Thus, 'teaching against' means understanding manipulation, propaganda, and 'othering' of various groups and the many sources from which these influences may arise. The dominant aim of genocide prevention is to avoid genocide completely before a crisis or violence erupts. For prevention, individuals and the general public have to work towards changing the political climate. People can challenge and

deconstruct national myths that are present in one's country, and reflect on how to come to terms with each country's own past (Eckmann, 2010; Kennedy, 2008). In fact, as argued by Waterson, past atrocities are not unique but a warning to the future (Waterson, 2007).

As stated in the first chapter, for emotional historical issues such as the Genocide against the Tutsi or Holocaust, the literature shows that learners need to know why and how these tragedies occurred so that they can help to prevent them in future. Consequently during a genocide situation learners could, for instance, avoid being bystanders (Burtonwood, 2003; Eckmann, 2010; Maitles & Cowan, 1999; Strom, 1994). Therefore, the teaching of genocide could help to explain to learners that the respect of the human rights of others are important in a society so as to avoid atrocities (Kennedy, 2008; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2012). Learning about genocide and human rights could also challenge learners and teachers not only to learn about the process of history and human destructiveness, but also to act, to intervene and to become engaged in constructive actions (Apsel, 2004). Consequently, teaching genocide could help to educate, inform and engage civil society. Despite this noble vision the politics of genocide could also enlighten learners on how internal and foreign policies often do not respect victims' sorrow. For instance, in Cambodia the Khmer Rouge were supported by the United States in getting a seat in the United Nations instead of justice and assistance to victims (Apsel, 2004).

The literature reviewed warns teachers about dealing with moral issues while teaching genocide: "Approaching the teaching of the Rwandan genocide with overtly moral objectives is to lessen, if not cheapen, the History that we are teaching" (Lawrence, 2012, p. 155). The previous quotation goes back to Kinloch's (1998) comments about teachers who ignore the historical questions of "how" and "why" while teaching the Holocaust. His view does not necessarily enjoy unanimity among scholars (McCully, 2012; Salmons, 2001) who rather support extrinsic values of history teaching which aim at changing society.

The teaching of genocide can aid learners in discussing and understanding present-day moral complexities (Cavet, 2007) which does not only focus on the killing of

large numbers of people (Kinloch, 1998). For instance, the rapes that took place in Bosnia and Rwanda, the refusal of the world community to step in and stop the killings early on in Rwanda, and the diverse results of international tribunals to bring the perpetrators for the Genocide against the Tutsi and that in Bosnia to justice are among the subjects that provide interesting moral and political classroom discussions (Apsel, 2004; Mukamana & Brysiewicz, 2008). Dealing with moral issues also helps to respond to learners' curiosity and thereby analyse the moral issues historically. For instance, learners should know why the United States, the United Nations and the rest of the international community did not do more to prevent one million people from dying in Rwanda (Waterson, 2007).

3.6 Some cases of teaching genocides and controversial issues in post-conflict societies

In post-conflict societies, different strategies are proposed to improve history teaching. These all have strengths and challenges. Some countries afflicted by genocide suspended the teaching of history because they could not achieve consensus on how and what to teach (Bianchini, 2012; Ingrao, 2013). Sometimes historians from different sides of the conflict agree on a harmonised and 'negotiated' artificial history (Cole, 2007). Agreements about an artificial history tend to omit controversial issues. Instead, the revision should include new narratives of the state and all periods of national history represented (Torsti, 2007). This is why another strategy used to reform history teaching in post-conflict societies is a multi-narrative approach.

In this section, I have chosen some illustrative examples on how genocide and controversial issues are dealt with in certain post-conflict societies. This choice was motivated by my topic which is about the *Experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers in teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues*. Firstly, the Holocaust was chosen as a template to teach genocides. The teaching in another country analysed in this section is Northern Ireland. Selecting Northern Ireland is due not only to its multifaceted conflict but also to the progress made in teaching controversial issues in history classes. The conflict in Northern Ireland and a genocide are almost incomparable events. However, the way the Northern Ireland conflict is dealt in school history can inform about teaching

the Genocide in Rwanda. Additionally, Cambodia was selected due to the challenges faced in dealing with controversial issues mainly the Genocide committed by the Khmer Rouge during their rule. Rwanda is another selected country. It was chosen because it is the main focus of my research and also experienced a war (1990-1994) and the Genocide in 1994. Even if genocide is also a conflict, it is characterised by systematic killings which target certain groups of people. For each case, a brief historical background, the teaching of controversial issues and whether it is in line with the use or not of the multi-perspectivity and its implications are examined.

3.6.1 The Holocaust

The study of genocide is a relatively new area in academia. In Western countries the focus on this issue was due to the resurgence of anti-Semitism and the denial of the Holocaust in certain quarters who considered it a myth (Lefebvre & Ferhadjian, 2007; Waterson, 2009). In this regard, since the 1970s, genocide studies were structured in some countries such as the United States of America, Israel and Australia. In these studies the focus was on the Jews and the Armenian Genocide (Lefebvre & Ferhadjian, 2007).

In simple terms, the Holocaust refers to the Nazi genocide of European Jewry. Without returning to the historical causes of this tragedy with its roots in anti-Semitism, the Holocaust was defined by the Imperial War Museum (as quoted by Salmons, 2003) in London as:

> … under the cover of the Second World War, for the sake of the "new order", the Nazis sought to destroy all the Jews of Europe. For the first time in history, industrial methods were used for the mass extermination of a whole people. Six million were murdered, including 1, 500, 000 children. This event is called the Holocaust. The Nazis enslaved and murdered millions of others as well. Gypsies, people with physical and mental disabilities, Poles, Soviet prisoners of war, trade unionists, political opponents, prisoners of conscience, homosexuals, and others were killed in vast numbers" (Salmons, 2003, p.141).

By conceptualising the Holocaust as outlined above, Salmons (2003) does not want to ignore other groups' sufferings nor create any "hierarchy of suffering". The blending of Jews' extermination with other groups killed during the Holocaust is an invitation to recognise the causes of each group's oppression and to understand their different experiences because of the Nazis. Even if the Holocaust is not

representative of all cases of racism, one aim of teaching the Holocaust is to understand the consequences of prejudices, racism, anti-Semitism and labelling in any society (Burtonwood, 2003; Salmons, 2003). The acknowledgement of all the victims of Nazi persecution aims to prevent young people from other groups persecuted by Nazis from feeling alienated because their own history has been ignored (Salmons, 2003). Thus, the teaching of the Holocaust aims at valuing diversity in a pluralistic world. Understanding different historical, social, political and economic factors that caused the Holocaust, it is argued, help learners to identify factors that can contribute to the disintegration of democratic values. Consequently, this understanding provides a contextual situation of analysing the dangers of remaining silent and indifferent while others are being oppressed (Burtonwood, 2003).

Ten years ago, when the European Council decided in curricula to include the teaching of genocides the aim was to help the youth to know the recent history of their continent and create a link between the past and the present so as to understand current challenges. Moreover, the European Council wanted to assist young people to identify themselves with a wider Europe. Another objective was to encourage teachers to contextualize European history (Lecomte, 2003; Stradling, 2001).

However, there is a debate about the aims of teaching the Holocaust. Lawrence (2012) returns to Nicholas Kinlock's position (1998) which initiated the debate about the aims of teaching the Holocaust. In this regard, his argument was that, "the sole aim of history teachers should be to help students become better historians and that the attempt to extract moral lessons from the study of the Holocaust is doomed to failure" (Lawrence, 2012, p.155). Other scholars such as Counsell (2002) are anxious about those who want to use history to serve some or other moral, social or simply curricular agenda.

The aforementioned two scholars stick to the intrinsic value of history teaching as inherent in the subject discipline (McCully, 2012). For Kinlock (1998) teaching the Holocaust should be done in a historical perspective rather than a moral one because many teachers hope that they are preparing learners, in Britain, for

instance, to live in an increasingly multicultural society (Burtnowood, 2002). Kinlock's (1998) doubts about the success of combating modern prejudices is based on the fact that learners are comparing two different situations namely genocidal policies of a totalitarian Nazi regime and current racism in Britain. His views are not totally wrong in as much as it is an invitation not to forget the historical aspects of the topic by focusing on moral issues. However, moral issues can also lead to a deep historical scrutiny.

Another challenge related to the teaching of the Holocaust is the controversy about when children should start learning it. Scholars such as Totten (1999) discourage teaching the Holocaust to young children. In his view the topic is too complex for them to understand and it is also too horrific. Piagetian models of cognitive development suggest that young children are unable to think in the abstract or deal with sophisticated concepts (The Historical Association, 2007). In Britain, a school in a northern city avoided selecting the Holocaust as a topic out of fear for anti-Semitic sentiment and also out of fear of denial of the Holocaust among certain Muslim pupils (Clark, 2007). This decision was based on the role of Western powers in Middle Eastern politics. But an empirical study in British schools showed that a minority of Muslim learners had made anti-Semitic remarks at the beginning of the topic but they stopped doing so as the course progressed (Short, 2012).

Regarding when learners should start learning the Holocaust, there is an assumption that people can be taught anything in an intellectual honest manner at any age. What matters most is not the age but how genocide/Holocaust is taught. For instance, racist incidents have been reported in British schools at primary level. Empirical evidence showed also that learners of 10-11 years of age used negative stereotypes of Jewish people and at the same age learners have heard anti-Semitic myths (Maitles & Cowan, 1999). In the case of Rwanda, according to empirical evidence, learners born after the Genocide face traumatic experiences during the commemoration period (Ntwali, 2015). These examples show that it is better to eradicate racism and anti-Semitism as early as possible starting in the primary school.

Another challenge is to depict the Holocaust the way it was. There is a challenge of describing the Holocaust so that learners can understand exactly what happened. The way of communicating what happened, mainly the atrocities which characterised the Holocaust, can also be problematic. There is a need for using appropriate terminologies. For instance, the use of 'ethnic cleansing' as a label in the media was disturbing and worrying due to its closeness in sound and positive meaning of 'cleanliness' (Blum, Stanton & Richter, 2008; Davies, 2012). Furthermore, the time spent in teaching the Holocaust is also a concern. In this regard, too much time available to teach the Holocaust/controversial issue may create resentment while too short a time could lead to underestimation of the issue (Burtonwood, 2002).

Globally, teaching the Holocaust helps the youth to understand the consequences of prejudices and labelling in any society. In other words, teaching the Holocaust aims at valuing diversity. It helps to understand how the disintegration of democratic values in a society leads to atrocities. Teaching the Holocaust also helps the youth not to be bystanders in face of injustice.

3.6.2 Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland is a post-conflict society which made a concerted effort to deal with a difficult history. This Northern Ireland case is sensitive due not only to the roots of its conflict relating mainly to identities in the region but also due to the 3 600 persons killed (McCully, 2011) and the families which have been touched by military and paramilitary groups' atrocities by means of shooting or bombings. In reality,

> the conflict centred on a clash of Nationalist allegiances between those in the unionist (mainly Protestant) community who wish to remain British and those in the nationalist (mainly Catholic) community who aspire to the reunification of Ireland as a political entity (McCully, 2011, p.161).

Between the 1960s and 1990s, the atrocities were caused by the clash between the guerrillas of the paramilitary troops from the nationalist (or republican) group with British security forces. These British security forces included the police force dominated by people from the unionist community. The peace process has been in place since 1994 (McCully, 2006, 2010; 2011; Stradling, 2003).

Within the misunderstandings on how to sort out Northern Ireland problems, there is a disagreement on what has happened in the past, the role of different factors

related to the current situation and what constitutes acceptable political activity. Thus it can be sensitive to discuss questions related to the relationship between Northern Ireland, Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, the legitimacy of the state, the role of the armed forces, and the use of violence for political purposes (Noctor, 1984). Given this painful past, strong biased interpretations, and pre-conceived and contradicting partial views are brought by learners into the history classroom because they are from two communities with different views of their past (Stradling, 2003). Some are considered as victims and others as perpetrators. Thus, their emotions can hinder their understanding of controversial issues and are sometimes an obstacle to building a peaceful society (Zembylas & Kambani, 2012).

McCully and Waldron (2015) describe the challenges history teaching faced since the establishment of the national school system in the 1830s as due to British influence and history taught in an intellectualised manner which made it inaccessible to learners. Since the late seventies, the Schools Council History Project emphasised the importance of enquiry and evidence in order to equip learners with skills which can challenge myths and misrepresentations that create divisionism. In this regard, the importance of objectivity is highlighted while learners work on controversial issues of Irish history and they are encouraged to accept a range of perspectives (McCully, 2010; McCully et al., 2002). It was also proposed that learners at the age of 14, when they are viewed as having sufficient maturity, could start using sensitive historical evidence (McCully & Waldron, 2015). In the process learners could develop a series of skills by observing and investigating different aspects of Northern Irish life, both past and present. Additionally it is argued that the local situation can be understood by comparing it with conflicts elsewhere (Smith & Robinson, 1996; Philips, Goalen, McCully, & Wood, 1999). In this regard McCully explains various strategies used in Irish schools:

> Developing in students the skills and concepts to enable them to investigate the past through the evaluation of primary and secondary evidence (…) this enquiry approach encourages students, systematically, to view any narrative of the past as provisional and open to question and, particularly, to give consideration to alternative viewpoints on controversial events. Third, the knowledge component of the curriculum puts considerable emphasis on the study of the history of Ireland but placed in the wider context of British and European developments. Many of the events designated for investigation were selected precisely because

they were deemed formative to students' sense of identity and, therefore, potentially contentious (McCully, 2010, p. 166).

Despite the hope placed in 'rational thinking', sometimes contemporary events do not allow, critical thinking, due to emotions they create. Another barrier could be emotion from families due to grievances they have with past events. The teacher's neutrality could, in line with contemporary issues, also prove to be problematic (McCully et al., 2002). But, an empirical study on the Northern Ireland case has shown that most teachers, whatever their pedagogical shortcomings, consciously strive to be true to the curriculum's intentions by presenting material in a non-partisan way while also reflecting a range of perspectives and interpretations. More importantly, curriculum developers understood the danger of imposing a 'master' narrative that might be used to justify the position of one community at the expense of the other (McCully, 2010). As a result, young-people learn Irish history from different sources and "research to date in Northern Ireland indicates that a process, enquiry-based of history education has some potential to challenge politically and emotionally charged group narratives and thus contribute to peace-building" (McCully, 2012, p. 151). In this regard, history is not only taken as a school subject but as an agent for creating mutual understanding. History teaching was taken as a way of contributing to transitional justice, while remaining true to its disciplinary foundations.

The term transitional justice has been conceptualised as the process and mechanism in which many post-conflict societies engage as they seek to come to terms with a divisive and violent past (Cole, 2007; Leebaw, 2008). Different programmes such as truth telling, restoring the dignity and preserving the memory of victims, building peace, creating respect for human rights and democracy, to reconciliation became the new goals of transitional justice (Cole, 2007; Murphy & Gallagher, 2009). As education contributes to building the image of "the other", it can also contribute to the "never again".

Before the new history curriculum of 2007 and the signing of an agreement on tolerance and equality in the 1990s (Håvardstun, 2012), the discussed aspects in Irish history did not go beyond Ireland's partition in the 1920s. It was felt that the

recent conflict presented too many challenges, especially for younger age groups. The focus was put on the development of historical skills so that learners can apply them to their studies (Håvardstun, 2012). Even textbooks are very cautious in the presentation of recent more sensitive aspects of the past and lack a clear guidance for teachers in how to guide learners in using an active approach to study the recent past. One scholar recognises that "if the origins of the conflicts are not addressed effectively, then instability remains" (McCully, 2011, p.168). However, McCully (2011) himself recognises the difficulty of discussing the immediate past still characterised by trauma, anger and controversies. A module of work addressing the 1965 to 1985 period was included as an elective topic for older students (McCully, 2010). Even if learners in Northern Ireland study local history at a later stage, they have developed historical skills such as critical thinking in view of multi-perspectivity which can be used in their studies.

3.6.3 Cambodia

From the 1970s until recently, Cambodia was a site of violent conflicts such as the Vietnam/American War, the Khmer Rouge Revolution from 1975 to 1979, the Vietnamese occupation from 1979 to 1991 which put an end to the Khmer Rouge terror, and the 1997 coup led by Prime Minister Hun Sen. The Khmer Rouge alone caused about 1.7 to 3 million deaths in a brutal attempt to form a utopian agricultural society (De Walque, 2006; Verhoeve, 2008). However, Dy (n.d) posits that the figure of 3 million deaths is inaccurate and supports the number of deaths between one and two million suggested by many scholars. People died due to overwork, malnutrition and mass killings. In addition, the Khmer Rouge destroyed infrastructure and formal education in schools and universities was seen as an obstacle to the envisaged development and the proclaimed revolution (Clayton, 1998; De Walque, 2006; Dy, 2004; Dy, 2013). Throughout the mentioned eras the country, victims and perpetrators of the atrocities committed lived side by side (Bockers, Stammel, & Knaevelsrud, 2011).

After the fall of the Khmer Rouge and the coming to power of the People's Republic of Kampuchea supported by Vietnam the teaching of history became problematic. Genocide education was used as a political tool and the Cambodian tragedy was presented like a tale. In areas controlled by the People's Republic of Kampuchea,

Cambodian learners were not taught about their history, particularly the Khmer Rouge era. This was due to the fact that the 1980s textbooks produced by the Vietnamese-led government depicted the Khmer Rouge with such graphic ferocity that some children grew up thinking Khmer Rouge were monsters that killed people and sucked human blood (Dy, 2013). This depiction was a way of instilling fear and hatred against Khmer Rouge and justifying the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia. The omission of the Khmer Rouge era in history teaching was also due to the fact that many members of the ruling party have been linked to the Khmer Rouge. However, "children in the KR [Khmer Rouge] controlled areas were indoctrinated to believe that Vietnam was going to annex Cambodia and that the talk about Cambodians being killed during the war and genocide was an evil trick of the Vietnamese" (Dy, 2013, p.5).

When all factions in the conflict reached a peace agreement in 1991, the textbooks which replaced the People's Republic of Kampuchea documents did not include the Khmer Rouge era and the Khmer Rouge were not, in an attempt to foster national reconciliation, mentioned in classrooms. Within the 2000-2001 revised textbooks for social studies, the Cambodian history from 1953 up to 1998 elections was included alongside a section on the Cambodian genocide. The mentioned section regarding the Khmer Rouge period was very brief and composed of two sentences for grade 9 for learners in passing to really bring understanding to what happened. The short inclusion of the Khmer Rouge history in textbooks serves as an indication of how politicians see the importance of the period. In contrast, the chairman of the committee for curriculum development views the silencing of the killings as an aim at preventing Khmer children from repeating the bitter history of their parents (Dy, 2013; Dy, n.d).

The struggle between politicians led to more omissions in Cambodian textbooks. Consequently, the 12th grade textbook does not represent the history of the Khmer Rouge period and the social studies textbooks were also removed from schools. The result is that history teachers are unable to face the barbarity of the past and controversial issues such as the Vietnamese presence, seen by some teachers as an intervention, and considered by others as an invasion, with some form of objectivity.

Teachers' fear to talk about the Khmer Rouge history is due to the fact the Khmer Rouge history is used as a political tool. Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge, history school textbooks for the formal school curriculum mention the glorious events of the ruling regime and demonise the defeated regime. Controversial issues related to the past are not presented in a way encouraging discussion. Instead, writers "present clear judgements on the debatable issues, which give the sense that students, rather than having the responsibility to debate, discuss, or find the truth, have to accept their points of view as valid historical facts" (Dy, 2013, p. 9).

3.6.4 Rwanda: The Genocide a controversial issue?

For the case of Rwanda, particular emphasis is placed on the aims of teaching the Genocide and how some aspects thereof are considered as controversial. Emphasis is also placed on other aspects related to the teaching of the Genocide including history textbooks and the use of a single narrative in history teaching despite the controversial aspect of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Since 1995 different conferences recommended that the European example of teaching the Holocaust should be followed in Rwanda. An international conference on *La vie après la mort* held at Kigali in 2001 and organised by *Ibuka* Association found that to not teach the Genocide against the Tutsi was a silence conspiracy. As a result, the gathering recommended the teaching of the Genocide. For the conference, schools and universities were considered as the best places to learn about the Genocide and how to prevent it from happening again and for reconciliation (Rutembesa, 2011a).

It was not easy to put this recommendation into practice in as much as there was an official fear at opening public discussion of shared lived experiences during the Genocide. Firstly, there was a fear that the discussion would open-up a forum for Genocide denial. Secondly, it was feared that debates would further divide the population along ethnic lines instead of promoting reconciliation (Jessee, n.d.). In this regard, McCully (2012) is also sceptical about using a multi-perspective approach to examine a recent contentious past still characterised by trauma and resentment. In the case of Rwanda, some people may take the law on the crime of genocide ideology as a pretext to not talk about the Genocide so as to avoid

committing an unintended crime. The law states that "negation of genocide shall be any deliberate act committed in public aiming at:

1) Stating that genocide is not genocide;
2) Deliberately misconstruing the facts about the genocide for the purpose of misleading the public;
3) Supporting a double genocide theory for Rwanda;
4) Stating or explaining that genocide against the Tutsi was not planned" (Republic of Rwanda, 2013, pp. 38-39).

The 2001 conference held in Kigali on the teaching of the Genocide also found that it was challenging to know how to teach the Genocide in a society where, on the one hand some people did not want to talk about it, or on the other some did not want to hear about the violence experienced. Another identified challenge was to know how to teach the Genocide without revivifying socio-political tensions among learners and teachers. Moreover, some people thought that teaching the Genocide could not prevent atrocities in the future. The doubt about the success of teaching the Genocide was discouraging any effort to make a change (Masabo, 2014; Rutembesa, 2011a).

Despite these doubts, Rutembesa (2011a) notes that teaching about and against the Genocide has to go beyond acquiring factual knowledge. He places emphasis on citizenship education which should help people to know their rights, the fostering of a democratic culture which implies conflict resolution and the restoration of national cohesion. The latter does not mean that citizens have to live in isolation rather it has to be open to the outside world. A look at Rwandan history reveals that Rwandan citizenship was available to the Hutu ethnic group and the Tutsi were denied their rights. Thus, Rutembesa (2011a) argues that people should be taught that they are equal and free to live in harmony.

Alongside the conceptualisation of the Genocide and its poor representation in history textbooks as will be discussed below, there is a range of controversies related to the Genocide against the Tutsi. Some are related to the naming of the Genocide as explained in the first chapter as well as the causes of the Genocide amid the grounding of the presidential jet. Other controversies are related, for

instance, to the number of perpetrators and victims, the role of different actors, such as the international community, as well as controversies related to teaching resources. Some of these controversies are due to different factors, including lack of enough evidence on the recent past and the denial of the Genocide (Fierens & Frère, 2009; Gasanabo, Simon, & Ensign, 2014) as well as the promotion of an official history.

One of the controversies is about the statistics related to the Genocide against the Tutsi. The statistics related to the Genocide and the number of victims varies according to different scholars. For example either 500 000 people (Newbury, 1998); at least 800 000 persons (Chrétien, 2005); while an official source mentions 1 074 017 declared victims and 934 218 actually counted (République Rwandaise, 2002). Out of the 800 000 to 1 000 000 victims more than half were, according to Davenport and Stam (2009), Hutu. Considering that more Hutu than Tutsi died, minimising the number of Tutsi victims is viewed as Genocide denial (IRDP, 2008). For Clark (2009), by considering the figure of 800 000 implies that five and half-lives were terminated every minute or 3 333 murders each hour. Amongst other controversies is the reference to the number of perpetrators. For instance, some authors such as Des Forges (1999) claim that hundreds of thousands who chose to participate did so unwillingly out of fear for their lives and tens of thousands of others out of fear, hatred or hope of profit. In terms of the latter perspective, Jones (2001) estimates the number of perpetrators at between 20 000 and 100 000. On the other hand, Rwandan government officials estimate the number of perpetrators at 3 000 000 out of a population of 2 813 232 composed of citizens between the ages of 18 and 54. This is based on the 2001 census (Straus, 2004). These discrepancies are mainly due to the different categorisation of who were perpetrators as some were either direct perpetrators, accomplices, informers, supporters or leaders.

Regarding actors, the literature on the Genocide against the Tutsi points out the role of *akazu*, a group formed in the late 1980s by senior officers of the Rwandan army which comprised of civilians from north-western Rwanda supporting the Hutu power ideology and relatives of Habyarimana's wife (Des Forges, 1999). But the *akazu* is considered by Musabyimana (2008) as a created concept for propaganda purposes aimed at demeaning the Habyarimana regime.

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The reviewed literature also revealed the controversial role of the international community. One example is *Opération Turquoise* (Berdal, 2005; Gouteux, 2002; Melvern, 2000; Prunier, 1997; de Saint-Exupéry, 2004; Tauzin, 2011). With the 929 Resolution, the United Nations authorized French forces to intervene in Rwanda through *Opération Turquoise*. The aims of *Opération Turquoise* were mixed. On one hand, it was considered a humanitarian intervention because some well-equipped elite French forces saved between 15 000 and 17 000 lives (Des Forges, 1999). But, according to Berdal (2005), this French intervention was seen by the United Nations' commander, Romeo Dallaire, as a cynical exercise in furthering French self-interest at the expense of ongoing Genocide (Berdal, 2005). Firstly, French diplomats wanted to have a French controlled zone in the West and South of Rwanda, apparently to back the interim Rwandan government. But, this was opposed by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (Rutembesa, 2011b). In addition, French troops took some measures against the militia but they permitted genocidal officials to continue exercising their functions. The literature reviewed reveals that France had also continued supplying weapons to the interim government; took no action against genocidal authorities and in some cases assisted them to flee the country or failed to rescue victims in some areas (Des Forges, 1999; Morel, 2014; Rutembesa, 2011b). Chrétien (2005) goes further and points to the French government position regarding the Rwandan situation which supported the double genocide thesis as proposed during the Biarritz Summit between France and French speaking African countries in November 1994.

There are also controversies about teaching resources. For instance, research reported that due to lack of resources, a controversial feature film, *Hotel Rwanda*,[2] was used in a British school to teach such a complex topic (Lawrence, 2012). Apparently, teachers use such commercial films as a tool to provoke some kind of empathetic response on the part of the learners. This film minimises the importance of the United Nations forces, which were protecting *Hôtel des Mille Collines,* for

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[2] As with the German Schindler who saved Polish-Jewish during the Holocaust by employing them in his factories, Hotel Rwanda is a historical drama film directed by Terry George based on real life events related to Paul Rusesabagina's courage to save people in besieged *Hôtel des Mille Collines* during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Rusesabagina's efforts became controversial when some rescued people testified that he was driven by financial interests not philanthropy (Kayihura & Zukus, 2014).

dissuading killers. The interim government used survivors from this hotel as a bargaining power with the Rwandese Patriotic Front (Beloff, 2014). Moreover, this feature film shows an atypical story because it does not really present the real situation of the Genocide. In fact, the film shows a happy ending where the central character with his wife and children were safe. This happy situation contrasts with that of many targeted persons (Lawrence, 2012). Some words used are also considered as atypical while talking about the Genocide against the Tutsi. In this regard, the Media High Council initiated a project that put in place guidelines on appropriate journalistic language while reporting about the Genocide against the Tutsi (Uwimana, Mfurankunda, & Mbungiramihigo, 2011).

There are also controversies related to the Genocide which are discussed in history textbooks. In his publication, Gasanabo (2010) identifies controversial issues in history textbooks used from 1962 up to 1994 such as "ethnic" identities, the role of clientship, *ubuhake,* in Rwandans' relationships, the '1959 revolution' and the role of colonisation. A deep analysis of these textbooks points out their role in the construction of "they" or exclusive identities. In post-Genocide Rwanda, some authors address the problem of what version of the history of Rwanda should be taught, what methods should be used, and how should textbooks be written that impartially presents events (Freedman et al. 2008). Within recent history textbooks (2010), the use of Twa, Hutu and Tutsi identities is done with circumspection. The literature notes that "the overriding message of these post-Genocide textbooks, in stark contrast to those pre-Genocide, is one of positivity despite the darkness of the past" (Gasanabo, 2014, p. 117). However, despite the caution of using the terms Twa, Hutu and Tutsi in the current textbooks, recent textbooks explain the prejudices against Tutsi mainly in the post-colonial period.

Even if dehumanisation was removed from current textbooks, the *History of Rwanda Secondary School Teacher's Guide* (2010) or the *New Junior History Book* written by Bamusananire and Ntege (n.d.), Duruz (2012) points out a series of shortcomings in these publications. The mentioned 2010 history textbooks "give out well established narratives of the history of Rwanda and left out controversial issues … thus eluded from the teachers' and students' sphere of intelligibility, over-summarized or presented with unbalanced and coarse arguments" (Duruz, 2012, p.92). Some topics

pointed out are the settlement of the population, as earlier stated the Hutu/Tutsi and Twa categories and their socio-political significations in precolonial Rwanda, the "1959 Revolution", the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 and other related atrocities. One striking example of an over-summarised topic is the Genocide against the Tutsi. In the *History of Rwanda. A participatory approach. Teacher's guide for secondary school* (2010) it is presented only in two pages (Duruz, 2012). For McCully (2012) textbooks' shortcomings can be alleviated by other available sources. Relying only on the textbook is indicative of a more traditional mind-set toward history teaching. In addition, teachers may require freedom to adapt their teaching to meet the needs of certain groups (McCully, 2012).

Another controversial aspect of current teaching history related to the Genocide pointed out by other scholars is the use of one narrative while teaching about the precolonial period and the role of colonisation in dividing the Rwandan society (Bentrovato, 2013; Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Duruz, 2012; Freedman, et al., 2008; McCully, 2012). Thus, multi-perspectivity is problematic in some aspects. Commenting on the use of a single narrative, different scholars point to the official intention on one hand and the danger it represents for history teaching and the society on the other. Regarding the government intention, one scholar notes that "the purpose of which [government narrative] is to generate national unity by blaming colonialism for creating the ethnic tension which eventually led to the atrocities of 1994" McCully (2012, p.147). The government goal of promoting a sense of a unified Rwandan national identity is laudable because Hutu and Tutsi labels denoted a person's status, wealth or place of origin but stabilised by the colonial power (Hilker, 2009; Straus, 2006).

On the other hand, some authors present a pessimistic view regarding the teaching of Rwandan history by avoiding talk about ethnicity. The strategy to "de-ethnicise" Rwandan society is not working in as much as ethnicity is taboo in public it continues in private (Hilker, 2009). Gasanabo (2014) also recognises the ineluctability of talking about 'ethnic groups' for any in-depth study of the Genocide: "It is impossible to completely ignore the terms Hutu, Tutsi and Twa … Its causes and effects, necessitates a thorough understanding of the ethnic that lie at the heart of the matter" (Gasanabo, 2014, p. 115).

The selection of some memories and repressing of others is also seen as a hindrance to sustainable peace (Freedman, et al., 2008; King, 2010) and a way to a flawed history (Freedman et al., 2008). However, silencing other narratives becomes difficult in an electronic age and what is more important is that school history should provide "a framework for pupils to discuss polemical and contentious issues within academic canons of reliability, explanation and justification" (Haydn, 2011, p.36). It is also important to note with Cole and Barsalou (2006) the difficulties of talking openly about recent violence:

> … the history of a conflict can be taught one way when the conflict is only recently "over" and another way when half-a-century has passed. Even five or ten years can make a difference. In the first five years after the conflict, the students, together with their teachers and parents probably have direct experience of violence. Ten years after, students entering high school may have vague memories of the conflict in which their teachers and parents were involved; fifteen years after, students may find the conflict practically irrelevant to their own lives. This reality shaped history education programs and the extent to which they can tackle contentious events (Cole & Barsalou, 2006, p.7).

In the case of Rwanda, the reviewed literature on the use of textbooks does not focus on the teachers' perceptions about the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. Few authors write about teaching methods used to offer the history of Rwanda. Writers who mentioned the problem of teaching the history of Rwanda revealed the prevalence of teacher-centredness (Buhigiro, 2012; Duruz, 2012; Freedman et al., 2008) or an unchallenged official version of history as earlier stated. However, the 2008 and 2010 history curricula emphasise participatory approaches (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010).

In conclusion, the three countries presented here as vignettes Rwanda, Northern Ireland and Cambodia, have been characterised by bloody conflicts. In the case of Rwanda, its conflicts were mainly based on intergroup relationships which led to the Genocide whereas in Cambodia they were due to an authoritarian regime which wanted to create a pure society not influenced by communist and western influence. For Northern Ireland, the conflict has many ramifications including for instance religious aspects, the future of the country meaning on one hand the supporters of the union between Northern Ireland and Britain and the independence of the country on the other hand and the role of paramilitary groups and the police. The context

was not only a civil war as Straus (2001) posits, but also facilitated by discriminatory policies and practices against Tutsi and other groups put into place after independence. The primary perpetrator objective was a total military defeat in Rwanda while it was ideological in Cambodia. As in Rwanda, throughout Cambodia, victims and perpetrators of the atrocities live in the same vicinity (Bockers, Stammel, & Knaevelsrud, 2011; Kissi, 2004).

Regarding history teaching in the post-conflict period, Rwanda and Cambodia are striving to deal with the immediate past while in Northern Ireland the immediate past is only discussed with a few mature learners due to the sensitivity and controversy of it all. In Cambodia, political leaders whose party was involved in past atrocities do their best not to allow talk about the conflictual period in history classes. In Rwanda, there is an effort to talk about the Genocide against the Tutsi which is still fresh in the minds of people. In Rwanda and Cambodia, the Genocide against the Tutsi and the Khmer Rouge period are given less attention in history textbooks probably for different reasons in the two countries. In these two countries, Rwanda and Cambodia, the use of multi-perspectivity unlike in Northern Ireland, is still a challenge. In all, the Holocaust is taken as a template in different countries to teach controversial issues including genocides. In the next section, I present a range of approaches used to teach controversial issues and genocides.

3.7 Approaches, methods and strategies of teaching controversial issues and genocide

Within the reviewed literature, different authors point out that the teacher plays a crucial role in teaching controversial issues in the classroom (Hess, 2009; Leib, 1998; Lockwood, 1996; McCully, 2006; The Historical Association, 2007). This section of the literature review deals with teaching approaches and strategies and more specifically teachers' roles. These roles are linked closely to the theoretical framework to be discussed in the next section. At the outset, I point out that some authors use the concepts approaches, methods, strategies and techniques related to teaching, interchangeably. But, there is a slight difference. The way the teacher goes about teaching is referred to as teaching approaches. Therefore, teaching approaches are about general philosophies of teaching. Teaching methods refer to the ways of teaching namely methods and principles used for teaching. For instance,

teaching methods can blend participation, recitation or use one of the previous activities separately. In other words, types of activities used to teach are teaching methods. Therefore methods are procedural and a range of methods can be used in one approach.

Another concept sometimes used interchangeably with teaching approaches and methods are teaching strategies. Strategies are methods used by the teacher to allow learners to access the information such as a picture or a power point presentation (http://bellotabei.blogspot.co.za/2013/03/differences-between-teaching-approach.html; http://www.teachhub.com/top-5-teaching-strategies). In order to accomplish a particular immediate objective, the teacher uses particular ways known as techniques which have to be in line with the approach and method. In this study, the approach is considered as general philosophies whose importance are considered as true; teaching methods are ways of teaching and teaching strategies as innovative ways used by the teacher to access information. Even if sometimes, the demarcation between methods and strategies are not clear, in this study I try to follow the above conceptualisations.

It is important to note that approaches used for teaching controversial issues in general are also used to teach the Holocaust which generally serves as a template for teaching other genocides. In this section general rules about the teaching of controversial issues are explained. Approaches such as teaching by contextualisation, teaching the Holocaust as a cross curriculum activity and the employment of a comparative approach used mainly for teaching the Holocaust, but also valid for other controversial issues are outlined. The use of stories is a teaching method discussed in this section. Furthermore, simulation and empathy are also reviewed as approaches. For the Genocide against the Tutsi, the use of comparison with the Holocaust and other genocides is described in this section. Finally, the literature review analyses how to teach the Holocaust as an outside the classroom activity. Some challenges related to the mentioned approaches as gleaned from the literature are also engaged with in this section.

Since the 1970s, the literature describes certain rules and different perspectives the teacher should adopt while teaching controversial issues so as to enhance learners'

participation (Buhigiro & Gahama, 2012; Cain, 1999; Hess, 2009; Johnson & Johnson, 1979; Leib, 1998; Manyane, 1995; Philips, 2008; Sheppard, 2010; Stradling, 1984; The Historical Association, 2007; Zembylas, 2009). Each teaching approach related to the teaching of controversial issues has positive and negative aspects. The teacher should be aware of the factors that can facilitate, or hinder for instance innovative dialogue and have the knowledge and skills to deal with them. The teacher can thus create a favourable classroom atmosphere that can dissipate emotions for fruitful discussions (McCully, 2006). Some of the teaching strategies identified include the use of films, Information Communication Technology, visual arts, personal narratives, study tours to museums, resource persons, sharing experiences, group work and fictional stories. In this section on approaches of teaching controversial issues, emphasis is placed on multi-perspectivity and rules to be followed to avoid learners having negative emotions so that they can discuss a controversial issue openly in a classroom setting.

The Northern Ireland case illustrated that controversial issues should be taught through a multi-perspective approach. Multi-perspectivity is "a way of viewing, and a predisposition to view, historical events, personalities, developments, cultures and societies from different perspectives through drawing on procedures and processes which are fundamental to history as a discipline" (Stradling, 2003, p. 14). By this conceptualisation, Stradling (2003) shows that there are issues which seem unresolved. For instance, do people understand perspective the same way? Is the history teacher expected to include all perspectives or merely a selection? What does the teacher do when the narratives used contradict each other? Stradling also points out some limitations to multi-perspectivity including time, space, cost and the possibility of flexibility within the curriculum. As Dicamilo (2010) noted multiple perspective is not a panacea for teaching controversial issues because the teacher needs enough skills to lead the discussion to avoid the polarisation of the discussion.

In the teacher's role in teaching controversial issues as described in the literature, the teacher should be a "presiding judge" and give clear rules to be followed in advance to allow democratic discussion (Hess, 2009). Arguments are to be avoided (Lockwood, 1996) but debates pursued. However, some teachers skip controversial

topics fearing to lack a safe classroom environment or due to lack of appropriate skills to deal with controversial issues. As Holley and Steiner state:

> The metaphor of the classroom as a "safe space" has emerged as a description of a classroom climate that allows students to feel secure enough to take risks, honestly express their views, and share and explore their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours. Safety in this sense does not refer to physical safety. Instead, classroom safe space refers to protection from psychological or emotional harm. It is "concerned with the injuries that individuals suffer at the hands of society (Boostrom, 1998, p. 399), or when referring to a classroom, at the hands of instructors and other students …. Safe space does not necessarily refer to an environment without discomfort, struggle or pain (Holley & Steiner, 2005, p. 50).

In creating safe spaces lesson preparation and research are key strategies for succeeding in the teaching of controversial issues (Barton & McCully, 2007; Hess, 2009; Johnson & Johnson, 1979). In this regard, there is a proposed set of guidelines to be fixed at the outset by the teacher to promote trust such as: mutual respect, the use of humour, to be honest, confidentiality and to speak clearly (Wassermann et al., 2008). Another strategy is to share lived experiences including the teacher's own (Sheppard, 2010). But, there is a controversy whether the teacher can disclose her/his point view while discussing controversial issues (Hess, 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2015) as will be discussed later on. Another important guideline is that the teacher can encourage all learners to participate and to master all the relevant information and can listen to everybody's ideas even when one learner disagrees with her/his peers (Johnson & Johnson, 1979).

Further proposed ways to create a safe class are "empowerment" by integrating learners' views on course structure; "role modelling" by accepting her/his mistakes; humility when making a point; listening to others before making a decision and "commitment" in view of multicultural awareness and cross cultural understanding (Valerio, 2001). These aspects are very important. However, the literature is generally silent on the consequences of an unsafe classroom, for instance the lack of interest by learners who do not invest in the course or when their emotions are ones of feeling vulnerable, fearful, anxious or scared (Holley & Steiner, 2005).

From their side teachers should manage their own emotions by conducting debriefing sessions with other staff and/or some specialized training units. Moreover,

they can anticipate strong emotions and must be able to hold their nerve when learners respond emotionally. They can also allow extreme positions to be voiced, and to admit their own uncertainties (McCully, 2006). Thus communication skills are very important in discussing controversial issues (Elksnin & Elksnin, 2003).

Generally speaking, teachers' approaches to teaching controversial issues would be different. Some teachers would accept the risk and tackle controversial issues head-on. Others are less motivated to teach such topics. Some teachers are more inclined to link the past and the present or to talk about current issues. Their approaches are either learner-centred or teacher-centred or sometimes even a blend. The learner-centred also known as a democratic approach (Tabulawa, 2013) can foster a climate of tolerance, acceptance, and respect. Democratic teaching styles can enable safer and more dynamic learning environments in which learners are empowered to think critically. An atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding is then promoted by the teacher. Thus learners' self-esteem and confidence are enhanced and they are encouraged to express themselves freely which builds and strengthens their self-esteem, confidence and mutual respect (Alo, 2010).

The learner-centred approach is supported by the Rwandan history curricula for improving learners' skills:

> Learner-centered (also known as student centered) which is inductive, requires learners' more responsibility for their own learning than does the traditional lecture-based deductive approach. "The methods always almost involve students discussing questions and solving problem in class (active learning), with much of the work in and out of class being done by students working in groups (collaborative learning)" (Prince & Felder, 2006, p.123).

In a simple way, the learner-centred approach implies that people learn best when absorbed in the topic and seek new knowledge to sort out a problem they have. Learners work to solve those problems mainly in groups or by using extra-class time. Teachers clearly formulate the problems and the learners explore all of them during the course and sometimes the learners do not notice that they are moving through their programme (Norman & Spohrer, 1996). Teachers adhering to learner-centred classrooms should challenge every learner according to his/her individual experience. Within this approach, learners take an active role in the classroom and have increased responsibility for their learning. Although literature describes this

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change and its apparent benefits and disadvantages (Malawi Institute of Education, 2004), it is not clear how it is going to be implemented in the current situation of most developing countries where there is a lack of sufficiently trained teachers, lack of resources, learners who do not master the medium of communication and overpopulated classroom (Buhigiro, 2011).

The above mentioned methods are useful but depend on the circumstances and context teachers would encounter in the classroom. The teacher has to take account of the knowledge, values and experiences that learners bring with them into the classroom, the teaching methods which predominate in other lessons as well as the classroom climate. But in teaching controversial issues the teacher has to be highly responsive to reactions from learners, both to the content of the lessons and the teaching methods being employed. Any controversial issues can create emotions leading to conflict situations in the class and subsequent antagonism. Different problems related to the teaching of controversial issues require different strategies that can not necessarily work the same way under different circumstances. In this regard little is known about how teachers are prepared to use different strategies related to teaching controversial issues to navigate the educational process.

A range of scholars wrote extensively about approaches to teaching the Holocaust as a controversial issue (Avraham, 2010; Burtonwood, 2002; Cowan & Maitles, 2012; Fracapane & Haβ, 2014; Desiatov, 2016; Heyl, 2014; Meyer, 2014; Philips, 2008; Salmons, 2003; Totten, 1994). One of the approaches for teaching the Holocaust, genocide and controversial issues is the contextualisation of the Holocaust and controversial issues by means of a larger historical framework. Learners need to know the how and the where of the event. For example, the Second Word War was a prerequisite to the Holocaust. In this regard Lindquist (2006) points out that "the Holocaust must also be seen within the context of the Nazi era and of "the host of the critical historical trends [anti-Semitism, racism, social Darwinism, extreme nationalism, totalitarianism, and the nature of the modern war] that one needs to be conversant to even begin to understand the Holocaust" (Lindquist, 2006, p.217). Thus, a historical perspective is one approach used for teaching the Holocaust/controversial issues as no historical event developed in a vacuum.

Amongst different methods of teaching about genocide (Glanz, 1999; Kennedy, 2008; Lemarchand, 2002), there is also the use of comparison with the Holocaust. By comparing the Rwandan case to the Holocaust learners can benefit from the conceptual knowledge gained while learning about the Holocaust. This can enhance their understanding of the Rwandan case (Lawrence, 2012). The literature reveals some examples how the Weimar Republic which executed the Holocaust was used by Rwandans as a starting point to discuss the Rwandan case without directly confronting the Rwandan past. In this regard, by using a case related to "the breakdown of democracy in the Weimar Republic; the rise of a totalitarian state; the role of propaganda, conformity and obedience in turning people against each other; and stories of courage, compassion, and resistance, participants [in Facing History and Ourselves teachers' workshops] were able to discuss ideas and events and raise feelings that were too threatening to approach directly" (Freedman et al., 2008, p.671).

Through comparison, people from post-conflict societies such as Rwanda or Northern Ireland can use their experiences to better understand the sufferings of other victims. However, people from post-conflict societies' traumatic experiences "have the potential to distract their attention from dealing with similar events that happened to other people in other times and places" (Avraham, 2010, p.s33). By comparing learners can make superficial comparative judgements and put aside major issues (Lawrence, 2012). The comparison may for instance fail to specifically identify the discrimination against a target group, Tutsi in the case of Rwanda and the anti-Semitism for the Holocaust (Waterson, 2009), or moral aspects and notions of identity while focussing on aspects such as facts and chronology instead. Furthermore, comparison may lead learners to lose sight of the appropriate historical context (Avraham, 2010).

A cross-curriculum approach in teaching the Holocaust or controversial issues is also proposed in the literature (Burtonwood, 2002). In fact, many aspects of human behaviour related to different disciplines are linked to the teaching of the Holocaust. Even if history is key in this regard other subjects such as religious studies, citizenship or psychology can be used to enhance the understanding of the

Holocaust. For instance, moral, theological and ethical issues can be explored while teaching the Holocaust. The Education Working Group (n.d., p.3) suggests that an "imaginative links between departments can enhance a scheme of work by drawing on differences of expertise, approaching the Holocaust for multiple perspective and building upon ideas and knowledge gained in other lessons". In the same perspective, teaching the Holocaust can be done through new approaches such as by using Geographic Information Systems and geo-browsers. By using these applications, teachers and learners get "the opportunity to analyse historical and contemporary genocidal acts from a critical geographic perspective in which the confluence of historical background, sociocultural perspectives and geospatial contexts further understanding" (Fitchett & Good, 2012, p.87).

The use of film and other visual media is also essential in teaching the Genocide and controversial issues. Totten (1987) advocated video presentations as they can make the topic real for learners. The latter must explicitly engage in seeing and critically interpreting images which are aspects of teaching literacies. Films it is argued can help learners to engage with their prejudices while sharing what they have watched (Cavet, 2007; Manfra & Stoddard, 2008; Sardonne & Devlin-Scherer, 2015). Another method is the use of survivors' testimonies. The efficiency of the use of survivor testimony lies in its possibility of learners seeing the victim as a human being and not in a dehumanised situation depicted by the *genocidaires* (Glanz, 1999; Lawrence, 2012). This human dimension is considered by Totten (1987) as one of the most powerful methods of teaching genocide. However, due to the diminishing numbers of genocide survivors, audio-visual testimonies can be used to narrate to learners how people survived policies of violence.

The Holocaust and other controversial issues can also be taught through stories. By focusing on the stories of named individuals such as Anne Frank (Maitles &Cowan, 1999; Lindquist, 2006), the teen writer who wrote about her experiences in *The Diary of Anne Frank*. The use of stories, called micro-history by Burtonwood (2002), helps learners to understand the enormity of the number of the victims not as an aggregate event but as circumstances that affected individual people (Lindquist, 2006). Totten (1987) supports the idea of personalising the study of genocide instead of using confusing statistics and remote places and events. This micro-history methodology

can use autobiographical material. However, the challenge of using stories resides in the fact that teachers can fail to put characters in their historical context and to show some distortion of the story. Moreover, some teachers use Frank's story as the sole example in as much as there were many other children who had experienced the Holocaust (Lindquist, 2006).

Some teachers use simulations to teach the Holocaust. However, the use of simulation when teaching the Holocaust is found by some authors to be unsound and naïve because this approach cannot provide learners with a true sense of the victims' real experiences. It may be underestimating the event and dishonouring victims' memory (Ben-Peretz, 2003; Lindquist, 2006; Totten, 2004). Role-play can also be used to develop empathy when teaching the Holocaust, for example, by giving learners a choice of scenarios or allowing them to develop their own scenario where they can apply what they have learned about racist policies such as the Nazi one. The problem is that imitation does not really reflect what really happened (Cowan & Maitles, 2012). By simulating, learners over-identify themselves with the victims (Waterson, 2009) or even the perpetrators. This comment is also valid for using fictional publications to teach the Holocaust. This is because fiction can create misconceptions (Cowan & Maitles, 2012).

Regarding the use of pictures or graphic images, teachers are generally advised on how to engage the learners in a way that does not traumatise them. This means avoiding "shock tactics" while employing horrific imagery (Salmons, 2003). Horrific images may bring unexpected results such as turning learners away from history. Another danger is the risk of traumatising learners resulting in them losing focus of the topic. The use of material with "shock value" is also ethically problematic. Instead of immersing learners in a world with terrifying realities (Lindquist, 2006) teachers should look for "approaches that present the Holocaust in ways that engage student thinking without exploiting "either the victims' memories or the students' emotional vulnerability" (Lindquist, 2006, p.219). If frightening images are used, learners who are affected by traumatic experiences should be allowed to withdraw (Burtonwood, 2002).

The role of teachers' empathetic dispositions has been emphasized by some authors (Burtonwood, 2002; McAllister & Irvine, 2002) especially while teaching Holocaust or other controversial issues. By empathetic dispositions, a person feels with or "is with the individual in a non-judgemental fashion … Empathy can potentially foster openness, attentiveness, and positive relationships" (McAllister & Irvine, 2002, pp.433-433). The empathetic altruism implies that teachers care about their learners and can deal with different contexts in their classroom. From the learners' perspective there is less chance of them becoming bystanders if they have the capacity of empathy. But, exercises in empathy can be frivolous as well as risking over-identification with either the perpetrator or the victim. It requires a careful choice by using, for instance, autobiographical literature or survivor's accounts for discovering common human vulnerability (Burtonwood, 2002). Moreover, the emotional connection due to empathy may hinder teachers from tackling broader controversial issues (McAllister & Irvine, 2002) related to the content.

The literature reviewed shows that genocide can also be taught by going to the field beyond the classroom or textbook for active engagement. One proposed way is visiting memorial sites. This can be an uncomfortable exercise (Smith, 2012) due to traumatising remains and pictures of the victims being displayed in certain museums. Therefore, study tours to memorials have to take into account, amongst other reasons, the age of learners. Philips (2008), for example, advises not to show horrific scenes to young learners or to teach the Holocaust by using piles of naked bodies. In order to avoid traumatisation, the following is argued for:

> Sensitive preparation is needed so that those who visit do not see it as a narrow worksheet-filled exercise, or as a ritual in which acts are expected and performed. Rather it is an opportunity to put one's knowledge and understanding into context, to see the reality of what happened (thus knowing that denial is not an option) and to experience that leap of imagination (one cannot say empathy in such circumstances) through which a more fundamental aspect of learning is developed (Davies, 2012, p. 117).

The choice of person to talk to learners is essential so that they can benefit from their experiences. If the selection is not well done there is a risk of losing focus and it creates the danger of destroying the subject matter through dilettantism (Waterson, 2007). The resource persons' stories are considered as "a very valuable resource in

the history classroom, provided they include a full range of perspectives" (McCully, 2012, p. 155) if well selected.

If teaching methods for controversial issues are not well chosen, it may lead to unexpected results such as anger or divisive ideas or conflict. The teacher's role is crucial in this process and the teacher has to adopt different positions to contribute to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for teaching controversial issues. It was shown in this section that the teacher has to prepare how to tackle controversial issues or genocide in advance. She/he can use different approaches stimulating learners' participation and reflection and bear in mind strength and weaknesses of each approach. The knowledge brought by learners from other sources must not be ignored rather it can be used properly. The following section put a particular emphasis on the positioning theory that can help to understand interactions between teachers and learners. In some cases, the teacher can avoid controversial issues due to reasons discussed in the following section. But, other teachers take the risk or various positions to face controversial issues.

3.8 Theoretical ideas and the teaching of controversial issues

In the literature review, two concepts namely genocide and controversial issues were discussed. What was important in the reviewed literature is that teaching controversial issues emerge due to a disagreement about what happened, the causes, the sequences and the action to be taken. It was shown that teaching controversial issues is paramount because it provides content, skills and values to learners. In other words, controversial issues are related to learners' lives. When learners discuss controversial issues such as Islamophobia they can gain some transferable skills including among others communication skills, commenting statistics and defending ideas publicly. Moreover, learners can become tolerant and learn to respect others' ideas. The literature has indicated a series of controversial issues in the history of Rwanda. The Genocide against the Tutsi is amongst controversial issues taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools. The relevance of teaching this issue in the Rwandan context is not only due to the societal wish of preventing further atrocities but also as with any other controversial issues helps learners acquire other historical and transferable skills.

What matters most in this study is the way teachers tackle the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues and why they do so. The analysis of other cases in the literature explained how controversial issues are dealt with in different countries. The Northern Ireland case proved the importance of multi-perspectivity while discussing controversial issues in history classes. The Cambodian case can be taken as evidence that the teaching of genocide is lagging behind in some countries. This delay is evidenced by the Khmer Rouge period which experienced the genocide and is omitted or given very little attention in Cambodian classes. For the case of Rwanda, very few studies have mentioned the teaching of the Genocide without focusing extensively on how it is taught in history. This gap was one of the motivations which inspired me to undertake this study on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools. Even if the literature analysed approaches and strategies used to teach controversial issues and genocides, the literature has not provided any theory related to the teaching of controversial issues.

This chapter goes further and discusses the issue of theory related to this study. Even if there is no precise definition of a theory, Leedy and Omrod (2005, p.4) define a theory as "an organised body of concepts and principles intended to explain a particular phenomenon". In other words, as Johnson and Christensen (2007) posit, "theories explain *how* and *why* something functions the way it does" (p.7). The following criteria can be used so that a theory can develop scientific knowledge:

> a theory (1) should provide a simple explanation of the observed relations relevant to a phenomenon, (2) should be consistent with both the observed relations and an already established body of knowledge, (3) is considered a tentative explanation and should provide means for verification and revision, and (4) should stimulate further research in areas that need investigation (Henstrand, 2006, p.xvii)

The role of theory in educational research is multifaceted because theory provides guidelines for action and behaviour. More importantly for this research, theories can provide what Klette (2011, p.4) calls "a structured set of lenses" that a researcher can use to observe and analyse aspects of the world. These lenses help the researcher to avoid an unscientific approach when analysing a problem.

At the outset, I was looking for a theoretical framework that can encompass all aspects I wanted to cover in my study. However, I found that "there is no single theoretical positions that could serve all purposes" (Klette, 2011, p.7). As a result, I resorted to the idea of bricolage. By bricolage, I had to work as a handyperson and therefore instead of putting into place a new theory or new paradigm repairs, I had to change existing theories by combining various theoretical concepts, ideas, and observations at my immediate disposal (Boxenbaum & Rouleau, 2011). The theories that were talking to my study on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues were the positioning theory and other theoretical ideas on controversial issues propounded by a series of scholars, Stradling (1984) being the main contributor. However, this does not mean I privilege him rather I consider that he gave more theories than other theoreticians. Positioning theory, as well as Stradling's (1984) theory on teaching controversial issues and other theories can help to make sense of my study by serving to analyse the data (Johnson & Christiansen, 2008). Thus, new positions and related teaching methods can emerge thus expanding Stradling's positions to fit the Rwandan context. In all, the theoretical framework of this study derived from concepts, terms, definitions and theories particularly (Merriam, 2009) related to teaching controversial issues.

First, I used a theory as structured lenses to analyse the history teachers' experiences on how the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools. Even if it was challenging to understand the place of theory in my research, as stated by Niss (2006) I found that by situating my study within positioning theory and other theoretical ideas related to the teaching of controversial issues was a way of protecting my study regarding criticism. My first queries were about which kind of theory to use. I hesitated to use 'grand theory' due to the critiques done by Frønes (as quoted by Klette, 2011) who considers the use of 'grand theory' as "fashion of nonsense" (Klette, 2011, p.5) because the 'grand theory' focuses more on the arrangements of concepts than understanding the social world. I realised that my world view was not adhering to the previous theory view. In addition, for the 'grand theory' as advocated by great social theorists such as Michel Foucault, I could be tempted to use it as advised by Klette (2011) in a more or less uncritical manner to interpretation of evidence instead of strongly criticising the theory itself with my data

in order to test the theory or to change it. I realised that it would be better to look for a theory related to teaching but closely linked to the teaching of controversial issues in post-conflict societies. Thus, Northern Ireland and South Africa became sources of inspiration. By considering post-conflict societies, I was trying to find out "home-grown theories" (Niss, 2006, p.4) because Rwanda is a post-Genocide society. It has experienced a war (1990-1994) between the then Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front rebellion and the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. It is why I chose the positioning theory and the controversial issues theory used by Stradling.

The notion of positioning was used in different settings but it was initially used in the military domain. Thereafter, it was also utilised in marketing to explain "how a product or company can be presented to consumers, thereby filling a previously untapped niche in the market" (Baert, 2012, p.310). More recently, Rom Harré and Luk Langenhove (1999), key authors on positioning theory, introduced it in social psychology. In this they were inspired by the work of Hollyway 1984 (Philips, Fawns, & Hayes, 2002). Traditionally, positioning theory has been used in the analysis of face-to-face interactions. But it has also been used in other kinds of interactions such as in international relations (Schmidle, 2010; Slocum & van Langenhove, 2004).

In this section, I explain the nature of the positioning theory. Moreover, the value and advantages of using the positioning theory are also highlighted. The challenges about the use of the positioning theory are outlined. Furthermore, I present how some problems related to the theory were mediated through the use of theoretical ideas from different scholars with a particular attention to Stradling (1984). Finally, I explain the relevance of using the positioning theory for my study. In all, aspects encompassed in this section and the previous one constitute my theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

3.8.1 Strengths and limitations of the positioning theory for my study

The positioning theory was conceived to analyse social interactions between persons. The use of positioning theory finds out explanations of what actors are doing, how they do it, and the social consequences of their actions. The theory focuses on the discourse between persons because meanings are created by people in the discourse. Thus the study of meaning is the ontological aim of the positioning

theory by looking at speech acts, positions and storylines. In a conversation, "positioning can be understood as the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's acts intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts and within the members of the conversation have specific locations" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p.395; 217).

Actors' acts are supported by illocutionary forces or by perlocutionary forces. The illocutionary forces of an utterance are related to the actor's intention in producing that utterance whereas the perlocutionary force is a speech considered at the level of its psychological consequences, such as persuading or convincing. The following triangle depicts continuous interaction between the storyline, social act and position. The storyline refers to the discursive contexts in which an action is interpreted, whereas the act is what is accomplished socially through a particular action. It can be linguistically or non-linguistically constituted.
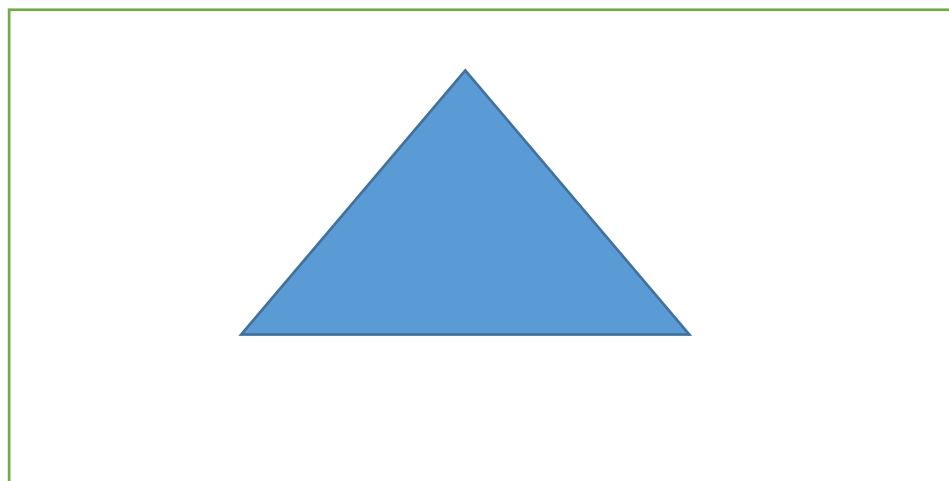
Figure 3.1: The building blocks of meaning (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999 as quoted by Schmidle, 2010)

The positioning theory focuses on the phenomenon of one's position, who constructs it, and whether or not it is accepted. The following quote from Dennen explains the value of positioning theory in this regard:

> Positioning theory may help explain why facilitator presence develops in certain ways (i.e., why one facilitator is considered more involved or engaged than another even if their participation levels are equal). The notion of presence, then, becomes not only a matter of how a facilitator positions herself, but also of how learners position her and of how she

accepts the positions they ascribe to her. For example, a learner may expect validation of her contributions to the course discussion in the form of a facilitator reply, or she may assume the professor will have minimal presence in the discussion, leaving it as a student interaction space. In the former example, the learner may interpret a non-present facilitator as an absent and uncaring one, whereas in the latter the learner may interpret a highly present facilitator as overbearing and controlling. Thus, should the learner's expectations and facilitator's actions not match up, some form of presence negotiation will be necessary to resolve the breech (Dennen, 2006, p. 268).

The value or purpose of positioning theory is thus that it "is concerned with revealing the explicit and implicit patterns of reasoning that are realised in the ways that people act towards others" (Harré et al., 2009, p. 5). Therefore, in the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the teacher presence develops in various ways. She or he can be committed and engage in learners' discussion with scholarly researched explanations. Another option the teacher can adopt is to have less involvement in learners' discussion. In this process, learners have their own way of attributing some positions to their teacher. The positioning theory can help to understand why the teacher is acting in a given way. In other words, the context or storyline in which the teacher is operating can help to understand different positions taken by the teacher in interactions with the learners.

Positioning theory also serves to look at how rights and duties are attributed to and by individuals and the reasons of ascription of duties (Schmidle, 2010). Baert (2012) notes that "contrary to explanations of social behaviour in terms of rules or roles, positioning theory acknowledges people's ability to actively engage in and change position within ongoing conversations whereas the notions of rules and roles denote stability, the concept of positioning catches the continuous shifts in how people perceive themselves and how others perceive them (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999a)" (p.310). Therefore, positioning theory bridged role theory.

With reference to the above discussion about role and position, the term 'teacher role' is commonly used among educational researchers and practitioners to describe how teachers respond to various demands and situations (Hanghøj & Brund, 2011). Even if role and position may be used interchangeably, in positioning theory roles and positions are quite different (Dennen, 2007). In contexts such as education,

roles are a core part of one's identity and tend to define social practices, responsibilities and expectations. But, positions can be viewed in light of roles, or rather roles as the anchor points of positions. Positions are more fluid than roles and can therefore change with each act. For instance, throughout a course, a teacher may hold a dominant or receding position in each particular act or discourse. A teacher may take an authoritative position while dealing with an administrative matter, but take a less dominant position while using a learner centred approach (Dennen, 2007). Therefore Harré and van Langenhove (1991) found that the term position is more appropriate than role in engaging with social phenomena.

With reference to positioning theory, some authors (Dennen, 2006; Richtie & Rigano, 2001) note that discussants have different responsibilities and expectations based on the positions that they occupy within a given storyline as are noted by their words and interactions. One may position oneself (reflexive positioning), or be situated by others (interactive positioning). This reflexive positioning is referred to by Harré and van Langenhove (1991) as second order positioning. It means that by reflexive positioning, a person who is told something questions it. For instance, if Peter asks John to wash his car, Peter can question why to wash it, if he is not his domestic worker. Therefore, positioning involves an "agent" and a "positioned party" (Baert, 2012). The agent, who can be one person or a group, is the one doing the positioning and the positioned party is attributed certain characteristics.

Within other positions mentioned by Harré and van Langenhove (1999) include for instance, the self and others positioning; the tacit and intentional positioning; the moral and personal positioning. For this moral positioning, if John asks Peter to buy him food, it can be understood if Peter is John's son. The latter has a moral obligation to do it. Thus the moral positioning is explained by taking into account the roles people occupy within a given context of social life. Similarly, positioning involves what Harré et al. (2009) call prepositioning. It is a positioning act to assign or delete duties and rights. For instance, to say to someone: "You don't have the right to…" or "It is in your duties to…" and so on" (Harré et al., 2009, p.9). Considering what the teacher teaches and the way she/he does it, the learners can position her/him in a certain way. The given position is not static, it keeps changing through the interaction with learners and due not only to the content offered but also

due to the context and the learners' identities. By prepositioning, the teacher can also advise the learners what they should or not do during the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Alongside moral positioning, identity and self-positioning are highly interrelated and in turn impact on how an individual accepts positioning and categorization by others (Dennen, 2006; Harré & Maghaddan, 2003). For instance, learners expect to interact with the teacher not only due to her/his duties but also due to other categorisation such as gender, age or stereotypes. In social constructivist settings learners may initially look to their teachers to be the font of objective truths, but teachers may respond to such positioning by declaring their own positions as not being experts, but merely more experienced co-learners. In an educational context, issues of identity are tied closely to knowledge (who is correct?) and power (who is in charge?). These questions impact on interactions (Dennen, 2006). Thus, positioning theory may help to analyse how teachers react on learners' prior knowledge and to understand if teachers position themselves as co-learners or people in charge of transmitting the truth. In addition, the positioning theory can help to see if teachers themselves take into consideration learners' identities when they are teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. For instance, due to empathy, the teacher can be influenced by the sorrow of learners who survived a conflict and change her or his teaching approaches and strategies accordingly (McAllister & Irvine, 2002). In this regard Dennen (2007) argues that positioning depends on context. Do partaking teachers in this research take different positions in front of a class mainly composed of Genocide survivors and in a class dominated by mature learners?

Another motivation to use the positioning theory is that the Genocide is a sensitive issue. Positioning research has over time shifted from rights and duties to focus more on a type of moral imperative. Therefore, there are supererogatory duties and supererogatory rights in positioning theory. Supererogatory duties are those tasks that "individuals and groups are not obliged to carry out but get credit when they do perform them" (Harré et al., 2009, p. 28). For instance, when a learner is traumatised and falls down in the school, the teacher is obligated to aid. But, the teacher can be rewarded if she/he saves the children from pain. The second kind of duties is

supererogatory rights. Supererogatory rights are thus those rights someone can restrain from using after noticing that it can be inappropriate to use those rights. Thus, the person can be rewarded for not using those rights (Harré et al., 2009). For example, a teacher has the right to talk about rape during the Genocide against the Tutsi, but he can decide to decline that right because it would cause pain to learners from families who experienced such problems. Thus, positioning theory "looks at what a person may do and may not do" (Harré et al., 2009, p. 9). Thus, in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues what are teachers doing and what are they avoiding?

Due to the reflexive positioning and the interactive positioning, I decided to use the positioning theory to analyse the Rwandan secondary school history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in the Rwandan context. How do teachers position themselves? Why do they position themselves the way they do? Is it due to the context they are working in or are there other factors? As Boston (2015) posits "positioning is an interactive concept that accounts for contradictions, incompatible realities and rapid shifts of meaning and relationships between participants" (Boston, 2015, p.135). In teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the teacher and the learners are in conversation within particular discourses and everyone has rights and responsibilities. Thus in the conversation, the teacher can be positioned by learners and the learners can be positioned by the teacher due to the context. The exchange between teacher and learners "may be characterised by the joint construction of meaning and action, confusion or conflict" (Boston, 2015, p.135). The positioning theory can help me to see if teachers and learners work collaboratively to understand the Genocide against the Tutsi and which topics brings confusion or conflict.

Regarding, the positioning theory limitations, it is challenging for an outsider to understand the teacher's positionality if the outsider does not know the Rwandan context because "the meaning and structure of private discourse has to be looked at within a cultural context, and in relation to the larger normative system in which a person lives" (Harré et al., 2009, p.26). Thus an in-depth analysis of the Rwandan socio-political institutions and milieu in which the teacher is operating and the context learners are in are necessary for a better use of the positioning theory (Baert, 2012).

In my case, the Rwandan historical background and current situation have been explained so that I can better understand why teachers are positioned the way they are. In addition, in the sixth chapter, the school context in which the participants work is also described. However, Slocum and van Langenhove (2004) do not attribute major importance to the actors' geographical and temporal place. Slocum and van Langenhove (2004) note that personal beliefs about people engaged in a conversation are key aspects to understand what has been said. The ignorance of space and time even contradict the importance of the role of context in positioning theory. Another weakness of positioning theory is its fluidity and lack of giving clearly different positions a teacher can adopt when teaching controversial issues in a post-conflict situation. In the literature, it was explained that some teachers omit controversial issues (Buhigiro, 2012; The Historical Association, 2007). However, various approaches and strategies of teaching genocides and controversial issues including whole school curricula, use of resource persons and museums, teacher centredness or learner centred approach through discussion are highlighted (Avraham, 2010; Burtonwood, 2002; Desiatov, 2016; Glanz, 1999; Lawrence, 2012; Lindquist, 2006; McCully, 2006; Totten, 2000).

The literature is vague about a clear typology of positions the teacher can adopt to teach the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. Positions proposed by Hanghøj and Brund (2011) in their study where teachers can be positioned as instructor, playmaker, guide and explorer are related to teachers' positions in educational games not in the post-conflict situation. In this way, it can be difficult to analyse teachers' positions while teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues in post-Genocide Rwanda. Conversely, all mentioned positions in the literature including the self-positioning (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) do not refer to a psychological preparation the teacher can do before teaching the Genocide.

Some limitations of the positioning theory were mediated by looking at various authors who proposed specific positions teachers can adopt when teaching controversial issues. For instance, Stradling (1984) proposed a typology of teaching controversial issues in the context of Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is considered in this study as a post-conflict society. As Rwanda also experiences a war (1990-

1994) and the Genocide in 1994, it is interesting to use this theoretical framework to analyse the Rwandan case. However, I do not affirm that all post-conflict societies are alike. The analysis will see if there are similarities or differences between the Rwandan case and those proposed by Stradling (1984) and other scholars.

3.8.2 Theory and teachers' positions of teaching controversial issues

Controversial issues were introduced in school settings because most school disciplines were offered in a positivist model. Learners were passed on knowledge as "objective truths" (Cavet, 2007, p.1). They had to accept without debate and contradicting interpretations of how the past and present organisation of the world was depicted by teachers. Since the 1960s, the school curriculum in western countries started to include the teaching of issues to prepare learners for adult life (Stradling, 1984). Learners started discussing current world issues such as unemployment, affirmative action policies, climate change, genetic manipulation, abortion and gender issues for which people do not agree due to different worldviews. These issues are relevant to learners' lives and learners need to discuss them so that they can make their own choices. Due to this interest of controversial issues for societal life, schools have the mission to prepare learners to deal with them (Cavet, 2007). In addition to general motivations of teaching controversial issues, the latter are also important in teaching history because in history people's interpretations differ. Teaching these issues can therefore help learners to develop their methods of enquiry and to have a good grasp of the use of evidence.

As controversial issues are characterised by competing values and interests, when people discuss them they disagree on statements, assertions or action to be taken to solve the problem (http://ccea.org.uk/sites/default/files/docs/curriculum/area_of_learning/CCEA_Controversial_Issues.pdf). Thus in order to better analyse controversial issues, "scientific theories have the potential to help people to make sense of controversial issues and can, therefore, play a part in the resolution of the controversy and the solving of problems" (Oulton, Dillon, & Grace, 2004, p.413). Stradling is among scholars who made theorisation about the teaching of controversial issues. The controversial issues theory devised by Stradling (1984) was developed when controversial issues became an inescapable part of the secondary school curriculum in Northern Ireland.

In line with the teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools, Stradling's theoretical ideas in conjunction with other scholars' positions (Kitson & McCully, 2005; Leib, 1998; Lockwood, 1996) helped me to design a theoretical framework used to understand Rwandan teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.

In the literature, I have mentioned other approaches used to teach the Genocide against the Tutsi and controversial issues. Their analysis aimed at clarifying these approaches and strategies as concepts used in this study so that they can be understood wherever they are used in my research. However, the controversial issues theory is used as a theoretical framework for data analysis. It can help to understand what appears to be simple matters of empirical investigation, how it can be complex and subtle on a deeper level (Klette, 2011). The following paragraphs explain different positions teachers adopt while teaching controversial issues. Some of them focus on the search of a safe classroom others on teacher centredness or building a harmonious society.

The balanced approach

The balanced approach or neutral impartiality (Leib, 1998) implies that the teacher should offer learners a range of alternative viewpoints on each issue (Stradling, 1984). But, the concept balance raises a number of difficult questions. How is balance to be achieved? (Carrington & Troyna, 1988). For instance, is it necessary to have a balanced approach to every single lesson? Is balanced teaching more important than balanced learning? Learners are not unfamiliar with controversial issues. So, any analyst can wonder if teachers ignore all of this extra-mural learning from the different places including even media which can offer a balanced variety of views or if they play 'devil's advocate'. Do they seek to present to learners with an alternative viewpoint to their own at all times (even if the teachers themselves are not committed to that view)? (Stradling, 1984). But, it is important to take into account learners' starting point. What do they bring from the community and the media (Kitson & McCully, 2005)?

This balanced approach may present teachers with problems if some learners (and their parents) assume that the views presented by the teacher as devil's advocate are their own. In a balanced approach, it is important to carefully consider viewpoints which are generally accepted within the broad society. In some circumstances, by presenting all points of view, however it can attract negative feelings from parents if some presented views are divisive or extreme (Stradling, 1984). For instance, in some countries such as South Africa, teachers use their own testimonies due to lack of resources to create new ideas of democracy, non-racialism and tolerance, reflecting the background of the learners (Dryden-Peterson & Siebörger, 2006). This flexibility of filling the gaps found in the curriculum is good. However, teachers can hide themselves behind that autonomy to propagate their ideas. Learners should get an opportunity to question the narrative and the teachers have to address both sides in the same way. It is called by Murphy and Gallagher (2009), creating balance or teaching both sides. The balanced approach was considered by Oulton et al. (2007) as a reasonable stance to adopt.

The balanced approach has some aspects of comparison with two categories of teachers' roles described by Lockwood (1996). The first one is the Socratic cross-examiner. During learners' presentations or discussions, the Socratic cross-examiner challenges learners' assumptions and requests more supporting arguments for her/his evidence and raises alternative interpretations. The teacher's role is compared to "that played in the courtroom by prosecution and defense attorneys as they question witnesses" (Lockwood, 1996, p.30). Secondly, the freedom given to learners in the balanced approach is close to teachers considered as nurturant facilitators. But, the nurturant facilitator has in addition the idea of a safe classroom as with the presiding judge so that learners freely express their ideas but with little challenge from the teacher.

Educators and learners of traumatized, conflict-ridden communities have much to learn from juxtaposing different stories of loss and mourning, without, however, effacing the specificity of each loss or making losses equivalent. In some countries such as Cyprus, mourning narratives officially used to come from one side of parties involved in the conflict. Despite some limitations, counter-narratives may be used pedagogically to enact a different set of social and political relations with the 'Other',

envisioning an alternative basis for solidarity and empathy. The collective understanding of mourning is an extraordinary socio-political and pedagogical act, forging new connections between those who suffered the traumas of war and death (Zembylas, 2009). The balanced approach is sometimes unhelpful because the teacher in some cases needs to make subjective judgements about which information to use. In this regard, the teacher can make learners aware of the bias and engage them critically about the evidence presented (Oulton, 2004). Even if considered as a reasonable approach, it is almost impossible to be completely unbiased when presenting both sides on an issue.

Procedural neutrality

The procedural neutrality, also known as neutral impartiality (Leib, 1998), involves adopting a strategy in which the teacher's role is that of an impartial chairman of discussion groups. The teacher allows all learners to explain their ideas, treats their opinions constantly, provides evidence when necessary, and avoids the assertion of her/his own allegiances (Stradling, 1984). Neutrality is available to teachers. In a weak sense, the teacher is neutral due to his refrain from revealing his indubitable true beliefs shared by most sensible and intelligent people. In a strong sense, the teacher is neutral if he refrains from giving his substantive truth at all on a topic under debate (Cain, 1999). One advantage of procedural neutrality is the freedom given to learners to discuss their own ideas on issues (Oulton et al., 2007). In this regard, as a presiding judge, the teacher puts rules into place to guide the discussion (Lockwood, 1996).

The teachers occupy a position of authority over the learners and therefore any views they express will carry extra weight and influence on the children. At the present, there is little research evidence either to support or invalidate this assumption. However, as chairperson, the teacher cannot maintain a neutral position. For instance, when the teacher faces the unquestioning consensus from the entire class, she/he may challenge the class by representing the neglected view (Stradling, 1984). Somehow this approach can be compared to the Socratic cross-examiner from Lockwood typology (Lockwood, 1996). The Socratic cross-examiner challenges learners' assumptions. With procedural neutrality, the teacher should not forget her/his role of guiding because sometimes, learners do not have enough skills

to detect for instance the denial of the Genocide or Holocaust. Therefore, he has to guide learners to right conclusions.

Stated commitment

Another teaching strategy is the stated commitment approach not very distant to teacher centredness (Wasserman, 2011), exclusive partiality (Leib, 1998) or determined advocate (Lockwood, 1996). The stated commitment is the stance where it is legitimate for the teacher to reveal her/his own commitments in the classroom. Some teachers reject the possibility of maintaining an impartial line on substantive values. Their assumption is guided by the fear of losing credibility with learners if they do not reveal their position, particularly when asked. There are some issues on which a teacher cannot be impartial. As earlier stated, this is due to the fact that education in general and the history role in particular, is viewed not only as a vehicle of learning about the social world but also helping learners to develop strategies and skills for influencing social change (McCully, 2012). This often applies to attitudes towards race, sexism and sexual minorities.

The stated commitment can be compared to the determined advocate in Lockwood's (1995) categorisation of a teacher's role in teaching controversial issues. The determined advocate urges learners to adopt solutions or reach an agreement when discussing controversial issues. This advocacy can lead the teacher to convincing learners to adopt one answer or value judgement. A careful analysis can find a link with indoctrination. There is a view that a committed approach inhibits learners' own opinions. Moreover, it prevents them from being aware of the contradictions in their thinking and to sort out fact from value-judgment (Stradling, 1984). In the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues, this position can also help while discussing some topics such as the denial of the Genocide against the Tutsi or the Holocaust, where the teacher has to give some guidelines to the learners to be aware of the revisionism (Buhigiro, 2011; Caplan, 2009). The main potential problem to teaching controversial issues is the risk of indoctrination.

Indoctrination

The original meaning of indoctrination is pedagogical and positive because it comes from a Latin word, *doctrina,* meaning education, science or doctrine. The former

meaning of doctrine was acquired knowledge while the former meaning of the verb to indoctrinate was to instruct or provide someone with knowledge. This pedagogical meaning shifted to the political ideology and indoctrination acquired a negative meaning without losing the pedagogical meaning and it is understood as "the attempt to make somebody adhere to a doctrine, an opinion, a point of view" (Momanu, 2012, p.89). The Hyperdictionary.com adds to the meaning proposed by Momanu the idea of accepting doctrines uncritically (http://www.hyperdictionary.com/dictionary/indoctrination).

Alongside the ignorance of criticisms, Stradling (1984) mentions that indoctrination is usually associated with attempts to teach something contrary or in the absence of any evidence at all. As a method of teaching, the teacher may indoctrinate when she/he uses authoritarian methods without taking into consideration the contents type and the teacher's intentions. Some scholars such as White (1972), consider that teaching becomes indoctrinating when there is an intention to prevent the learners from thinking for themselves. But, as Momanu (2012) argues, it is not always possible to identify intentions. For instance, teachers who teach false or dangerous doctrine they believe in cannot be considered as indoctrinating if intentions are used to identify indoctrination. Similarly, teachers who make learners adhere to a doctrine by using attractive styles cannot be considered as indoctrinating.

Other aspects of indoctrination include:
- to teach harmful doctrines, for instance by considering certain groups as evil;
- to use education to support a partisan doctrine;
- to teach only the positive aspects of a doctrine;
- to counterfeit the facts in order to emphasize a doctrine, for instance, by inventing the statistics or providing false evidence. In some countries such as Canada, indoctrination brought the tendency to demonise opponents in public debates instead of using alternative views (Sears & Hughes, 2006).
- to teach something as scientific when in reality it is not. This is the case of scientific racism (Momanu, 2012).

The above examples show that indoctrination involves authority relationships. The teacher who indoctrinates exercises a power over learners. In this regard, Brudeau

as quoted by Momanu (2012) identifies three kind of authority. First, there is an anonymous authority generated by the group pressures over the behaviour of individuals. The second one is the personal authority borne by a person who can influence others and thirdly the functional authority consisting in the power invested in certain persons due to the position they have in the institution. It is why due to her/his authority, the teacher instils in learners a set of habits and beliefs that align with an ideology or a political agenda. Thus, learners are required to interpret the information they receive through the lens of the promoted ideology. They are obliged to comply or to adhere to a system of values presented by the teacher. Thus, indoctrination narrows the lens through which learners can view the world in a democratic teaching. Here, democratic teaching is not the prerogative of democracies as explained in the following paragraph.

In general, indoctrination has been observed in totalitarian regimes which revised educational policies and curricula to reflect the party ideology because indoctrination helps the regime to achieve its goals by bringing a common understanding. For instance, this avoidance of criticism was observed in the case of Nazi Germany (1933-1945) or the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin (1922-1953) where teachers were obliged not to question the ruling party objectives but rather helped learners understand them as an ideal to follow (Soulet, 1996). The prevalence of one ideology in totalitarian regimes does not mean absence of indoctrination in democracies. For instance at Texas in the United States of America a school board decided to eliminate the study of historic figures who propounded ideas they disliked (http://democraticeducation.org/index.php/blog/article/education_or_indoctrination/). The previous comments show that in general indoctrination is characterised by two main aspects namely encouraging people not to criticise and often accepting universal ideas and secondly avoiding the use of evidence.

Some teachers indoctrinate learners because they consider it as a way of transmitting some values and content deemed difficult without challenging them. Thus, by indoctrinating teachers do not consider that conflictual ideas enhance knowledge build-up and also errors may have a positive place in the teaching and learning process. Sometimes, this category of teachers does not take into consideration the previous knowledge of learners for scaffolding.

Avoidance

Avoiders are teachers who are aware of the existence of controversial issues but do not teach them in their classrooms (McCully & Kitson, 2005). Avoiders are aware that history deals with difficult issues affecting persons and the whole society. They know that some topics deal with emotions and difficult relationships. Thus, avoiders fear to talk about these issues for various reasons. For instance, as Philips wrote (2009, p.120) "Teaching about Al Qaida is seen at one level as being unpatriotic but on another level …teachers are [considered as] left wing and probably subversive". For not being considered as unpatriotic teachers omit the topic related to Al Qaida. This position of avoidance does not appear in the categorisation done by Stradling (1984).

In teaching history, avoiders are guided by the main purpose of the subject history which is to equip the learners with skills to 'do history' meaning that they have also to understand the past (Barton & McCully, 2007). Within this perspective, teachers prevent learners from acquiring not only knowledge about controversial issues, but also skills and values they can gain by tackling controversial issues. Avoiders need training to gain more confidence so that they can deal with controversial issues.

Containment

Even if the containing position is not also mentioned by Stradling (1984), containers teach controversial issues but the focus on historical process limits the analysis of the issues. Thus, learners are not invited to engage actively with controversial issues. Teachers who are containers prefer to choose topics which are similar, far from home or parallel (McCully & Kitson, 2005). Teachers are convinced that by analysing distant issues, learners can acquire skills which will allow them to analyse close issues (Barton & McCully, 2007).

This approach of using issues far from home was employed by Facing History and Ourselves in South Africa, Northern Ireland and in Rwanda. The German case under the failure of democracy during the Weimar Republic presents different particular aspects such as the rise of a totalitarian state; the role of propaganda, conformity and obedience in turning people against each other. On the other hand, this German case illustrates stories of courage, compassion, and resistance. Thus participants

dealing with the Weimar Republic help to understand other cases which are too frightening to tackle directly by making connections (Freedman et al., 2008). This distancing can also be achieved by the use of fictional stories (Brett, 2006) in which careful questions have to be planned in order to enlighten understanding of related concepts for instance on community cohesion, diversity, compassion and conflict transformation (Cavet, 2007).

The advocate of remote issues fears serious tension that may raise in the classroom. But, if the learners are considered mature enough by the teacher so that they can talk about the topic in a critical way, then the teacher can tackle controversial issues but without allowing them to push the discussion too far (Leib, 1998). This attitude prevents learners from presenting their personal argument which may be different from their teacher's. Learners do not analyse deeply contemporary controversial issues rather they have scattered knowledge on them.

Peace-makers

Peace-making teachers are inclined to appease tension in class in post-conflict societies. They focus mostly on forgiveness and do not help learners criticise the origin of conflicts to avoid tensions in class. Their aim is to build a better future based on democratic principles. This case was observed for instance in KwaZulu-Natal schools where a teacher pointed out that in the post-Apartheid era, the time is for forgiveness because Apartheid has passed and the population is now free (Wassermann, 2011). This means that the peace-making teacher avoids engaging critically with past atrocities and would rather help learners to forget them so that they do not use past mistakes as a way of revenging against the wrongdoers.

The peace-making teacher aims at building peaceful relationships and this

> involves emotional literacy, skills for good communication, cooperation and problem-solving, and positive attitudes towards themselves and others (e.g. getting on with each other, learning about each other, understanding and respecting other people, in particular, from different backgrounds, as well as recognising something common to everybody (Harber & Sakade, 2009, p.175).

The issue of avoiding injustice of the past for peaceful relationships is what Buckley-Zistel (2006, p.133) called "*chosen amnesia*" in the case of Rwanda. Due to diverse experiences, when Rwandans are talking about the Genocide some aspects such as

the relationship between Hutu and Tutsi are eclipsed from the discourse essentially for local coexistence. In a school context, this *chosen amnesia* does not allow learners to challenge the social divisions that rendered the Genocide against the Tutsi possible in the first place and secondly hinders their transformation in the future.

Risk-takers

According to Kitson and McCully (2005), risk-takers are those teachers who fully embrace the social utility of history teaching. They link past and present. In addition, they teach contemporary controversial issues and are not afraid of pushing boundaries by even dealing with popular interpretations. By pushing boundaries, risk-takers want to raise learners' awareness of the contemporary controversial issues. In fact, some topics are difficult to teach because authorities or decision makers have not included them in the curriculum. When the censored topics are integrated in the curriculum, teachers are reluctant and do a kind of self-censorship. But, the risk-takers frankly tackle controversial issues and raise popular interpretations. The risk-takers' intention is not persuasion but to tell the truth they know to others what Foucault called the parrhesiastic (Peters, 2003). On methodological aspects, risk-takers employ strategies to which they are not accustomed. In this regard, they can use strategies that do not follow traditional class structures in order to promote student learning (http://msu.edu/~taprog/thoughts/tt2.doc).

The challenge with risk-taking is related to the position of challenging some narratives or talking about them when some authorities or the society as a whole consider them as taboo (Evans, Avery & Pederson, 1999). This can impact negatively on learners' and teachers' personal security. Regarding teaching methodology, improvising new teaching strategies can fail if the teacher does not make a good preparation of activities so that learners can be responsive.

Devil's advocate

The devil's advocate traces its origin in the Roman Catholic Church under Pope Sixtus V in 1587 when a person was proposed in the process of becoming a saint. In this regard, "a promoter of the faith critically examined the life and miracles attributed

to this individual and was to present all the facts unfavourable to the candidate. Similarly, devil's advocate (…) involves criticism of a proposal or of a stated position" (Nemeth, Brown & Rogers, 2001, p.708).

The position taken by the devil's advocate is different from the one commonly accepted. The devil's advocate finds everything that is wrong with the position. In general, the proposed point of view is not necessarily the devil's advocate's personal position (Nemeth et al., 2001). It is a statement done for the sake of debate in order to push the thought and discussion further. By engaging others in a discussion process, the devil's advocate seeks to identify the weaknesses of the proposed side in order to improve it so that she/he can use it or she/he can reject it if the position is found indefendable. After identifying the weaknesses, the devil's advocate can also change the position. Another strategy used by the devil's advocate is to propose an unpopular position. The purpose of this is also to find more argument supporting the more conventional stance.

One of the positive aspects of devil's advocate is to generate more original thoughts because people like to share commonly known information. Thus, the devil's advocate tends to break uniformity in points of view. It helps to re-examine positions by thinking about one's position more deeply. The conflict created by the devil's advocate leads to better decision-making by open discussion. However, the negative aspects of the devil's advocate is that she/he does not push to search information on all sides of the issue. In view of teaching all sides of the issue, the teacher can adopt another position such as the balanced approach.

As there was no theoretical framework that can cover all aspects analysed in this research, by bricolage (Boxenbaum & Rouleau, 2011), I employed various positions used to teach controversial issues to build a conceptual and theoretical umbrella which was used in this study in conjunction with the positioning theory to analyse the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.
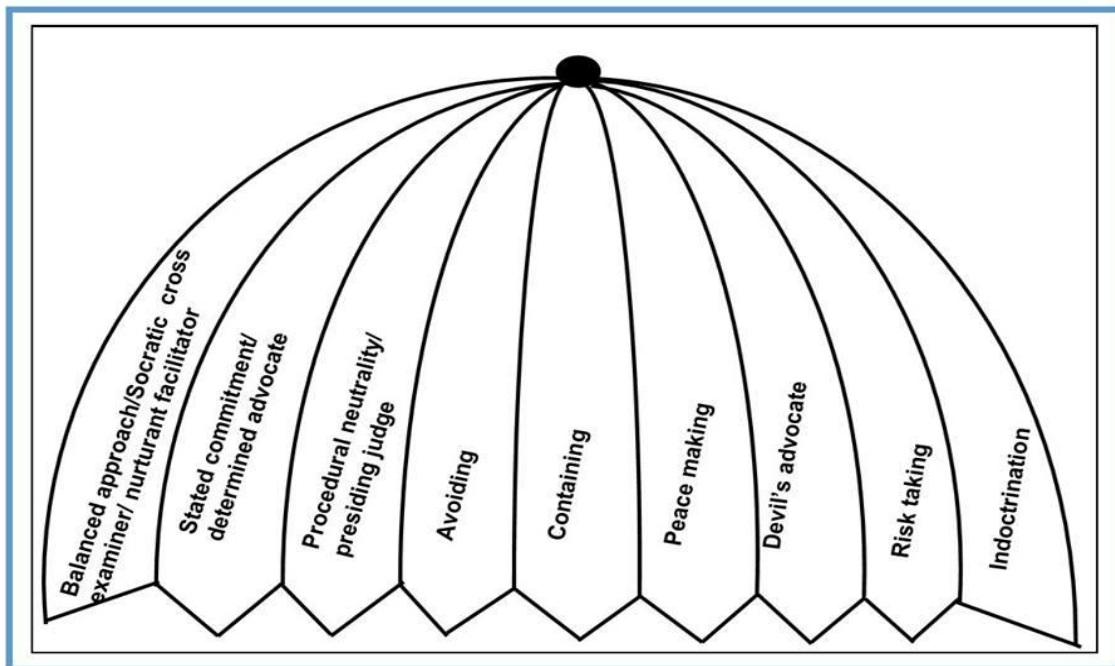
Figure 3.2 Positionality umbrella for teaching controversial issues (adapted from Harro's umbrella model of oppression (1997)

In this section, special attention is paid to the positioning theory. The value of the positioning theory for my study is of paramount importance. In fact, using positioning theory in my study allowed me to gain insight into how teachers perform their roles and responsibilities while teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues and the reasons why they do it the way they do. The positioning theory is used in this study to conceptualise the teacher's relationship or interaction with the learners. A teacher can position himself or herself as an experienced teacher using the participatory approach by employing group work, films and other interactive methods. But, the choice of the methods have a meaning regarding the teacher's self and the contexts in which the teacher is operating. As Bullough and Draper (2004, p.408) wrote "within stories, speakers position themselves and are positioned by others, and with each shift in position comes a change in understanding and action". Thus, the positioning theory helped me to understand if the teachers' identity, experiences, and types of school they work in (resourced or poorly resourced) impact on their teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.

For my study, the positioning theory helps to understand teachers' prepositioning namely their feelings before they start teaching about the Genocide against the Tutsi. Moreover, teachers' reposition is also examined by using this theory to understand how teachers' experience evolved. For some teachers, it might be in positive ways due to experience, training and support from the school. For other teachers, it could be in negative ways if they are abandoned for themselves in the face of a series of challenges they can face when they teach the Genocide. Finally, despite the challenges of the positioning theory, the latter allowed me to expand it by using the positions propounded by Stradling (1984) to see how they can be applied to the Rwandan context in the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues.

3.9 Conclusion

In all, this literature review provided a good understanding of what was written about my topic. Controversial issues and genocide were conceptualised and their relevance in the school curriculum explained. The Genocide which is also a controversial issue was discussed by explaining how it is taught in the Rwandan context in comparison with the Holocaust and other post-conflict societies namely Northern Ireland and Cambodia. The third chapter also highlighted the positioning theory and expanded on Stradling's theory of controversial issues. In general, the literature focuses on the use of an unchallenged version in the teaching of the history of Rwanda without any emphasis on teaching methods and other teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. The next chapter deals with the research methodology. One of the main aims of the fourth chapter is to explain how appropriate methods to collect the data in line with the topic and the research questions were designed and to propose a strategy of analysing the data.

CHAPTER 4

MAPPING THE RESEARCH JOURNEY - MY RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I reviewed the literature in line with the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In the process, I presented the key concepts to be used in my study namely controversial issues and genocide. In addition, I highlighted the relevance of teaching controversial issues. I also dealt with the role of teaching history in post- conflict societies drawing from various cases from around the world. The theoretical ideas that guide the teaching of controversial issues as well as my study were also highlighted. In this chapter, I engage with the research methodology that was used to gather and analyse the research data.

This research methodology chapter consists of two main sections namely the theoretical and the practical. The theoretical section deals with the research design which includes the paradigm, the research approach, the ontological and epistemological assumptions as well as the sampling strategies employed. This section also includes the ethical considerations that guide the research. The second section deals with the more practical aspects of my research methodology. This includes the description of career life stories and how they were used as an umbrella methodology in the study. The different methods used to gather the research data such as drawings, semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation and self-interviews are also presented in detail. Additionally, the construction of the career life stories and the related drawings, as well as the thematic analysis thereof is also detailed. The writing-up process is also detailed. Finally, issues related to trustworthiness are also unpacked.

4.2 Research design

The term 'research design' is used in the quantitative area and is also extremely important in qualitative work (Flick, 2006; Maxwell, 2004). In fact, "the design of an investigation touches almost all aspects of the research, from the minute details of data collection to the selection of the techniques of data analysis" (Flick, 2006, pp.

36-37). But, a research design is also extremely important in qualitative work In this study, I used a flexible design which "allows freedom of unlimited movement between the steps of data (…) [gathering] and data analysis in both directions, using new information concepts, sampling and analysis" (Sarantakos, 2005, p.113). This flexibility does not mean a lack of planning or professional standards, it rather hints at the continuous search for ways and means of improving the study in question. In other words, the idea of order and consistency were very important and guided this study in view of achieving credible answers to the research questions posed.

The flexibility of this research design was holistic in the sense that it affected every aspect of the research from the selection of the research topic to its completion (Flick, 2006; Sarantakos, 2005). Therefore, the research design of this study is made up of a theoretical part which includes the paradigm, the approach, the world view (ontology and epistemology), the sampling, ethical clearance and trustworthiness which is later discussed as well as the practical part related to the research methodology, research methods and the data analysis and writing-up. Within this research design, I used a qualitative research approach to understand how and why the Genocide and its related controversial issues are taught in history the way they are in Rwandan secondary schools.

4.2.1 Qualitative research approach

Doing research requires an understanding of the philosophical foundations underlying different types of research to make relevant research decisions (Merriam, 2009). The term approach is also called research paradigm or methodological paradigm by certain authors (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). The research paradigm means a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research (Swann & Pratt, 2003); this includes "ontological beliefs, epistemological beliefs, axiological beliefs, aesthetic beliefs and methodological beliefs" (Johnson et al., 2007, p.130). As a result of this, Merriam (2009) claims that a researcher needs to choose an approach that fits into her/his research questions, worldview and skills (Merriam, 2009).

For this research, I have chosen a qualitative research approach to understand teachers' views about how the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history are taught in Rwandan secondary schools. The choice of my research approach was guided by the fact that "qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experience, how they construct their world, and what meaning they attribute to their experience" (Merriam, 2009, p.5). People's experiences can be related to their professional practices such as teaching or to anything else (Goodson, 2008). Thus, a qualitative research approach promotes greater understanding, of not just the way things are, but also why they are the way they are (Amin, 2005; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). In addition, a qualitative research approach provides a variety of perspectives and can deal with complex research issues (Flick, 2009) such as the teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide.

Qualitative research does not necessarily pay particular attention to determining statistically acceptable samples or scope of phenomena; rather, it seeks to show the description and the understanding of a particular phenomenon within their naturalistic context according to the meaning assigned to the phenomenon by the research participants (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The experiences of Rwandan secondary school history teachers of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues which is the main phenomenon of this research, is multifaceted with social, political, ideological, economic, psychological and moral aspects and teachers have different and common views on how it is taught in Rwandan secondary schools. Teachers' views could be better understood through qualitative research in which the researcher seeks to understand teachers' views about the phenomenon under study. Therefore, participating teachers explain how they are teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues including the various reasons behind their teaching.

Using a qualitative research approach was also valuable for my study in as much as it generated a rich and thick description "of the incident or entity being investigated" (Merriam, 2009, p.43). In other words, qualitative researchers are interested to know how things occur and how participants respond to questions, as well as the meaning they assign to certain words (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). Given the need to understand certain issues within a given context, this research aimed at understanding meanings of certain issues according to individual participants as to

how the Genocide and its related controversial issues are taught in Rwandan secondary schools. Similarly, the research sought to understand why some issues are considered controversial in the teaching of history. Thus, the participants' voices are a requirement (Eisner, 1998). Differently put, the researcher is the instrument through which the data is collected and analysed (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

The qualitative approach was chosen over the "scientific method" (positivism) which assumes that "reality exists "out there" and that it is observable, stable, and memorable" (Merriam, 2009, p.8). More specifically, I was not interested in statistically representative responses about history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, but rather the understanding of some teachers' views in a deep and nuanced manner. My perception of the world as well as the research questions formed the basis on which the qualitative research approach was chosen for this study. In line with this approach, participants were permitted to talk about their various teaching experiences in relation to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. As a result of the choice of this specific research approach, direct words from participants' interviews and their drawings, were included in this study. This was done in order to contribute to the descriptive nature of qualitative research (Johnson & Christensen, 2008; Merriam, 2009). Finally, it is necessary "to philosophically position qualitative research among other forms of research. Such a positioning entails what one believes about the nature of reality (ontology) and the nature of knowledge (epistemology)" (Merriam, 2009, p.8). I found qualitative research was the best way of deeply understanding teachers' views about why history teachers have the experiences they have on how the Genocide and its related controversial issues are taught the way they are in different Rwandan secondary schools.

4.2.2 Research paradigm

A paradigm is a set of beliefs or a world view that informs a researcher about the nature of reality (ontology) and the nature of knowledge (epistemology) in order to aid understanding in what is being researched (methodology) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a; Sarantakos, 2005). In other words, as Creswell (2009) observes paradigms are types of beliefs held by the researcher which guides her/his action in the choice of approaches to be employed in conducting research.

In this study, I have adopted the interpretivist paradigm. Within the interpretivist paradigm, reality is a social construction that is not objectively determined. Consequently, interpretivist researchers argue that there are multiple realities (Kelliher, 2011). In the positioning of interpretivist researchers these realities can differ across time and space. Therefore, those working in the interpretivist paradigm are interested in understanding social life and it looks into the interpretation of the research participants thereof in order to derive meaning, interpretation, opinion, or perceptions. This is achieved by explaining the researchers' world according to their daily life and environment. Nieuwenhuis (2007) argues that human life could only be understood from within. In other words, meanings and actions are understood in accordance with peoples' frames of reference (Williams, 2000). In my case, by placing the research participants in their social contexts there is a possibility of understanding their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

This research will be guided by an interpretivist paradigm because it seeks to understand the experiences of history teachers in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in Rwandan secondary schools. Consequently, I did not choose the positivist paradigm that seeks to generalise and to reach scientific objectivity because I wanted to understand teachers' views about their teaching experiences. Thus, this research is purely qualitative. Referring to Creswell and Miller's (2000) views on interpretivism, I was convinced that there were pluralistic views towards teachers' reality of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan schools. Thus, individual instances could help in fostering a deeper understanding on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The objective of this study was therefore not to criticise or transform current structures as proposed by the critical paradigm (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott & Davidson, 2002; Scotland, 2012); rather it intended to get a better understanding of a phenomenon. Therefore, the qualitative research approach chosen for this study emanated from a personal conviction because interpretivism is characterised by an interpretative perspective and I aimed at understanding the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history from the

views of participating teachers. In this perspective, interpretivism, for the most part, uses qualitative data to understand phenomena in depth (Williams, 2000).

Although the interpretive paradigm tends to be more concerned with providing deep explanations, it has been criticised for the fact that its findings cannot be generalised (Kelliher, 2011). However, Williams (2000) argues that, "interpretivists deny the possibility of generalisation, or they ignore the issue, but they do generalise and this is inevitable" (p.209). Another shortcoming of the interpretivist paradigm is that it is difficult to achieve a common understanding because the research participants have varying frames of mind and therefore one cannot reach similar conclusions. In this regard, as stated earlier, reality is subjective. In addition, "knowledge produced by the interpretive paradigm has limited transferability as it is usually fragmented and not unified into a coherent body" (Scotland, 2012, p.12). The data acquired are subjective individual constructions.

Another challenge related to interpretivism is its tendency to breach the research participants' anonymity. This compromise of anonymity can be caused by the use of open-ended questions, which can lead to the involuntary discovery of participants' secrets. This can also lead to lies and oppressive relationships (Howe & Moses, 1999). Therefore, in looking for rich thick descriptions the interpretivist paradigm could betray the research participants' identity. Furthermore, within the interpretivist paradigm participants do not have full control of their data. Despite the participants' voice, the researcher decides which data to use and how to present it. The researcher therefore imposes his or her subjective interpretations on the data by theorising participants' ideas (Scotland, 2012). In my case, these queries have been alleviated somewhat by dint of the fact that several research methods were used, through the rigour that underpins the research design and the diversification of sample categories. These categories can help other researchers or decision-makers to make their own generalisations for similar cases. Regarding the disclosure of the identity of the participants they were, as explained further down, protected by a rigorous ethical process.

In summation, this research study was conducted by means of a qualitative approach within an interpretivist paradigm because the main aim was to make sense

of teachers' experiences in line with the phenomenon under investigation. Alongside the interpretivist paradigm this research had other philosophical influences related to ontological and epistemological assumptions.

4.2.3 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

Fouché and Schurink (2011, p.309) posit that, "The first relevant question that the researcher should therefore ask when designing a qualitative study is: How should social reality be looked at?" Asking such a question is important for two reasons: firstly, the research questions can be answered according to the researcher's ontology, in other words, how the researcher views reality, and secondly with reference to the researcher's epistemology or how the researcher thinks social reality should be studied. The implication is that "the same phenomenon could thus be investigated, analysed and interpreted differently depending on one's beliefs of what social reality is (ontology) and how social phenomena can be known (epistemology)" (Fouché & Schurink, 2011, p.310).

My position in viewing the reality about history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues was to approach the topic bearing in mind that the reality continuously changes. This is based on the fact that social reality "can only be *constructed* [sic] through the empathetic understanding of the research participant's meaning of his or her life world" (Fouché & Schurink, 2011, p.309). Therefore, I decided to approach the study bearing in mind that truth is subjective. As a result, reality was constructed using the research participant's worldview. It was assumed that the Genocide against the Tutsi is a recent social reality and that the participants in this study had various experiences in this regard. This was my positioning despite an official version of the event being propounded by the media and official channels of communication. The Genocide against the Tutsi seems to be a sensitive and controversial issue about which people do not talk freely; it thus requires certain strategies to obtain some understanding about it. These assumptions about the participants' worldview constituted the ontology for this research project. In short, the ontological position of interpretivism considers that reality is subjective and differs from person to person (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In other words, there are many realities as individuals and people may construct meanings in different ways. The existence of different experiences per individual

guided my choice of the sample to access diverse realities of teachers' experiences about teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools.

4.2.4 Framing and locating my research sample

Sampling is about taking decisions about which people, settings and events should be part of a study. In other words, sampling involves "defining the population on which the research will focus" (Cohen et al., 2011, p.143). The population of this study was composed of Rwandan secondary school history teachers and some of them who fulfilled specific criteria were sampled to be part of the study. Generally, sampling strategies in qualitative research do not aim at utilising statistically representative samples for generalising conclusions (King & Horrocks, 2010). Rather, "sampling proceeds according to the relevance of cases instead of their representativeness" (Flick, 2009, p.121). What is more important are the uniqueness and the idiographic nature of the groups and individuals in question. Thus, there are no clear rules on the size of the sample in qualitative research and the scope is informed by 'fitness for purpose' (Cohen et al., 2011; Patton, 2002; Strydom & Delport, 2011). Hence, the uniqueness of my sample was determined by my study (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

This research used a small sample size. Qualitative studies involving a small number of participants, often less than 20, are common. This is mainly the practice where in-depth interviewing is the primary method of choice. In-depth interviewing aims at gathering data, which gives an authentic insight into people's experiences and is generally employed in relation to sensitive topics. This is the case because a small sample enhances the participants and the researcher's contact and thereby increases trustworthiness (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The concept of trustworthiness will be explained in detail further down.

For this study, I relied on purposive sampling techniques. In this type of sampling, the researcher selects the research participants based on their resourcefulness or competence related to the purpose and focus of the study. According to Cohen et al. (2011, p.157), purposive sampling identifies "knowledgeable people', i.e. those who have in-depth knowledge about particular issues" as it relates to their professional

roles, their power or their experiences. Purposive sampling is used for a diverse range of aims including the achievement of representativeness. However, the use of different categories did not aim to make comparison but rather to get unique cases with specific value to obtain rich data (Cohen et al., 2011). The bias inherent in purposive sampling as it relates to the choice of the research participants contributes to its efficiency because 'knowledgeable people' provide rich robust data. Another advantage of purposive sampling is that it is realistic as a strategy in using reasonable time frames and minimising costs by finding participants who have knowledge of the phenomenon in question. The challenge for purposive sampling is the possible voluntarily or involuntarily bias from the participants which can be lessened by asking appropriate questions and use of different methods which would provide more trustworthy data (Tongco, 2007).

In this study purposive sampling was used to select mainly seasoned history teachers from Rwandan secondary schools. This decision was motivated by the quest of obtaining rich thick data on the experiences of Rwandan history teachers to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues. As a result this research made use of those teachers who participated in the design of the Rwandan history curricula or history textbooks such as the *Teachers' guide for secondary schools.* It was assumed that teachers who participated in curriculum development or textbooks writing were selected because of their methodological competences in teaching history and their academic knowledge of the subject. The purposive sampling was mixed with the snowball sampling because the first participants recommended other teachers by following my instructions (Patton, 2002). In all, eleven participants were selected for participation in the study.

The research sample of eleven history teachers came from eleven secondary schools from all over Rwanda. To be selected the teachers needed at least one of the following traits:

- specialised history teacher (at least with a diploma in history and education)
- history teacher (without background in pedagogy)

- genocide survivor working as a history teacher[3]
- history teacher from a well-resourced school
- history teacher from a poorly-resourced school

The choice of the above categories was motivated by expected data to get from the research participants. For instance, teaching approaches/methods used in teaching controversial issues differ from school to school depending on the resourcefulness of the institutions. I worked from the assumption that well equipped schools may use, amongst others, teaching aids, study tours and resource persons whereas poorly equipped schools cannot afford these. Clearly, the chosen participants fulfilled certain of the criteria as outlined. They were characterised by a 'maximal variation' as posited by Patton (2002) and Flick (2006). Thus, I used different categories to get rich data.

Once in the field it was difficult to find a genocide survivor working as a history teacher. Given the socio-political context in Rwanda, it was also quite challenging to look for a Tutsi history teacher because the use of social groups is officially discouraged. It was, however, easier to work with a history teacher who was a member of the *Association des Elèves et Etudiants Rescapés du Génocide* (Association for Genocide survivors students). Those who were identified by such means were no longer teaching but had taken-up managerial positions. I only managed to identify two former members of the mentioned Association and one took part in my research. In the course of my research one participant suggested that I should include in the sample a teacher from a perpetrator's family. The question, which arose, was to know which type of perpetrator according to the categorisation done by Straus (2004) was to be approached. It was also unclear by means of which channel to trace such teachers. In my interaction with the participants we could not easily identify someone who was part of the direct perpetrators of the Genocide. I consequently abandoned this search. Rather, I thought that any participant who is not a genocide survivor or returnee from exile may express the views of any

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[3] In the case of Rwanda, the term genocide survivor is fluid. Here, it has to be understood as people who were targeted and escaped from the killings because of their Tutsi social identity (Nkusi, 2004). I do not refer to people who were targeted during the Genocide due to their opinions or their resistance to killings as explained in the law n°2/98 of 22/01/1998 instituting the *Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide* (Kanzayire, 2004).

Rwandan indirectly affected by the Genocide. Finally, the research sample included a returnee from exile despite it not being planned for. This category consists of teachers who returned from exile, including people who came to Rwanda after the Genocide. In other words they were either born in exile or grew up outside of Rwanda. In general, my choice of participants was guided by qualitative studies' philosophy which emphasises diversity while recruiting research participants (King & Horrocks, 2010).

As earlier stated, sampling not only "focuses on the selection of people to be interviewed for example, or situations to be observed, but also the selection of sites in which such persons or situations can be expected to be found" (Flick, 2007, p.27). In the case of this study the history of Rwanda, which includes topics on Genocide, is taught countrywide. Consequently, the chosen sites were not only from Kigali City but also from other provinces. Kigali City was chosen due to it being convenient (Patton, 2002). Since I reside in Kigali City, the capital, it was easy to access schools because the city hosts many schools serving its substantial population. This was the reason why most of the participants who were chosen for this study were from Kigali City. But, the idea of proximity and easy access was not the first motivation for the choice of the participants, other research participants were found outside of Kigali City. Participants also came from regions deeply affected by the Genocide against the Tutsi such as the Southern Province and regions which had fewer victims such as the Northern Province. Some teachers came from schools that were better resourced than others. It must also be pointed out that there is no clear link between poorly resourced schools and rurality. In rural areas there are also schools that are well-resourced because their owners are wealthy. For instance, religious communities own most of the well-resourced schools in rural areas. Therefore, the idea of variation pushed me to think about different sites. Consequently, sampling decisions were mostly taken on a concrete level rather than on an abstract one (Flick, 2009). During the research process, the selected participants were protected against harm by respecting ethical requirements as will be explained below.

4.2.5 Ethical considerations

Many authors have emphasised the fact that the most important and fundamental issue confronting the researcher is the treatment of research participants (Johnson &

Christensen 2008; Cohen et al., 2011; Flick, 2009; Patton, 2002; Sarantakos, 2005; Strydom, 2011). This is crucial because in the act of gathering data, the qualitative researcher engages in a close relationship with the research participants on numerous occasions and on numerous levels. This closeness requires research ethics to protect the research participants' welfare so that they do not experience physical or mental harm or legal complications. In this subsection I engage with the conceptual issues related to research ethics and also explain how the participants in this research study were protected against harm. I will also explain how I obtained ethical clearance for this research study.

With reference to physical harm, "researchers are expected to exclude from their research (a) instruments or procedures that could injure the respondents; (b) subjects who are susceptible to research treatment (e.g. suffering from heart disease or mental disorders); and (c) treatment that may motivate subjects to harm themselves during or after the study" (Sarantakos, 2005, p.19). According to Strydom (2011), it is difficult to predict the emotional harm of research participants. It is however, advised to avoid research procedures that could cause discomfort, stress, anxiety and loss of self-esteem by engaging with personal issues related to the research participants or their significant others. Legal harm on the other hand can come about when the research participants' right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality are not respected. This can have serious personal, emotional, social and economic consequences (Sarantakos, 2005). To avoid physical, mental and emotional as well as legal harm accepted ethical principles namely non-malfeasance, autonomy and respect of dignity, as well as beneficence and justice, need to be followed at each stage of a research project. This is the gateway to ethically sound research (Cohen et al., 2011; Flick, 2006).

In order to ensure that my research was ethically sound, it was necessary as a first step, by means of a literature review, to determine to what extent my topic was already researched which was done to avoid duplication. The research questions were also prepared meticulously so as to avoid the "participants from being 'over-researched'" (Flick, 2007, p.71). The latter was achieved by means of a pilot study of my research instruments conducted at the former Kigali Institute of Education (Rwanda). This assisted me in refining my research instruments including the order

in which interview questions would be posed. Reviewing the interview questions was done so as to prevent harm to the research participants which might emanate from sensitive questions that did not take into consideration their psychological preparation for the research process.

Given the fact that the context of this research study was located in Rwanda, I not only had to follow the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethical clearance policy but also the rules and regulations that guide research in Rwanda. The University of KwaZulu-Natal Research and Ethics Policy applies to all members of staff and students involved in research on or outside the University (http://research.ukzn.ac.za/research-ethics/overview.aspx). Staff members and students must sign an undertaking to comply with the University's Code of Conduct for Research. The guiding principles of the Policy include fairness and equity for the participants. In addition, the researcher undertakes to use safe and responsible research methods and to protect the research participants at all times. The University of KwaZulu-Natal ethical clearance (see Appendix A, Ethical clearance approval letter no HSS/1103/013D) was subjected, to a serious delay, for no apparent reason, as I only received the final approval on November 15, 2013, six months after the defence of the research project.

In Rwanda, an ethical application had to be lodged at least three months prior to the proposed date of the assumption of the research. In addition, all researchers conducting research in Rwanda are required to be affiliated to a relevant body in the country prior to the submission of the research application to the Directorate General of Science, Technology and Research in the Ministry of Education for clearance. If the mentioned conditions, plus the submission of amongst others, a curriculum vitae and a research proposal are fulfilled, the ethical clearance is granted for up to one year renewable for a further two years. In acquiring ethical clearance for research purposes in Rwanda, I did not struggle much. As an employee of a higher learning institution, the former Kigali Institute of Education, and having a curriculum vitae and research proposal ready, the permission for undertaking the research was granted within one day. However, at the Ministry of Education it took almost two weeks to secure the final document of approval with reference no 1793/12.00/2013 of 29/07/2013 (See Appendix B).

Once in the field, the participants were informed verbally about the nature of my research. I made my intention of undertaking research on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools known to the participants. The participants were informed that their participation was on a voluntary basis. They were also ensured about the confidentiality of the research. The participants also learnt that they could withdraw from the research at any time without providing a reason. They were also given my phone numbers and email addresses for any query, including should they want to withdraw from the research. The same information was provided to the research participants by means of a written document in three official languages used in Rwanda (Kinyarwanda, French and English) specifying what I expected from them and vice versa (See Appendix C). Thus, they had to be aware of what the research entailed before they commit themselves to it (Flick, 2007). Ultimately, before the research could start the participants were obliged to sign a consent form. In the consent form, the participants agreed to the recording and to the use of their data including drawings in this research and its related activities. But, as Cohen et al. (2011, p.78) observe it is often impossible for researchers to inform participants of every aspect of research and its ethical implications. A point in case is how the data will be analysed.

Even though the participants accepted to be part of my research on a voluntary basis, studies which are sensitive pose a substantial threat to those who are involved in it (Kitson, Clark, Rushforth, Brinich, Sudak & Zysanski, 1996). As Genocide is a sensitive and controversial topic, I was aware that some participants may become distressed during the process. Specifically since some content covered during the research process may be related, for example, to violence, topics which are taboo, physical appearance or intrusion in their private lives (Cohen et al., 2011). In my study, this was specifically the case since the Genocide was characterised by a range of inhumane actions as discussed in chapters 1 and 2 (Des Forges, 1999). Some of the research participants could have been affected in different ways - they could have lost members of their family during the Genocide or had family members jailed as perpetrators. Additionally, some women were also raped during the Genocide. I consequently anticipated an encounter with participants who had faced

such atrocities. Moreover, the literature review revealed that some people might deny the Genocide in its totality. Consequently, in light of the afore-mentioned, some participants may not have been willing to reveal publicly what they think about some challenges faced while teaching the event. Owing to some of these challenges, I wondered if to continue with my research would not be a violation of research ethics.

Based on a utilitarianism approach to research (Johnson & Christensen, 2008), I considered the interest of conducting research on a topic which affected the lives of all Rwandans as important. This was especially so in terms of gaining knowledge and understanding on the teaching of the Genocide, which could inform decision makers, and other researchers on how to deal with Genocide related controversial issues. Bearing this in mind, I took the decision to proceed with the research. However, the participants' consent on how to use the data they had provided, including their drawings, was requested and in so doing, anonymity was promised and respected by using pseudonyms and altering the respective geographical settings. As Johnson and Christensen (2008) note the participants' anonymity and confidentiality, and that of their data, must be protected in such a manner that they are entirely untraceable. Therefore, all participants' names were changed as agreed in the consent form during the process of analysis in this study. The names of schools and their locations were also changed and in most cases the gender of the participants were also altered. Taking such steps is not contradictory to narrative inquiry which allows such steps (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Atkinson, 2007). By signing the consent form, I anticipated that the research participants might become more guarded in what they would disclose to me. But, as a former teacher in secondary schools in Rwanda, I talked about my own teaching experiences to encourage them. They were also aware that I participated in the 2008 history programme as an advisor and therefore was not a complete outsider. This provided them with comfort and confidence.

Regarding the participants' emotions in the course of the research process, I anticipated reactions of anger or tears (Kitson et al., 1996). One strategy advocated for is not to immediately stop the research process without consulting the participant because this could send the message that as the researcher I could not cope with her/his feelings. The interview could, however, be brought to an end depending on

the situation of things with the participants. As an alternative, I also planned to talk gently to the research participants by proposing to move onto a different aspect or to take a break (King & Horrocks, 2010). I also had to envisage telling the participants that the topic in question could cause emotional trauma (Kitson, et. al., 1996). But the participants had to be encouraged to continue with the research process as it could bring about deep understanding and pave a way for further research. In addition, teachers could also learn from the research and adjust their teaching strategies. Some tissues were bought in case of need. I was also in contact with a clinical psychologist beforehand who agreed to give me advice in case of emotional trauma during the research process. Surprisingly, the participants showed no serious emotion and the fieldwork was concluded without mishap.

To protect participants from harm they were informed that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time. One participant who had agreed to participate withdrew two days earlier without giving reasons. I subsequently sent him a message to apologize if the study inconvenienced him.

The participants were also free to refuse to be recorded or not during the interview sessions. Only one research participant requested not to be recorded during the interview. But later, when he authorized me to record, he revealed almost the same information as he had done before. However, he spoke in a low voice and after the interview he revealed that it was due to the topic which he regarded as very serious and had had to first ensure if what he was saying was in line with the research area of interest. Photographs were also used during the research process. This allowed participants to explore and engage with the Genocide as a sensitive topic. This helped teachers to talk about pedagogies, content and more difficult issues. In this regard, in view of visual ethics, no changes of photographs was done (Holm, 2008). I am convinced that you cannot engage with topics around the Genocide without causing any harm to the research participants due to the atrocities related to the Genocide.

To alleviate the possibility of any possible harm I did not only select photographs that stereotype or that could humiliate or traumatise. I tried to diversify photographs taken from the public domain (see Appendix D). This was to avoid what Mitchell called

"who isn't in the pictures" (2011, p.28) talking about some people or aspects who/which are over-studied and under-studied due to a range of reasons. In addition to the measures outlined above, I decided to transcribe and analyse all the research data myself so that nobody could identify the participants.

As a Rwandan, I had to control my own emotion and respect the ethical issues surrounding research of this nature, even with myself. Arguably emotions could get the better of a researcher during the data gathering process or during the writing up (Elksnin & Elksnin, 2003; Kitson et al., 1996). Before choosing the research methods, I thought deeply about my topic (McCully, 2012). At a certain point, I was hesitant in adopting certain methods fearing that I would fail to secure rich thick data or that I would be interrupted in the field. Furthermore, for ethical reasons certain topics related to this research were considered as taboo. For instance, one expatriate who was also a researcher, Elisabeth Levy Paluck, "was strictly prohibited by authorities in post-conflict Rwanda from asking specifics about ethnic group interactions among the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa" (King, 2009, p.9). Another researcher noted that her research not only took place within a context of government interference but also discreet government surveillance (Thomson, 2009). In contrast, I was encouraged by previous activities carried out through the Education for Community Cohesion Project where some students from the former Kigali Institute of Education interacted via Moodle with their peers of the University of Nottingham to respond to questions related to the teaching of Genocide and the Holocaust.

Paluck (as quoted by King, 2009) continued her research but used alternative words while interacting with Rwandans about social groups. This blend of care and creativity encouraged me to think ahead about supplementary means in case the participants were afraid to talk about social groups. I decided to use the people who were most affected by the Genocide or the targeted group for Tutsi and the most aligned to the regime for the Hutu. For the Twa, I had planned to talk about the group least concerned by the Genocide. But, the research participants were free to use the Rwandan social groups whenever necessary or adopt another term as the targeted group. Consequently, during the write up, I sometimes had to stop and consider terms such as Tutsi, Hutu or Twa to check their fitness for purpose. Hours passed during the night before sleeping while I considered the possibility of including or

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removing some part of the research. Sometimes, I was obliged to talk to Rwandan colleagues to share some related ethical matter or thoughts before proceeding with the writing. In summary my instinct and lived experiences helped me in making judgements regarding certain challenges and ways of proposing possible solution (McLaghlin, 2003).

My reflections and engagements showed me that ethical research on sensitive topics was possible when employing appropriate research methods. Consequently, the research methodology was designed to help me to present participating teachers through their own voice. Therefore, the use of career life stories was preferred in this research. In addition, it is quite evident that research aimed at how to better understand a phenomenon could help policy makers and other stakeholders in education to work towards a better Rwanda are worth pursuing even when faced by ethical challenges. It is necessary to note that the technical team in the Rwandan Ministry of Education in charge of issuing ethical clearance should provide appropriate guidelines when ethical problems should arise. The more practical aspects of this research are discussed through the next sections including the research methodology which explains how data were gathered and analysed.

4.3 Research methodology: Positioning career life stories

After describing my research design including my sample, research paradigm, research approach and ethical considerations, I present my research methodology. At the beginning of this section, it is of paramount importance to explain the demarcation between research methods and research methodology. In this study, the term "methods" is employed to indicate means and processes of data gathering such as drawings or interviews. "Methodology" is used to mean an approach to data gathering or analysis (Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight, 2006; Cohen et al., 2011). Specifically, methodology is about the principles that guide the research practice. In this study I maintain the distinction between research methods considered here as techniques of data collection and research methodology as an approach to data production even though "more recently the term [methodology] is sometimes, and rather confusingly, used in place of 'method" (Swann & Pratt, 2003, p.206). In this section, the nature and use of career life stories, which is the research methodology employed, is explained. What motivated me to choose career life stories as the

overarching research methodology are also outlined. In particular, attention is paid to the benefits and shortcomings of using career life stories as a methodology.

Regarding the conceptualisation of career life stories, the latter are located in the broad category of narrative research. Therefore, life stories are close to other narratives such as life history, oral history, biographies or autobiographies. Concerning life story, it is conceptualised as,

> the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what the person remembers of it and what he or she wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another. The resulting life story is the narrative essence of what has happened to the person. It can cover the time from birth to the present or before and beyond. It includes the important events, experiences, and feelings of lifetime (Atkinson, 1998, p.125) … "and is a way of understanding better the past and the present and a way of leaving the legacy for the future (Atkinson, 2007, p. 233).

According to the above quote, life stories are accounts about a person's past, present and future. Regarding the form, life stories can be in a written or oral format or in people's minds. Life stories express lived human experience. In different cases, people narrate their memorable times to others by bringing together into a coherent text disparate ideas, characters, events and other ideas of life that were not linked before (McAdams, 2008).

The demarcation between life stories and life history seems not to be very clear. Life history "attempts to locate the individuals in their overall life experiences as well as broader socio-historical background within which they live" (Seetal, 2005, p.65). Both life story and life history have been used interchangeably and have little difference based on emphasis and scope. An oral history or life story are mainly concerned with a specific aspect of a person's life, such as work life, or a special role in the life of a community. Therefore, the focus is about a specific historical event, issue, time or place. When the story is about a person's entire life, it is referred to as a life story or life history (Atkinson, 1998). The last category, life story which deals with work life, is my focus for this research.

Autobiography is also considered as a version of life history (Seetal, 2005) and McAdams (2008) includes autobiographies in life stories. But, due to the focus of some studies on teachers' lives and careers, it was found necessary to maintain a distinction between biographies/autobiographies and life history (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Goodson, 2008). In addition, autobiographies are personal stories that include the perspective of the writer who is also the participant, whereas life history is biographical but involves the researcher who has to use different methods and sources (Seetal, 2005). According to Atkinson (1998), the difference between autobiography and life history lies in the use of interviews and documents for autobiographies. In other words, autobiographies do not only rely on memories but rather on other sources to confirm the facts (Pasupathi, 2003). Another difference between life story and other forms of narratives is their use. For instance, life story is mainly used in folklore whereas the others are mainly used in anthropology. There are also historical biographies that use archival research. Historical biographies have, however, been criticized for their uni-dimensional and simplistic approach (Barman, 2010). They want to understand an individual life. But, some collective biographies work on several persons at a time.

Confusion may also rise between life stories or other narratives such as annals or chronicles. Annals are concerned with dated records of events. They do not attach importance to specific links between events and an interpretative purpose is not considered. Chronicles on the other hand are composed of events in a chronological way but the explanatory structure for linking the events is unspecified. When these matters are present, chronicles become narratives (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

In educational research, narratives are used because people are storytellers by nature and have abilities to feel and talk about internal and external experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; McAdams, 2008). The use of narratives serves to study how people experience the world. In education, personal and social stories are constructed because they help to learn about the subject matter or about the strengths and shortcomings of teaching. Some scholars posit that "this fundamental link of narrative with teaching and learning as human activities directly points to its value as an educational research tool" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p.15). Thus,

stories are used by educational researchers to understand some phenomenon experienced in the field of education.

It is important to specify the type of life story which is applied in this research study. McAdams (2008) proposed two types of life stories. For him, life stories can either combine multiple aspects of a life in one story or evoke particular events and settings in everyday life. For my research, I chose the second type which focuses on particular events. Thus, career life stories are related to a specific aspect of a person's life, teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in the case of my study. The major aim of career life stories is not to focus on teachers' historical lives but on their educational experiences. However, in this research some biographical aspects of the history teachers, mainly their educational backgrounds, are also considered.

Career life stories are not only for telling stories. Rather, what is more important is the construction and meaning of career life stories (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013; Gubrium & Holstein, 2008; Jones, 2013). Even though, I am not working within the critical paradigm, stories help practitioners to reflect on what they are doing to change positively, not only their future, but also that of learners (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Thus, stories help to give meaning to oneself and the world at large.

Why did I choose career life stories for this research? Fraenkel and Wallen (2006) include the design flexibility amongst the major characteristics of qualitative research whereby they explain that qualitative research "avoids getting locked into rigid designs that eliminate responsiveness; pursue new paths of discovery as they emerge". As the Genocide and its related controversial issues are historical events, I found more appropriate to use career life stories. As "experience happens narratively … educational experience should be studied narratively" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.19). In fact, stories are the documents of life (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008). For example, oral history was at the heart of African life even before the arrival of Europeans. People used to tell stories related to their daily lives. The importance of stories in oral cultures is significant and even Western culture retains oral practices (Webster & Mertova, 2007). In light of the aforementioned I had, an assumption that teachers' experiences presented in forms of stories was a way of giving them a voice

to talk about their experiences, which could be restored for the benefit of the readers of this study. In addition, stories can better present the socio-political context in which the teaching of Genocide and its related controversial issues takes place.

Teachers' experiences keep on growing as stories are also constituted by old and new events (Webster & Mertova, 2007). The way teachers taught the Genocide and its related controversial issues for the first time is in all probability different now. Different events happened in the interim including teachers' personal development, new policies, possible discovery of new evidence related to the Genocide or improvement of teaching resources. Thus, the use of career life stories helped me to explain how teachers' experiences keep changing in a changing context. In this regard, career life stories helped me to grasp different changes that happened in teachers' professional lives in line with the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In addition, teachers' stories helped me to assess what they are teaching such as official and unofficial issues.

Career life stories do also have some shortcomings. In career stories, participants are required to narrate their professional life. This telling can be altered because it involves the memory (Pasupathi, 2001). Sometimes people can forget certain events. In addition to memory deficiency, narrators can include their ideologies and interests in their stories (Andrews et al., 2013; Atkinson, 1998; 2007; Riessman, 1993). Additionally people can be biased or make mistakes (Lowenthal, 1997). In fact, people tend to forget details of events as time passes while they also internalise new experiences. As a result, some events become more important than others and the meaning attributed to them can also change due to the change of personal status (McAdams, 2008). As Andrews et al. (2013, p.44) advance, "narrative cannot be repeated exactly, since words never 'mean' the same thing twice". This is why stories require interpretation because stories do not speak for themselves (Riessman, 1993). In my case, I was obliged to interact with the research participants more than once by means of different methods to understand the actual meaning of some issues that were unclear. Thereafter, I used my own understanding to advance further interpretations of the stories.

Researchers mention a series of methods that could be used for constructing stories (Atkinson, 1998; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988; Riessman, 1993; Savickas, 2005). These include, amongst others, written and visual texts, field notes of shared experience, participants' and their own commentaries, journal records, autobiographies and biographical writing, storytelling, unstructured interviews and personal philosophies. The following section details methods used in this research to construct the career life stories.

4.4 Data gathering methods

To reiterate methods "are techniques for gathering evidence. In other words, methods exist in order to service research questions that advance our understanding of the social world or some aspects of it" (Hesse-Bieber & Sharlene, 2008, pp.1-2). In order to understand the research participants' views I employed a variety of methods for gathering data. During the analysis, I personally constructed the stories by using the gathered data as discussed later. Thus, the process of constructing stories is part of the analysis. In this section, I present the methods employed and the motives for the choice of the methods. Moreover, I outline the strengths and weaknesses of these methods and how they were used. As this study is sensitive in nature and located within a qualitative framework, different methods, including emergent methods were used to guide my conversations with the participants to get the best description of the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Hesse-Bieber & Sharlene, 2008).

The killing of the Tutsi is still fresh, not only in the minds of the Rwandan community, but also in the hearts of most of the history teachers who experienced it in various ways and manners. As Rutembesa (2011a) wrote, some people do not want to talk about this topic. This context required the use of diverse research methods, which can allow participants to open up with a minimum of harm. Emergent methods, with their flexibility and innovation, are able to advance scholarly interviews to generate data (Hesse-Bieber & Sharlene, 2008) and transcend the context as outlined. Thus, visual methods including drawings and photographs were selected to allow the participants to overcome their emotions and to engage fully in the research process. The visual methods were supported by semi-structured and self-interviews.

For this research on the experiences of Rwandan secondary schools history teachers in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, I realised that other scholars have used methods such as semi-structured interviews and focus groups to investigate how the Genocide could be effectively taught (Bianchini, 2012; Freedman et al. 2008; Lawrence 2010; Mutwarasibo, 2011). In the case of Bianchini (2012), views were given by student-teachers who had not yet practiced as teachers and who did not know certain realities present in the field. For Freedman et al. (2008), data collection was done prior to the implementation of the 2008 and 2010 history curricula. Lawrence's (2010) research was administered to British teachers teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi in Britain. Even if previous researchers attained trustworthy results, I found it necessary to use different research methods, not only to obtain useful and relevant data (Punch, 2002), but also to take ethical issues related to an emotional topic into consideration.

I worked from the assumption that there were some views on teachers' educational practices and views which were uncovered because of the research methods used by previous researchers. As Cohen et al. (2011) point out, visual methods can concretely summarize the issues under study and can also deflect attention away from personal sensitivities by projecting them onto external objects and the respondent can consequently be able to react to them personally (Cohen et al., 2011). Hence, the use of visual methods such as drawings aimed at deflecting the sensitivity of the topic to the image and for minimising the participants' harm. This psychological preparation by deflecting the sensitivity to the drawing also aimed at gaining more data.

4.4.1 Visual methods
Visual data is a broad category that includes a variety of methods. Concerning its conceptualisation, visual comes from a Latin word, *visus*, meaning sight. Visual data are thus pieces of non-textual information that "include drawings, photographs, videotapes, and other graphic information that are primarily observed through the sense of sight" (Carnes, 2009, p.79). For some scholars, "anything we see, watch or look at counts as a visual image" (Cohen et al., 2011, p.528). Visual data are produced either by the participants or the researcher or in a collaborative manner. In

educational research, most of the drawings are produced by the research participants (Banks, 1995; Bishop, 2006). Sometimes visual images are preferable to written words because they are present in many locations and people are used to reading them. In addition, this method is preferred because,

> images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness that [sic] do words; exchanges based on words alone utilize less of the brain's capacity than do exchanges in which the brain is processing images as well as words. These may be some of the reasons the photo elicitation interview seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information, but rather one that evokes a different kind of information (Harper, 2002, p.13).

Images bear a truth which has to be understood by the producer and the viewers alike (Holm, 2008). Visual methods help researchers to discover the conclusions, truth or emotions that are usually left uncovered by other methods (Packard, 2008; Kearney, 2009). They can also be used to facilitate the beginning of a discussion on a sensitive topic and increase the dialogue between the researcher and the participant (Carnes, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011). However, some authors have underestimated the role of visual methods in research considering them, for instance, as a distraction. Additionally they are also underutilized due to a lack of skills to do so (Bishop, 2006; Woolner, Clark, Hall, Tiplady, Thomas & Wall et al., 2010). In this research I adopted two types of visual research methods namely: drawings and photographs coupled with semi-structured interviews. In the case of the latter this was done to minimise possible misinterpretation.

Drawings

Semantically, a drawing is a picture or image that is created by making lines on a surface with a pencil, pen, marker, chalk but usually not with paint (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/drawing). There is a range of studies using drawing either to test learners' intelligence or to facilitate data gathering on individual emotions (Bishop, 2006; Clark, 2011; Kearney, 2009; Özden, 2009; Woolner et al., 2010). In this research, drawings were used for gathering data related to teachers' emotions during their first encounters with the topic related to the Genocide. Drawings also aimed at talking about other emotions related to other controversial issues related to the Genocide. Thus, drawings served to communicate about some ideas about discrete concepts than written answers (Bishop, 2006; Özden, 2009).

In order to allow participants to talk more freely and to reveal some insights that could not be achieved by another method (Banks, 2007), the participants in my research were given an A4 size paper and a pen and pencil to create any drawing representing their experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history. I told the participants that the objective was not to test their drawing skills rather the meaning behind their depictions of their teaching experiences (Bishop, 2006). The participants were not given a blank-page accompanying the drawing to help them to make more comments by responding to open-ended questions (Bishop, 2006). I was convinced that it should be better to get spontaneous explanations from the participants instead of asking them to write their answers to increase their participation rate. Therefore, the participants were also notified that after drawing, I was going to ask some questions related to their meaning of the depiction. At the beginning, some participants were asking if they could draw an object or a person. I explained to them that it depended on their experience and how the drawing reflected their experience. Always at the start, the participants were reluctant to draw but when the activity was clearly explained they enjoyed the exercise which was somehow fun for them (Özden, 2009; Punch, 2002). During the process, most of the participants kept explaining what they were doing without waiting till the end of the exercise to discuss the drawing. Thus, this activity of drawing helped the participants to focus on their depictions not on the sensitivity of the topic under research. In addition, coupled with interviews, drawing gave power to the participants because they drew and described their depiction and in so doing they took the lead in explaining their images (Bishop, 2006). The drawing task was completed in between five and seven minutes.

Alongside the decrease of the sensitivity of the topic, another power of drawings as a research method is their capacity to increase the participants' response rates as Meyer (1991) noticed. One scholar mentions that the participants in his study completed the research diagram but 1 out of 22 failed to return an accompanying questionnaire meaning that 21 did the research diagram (Kearney, 2009). In my case, only one participant had hesitated to make a drawing and preferred to orally explain his experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Apparently, he did not understand the reason for drawing his experience. When he received more explanations that it was a way of facilitating us to discuss our topic, he

decided to produce his drawing. In this research, most of the participants completed their drawings easily and quickly. They were happy to draw and to explain what they were doing. The enjoyment the participants expressed in drawing is close to Özden's (2009) conclusion that some participants may see drawings as more accurate than writing answers or presenting them orally. Thus, participants who may be unable to express themselves clearly through verbal means got another chance to do it through a drawing (Punch, 2002).

Despite the mentioned advantages of drawings, this data gathering method has some shortcoming because understanding a concept is different from drawing it accurately (Özden, 2009). In my study, the participants were informed that drawing skills were not the most important factor, rather the meaning behind the depictions was. Other scholars raised the issue of the potential for misinterpretation and misanalysis in relation to research standards, and/or incorrectly attributing emotions or actions to certain drawings (Bishop, 2006; Clark, 2011, Kearney, 2009). Some participants' drawings such as a mountain with grasses and a branch of a tree with one leaf were difficult to interpret. To sort out the risk of misinterpretation, the drawing was followed by an interview whereby the participants were encouraged to explain the meaning behind their drawings. As participants produced the drawings themselves, it was a way of accessing their feelings, emotions and views in terms of data for the research. In addition, the experience showed that the participants provide the true meaning of a drawing (Kearney, 2009). Therefore, this kind of 'drawing interviewing' in my study was a way of avoiding misinterpretations of the participants' drawings (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). As Carnes (2009) expounds drawings were a good entrance point into the interviewing process that allowed the participants to talk in a friendly way about their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues and how their experience grew.

The second research step, also visual in nature, was to present the participants with some photographs and to allow them to choose those they deemed suitable to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The participants also had to explain how they would use the photographs in a classroom setting. The following sub-section serves to unpack this visual method.

Photo elicitation

A photograph is a representation of reality, not a direct encoding of it and therefore subject to the influences of the social, cultural and historical contexts of production and utilisation (Banks, 1995). In other words, a photograph is interpreted in the culture of the participants not the photographed thus "the act of seeing is inherently subjective" (Packard, 2008, p.68). Basically put, "photo elicitation is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview" (Harper, 2002, p.13). In this research, photographs were inserted in my interviews as a support for conducting the interviews (Flick, 2009; Harper, 2002; Packard, 2008). In the process of photo-elicitation, the participants themselves can take photographs and thereafter write their analytical thinking. Another approach of using photo-elicitation allows the researcher to ask the participants some questions about photographs taken by others (Bach, 2007). I used the second approach by asking questions to the participants on their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues by means of photographs taken by other persons as I did for the drawings, by asking the participants questions instead of writing, as I wanted to increase the response rates.

The selected photographs helped the participants to talk more freely about their teaching methods, content and more difficult issues. In other words, photographs were used as a means to allow the participants to remember their professional activities and to explore and engage with the Genocide which is a sensitive topic, by bringing out a range of data that would be difficult to otherwise produce (Harper, 2002; Motalingoane-Khau, 2010). Moreover, chosen photographs helped to understand which images should be shared by learners in Rwandan secondary schools in order to create distance from or empathy with learners. Therefore, those photographs also helped to identify when it is ethically justifiable to share photographs of another person or event in a moment of vulnerability (Kienzler, 1997; Papademas, 2004; Perry & Marion, 2010).

In view of using photo-elicitation, I selected 22 photographs from the internet in line with various aspects related particularly to the history of Rwanda including the roots of the Genocide such as the traditional relationship, ethnographic photographs taken during the colonial power and the clash of the presidential plane. Specifically

photographs were also related to the Genocide process and included aspects such as different actors in the Genocide, weapons used in the tragedy and the consequences (See Appendix D). The selection was mainly guided by the literature on controversial issues in the history of Rwanda (Gasanabo, 2010; Nkusi, 2004) and key aspects on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi as stated in the 2008 and 2010 history curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010). The participants were given five minutes to have a look at selected photographs and to choose five of them they thought are related to their teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The selection helped to identify common and key aspects in the teaching of the Genocide. The participants also explained how some of the selected photographs, or others which are similar but not used in this research, are used to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Most of the participants were eager to choose more photographs or requested to add one or two more and I authorised them to do so to avoid the participants' frustration.

For a given historical context, the participants were allowed more than one photograph. As with other visual methods, photographs show persons or events that have passed. Thus, photographs enhanced the possibilities of conventional empirical research and helped the participants to evoke their feelings and memories in line with the depiction (Harper, 2002; Packard, 2008). In the process of photo interviewing, I moved from the objects in the photo to what the objects in the photo mean (Harper, 1986), in order to allow the participants to talk mainly about the main aspects taught in the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Thus, what is in the photo guided me to draw conclusions about the participants' views towards their educational practices (Flick, 2009).

4.4.2 Use of interviews

The importance and shortcomings of interviews have been discussed by many authors (Atkinson, 1998; Cohen et. al. 2011; Crounz & McKenzie, 2006; Flick, 2006; Flick, 2009; Johnson & Christensen, 2008; King & Horrocks, 2010). Interviewing is one of the predominant modes for gathering qualitative data through questions asked by the researcher and the participants who frequently give detailed information. Thus, by means of interviews, I was aware that I could obtain information through direct interchange, as Greeff (2011) wrote, with history teachers

in Rwandan secondary schools expected to have the knowledge on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. As an interview is a face-to-face interaction, I had an opportunity to probe to get more details about my questions. Moreover, I could discuss deep issues with the participants and even after transcribing the interviews, we could discuss our interpretations according to our viewpoints (Cohen et al., 2011). The following quote illustrates most of the strengths and shortcomings of interviews:

> … interviews enable participants – be their interviewers or interviewees - to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself … The interview is a flexible tool for data collection, enabling multi-sensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard … The interviewer can press not only for complete answers but for responses about complex and deep issues (Cohen et al., 2011, p.409).

The choice of interviews was guided by Atkinson (1998, p.124) who noted that, "If we want to know the unique perspective of an individual, there is no better way to get this than in that person's own voice". In other words, during the interview, the participants addressed the 'what' and the 'how' raised during our interactions (Flick, 2009). Similarly, interviewing was chosen as an obtrusive method because the participants were freely encouraged to tell their story due to stated open-ended questions (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The participants are able to give more details about complex questions. The researcher can also probe for areas of which she/he did not have prior knowledge. Interviews also give a chance to note the participants' different reactions and to enter into the participants' inner world to understand their perceptions (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). The non-verbal expressions observed during interviews cannot be seen during a memory writing or drawing process (King & Horrocks, 2010).

This research adopted career life stories methodology and Atkinson (1998) acknowledged the value of interviews for life stories research. Interviews were used to address questions about teachers' personal experiences and meaning making of personal or more general issues. Within the different forms of interviews available, I refused to use focus groups in my research, despite their strengths. The rejection was based on making a choice on the most effective method for my study (Cohen et al., 2011; Greeff, 2011; Johnson & Christensen, 2008). More specifically the

dismissal of focus group interviews was motivated by a European student's story. When the mentioned student was doing her field research in Rwanda, during focus groups meetings, the discussions went smoothly. Seemingly, appropriate responses were provided. However, during the night, some participants secretly came to her residence to give another version of the story, they could not reveal in public. As a result, I decided to not use focus groups fearing that teachers may not openly reveal certain issues related to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Thus, I decided to use semi-structured interviews where I could talk face-to-face with one participant so that she/he could not fear another persons' presence. I have also chosen self-interviews because the participants could work independently as discussed after the following paragraph.

Despite the strengths of an interview, "the researcher using interviews has to be aware that they are time consuming, they are open to bias, they may be inconvenient for respondents, issues of interviewee fatigue may hamper the interview, and anonymity may be difficult" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409). When the researcher is not able to formulate questions during the face-to-face interaction or when the participant does not express her/herself properly, it affects the interview success. For sensitive research, the participants may respond differently depending on how they see the researcher (Denscombe, 2007).

The researcher's preconceived ideas influence the orientation of the interview. This means that her/his leading questions can indicate what the researcher wants to discuss or not (Newton, 2010). It is not easy to know if the information provided by the participant is accurate. In order not to alleviate interview's shortcomings, I developed some strategies. In order not to inconvenience the participants, I decided to use different methods during the interaction with the participants. In this regard, the use of drawings and photo-elicitation aimed not only to obtain rich data which I could not have obtained through other traditional means but also these activities became fun for the participants. The issue of time consuming was not a big concern for this research because it was most important to get rich data despite the time used. The participants' bias was unavoidable due to my research paradigm which aims at understanding participants' views. It was also important to understand why

the participants have such biases (Atkinson, 1998). Regarding other weaknesses, they are dealt with in the trustworthiness section.

Semi-structured interviews

As with other interviews, semi-structured interviews allow face-to-face interaction between the participants and the researcher and help to communicate the perspective. Semi-structured interviews are conducted on the basis of a loose structure (Brikci & Green, 2007). They use open-ended questions specifically for main ideas to widen perspectives. Semi-structured interviews also use closed questions for probing more information and checking the meaning (Newton, 2010). Despite the use of an interview schedule, the wording is sometimes different and each interview has its own coherence.

As interviews provide personal views, their results are not easily generalizable and their depth may be difficult to analyse (Newton, 2010; Patton, 2002). For using semi-structured interviews, I was inspired by Greeff (2011, p.351) who notes that "in general, researchers use semi-structured interviews in order to gain a detailed picture of a participant's beliefs about, or perceptions or accounts of, a particular topic". In this perspective, I carried out semi-structured interviews during a significant time and the interviews became powerful because the participants were eager to respond to the questions. I did my best to master the schedule in advance to be attentive so that I follow the participants without necessarily asking every question. Thus, one advantage of semi-structured interviews was to probe data from previous methods namely drawings and photographs in a creative manner (Holstein & Gubrium, 2002). As researcher, I became part of the interview by probing into areas that needed explanations (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). In addition, semi-structured interviews were used to ask other open-ended questions related to the research topic to obtain responses with more depth. The participants were given enough time to answer to questions by talking freely (Johnson & Christensen 2008). I also became part of the interview in view of verifying assumptions in order to "get inside the participant skin so that the topic may be understood from the participant's perspective" (Greeff, 2011, p. 351).

Referring to Flick (2009), I thought that the participants had a complex stock of knowledge about the topic under study that I could access through open-ended questions. I used open-ended questions for main aspects of the research. For instance some questions such as "Can you tell me how this drawing represents your experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues? Why are those topics controversial? Could you describe your experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues?" were designed to explore areas of interests. My task was to help the participant talk about their experiences from the time they had started teaching the topic under research to the present (Atkinson, 1998). But, the process of writing and constructing the story was done later during the analysis not during the interview process (Atkinson, 1998). In general, interviews lasted between one hour and one hour and half and were carried out at least twice for each participant. But, more meetings were organised with some participants to clarify some aspects of the interviews.

Guided by Flick's (2009) key points, my in-person interview schedule was formulated and evaluated by asking myself why I was asking specific questions. I had to see if the questions were relevant to my theory and research questions. Secondly, the substantial aspect of questions was thought about. Thirdly, the way questions were formulated also attracted my attention mainly through the use of visual methods in order to get expected results. I had to make sure that the participants understand what they were expected to do. Fourthly, the position of questions was also very important in as much as I had a range of methods. During the interview process, the questions' order changed due to the responses given by the participants. They could extend their responses and include aspects related to another question. The order of questions had been tested during the piloting of the interview schedule but, the order kept changing in accordance with participants' responses.

My personal identity as discussed by Denscombe (2007) could have been a problem, but the issue was mediated by the fact that I informed the participants that I had been a history teacher myself and participated in the writing of history curricula. Therefore, I assumed that the participants could be free to talk to me expecting that revealing their challenges could improve future history curricula and teacher training.

The issue of generalisability and the participants' biases are discussed in the trustworthiness section.

Self-interview

Self-interview or self-statement, as a method, has been used in different fields such as psychology and was also used for sensitive topics (Neck & Manz, 1992). The self-interview is a self-constructed dialogue or a kind of memory work in as much as it is entitled to deal with participants' professional experiences by maximising the depth description of those experiences (Bryant & Livholts, 2007; King & Horrocks, 2010). In this research, after discussing with the participants using visual methods and semi-structured interviews, the participants were requested to reflect on the formal interview in line with their experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history and write down a self-interview.

The participants were given the power to ask themselves a series of questions and to respond to them. In other words, the participants had to write down other important aspects they felt were not raised during the formal interview but might be relevant for the research. I was convinced that the participants had other important issues to raise if they were given another opportunity. For using self-interviews, I was also inspired by the mentioned students who used to come during the night to give additional information to the expatriate researcher. I felt that when the participants were given more time they could reflect more on the interview and give other constructive views. In my case, the self-interview proposed to the participants was a kind of self-constructed dialogue. Therefore the produced self-interview was a continuation of the formal interview and the participants were requested to maximise the description of their teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Self-interviews are close to self-talk; being considered as self-verbalisations which "can be simply defined as what we covertly tell ourselves" (Neck & Manz, 1992, p.683). The difference is that by the self-interview, the participants had to put in writing what they told themselves.

In order to get the feedback, the participants had either to use the internet or to send to me their written self-constructed dialogue. I was aware that the self-interview was successful when the participants responded by using a computer because the use of

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computer protects the participant anonymity (Lamb, Beers, Reed-Gillette, & McDowell, 2011; Van der Heijden, Bouts, & Hox, 2000). For the self-administered questionnaire, the questionnaire is designed by the researcher and can either be filled via a computer to minimise the draw back or sent by post. By using the computer, the participants respond more freely to sensitive questions because their responses are immediately sent and participants do not fear the disclosure of anonymity due to face-to-face interviews. However, through self-interview through the use of a computer, the participant's behaviour cannot be observed.

Although the computer recorded the highest positive responses to a computer-based interview, sometimes the researcher can discuss with the participants about their self-interviews. The advantage of discussing self-interviews with the participants seemed to be similar to face-to-face interviews where the researcher can observe the participants' non-verbal expressions which is not possible through computer-based interviews. A fundamental assumption is that the collaborative exercise of analysing concrete experiences has the potential to produce exciting and rewarding analyses (Jansson, Wendt, & Åse, 2008; Lapadat et al., 2010). By together examining these texts, participants or teachers better understand what they are doing and how they position themselves in front of their learners. Even if I was not in a critical paradigm, this sharing of self-interview as with other memory works has a therapeutic effect and gives authority to writers' perception of their experiences (Lapadat et al., 2010). It is also a strategy to empower teachers or participants through the act of writing (Bryant & Livholts, 2007; Motalingoane-Khau, 2010). In other words, self-interviews such as self-talks contribute to individuals' performance (Hardy, 2001; Neck & Manz, 1992).

Regarding the submission, the self-interview had to be ready before the following meeting. We had agreed that the participants only had to submit their texts to me and discuss them for clarification. I had an assumption that to discuss the self-interview would restrict the participants from writing what they had not revealed during the formal interview. But, I realised that by discussing the self-interviews, I could gain more insight into teachers' experiences. My decision of directly submitting the self-interviews to me was due to the lack of an alternative strategy for submitting them. I dismissed the use of the internet because I was sure that in some rural

areas, it was not possible to be connected. Even in places such as Kigali City, it could have been difficult for some teachers to find enough time to go to a cyber café to send their self-interviews. Hence, it could reduce the number of participants. In addition, by using the internet, they could use pseudonyms whereas I had to merge the self-interview with the first face-to-face interview during my analysis.

Self-interviews were not extensively used by the participants. However, the participants mainly used self-interview to write some teaching scenes to show how their teaching methods were applied. Moreover, one participant estimated that he had given enough information and found no reason to commit himself to do a self-interview. This could be considered as an avoidance of continuing talking about sensitive issues. Another reason which weakened the success of self-interviews was the lack of proper channels to send the feedback to the researcher without identifying the sender. The anonymity was not possible because I had to relate the self-interview to the formal interview for a better understanding of the phenomenon under study.

4.5 Journey and issues of analysing and interpreting career life stories and drawings

This section deals with data analysis. The term data can be understood as rough materials including interview transcripts and field notes that researchers collect from the field. Diaries, pictures, documents and newspaper articles created by other people and used by the researchers are also referred to as data (Schurink, Fouché, & De Vos, 2011). In this research, data were constituted of drawings and verbal texts related to semi-structured interviews commenting on drawings and photographs. The data also consisted of participants' self-interviews. The process of data analysis was done as a science and an art in as much as it was done methodically and with rigour. Alongside the rigour to respect during the analysis, data analysis also requires an innovative process. Conversely, interpretation urges researchers to connect fractured data and to seek connections between data and social cultural contexts to understand the data (Chang, 2008).

The data analysis methods I employed in this research depended on the kind of data gathered. The raw data was constituted by a large amount of information including drawings, photographs, interviews and self-interviews, which was somehow

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disorganised and necessitated logical analysis. After transcribing recorded oral texts and transforming them into written texts drawings were put in a separate chapter as they were different from other data because they presented deep emotions about the research topic and revealed some insights I could not otherwise access (Banks, 2007). As discussed in the next subsection, the drawings were analysed through semiotic analysis (Cullum-Swan & Manning, 1994; Sebeok, 2001). Drawings were accompanied by additional explanatory texts made by the participants and the drawing analysis necessitated a different approach from other verbal texts. These verbal texts were used to construct career life stories. In the next subsection, I explain how the drawings were analysed.

As there is no common understanding on how to proceed in the process of analysing qualitative data including career life stories (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Schurink et al., 2011; Silverman, 1993), I did my best to design strategies to construct the career life stories. In this section, I explain the process of constructing career life stories used in this research. Alongside the construction of career life stories, the blueprint of the constructed career life stories is extensively expounded. The construction of stories was the first level analysis of verbal texts. Thereafter, open coding was employed for the second level analysis of career life stories. Referring to Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p.7), "the language and criteria for conduct of narrative inquiry are under development in the research community". Therefore, I had to be innovative in the construction of career life stories.

4.5.1 Drawings analysis

In the fifth chapter, I employed semiotic analysis to analyse the drawings (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). Etymologically, semiotics derives from the Greek word, *semeiotics,* as a branch of medicine which studies physiological symptoms. A symptom is a mark or sign that stands for something other than itself. The role of the physician is to unravel what a symptom stands for (Sebeok, 2001). Conceptually, semiotics is concerned with signs and what they stand for in a human culture (Berger, 2004; Gottdiener, 1985; Sebeok, 2001). A sign can be a photograph, a drawing, a gesture or a word. In this research, I was focusing on the meanings of drawings considered as signs at this stage of my study. Aristotle (as quoted by Sebeok, 2001) identified three simultaneous dimensions of any sign namely the

physical part of the sign (the sound), the referent to which it refers and its evocation meaning what the referent entails psychologically and socially. In other words, the sign is made of the signifier and the image or concept to which the signifier refers, called the signified. Signification is the relation between the two (Parsa, 2004). For instance, the red light is a signifier or the word that refers to signified as information meaning do not pass this area.

With the visual analysis approach, I took into consideration three species of signs namely icon, index and symbol. Firstly, the icon refers to a sign that expresses direct or real meaning. This explanation means that an icon is a reproduction of what it stands for and physically the icon resembles or simulates what it represents. For instance, photographs are iconic signs because they visually reproduce their referent. Secondly, an index that supposes "a relationship that it establishes with its object, is an indicator determined by this object" (Türkcan, 2013, p.601). Sensory features help to determine the indexical meaning. For instance, dark clouds are index of an impending rain or the pointing of an index finger indicates the location of people, things or events. The symbol is the third type of signs. The symbolic meaning is known through convention because the symbolic sign stands for its referent in an arbitrary way. For instance, the cross is a sign of Christianity. Even words are symbolic signs (Berger, 2004; Parsa, 2004; Sebeok, 2001; Türkcan, 2013). Thus, the meaning of signs can differ from location and time.

As signs can mean different things depending on time and place, the drawings used in this research were analysed and interpreted according to the Rwandan culture and according to my own personal background as described in the General introduction. Thus, visual semiotic analysis looks at denotative and connotative meanings of a drawing or any other sign (Berger, 2004; Parsa, 2004). By denotation, I looked at the literal meaning or the initial referent a sign intends to convey whereas by the connotation I was more interested in associative meanings for the sign which the sign is possible to create (Hall, 1993; Sebeok, 2001). In other words, the connotation meaning depends on my cultural experiences. In this regard, "word's connotation involve the symbolic, historic, and emotional matters connected to it" (Berger, 2004, p.16).

Alongside symbolic or connotative meaning of the drawing, my analysis took into account the iconic meaning and indexical meaning. In this perspective, two most important aspects of the drawing namely the representation of the drawing (signifier) and the meaning of the drawing (the signified) were used as an analytical tool.

Sign	Sample
Signifiers	
Signified	

Table 4.1 Drawing analysis inspired by Parsa (2004).

As Parsa (2004, p.844) observes, "the significant exception of Peirce's categories of 'index', 'icon', and 'symbol', it [semiotics] suffers from an underdeveloped system of descriptive and analytical categories". In order to alleviate this lack, a series of concepts based on the theoretical and conceptual ideas and research questions were also taken into consideration to analyse the drawings:

- hard experience
- normal experience
- teaching aims
- stated commitment
- risk taking
- avoiding
- peace building
- neutrality
- indoctrination
- teaching methods

The a priori codes were used "to replicate or extend a certain line of previous research" (Johnson & Christensen, 2008, p.534). In this research, the designed codes helped to think about the use of visual methods in line with controversial issues theory.

The drawing analysis also took into consideration the participants' descriptions to avoid misinterpretation. The participants were allowed to "analyse" the drawings and I recorded their results. In other words, the drawings were considered as the data

and the participants were analysts. The participants' descriptions were considered as primary results. Later, I interpreted the participants' descriptions further as I did for the stories in 4.5.2 through open coding (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). I preferred to give details of the use of open coding because it was largely used to construct career life stories.

4.5.2 Career life stories construction through open coding

In qualitative research, data analysis starts early during data gathering. I gathered the data, analysed it mainly during the transcription process and looked for additional data. This interim analysis done during the process of gathering data helped me to ask more questions to the participants during different meetings and have a deep understanding of the topic (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). In the case of this research, I have chosen to use first career life stories as first level analysis. By career life stories, each participant's story is presented as a whole. In their book, Cohen et al. (2011) explain a range of strategies for presenting gathered data. When the responses of one individual are presented before moving to the next one, the coherence of the individual's data is maintained and the participant's text is seen as a whole. In the particular case of this research, I presented career life stories in a coherent text without necessarily taking into consideration the order of the interview schedule as discussed below. For the second level analysis, open coding was used in view of thematic analysis. The objective of this thematic analysis was to compare key ideas from all participants. In other words, the focus was put on main aspects emerging from the data.

For this research, after the transcription of the interviews, the data was systematically analysed to get manageable and understandable units. I obtained manageable units by fracturing data in segments through categorisation. Categorising refers to two main activities namely coding and organising data (Chang, 2008). By coding, I ascribed a label to a piece of data or "chunks' of varying size" (Johnson & Christensen, 2008, p.534). The assigned label was either my creation or was picked from the text and allocated to analytical units when I found a suitable label in the participant's text. In general, this inductive coding was descriptive and one or more codes could be ascribed to a piece of data due to the width and content of the piece (Cohen et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009).

The purpose of coding was the description and reorganisation of the data by arranging the data into categories. The created categories were used to compare things in the same category to develop theoretical concepts and to organize the data into broader themes and issues (Chang, 2008; Merriam, 2009). In other words, codes helped me to find out the complexity of the data because data interpretation and analysis does not happen via mechanical coding. It requires the taking into consideration of the context and other texts or theoretical concepts (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013).

After transcription, I returned many times to the transcribed texts and made comments guided by my theoretical and conceptual ideas. I realised that most of my data was left out unlabelled. As a result, I abandoned this process. I started re-reading the first story and inspired by the idea from Maxwell and Miller (2008), I adopted analytic strategies of reducing data by identifying key relationships between the gathered data. In this regard, I started an open coding line by line bearing in mind the research questions and theoretical ideas. Thereafter, I grouped all common codes together to form some categories. For instance, categories such as teaching the Genocide for peace building, teaching the Genocide for historical knowledge and teaching the Genocide for its prevention were formed. Thereafter, all categories with traits related to teaching objectives such as teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues for peace building, teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues for Genocide prevention or teaching the Genocide for explaining its causes, sequences and consequences were grouped into broader themes of teaching aims. The designed themes became the guidelines to construct the career life stories.

In agreement with Chang (2008) all categories were not considered for constructing the stories. In this perspective, I took into consideration some key aspects of a teaching career namely aims, content and teaching methods. These key aspects were emerging from the data and constitute main aspects in teaching. Therefore they are part of teachers' experiences. Alongside key aspects of teaching, I considered the research questions namely "what are the controversial issues related to the teaching of the Genocide and how the Genocide and its related controversial

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issues are taught the way they are and why" to construct the career life stories. Considering the research questions and the sensitivity of the topic and the focus of my study, I added to the identified themes the rationale behind teaching methods, resources and emotions. The selected themes became the guidelines to construct the career life stories. From the transcribed texts, different lines or paragraphs containing the above themes were grouped under the mentioned categories/themes. By referring to Spiggle (1986) data which was part of the interview but could not fall under the following guidelines were not considered:

- Aims
- First encounters with the teaching of the Genocide
- Content
- Teaching methods
- Rationale behind teaching methods
- Resources
- Emotions

After categorising the data a coherent text was written. The rearrangement of the interviews into a story by making the story readable served to clarify and deepen the understanding of the phenomenon (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 1993). I started with one story and moved to others. I stayed close to the data and worked on them to make the information useful (Atkinson, 1998; Chang, 2008; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). After this step, I returned to the transcript. Some ideas which were not taken into consideration during the first reading were also integrated in the story. In other words, at this stage, I was deeply engaged in reflexivity, which entails self-awareness to any potential bias (Jootun, McGhee & Marland, 2009). As Atkinson (2007) posits

> the life story narrative that results from the life story interview, after it is transcribed, with the interviewer's questions left out, and the storyteller's words put into sentence and paragraph form, becomes the essence of what has happened to a person. It presents an insider's perspective on, and understanding of, a life lived (Atkinson, 2007, p.233).

In this research, the constructed stories constitute first level analysis and the first person is used to reveal the participants' perspectives while talking about their experiences which have a beginning, middle and an end (Bryant & Livholts, 2007;

Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). The first person was used except for the final short commentary which was aimed at avoiding my own interpretation at this stage as I had to remain as close as possible to participants' world view. For fictional issues and keeping participants' anonymity, the gender was sometimes altered. The constructed career life stories are guided by a certain blueprint and the guiding principles to construct the stories go in line with the research focus and questions. Thus, the career life stories look at:

- The participants' educational and professional background
- First reactions to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues
- Aims of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues
- Contents related to the Genocide and its related controversial issues
- Teaching methods and resources
- Final commentary

The above aspects helped to design five components of each career life story. Firstly, the preamble of the story and its plot (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), is composed of a short biography specifying the participants' educational and professional background, the school location and also its teaching resources status. The school location, the scene of the story, where the actions occur in terms of Connelly and Clandinin (1990; 2000), in my view is wider because it encompasses not only the school but also the community which influences the teaching. The school as with the teacher are anonymous and it gives a fictional aspect to the story. However, it does not prevent the story from being a plausible account, it was only an ethical issue of protecting the participant (Cohen et al. 2011; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). The educational background in the preamble indicates the participant's qualification. The level of study reveals if the teacher is sufficiently qualified to offer such a course at a given level. In general, the holders of a bachelor's degree with honours are supposed to teach in the Advanced Level. I assumed that qualified teachers were able to diversify teaching methods and deal with emotive issues. With experience, teachers also know which aspects to avoid or to emphasize and why they are doing so. In educational background, some academic details are provided, for instance, the research undertaken to fulfil the requirements of the Bachelor's

degree. In this process, the reasons which encouraged a participant to write a dissertation in history on the Genocide or its related issues increase her/his motivation to teach the issues. Furthermore, a participant who voluntarily chose to become a history teacher also had the possibility of offering the course well.

The location of the school is another aspect described in the preamble. Sometimes the school setting has an implication on its resources. In general, isolated schools in rural areas do not have electricity to use some teaching aids such as films or power point presentations. But, in my research, it has been observed that rural does not necessarily mean schools that are poorly resourced and urban does not imply schools with sufficient and appropriate teaching aids. For instance, some schools in the capital city are poorly equipped due to lack of sufficient funding. In rural areas, there are some schools owned by religious institutions that are well resourced and have immense experience in education. In general, this is due to the fact the Catholic Church managed schools during the colonial period (Mbonimana, n.d.; Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011). Thus, the issue of resources in Rwandan secondary schools depends on different factors amongst the school owner's financial means.

Secondly, the constructed career life stories also include different aspects such as the first reactions of the participants when they were first offered the course on the history of Rwanda which encompasses the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Thirdly, the career life stories also describe the trilogy of teaching namely aims, content and teaching methods. In general, aims guide the teacher's methods, content and assessment.

In this study I preferred to focus on the three main aspects which characterise daily interaction between the teacher and the learners and assessment was omitted. Fourthly, the career life stories look at different aspects confronted while teaching the Genocide and topics regarded as controversial and the reasons they are considered as such. What makes these topics controversial should be the content or the teaching methods. Different aspects which can impact on the teaching methods such as the location of the school or the content itself are discussed. For instance, a school in the vicinity of a Genocide memorial can use the memorial as a teaching aid. Moreover, the learners' reactions to the teaching methods are analysed and how

in turn teachers respond to learners' attitudes. Career life stories also describe the reasons and which ways the teaching methods evolved. Thus, the issue of time as discussed by Connelly and Clandinin (1990) remains essential in the constructed career life stories. Fifthly, a short commentary at the end of the story mainly explains the course of the interview. In this case, constructed stories are considered as career life stories in as much as the teaching experience, aims, content and teaching methods have been used as guidelines to construct them.

It was not easy to shift from raw data which represented the real responses of the participant to the final story without altering the original truth as recorded during the interview which is the issue of plausibility and correspondence. As a researcher, I had the final decision regarding what to include or not. The research focus and my research questions continually inspired me in most cases as my guidelines. But, participants were firstly requested to make comments on the interview transcription to clarify some issues which were vague or difficult to understand.

During my analysis, I had constructed eleven career life stories which constituted too much data. I randomly selected seven stories bearing in mind some criteria related to the participants' categories described in the sampling part. Randomly here implies that all stories had the chance of being included. I did my best to include career life stories from a teacher who did history with education, a history teacher without a training in pedagogy, a genocide survivor teacher, a teacher from a well-resourced school in terms of teaching aids and a teacher from a school with limited resources. The chosen characteristics are not exclusive in as much as a teacher could be a trained historian and teaching in a well-resourced school or a poorly resourced school which is why I decided to increase the number of stories up to seven instead of five. In fact, each case was unique (Patton, 2002).

It was not easy to avoid my own biases to choose specific stories but I had to look to what extent they responded to the research focus and also the questions and theoretical framework. Stories with a new insight had more chance of being included in the study. For instance, if the participant was revealing a new controversial issue which was not revealed by her/his colleagues or if he had a specific teaching method, her/his story was selected. I also had to look at the other side and keep

stories which avoid the controversial issues to get a holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

4.5.3 Analysis of career life stories

As the verbal texts were coded before constructing career life stories, it became easier to proceed to the second level of analysis. For this step, the thematic analysis was privileged to compare all stories. In this process of the thematic analysis, all issues relevant for a theme are presented. In other words, thematic analysis reduces data and the comparison becomes easier. However, the wholeness and coherence of individual participants are lost because the data seems decontextualized. As suggested by Cohen et al. (2011) for thematic analysis, I was obliged to read the transcripts many times to uncover important issues not taken into consideration within residual data (Cohen et al., 2011).

There was no reason to repeat the open coding for constructed stories. However, I have to precise that in the process of analysis the drawings, stories and literature were brought into conversation with each other. The identified categories or themes in the first level of analysis such as teaching aims, content, teaching methods and resources were transformed into more conceptual and interpretative themes such as:

- Dealing with aims
- Facing a daunting topic
- Dealing with the content
- Engaging with teaching methods
- Using resources
- Understanding the rationale behind teaching methods
- Dealing with emotions

The number of themes and categories were different from one story to another as teachers experienced the teaching of the Genocide in different ways. The interpretation also tried to look for silences in the data and meta-data. Fujii (2009, p. 148) calls meta-data "the information people communicate about their interior thoughts and feelings". Silences consist of hiding and revealing something because the researcher tries to understand the why of silencing an issue.

The use of data from different methods to construct the stories clearly does not show the contribution of each method. The general aim was to gather data on the understanding of teachers' experiences. However, my general observation was that photographs helped participants to talk more freely about the content taught about the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Photographs reminded the participants what they teach and how they use pictures in teaching. Another method, the self-interviews, gave rich data related to interaction between learners and teachers in the classroom. They revealed if the teaching approach was learner-centred or teacher-centred whereas the drawings were successful not only as a starting point but also to reveal teachers' emotions about teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

4.6 Trustworthiness of the research study

The main purpose of trustworthiness is to show that a study is credible (Creswell & Miller, 2000). As Carlson (2010) expounded trustworthiness is gained when the researchers show that their data is ethically and mindfully collected, analysed and reported. Therefore in qualitative research, validity refers to research which is "plausible, trustworthy, and therefore defensible" (Johnson & Christensen, 2008, p.275). Thus, the main purpose of trustworthiness is to show that a study is credible (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In other words, I show to what extent accuracy matches reality. With this research, I do not intend to generalise or apply the findings to other cases such as external validity does in quantitative research (Merriam, 2009; Scott & Morrisson, 2006). It is worthwhile underlining that traditionally, these terms of validity and reliability have been attached to quantitative research due to the respect of methodological rules and standards. This does not mean that qualitative research is unscientific (Angen, 2000). Qualitative researchers also observe a certain rigour and their worldview uses other terms which are suitable to their practice of research and their assumptions instead of validity and reliability (Merriam, 2009).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) found more appropriate matches between quantitative and qualitative research in terms of rigour. For instance, credibility is equated to internal validity. Transferability is understood as external validity and dependability is analogous to reliability whereas confirmability is considered as paralleled to

objectivity. In case of narrative research, Connelly and Clandinin (1990) are for the terms apparency, verisimilitude, and transferability.

Considering my interpretivist paradigm, I explain in the following subsections how the trustworthiness of my research was checked at three different levels as proposed by Creswell and Miller (2000). Firstly, I had to consider my own biases as a researcher. Secondly, the participants were used to check the accuracy of their contributions and lastly external scholars' critiques contributed to the rigour of the research process. In order to explain that my study is credible, I use certain criteria from Connelly and Clandinin (1990) and Lincoln and Guba (1985). The selected ones are confirmability (objectivity), verisimilitude or credibility and transferability as discussed below.

4.6.1 Confirmability of the study

Researcher's bias is a threat to confirmability in qualitative research because qualitative researchers tend to have a certain degree of influence either intentionally or not on the findings. In other words, they select information and observation they use and they allow personal views and perspectives to affect how data are analysed (Carlson, 2010; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Johnson & Christensen 2008; Jootun et al. 2009).

In the case of Rwanda, I was aware of the conflictual scholarship on Rwandan history between an official version mainly held by local researchers and another view mainly propounded by expatriates and more specifically about the Genocide and its related controversial issues. My positionality as a researcher was very important in as much as my aim was neither to do an advocacy for secondary school teachers nor to be militant of a specific view of Rwandan history. My aim was to understand why teachers teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues the way they do and their reasons. In this conflicting scholarship, I avoided over-valuing either the external expertise or the internal one. I used both internal and external with a critical eye because with this multi-vocalist approach some aspects could escape to one or another group and no group was homogenous in terms of content or ideology. In addition and as noted by Angen (2000), the subjective prejudices of some authors was not considered as a distortion of reality rather the background which could help to explain some teachers' experiences.

In order to avoid or minimise my biases, I used reflexivity by critically reflecting on my own personal biases as an insider. Even if reflexivity has different connotations, it "enhances the quality of research through its ability to extend our understanding of how our positions and interest as researchers affect all stages of the research process" (Jootun et al., 2009, p.42). Within my interpretivist perspective, I was obliged to separate myself from the topic of research to allow the truth to show itself (Angen, 2000).

This was a kind of 'self-aware' or a kind of internal dialogue which allowed me to go to the field convinced that I had the right instrument and put aside preconceived ideas (Johnson & Christensen, 2008, p.275, Jootun et al. 2009). For tumbling my biases, I designed my sample in a way that I do not get the views of one group of teachers. Therefore, I use negative-case which means that I purposively included in my analysis examples in disconformities with my expectations (Merriam, 2009). Thus, I was involved in the process of interpretive validity aimed at accurately explaining my participants' viewpoints, thoughts, feelings, intentions, and experiences. I had to understand their 'inner worlds' to be able to present their perspective and present a valid account of these perspectives (Merriam, 2009).

4.6.2 Verisimilitude or credibility of the research

Verisimilitude or credibility is another criteria to judge the rigour of qualitative research because it is a match between research findings and the reality in the data (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Merriam, 2009). The strategy I used for increasing credibility was the use of stories which helped me to more extensively present participants' views. In addition, verbatim texts from their recordings were integrated in the story to express their real feelings and to support the participants' voice (Johnson & Christensen, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Smith et al., 2009). Similarly, low-inference descriptors meaning descriptions that are phrased very similarly to the participants' accounts and my field notes were used to construct the career life stories (Merriam, 2009). I was respecting the idea of interpretivist and narrative researchers such as Mishler (1990) who argued that an interpretivist research should rely on a persuasive literacy style or apparency (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Mishler, 1990).

By triangulation, different methods for data gathering were used to support one another because data gathering methods do not have the same weaknesses and strengths (Johnson & Christiansen, 2009; Flick, 2009; Merriam, 2009). Angen (2000) notes that triangulation is not supported by some interpretivist researchers because it loses the context by producing alternative meanings and "as with member checking, it assumes some underlying objective reality to be conveyed upon" (Angen, 2000, p.384). Despite Angen's claim, I used a range of methods for data gathering (4.4.) namely drawings, interviews, photographs or self-interviews to support one another and decrease the gap in gathering thick data and to produce different explanations of the phenomenon under study. In addition, the participants were from different locations in Rwanda and were also from different categories of history teachers.

The choice of methods and the participants aimed at providing a nuanced understanding of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. This means that different views were presented in the research. Ethically, the interpretive approach prompted me to be fair by providing an equitable context within which all voices were heard (Angen, 2000). Furthermore, the use of many theoretical ideas to confirm emerging findings was also advocated in line with the increase of the credibility of the study (Merriam, 2009). In the theoretical framework, I presented different authors who discuss different positions in teaching controversial issues (Kitson, 2005; Leib, 1998; Stradling 1984; Wassermann, 2011). These different positions were also used to analyse the data in line with teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools. With this theoretical validity, this study will show cases that do not necessarily support my theory. But, the emphasis is put on explanations that accurately reflect the majority of my participants' views.

Peer review was also used at different stages to reinforce my theoretical validity. Peer review was a strategy of having a prolonged engagement with my research topic as recommended in interpretivist research to increase the credibility of the study (Angen, 2000). I was aware that researchers' peers did not have the same information on the data as me, some of them were knowledgeable people in theories

of education and could assess whether my reasoning was in line with my theoretical ideas. In this regard, I presented papers in different national and international conferences in line with my study. For instance, during the 28th South African Society for History Teaching held in Johannesburg on October 10-11, 2014, I presented a paper on *Understanding the views of Rwandan history teachers on the teaching of genocide through their drawings* (Buhigiro & Wassermann, 2014).

Another conference organised by the International Network of Genocide Scholars was held in Cape Town on December 4-7, 2014 and I presented another paper on *Teaching Genocide: Experiences of a Rwandan secondary school history teacher.* I also participated in an international competition for proposal writing for Rwandan nationals and non-Rwandans collaborating with those Rwandans, organised by Aegis Trust, a British institution which aims at preventing crimes against humanity. Aegis Trust gave me another opportunity to get feedback on my research as the proposed paper highlights *Experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers on teaching genocide* (Buhigiro, 2016). In December 7-8, 2015, in the first international conference on History-Education in Africa held in Durban (South Africa), I presented another paper on *Dealing with emotions in the teaching of the Genocide in history in Rwandan schools.* It was another opportunity to have critique from other scholars for revisiting my data analysis and interpretation.

The cohorts organized at the Faculty and Department level at the Edgewood campus by the School of Education were another great opportunity to discuss with colleagues students and the members of academic staff about each step of my research study. In general, no additional data were requested to collect however clear guidelines and decisions were taken due to critiques provided by cohort participants. For instance, I decided in the presentation of results to separate drawings from other data to make sense of the participants' internal feelings more apparent.

Another strategy used to reinforce the verisimilitude or credibility of the research was through member checking process. The purpose of the checking was not to get the fixed truth but rather to stay close to participants' views. Carlson (2010) advocates for a reiterative process of scrutinising the data to check the accuracy of

interpretation and for the right transmission of the participants' contribution. As this research is within the interpretivist paradigm which considers that reality is socially constructed, it was worthwhile paying particular attention to accurate presentation of participants' views (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In this perspective, the participants' checking was mainly done in two phases. Firstly, after transcribing the results and translating them from Kinyarwanda into English, the participants were requested to read for checking the accuracy between the translation and the interview. The participants were also requested to check the language without a big emphasis on the preciseness of the language (Carlson, 2010). This was due to the fact almost all participants had followed their studies mainly in French and affirmed their weaknesses in English. However, they were able to understand the meaning and make necessary comments. In order to increase the idea of credibility, plausibility and correspondence, I was also obliged to find out what participants think about the constructed stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 1993). In general, the participants were happy with the stories. One of them appreciated the story saying that the role of the researcher was to be innovative. Another one noticed that some data related to the teaching of history in general were not included in the story. This note was obvious in as much as the focus and key questions kept guiding the process of constructing stories and data out of the research focus were left out. The academic supervision was also a process which helped to continuously check the accuracy of interpretation and meaningful reporting.

Furthermore, the audit trail can serve to explain the credibility of the research. Indeed, the audit trail refers to keeping careful documentation of all components of the research so that another person can check the research process (Carlson, 2010; Creswell & Miller, 2000). In this regard, interviews were recorded and transcribed and a different draft of the research process is kept by me and the academic supervisor.

4.6.3 Transferability

The transferability of the research is also known as external validity or generalisability. It refers to the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations. In fact, generalizability is not the major concern for qualitative research because it requires "equivalency between the sample and the

population from which it was drawn, control of sample size, random sampling, and so on" (Merriam 2009, p.224). Generalisability in the statistical sense (from a random sample to the population) cannot occur in qualitative research. Thus some qualitative researchers reject the idea of generalisability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b; Merriam, 2009). However, Williams (2000) is convinced about the inevitability of generalisation in interpretivist research. For him, "virtually every reported study will contain at least some kinds of generalising claim" (Williams, 2000, p.210). Generalisation can be done by the person in the situation similar to the one under investigation. It is the practitioner who decides whether the findings are similar to her/his case (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). In my case, I used maximum variation in designing categories of my sample such as teachers specialised in history education, a Genocide survivor history teacher, a teacher from a resourced school or a poorly-resourced school. I was convinced that each case was unique and something could be learnt from it (Merriam, 2009). Each story makes a clear description of the school setting and the teacher's educational background. Therefore, practitioners in the same situations can decide if the findings can be applied to their context.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter explained my research methodology which helped me to generate data for responding to my research questions. This study adopted a qualitative research approach with career life stories because I wanted to understand teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. The findings had not to be generalised rather they help to understand the eleven teachers' views of the phenomenon. The use of career life stories was found appropriate to safeguard the importance of orality in Rwandan culture. The sample consisted of eleven teachers whose seven stories are used in this study. This small sample was chosen to obtain rich data due to a triangulation of various methods of data gathering. Different categories of the sample such as teachers specialised in history education, a Genocide survivor history teacher, a teacher from a resourced school or a poorly-resourced school aimed at focusing at the uniqueness of each case in view of in-depth interviews. Due to the controversial aspects of the topic, different methods such as drawings, photo-elicitation, semi-structured interviews and self-interviews were used to get data employed in the stories' construction. More specifically, the use of visual methods aimed at focusing attention to the drawings to

avoid personal sensitivities. The photographs helped teachers to remind them of their teaching methods, content and challenges they face. As the drawings necessitated further interpretations, the semi-structured interviews were employed to get additional data. In the same regard, self-interviews also facilitated in the data gathering process by helping the participants to use their memories outside the formal interview. For analysing the drawings and the stories, the semiotic analysis and open coding were employed to create themes. Other data were used to construct career life stories presented in the next chapter. The themes that emerged after saturation was reached were used to construct the experiences of the Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers on teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. In the case of the career life stories emphasis was placed on the teaching aims, content, teaching methods experienced and rationale behind the way the content is taught. In the next chapter I present the participants' drawings and their meanings.

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHING OF THE GENOCIDE AND ITS RELATED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES THROUGH DRAWINGS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the research methodology used in this study and it was explained how drawings can be used for investigating sensitive topics to reveal ideas, which cannot be discovered by traditional research methods, and for starting interviews. The participants were requested to depict their experience about the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues by means of drawings. The participants' drawings comprised of inanimate objects and human beings. Some participants produced either two types of drawings or one depiction with two parts to better explain their lived experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Thus, drawings are related to what the participants remember as important aspects of the phenomenon under study. In this chapter, I analyse the participants' drawings.

I have chosen to start with drawings as they were used to start the interviews and drawings reveal feelings, which characterised the participants' first experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In the next chapter, I present the career life stories from the same participants. In that next chapter I also describe the participants' short biography. The drawing analysis is constituted of two main aspects. Firstly, each drawing considered as a signifier is accompanied by its description that is the signified. Secondly, the meaning of the drawing in a connotative way (signified) is also highlighted. In other words, in this second part, the hidden meaning of the participants' drawings is also explained according to the Rwandan culture. Here, the culture should not be understood as a static reality but as something which also keeps growing and integrating external values. At the same time, in the second section of each drawing I check if some aspects related to a priori codes explained in the fourth chapter such as hard experience, aims of teaching the Genocide and positions that the teacher adopts in teaching the

Genocide and its related controversial issues are revealed by the participants' drawings and their comments.

5.2 Arian's drawings: a cross and a classroom situation

To depict her experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, Arian produced two drawings. Firstly, she drew a cross with nothing else around it. On the second page, Arian depicted a large man standing in an open area with six young people around him. Three are on the left and another three on the right. It seems looking at their dress that some are male and others female. The man and the six faceless young people are standing on the same level but the man, seemingly standing in front, is bigger and taller. One eye of the man seems closed while the other eye is open. Even though the people in the drawing are standing in an open area, Arian did not draw the background of their neighbourhood.
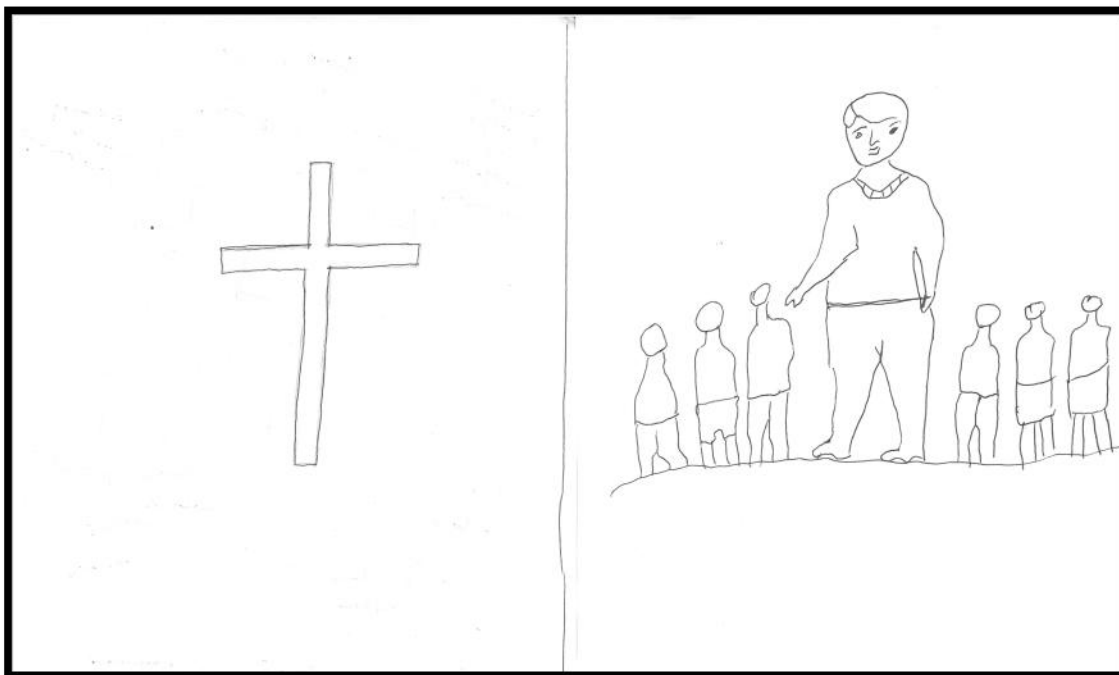
Figure 5.2: A drawing of a cross and a history lesson in an open area

Regarding the meaning of Arian's drawing on her experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the second drawing depicts an outdoor classroom. Using both drawings Arian explained her experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues by means of two steps. Firstly, she started by highlighting the challenges she faced at the outset:

At the beginning, it was like a cross I was carrying, a kind of Calvary! Genocide is a very sad event and among learners, there were some who were deeply affected. Some learners' parents participated in the Genocide. When you talk about it, they feel very sad. It is a hard battle to teach it to children. What is positive is that you advise them [learners] to avoid cruel behaviours and you convince them about the 'never again' slogan for Rwanda.

The cross has a deep symbolic Christian meaning. It stands for Christ's suffering and his crucifixion as depicted in the New Testament. Christ was tortured en route to Calvary. He was beaten and fell down three times due to tiredness and the weight of his cross. After crucifixion, he died wearing a crown of thorns. His sacrifice is considered as a sign of salvation by Christians because God had sent him, as his son, to save all sinners. Thus, salvation was achieved through his death on the cross and Christians consequently expect to have a life full of joy. Arian, part of the large number of Christians in Rwanda, used the cross to not only symbolize the tough teaching conditions she is facing while teaching the Genocide, but also the mental preparation she has to undertake before teaching the course. In Rwandan culture, "*bankoreye umusaraba* - a cross is put on my shoulders" is a metaphor meaning that Arian was given a very difficult task. She is by her own admission aware that the teaching task she is facing is not an easy one.

Teaching the Genocide in the Rwandan context evokes the sensitivity of the topic and the disastrous consequences thereof. Consequently, it was not easy for Arian to talk about the effect of the Genocide on learners, be they from families that were perpetrators or victims. Apparently, she did not risk talking openly about the Genocide to the learners because the communities from where the learners she is teaching comes have had different experiences and hence divergent views on what happened in 1994. Therefore, she has chosen to depict her experiences by means of a solemn cross.

The last sentence of the Arian's quote as outlined above, "What is positive is that you advise them [learners] to avoid cruel behaviours and you convince them about the 'never again' slogan for Rwanda", reveals a moral point of departure aiming at educating history learners by encouraging them to refrain from inhuman behaviour. In addition, the "never again" slogan means that Arian teaches against the idea of Genocide by attempting to convince the learners about the necessity of genocide

prevention. Striving towards achievement of these aims is considered positively by Arian and can be compared to the joy expressed by Christians due to their salvation through Christ dying on the cross.

The cross used by this research participant is made of two lines with four different directions. In Christian belief, the meaning of the two lines refers to the union between divinity and the world. In a connotative way, the divinity and the world stand for both main groups of learners: learners from perpetrators' families and those from the victims' side. Symbolically, in the context of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the two lines of the cross help to show that the teaching of the Genocide aims at explaining to leaners that Rwandans must live in a united manner. In other words, the secondary school history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide help to show why Rwandans must live in unity. This unity is compulsory for all Rwandans from the four cardinal points of the country, the north, the south, the east and the west.

Arian has also drawn a person flanked by two groups of three, seemingly in a classroom in an open area. This second drawing, according to Arian, explains that the history teacher's role in discussing the Genocide as a controversial issue is crucial:

> I represent this by a person standing in the middle of two persons or two groups of people. This person in the middle has to be impartial so that they can understand his/her explanations. It means that he/she has the mission to help them discuss one issue even if their ideas are divergent.

Considering the teacher's central position, Arian's drawing depicts an educator who is trying to talk to two different groups in the same manner. But, the drawing also shows the challenges a teacher faces in wanting to be impartial and neutral. This is seen by dint of the fact that one eye next to one group is closed. For the same group the finger of the teacher is not pointed towards them. So, the positionality vis-à-vis both groups is not the same. The preference is for the group in front of the teacher, Arian. The two groups of learners are treated differently. This happens despite the teacher's expressing the desire to be impartial. She thus recognises that learners have different views and come from different contexts related to the Genocide and that she actually treats them accordingly. Another aspect which appears in the

second drawing is the presence of male and female learners. This presence of male and female learners shows a kind of unity in diversity. Therefore, the "never again" slogan can be achieved by educating the youth to be united as Rwandans.

Arian's drawings do not reveal the historical content she teaches the learners. This means that the discussion of controversial issues is part of her teaching. Regarding teaching resources, education seems to be happening in an outdoor classroom. Thus, the school surroundings serve as an example whereby the teaching of the Genocide can be done outside the physical constraints of a classroom. In fact, areas surrounding the class can be explored to better understand what happened. As Arian considers the teacher as a facilitator between learners from different backgrounds as it relates to the Genocide it seems that a learner centred approach to learning is used in her history class. However, the learner centred approach is not the general rule in Arian's class. Firstly, the pointing of a finger is a sign of talking to people somewhat aggressively so as to try and convince them of a certain perspective. Secondly, some verbs used in Arian's statement such as "I advise them" denote teacher centredness.

In all, Arian's drawing shows how it is challenging to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues because of the presence of learners from perpetrators and victims' families. The two groups of learners have different experiences and points of view. Due to this dualistic presence, it is hard for Arian to be neutral. However, the learners are sensitised to avoid inhuman behaviours in view of genocide prevention or for "never again". The genocide prevention is an important aspect in a society which is still suffering from the consequences of that tragic event.

5.3 Mukamuhire's drawing: a person between two walls

For Mukamuhire, her experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues was represented by a woman standing between two enclosing walls with a roof above her. The woman is wearing a long robe and a headscarf and is looking straight ahead. Her hands are crossed on her lap. She stands nearer to the wall on her left hand side. She does not face the wall on her right side. She looks like somebody who either wants to talk to a public or to listen to it.
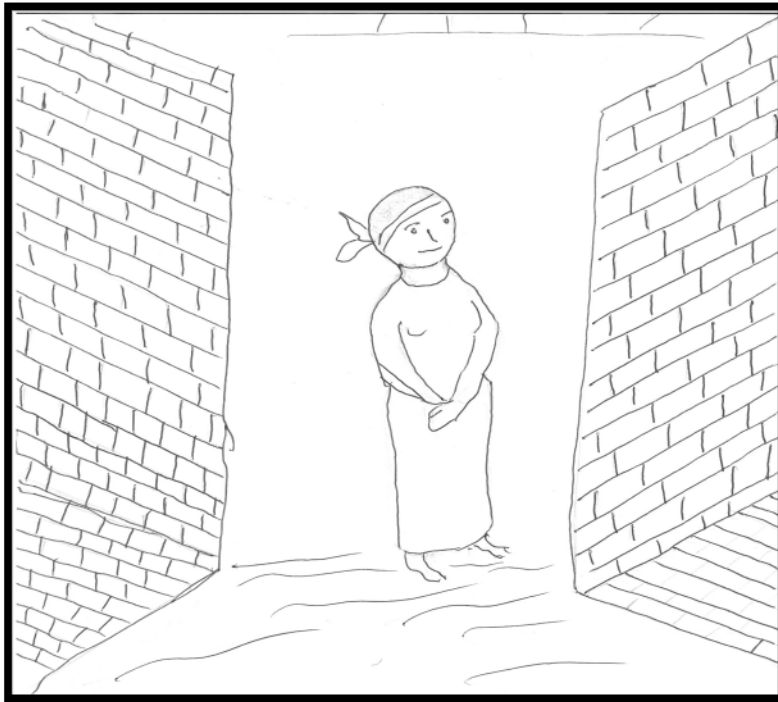
Figure 5.3: A drawing of a woman stuck between two walls

Concerning the meaning of Mukamuhire's drawing, she explained, by means of her drawing, what happened to her during her experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues:

> I have chosen to draw two walls because they are like two blocs. It means that one group has its own understanding whereas the other one has also its own. Both sides are opposed; they don't reach the same understanding. For instance, in terms of religions, Muslims think about Mohamed while we Christians, we believe in Jesus Christ. But, all we pray God. Briefly, we all live in the society but there are some issues we don't understand the same way. As it used to happen [in the recent past], there were communists and capitalists. These ideologies don't converge in the same direction.

> Teaching the Genocide is not easy due to the fact that there are two categories of people: perpetrators and victims. The teacher has to be between both sides. You don't have to add your own [beliefs] or to accept what those who don't say the truth put forward. It means that history has true pillars. I do follow them because the history programme is available … mainly the books written on the history of Rwanda at Butare …Then, I can say that I was required to be impartial. I feel like someone who is between two walls without supporting any group. It means that it is not easy. There is a kind of dilemma.

In masonry, walls are used to separate, surround, enclose or protect an area. In this context, walls have a connotative meaning of barriers. These walls therefore reveal that it is not easy to teach about the Genocide because there are barriers that

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confront the teacher. As the woman stands alone with crossed arms it denotes how she as a teacher feels incompetent when facing certain barriers. Mukamuhire affirms that the Genocide is a difficult topic to teach because the teacher is confronted by a dilemma and has to decide which side of learners to support. But, this dilemma should not be a permanent barrier as Mukamuhire concluded: "At the beginning, I felt it would not be easy for me. As I continued facing the course, I noticed that it was possible and my interest of understanding better the content helped me very much. I feel comfortable to teach the history of the Genocide".

Mukamuhire recognises the lack of agreement between learners when teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. She said that "the teacher has to be between both sides". This means that Mukamuhire aims at helping the learners to recognise more than one perspective to understand the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Specifically, controversies discussed in the class are not suggested by the drawing and its comments. But, another academic aim Mukamuhire, wants to achieve, despite feeling hemmed in, is to help learners to think as historians. This aim is evidenced by Mukamuhire's comment that history has true pillars. Thus, in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, history is considered as a process of enquiry and certain historical skills have to be achieved in the process.

In Mukamuhire's case, it is not clear whether the walls either represent groups of perpetrators and victims or history pillars. In her initial comments she does not link the walls to any group. But, she slowly became more specific and mentions that there are two categories of people, perpetrators and victims. Ostensibly, these walls metaphorically symbolise the conflicting controversial views on the Genocide and its related issues held by both groups.

The metaphoric representation of a woman between two walls depicts the discomfort Mukamuhire feels in teaching content related to the Genocide. She is trapped by the walls. This means that there are some barriers she cannot overcome and consequently she is not comfortable in talking about certain aspects when teaching the Genocide as it is taboo and may cause harm to a certain group of learners. The teacher herself is consequently trapped by the conflicting views on the Genocide as

represented by the two walls. Nonetheless, her look reveals that she is more comfortable with the side she is standing close to. In general Mukamuhire does not take the risk of talking about certain unnamed issues related to the Genocide. She rather prefers to try and keep impartial neutrality. This is possibly why she said: "I feel like someone who is between two walls without supporting any group". Thus, she does not want to reveal her side.

However, Mukamuhire's view is also a contradictory one. While claiming to be between the two sides without showing her position this is false neutrality because she affirms that she has to comply with the history curriculum and its history pillars. It is why she decided to support those who have relevant evidence. This is represented by her positioning closer to the left wall which seems to represent the official position on the teaching of the Genocide. Despite this Mukamuhire claims that she wishes to be between both sides without showing her hand as explained by her claim that: "You don't have to add your own [beliefs]".

The contradictory positions adopted by Mukamuhire reveal the complexity of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In the process Mukamuhire is torn about the positionality to adopt when teaching the Genocide. Hence, she oscillates between some form of neutrality and supporting the official position. Consequently her comments on her drawing disclosed that she uses official textbooks such as the reference book authored by lecturers from the former National University of Rwanda (Byanafashe, 2006). Regarding teaching methods, bearing in mind that Mukamuhire wants to be between sides with contradicting views, suggests that she uses both learner and teacher centred approaches. However, it is difficult to clearly know which approach prevails in Mukamuhire's teaching. For that she remained too guarded in her drawing and her explanation of it.

In conclusion, Mukamuhire's metaphoric representation of two walls reveals the challenge she has in her teaching experience. She has a dilemma about the position to take in front of learners with different backgrounds. The official version of the Genocide tends to break her neutrality when she is facing contradictory views. Despite these challenges, the development of historical thinking remains an aim to

achieve. Thus, by teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, Mukamuhire faces the topic as a historical event.

5.4 Murezi's drawings: a giant facing four men holding hands

Concerning the representation of teacher's experience, Murezi's drawing has two parts. The first one depicts a giant standing man with a prominent hairdo. His hands are in his pockets. He is frowning and looks very anxious and unhappy. His ears are big and bent. He wears a t-shirt and trousers with what seems to be patches. It seems as if he is climbing a hill as his feet are hidden. He seems to be reflecting, isolated and sad.

The second part of Murezi's drawing comprises of four people who are standing hand in hand. All are male wearing the same clothes that look like uniforms. These men are almost all the same size and they are looking in the same direction towards the giant. Those who are standing on the right and left sides have one hand open and in the air as if those whose hands they could have held are no longer present.
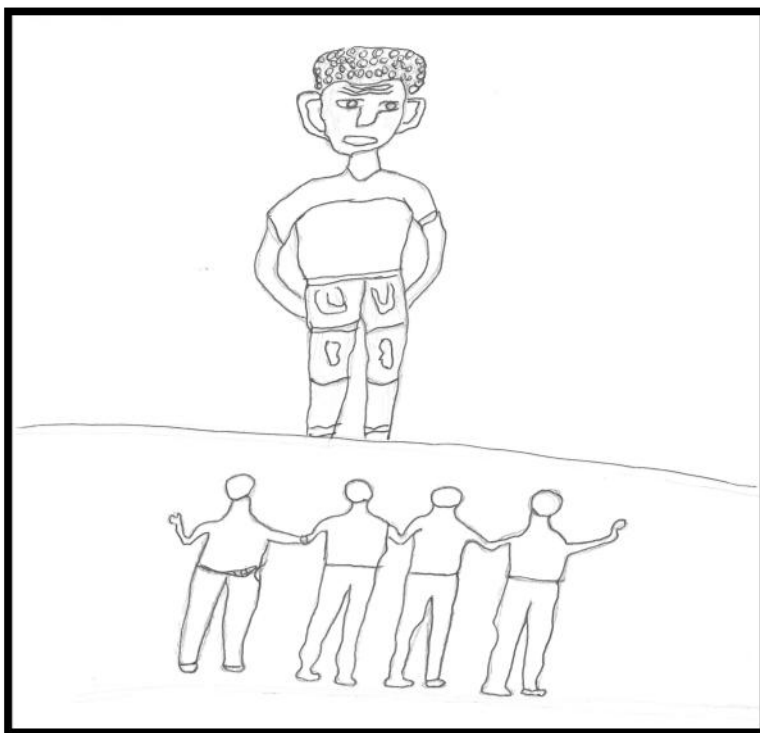

Figure 5.4: A drawing of a giant with an anxious look facing people holding hands

Regarding the meaning of Murezi's drawing, the fact that the Genocide was dreadful and was also characterised by awful consequences pushed Murezi to think deeply about its effects in relation to his teaching experiences. This and the aims he wants to achieve while teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues pushed Murezi to clarify his drawing as follows:

> Regarding my experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial topics, it can be represented by a sad person and a classroom situation. That sad person doesn't mean that I am sad when I am teaching this course. But, it depicts that what happened was an abnormal event. I am teaching an appalling event. The Genocide had overwhelming effects on Rwandans and they keep on affecting them. It is why I have drawn a sad person. Secondly, the other phase of my drawing represents learners, who are hand in hand, a mark of collaboration. These people hand in hand show that after the Genocide people can forget past atrocities and work together…have to forgive one another but without forgetting what happened. It is a contribution to never again. My teaching experience is characterized by an effort of teaching the Genocide for never again to avoid its awful consequences.

The first part of Murezi's drawing depicts a large sad male. Bearing in mind what happened in Rwanda this portrayal shows someone affected by the Rwandan tragedy. In fact, many people were killed in a monstrous way as explained in chapter 2. Those who escaped from these barbarous acts are still suffering from the traumatic effects due to loss of relatives, rape, dispossession of wealth, mistrust of neighbours and disabilities. This can explain why in the drawing the seemingly young man is frowning. In other words, his face looks like that of an old person. This facial expression reveals indices of a worried person or someone with many anxieties. The sad person symbolises not only the affected society but also the teacher himself who is worried about the content of his course and the methods to follow. He has a hard task to teach about the atrocities, which characterised the Genocide, to his learners however, he has no choice as he has to teach it.

Considering the impact of the Genocide the explanation thereof is the most important aim Murezi wants to achieve when teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In this regard Murezi argues: "I am teaching an appalling event. The Genocide had overwhelming effects on Rwandans and keep on affecting them". This is why he drew a sad person. Another aim Murezi wants to attain when he is teaching is unity. This is evidenced by the second part of his drawing which speaks to the decision Murezi took after deep reflection on the consequences of the

Genocide. Within his drawing the people holding hands are history learners in uniforms. In Rwandan culture this depiction of being hand in hand means *gufatana urunana*, which can be taken as a sign of unity. Culturally, there are some proverbs showing the relevance of unity. For instance, *ababiri bagiye inama baruta umunani urasana* means two persons with a common objective are stronger than eight people fighting. Even if this drawing depicts four persons, the idea of unity for the whole of the post-conflict Rwandan society was foremost in Murezi's mind. Thus, the teacher's major aim while teaching the Genocide was to help learners to be united so that they can achieve common national goals. Consequently Murezi's teaching experience is marked by an effort to educate his learners in the making of a new society where Rwanda is really considered a united nation where people would be "hand in hand". In his view the history teacher has the task of preparing the learners to embrace a 'new world'. They have to form a united group, one people.

What is clear from the drawing is that all members of this group are almost the same size and are all men. The absence of women and children in the drawing is to be questioned. Possibly, it may not mean gender exclusion or patriarchy but rather a way of depicting equality. Equal opportunity is the best way of building a peaceful society which cannot commit the Genocide. Thus, the teaching of the Genocide aims at developing learners' conceptual knowledge and some concepts such as equity, peace building and social cohesion are discussed.

Another aspect from the drawing is that the people, who are standing on the extremities, the right and the left hand sides, have their hands open. It depicts, in my analysis, their wish of appealing to everybody to join the new equal society so as to share the same opportunities. To have an equal chance in a society is a way of preventing future conflicts. By teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, Murezi has the opportunity to educate the youth and sensitise them about the importance of genocide prevention.

The line between the first and the second part of the drawing is a demarcation showing clearly two different worlds. The first one is based on the reflection of disastrous consequences of the Genocide and the second is related to an ideal to be achieved after such atrocities: Unity by avoiding such a similar tragedy. When unity

is achieved the isolated and reflective giant teacher with much responsibility will be happy. So, Murezi's teaching experience was marked by an effort to show the destructive aspects of the Genocide which have to be avoided for the sake of a better future. This aim guided his teaching methods. Looking at the learners who are hand in hand may reveal that a learner centred teaching approach is used. On the other hand, the sad person who is alone can be linked to a reflective process before the lesson not a teacher centred approach.

Murezi's drawing does not reveal which kind of teaching methods he is going to use to achieve his stated aims. However, in his comments he suggested that when teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues the teacher has not to be sad. Being sad may impede the teaching of the Genocide as a historical phenomenon. In brief, Murezi's drawing shows that his experience of teaching of the Genocide has two different aspects. On one hand, it is challenging to talk about dreadful consequences which affect the society to the learners. On the other hand, this teaching has a noble aim of creating a new united Rwandan society which cannot again commit the Genocide. Thus, past atrocities should serve learners to avoid committing the same mistakes as the elders.

5.5 Semana's drawing: A man using his machete

For illustrating his experiences of teaching the Genocide, Semana has depicted a male person holding a machete. A machete is used as a weapon to protect the house or at the battlefield in traditional or civilian wars. It has a wide blade which can also be used to cut down trees or grass. In front of the man with a machete is a kneeling woman who is looking down. She is kneeling on a slope and the man with the machete is standing below her. The man is pointing his right index finger at her and she has already lost her left hand.
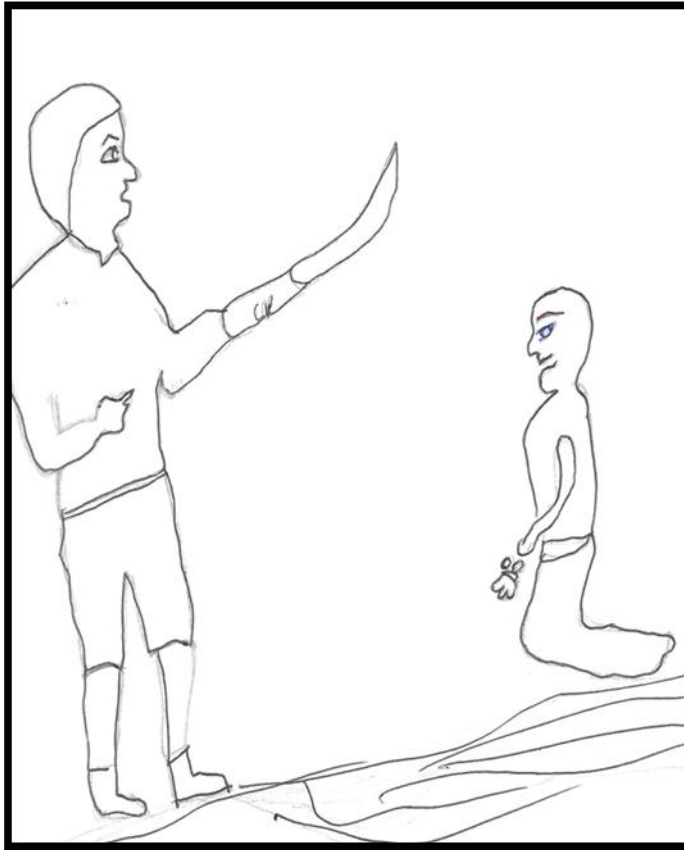
Figure 5.5: A drawing of a man ready to butcher a kneeling woman

In his interview Semana explained the meaning of his drawing. First, Semana affirmed to having extensive experience of teaching the history of Rwanda. This, however, did not dissipate some fears he has when teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues:

> I fear that I can draw something horrible which can traumatize someone and have other consequences ... Maybe, you can do this …for instance you can draw a machete like this and arms holding it this way. Here is the victim kneeling, asking maybe mercy, stretching her arms for him [the perpetrator].

> The link [with my teaching experience] is that the Genocide is not self-committed. It is committed by human beings who are against the life of others with the aim of exterminating them so that they disappear forever or prevent them from reproducing. I think that even if it is a bad action, sometimes people with bad intention have their own objective and those who are against them can be harmed, and themselves [perpetrators] encounter consequences. I know that I teach to young learners a course which deals with atrocities, if I don't make attention I can harm them by my teaching. On my side, I have also to be careful about my explanations.

The man holding the machete is the perpetrator and the kneeling female is the victim. The man has a dominating position vis-à-vis the woman. Pointing a finger at

someone has an indexical meaning of accusing the targeted person and in the case of the drawing the kneeling person has already lost a hand. Her genuflected position has a Christian symbolic meaning of asking for mercy but in vain. Morally, the genuflected position denotes that the woman felt innocent. The refusal to pardon someone in a genuflected position denotes an extreme malice. The perpetrator who is standing below the genuflected person means that the chaotic situation socially raised him up and he can now dominate the kneeling woman. Surprisingly there is no one around to rescue her. This scene happening outside an educational setting deals with the execution of the Genocide against the Tutsi. In general, during the Genocide, victims had no one to rescue them. This absence of other people may also indicate certain monstrous acts committed in privacy. The Genocide was so horrible that people committed unimaginable acts like killing their wives or relatives. In the context of the Genocide a woman kneeling in front of a man shows that she is exceedingly vulnerable because of the physical power which he can use to even commit rape. Such acts are difficult to explain to learners. For Semana, sharing such amoralities to young learners is to harm them: "I fear that I can draw something horrible which can traumatize someone and have other consequences". The previous quote shows that Semana avoids engaging with certain aspects of the Genocide so that he does not harm his learners. This avoidance is also symbolically indicated by the absence of other people in Semana's drawing.

In all, Semana's drawing with a man ready to use his machete to kill a woman is a sign of violence which characterised the Genocide and to talk to learners about this violence requires prudence to not harm the youth. Semana's prudence aims at educating the youth in a non-traumatic way because young people do not have to suffer as in previous generations. Semana, by dint of his drawing, did reveal certain aspects of the content related to the Genocide against the Tutsi he teaches. In his conceptualising, Semana teaches about perpetrators, victims, and also the violation of human rights during the Genocide execution.

5.6 Rukundo's drawing
Rukundo has drawn a person escalating a ladder. A ladder is a tool used for climbing that has two horizontally running pieces of wood or metal with a series of steps or rungs between them. These rungs can be used to go to the top or to go down. The

use of the ladder requires support in the form of for example a wall or a tree. In this particular case the ladder is not supported but suspended in the air. In Rukundo's drawing the person on the ladder is caught half way. He can either go up or down. He is stepping onto the fourth rung with one leg while the other one is still in the air. His arms are holding on tightly to one of the rungs.
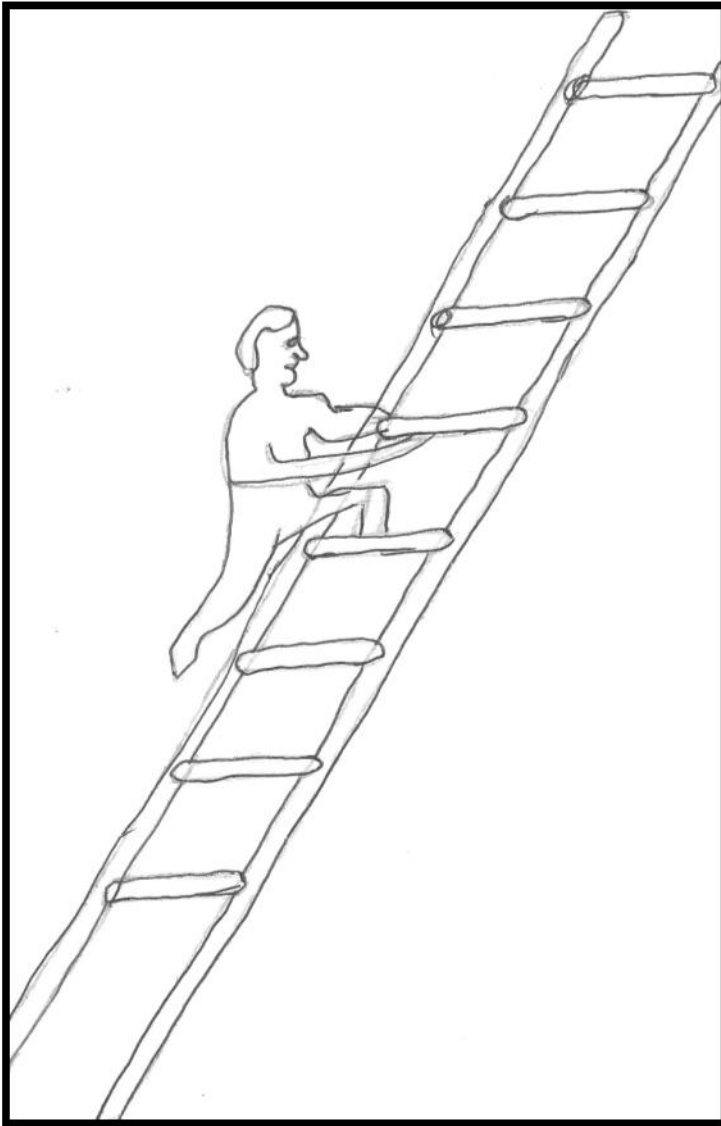
Figure 5.6: A drawing of a man on the ladder

Rukundo's drawing means that teaching the Genocide passes through different stages or steps. This is why Rukundo decided to draw a person on a ladder. In Rukundo's drawing he does not show any person who can impede this process of ascending or descending. The absence of other persons means that teachers are alone in this process of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Compared to a classroom situation there are no learners or for that matter anything else that can hinder the good running of the lesson. This absence of learners also means that the drawing depicts a conceptual or mental task which has to be completed alone. In this regard Rukundo explains why he drew a man on a ladder:

> I have drawn a ladder that has stages and these rungs signify the way learners upgrade their knowledge in the history of the Genocide, aah … From this drawing, I can say that sometimes learners are not aware of their history but after being taught about their history, there is an improvement in their understandings. I have used these steps because teaching history in secondary schools also promotes unity in the society as far as the learners are concerned. As Rwandan society was almost destroyed, the reconciliation has become a process like escalating stairs. While teaching the Genocide I contribute, also in this process, by training learners to have critical skills and it is a long process like escalating a ladder.

A ladder with its rungs indicates an intention of escalating. In the context of this research the rungs refer to the different phases in the teaching of the history of Rwanda in general and more specifically that of the Genocide. The teacher has the task to lead the learners through the historical background so that they can understand how the idea of killing one's neighbour evolved in Rwandan society. Specifically, according to the drawing and its explanations, Rukundo's learners should be able to analyse different steps which led to the Genocide. Thus, historical knowledge is important in teaching and understanding the Genocide.

In traditional Rwanda, and even in the contemporary one, there was a kind of ladder used to support banana trees to prevent them from being blown over by the wind. The self-same ladder could also be used to pick the fruit. In the same way, the teacher has the task of giving strong academic support to the learners when they are upgrading their historical knowledge. By means of different stages, the teacher has to look at different aspects related to the Genocide so as to foster understanding. Any of these aspects are broad and difficult to understand. This is why the teacher has to provide strong academic support to learners.

By looking at the drawing with reference to the above the person on the ladder has the possibility of going up and down. The journey has no end. The possibility of going either way shows that the teacher can refer to the historical background of the Genocide including controversial aspects or can move forward to look at the post-

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Genocide period. This means that for teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues requires the teacher to be more informed than learners. Moreover, the ladder is suspended with no support. Being the sole person on the ladder denotes that Rukundo is abandoned alone in the process of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

In his statement, Rukundo noticed that "sometimes learners are not aware of their history. But, after being taught about their history, there is an improvement in their understandings". The gap in the historical knowledge does not allow learners to understand current issues. This is why the rungs have to be crossed by the teacher who is represented by the man on the ladder. He has to help learners to link the past and the present and the future. In fact, the past keeps informing the present and the future in this drawing. In the case of Genocide teaching there are past deeds which continue to affect Rwandan society and which can help to understand the current situation. It is why the man on the ladder has the possibility of going up or down.

According to Rukundo another aspect to be attained through the different rungs of the ladder is the reconciliation process. Each phase taught in the history of Rwanda, or each step related to the Genocide, can help learners to understand each other because they will be able to identify "the culprits of bad deeds" which had disastrous consequences. Recognising the true wrongdoers and knowing the historical truth will allow learners to avoid, for instance, stereotypes which can be exploited to divide society. Thus, one of the main aims while teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues is to contribute to the building of a united society. As Rukundo said: "I have used these steps because teaching history in secondary schools also promotes unity in the society as far as the learners are concerned. As Rwandan society was almost destroyed, the reconciliation has become a process like escalating stairs". All-in-all Rukundo's aim in teaching topics related to the Genocide is to show to his class the importance of building a reconciled society. This unity will be achieved by reinforcing learners' knowledge in the history of Rwanda to allow them to demystify the past. Rukundo recognises that it is not an easy task to develop learners to think critically about the past: "While teaching the Genocide, I contribute also to this process by training learners to have critical skills and it is a long process like escalating a ladder".

The drawing clearly shows Rukundo's position while teaching the Genocide. Rukundo is suspended in mid-air and can go in one or two main directions and could also fall off. In these endeavours, Rukundo faces a hard climb, alone. Despite this lack of support, Rukundo does not avoid the topic. He has good intentions and methodology as he teaches the Genocide to help learners gain critical thinking skills. Critical thinking is key in a post-Genocide society so that learners are able to criticise any source they face. The lack of critical skills in the pre-Genocide period contributed to the eruption of the Genocide because people did not manage to criticise hatred speeches propounded by media or other means. Due to the consequences of the Genocide, the importance of unity and reconciliation is also key in Rukundo's teaching to have a peaceful society.

5.7 Françoise's drawing: kneeling person and another one touching him

Françoise's drawing illustrates two individuals. The first one, a man, stands and is stretching-out his hands so as to touch the head of the kneeling person, also a man. The man standing has a dominating position. He is taller, bigger and stands up and looks down on the man kneeling. His fingers are open. In contrast, the kneeling person's arms are in the air and his hands clenched in fists. His eyes are looking skywards. Both are on equal ground as symbolised by the ground on which they are standing.
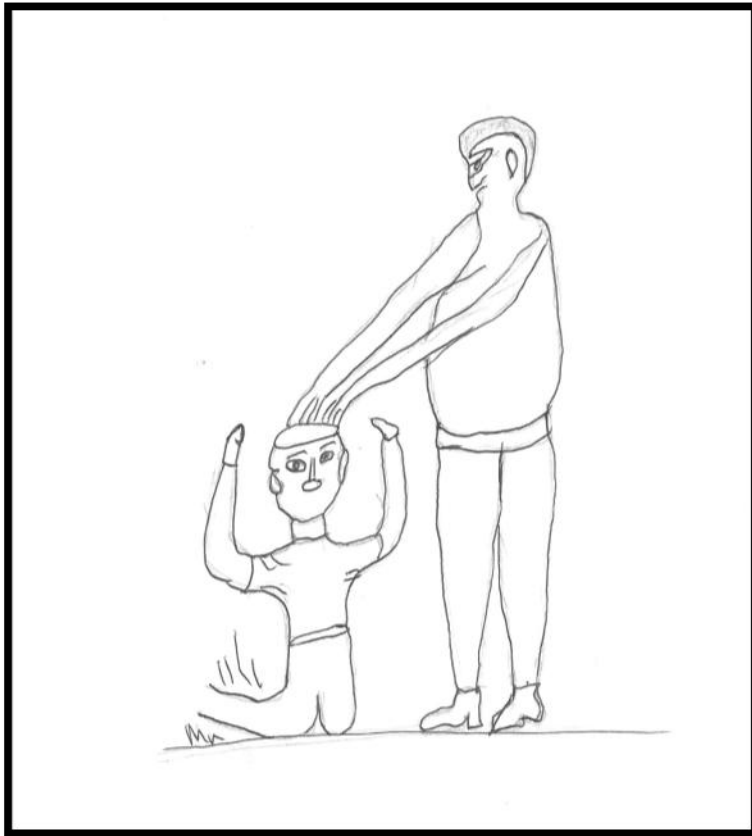
Figure 5.7: A drawing of a kneeling person asking pardon

When Françoise explained the content of her drawing it became clear that Rwandan reconciliation and unity are key issues in her teaching. Other components related to unity, such as forgiveness, also guide her when she is teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In relation to her drawing she explained this as follows:

> Françoise: *Nashushanyije abantu babiri, umwe apfukamye undi uhagaze amuramburiyeho amaboko. Mpereye ku byabaye mu gihugu cyacu hari abantu bakoze ubwicanyi, bakoze jenoside. Hari abantu bakoze ubwicanyi; ubwicanyi bwabayeho…Uyu muntu upfukamye arimo gusaba imbabazi, niyo mpamvu nawe amuramburiyeho amaboko kugirango amubabarire. Mu kwigisha jenoside nibanda mu gusobanurira abana akamaro ko kubabarira mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Navuze ko byabanje kuntera ubwoba kwigisha abana bava mu bakoze jenoside n'abayikorewe ariko niyemeje kubumvisha akamaro ko kubana neza.* (I have drawn two persons, one kneeling down in front of another one stretching his arm on him. Basing on what happened in the country, there are persons who participated in the killings; [who committed] the Genocide. Killings occurred ... this person kneeling down, is asking pardon it is why [the one who stands up] is stretching his arms on him to forgive him. In teaching the Genocide I strongly explain to learners the importance of forgiveness in Rwandan relationships. I have mentioned that [at the outset] I had feared to teach learners from perpetrators and victims' [families]). But, I have decided to teach them about the importance of living in harmony.

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Françoise's first encounter with the teaching of the Genocide was horrifying to her. Her fears were based on the presence of learners in her class from families with different backgrounds. Some learners were from perpetrators' families while others were from families directly affected by the extermination as victims. As Françoise recognised the origins of her learners it means that she took it into consideration while teaching the Genocide.

In her drawing Françoise depicted a standing man stretching his arms out to one kneeling. This metaphoric representation with a Christian religious connotation reveals a scene of a sacramental expression of forgiveness. A person asks forgiveness because something bad has happened or when a crime has been committed. In the context of this research it is the extermination of Tutsi and moderate Hutu who have to be asked for forgiveness. In other words, the drawing represents a victim of the Genocide, who is standing, and the perpetrator who is kneeling. The person standing has his hands open and therefore has nothing to hide. The kneeling man, with his eyes gazing skywards, is in an act of submission. His fisted fingers denote that he is hiding something.

Additionally the fact that the drawing contains two people with different experiences of the Genocide reveals an idea of reconciliation between Rwandans. The positions depicted also means that the responsibility of asking for pardon or forgiveness is not a collective one but rather individual in nature. But, taking into account Rwandan culture, a crime committed does not consist of two individuals but two communities. Thus, when the perpetrator was pardoned it was a sign of reconciliation between two families or two communities. Thus, there is no contradiction between the drawing and the reconciliation between the two groups of Rwandans - perpetrators and victims.

Considering the perpetrator in the kneeling position with his hands raised, the task of asking for forgiveness is not easy as his posture reveals both giving up and it is also a sign of weakness. The kneeling person has little chance for negotiating his fate but has to comply. The closed hands of the perpetrator is a key for this. Equally, it is not easy for the victim to offer forgiveness. Thus, it is difficult for Françoise to teach

reconciliation to learners from both communities. But, it is a must for the future of the Rwandan society because the youth has to make a difference with their parents.

There are also contradictions in the perpetrator and the survivor's positions. On the one hand, it reveals that they are not equal. This is due to the fact that the acts committed by the perpetrator were not acceptable. It was horrendous and the victim has the right to forgive or not. On the other they are equal because both are involved in a virtuous act: To forgive and to accept repentance. Such forgiveness, as depicted in the drawing, is possible between two people. The perpetrator is not reluctant to approach the victim. The latter dares to touch the perpetrator's head and in so doing is initiating a new relationship. The only decision for the victim to be made is forgiveness as there are no other alternatives presented in the drawing.

This rapprochement between two individuals could stop possible revenge attacks. In fact, the victim who was suffering due to what happened to him is going to feel released because of the repentance of the perpetrator. On his side the perpetrator will also feel at ease because of this repentance. He will no longer feel guilty in front of the victim and his relatives and friends. Additionally, this new friendship will strengthen community cohesion and hopefully prevent future confrontation. The reconciliation represented by Françoise in her drawing can be understood within the Rwandan context and in particular in the teaching of the Genocide. Thus the role of reconciliation and unity in a post-Genocide society are the main aims depicted in Françoise's drawing and that is what Françoise tries to accomplish when she is teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Françoise's drawing also shows that schools are main actors in educating the youth into a culture of asking for pardon or forgiveness after a mistake or committing a crime. It helps to understand the focus of our study, which intends to understand teachers' experience about teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues and the reasons behind their pedagogies. The drawing also shows how challenging it is for Françoise to teach learners from both victims and perpetrators' families who are also confronted by the atrocities done by their relatives. In a post-Genocide society reconciliation has to become part of institutions such as schools. In all, Françoise's experience was characterized at the outset by fear on how to teach

the Genocide to learners with different experiences of the Genocide while pursuing forgiveness and reconciliation in Rwandan society.

5.8 Mukakalisa's drawings: a reflective person and a classroom situation

It was not easy for Mukakalisa to represent his experience about teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in one drawing. He preferred to use two illustrations.

The first drawing is characterized by a male person standing alone. His left hand is in his pocket. The right hand is on his mouth. His eyes are open and he is looking in front of himself in a reflective manner. A speech bubble with a question comes from his mouth. He is standing on a slope. In the second drawing there is a large man standing in front of faceless and genderless people sitting in two rows. The seated young persons are looking at the board where it is written "Never again". The man in front is standing between the two rows and is standing closer to the left, pointing his finger at the blackboard. Mukakalisa represented a teacher by a man.
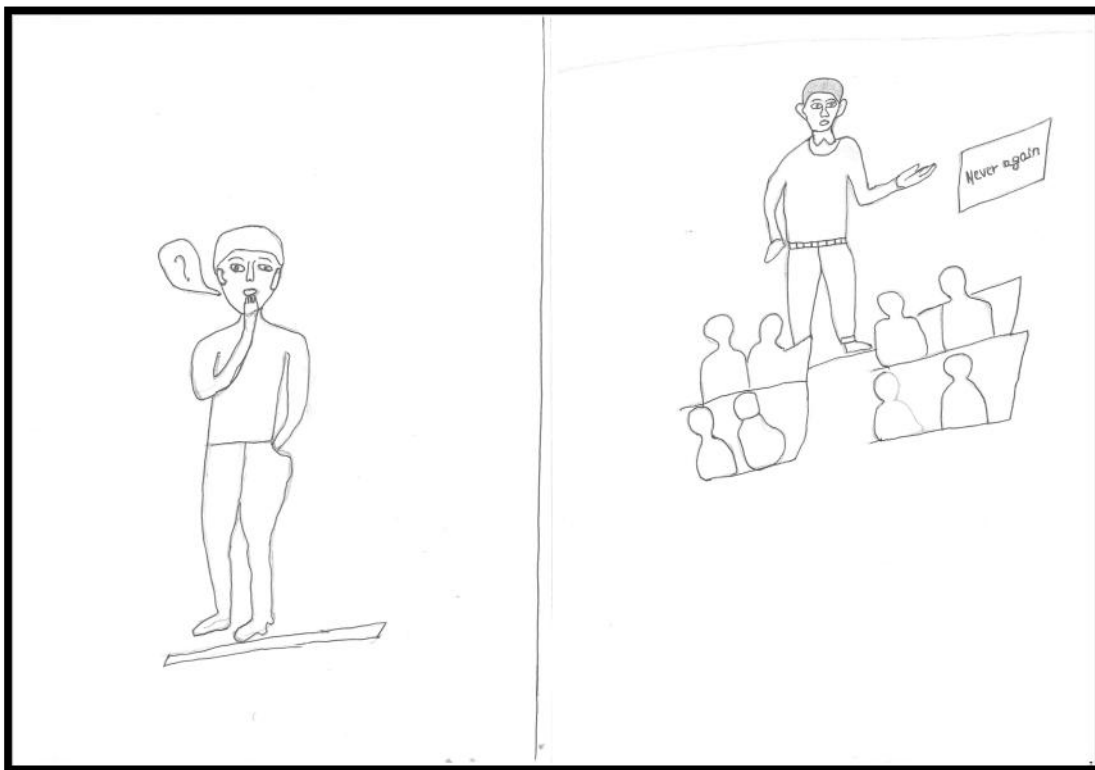

Figure 5.8: A drawing of a reflective teacher in view of teaching for 'never again'

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According to Mukakalisa her drawing depicts a teacher in a classroom setting. The drawing analysis shows that teaching the Genocide is not an easy task and needs much contemplation. In the beginning, Mukakalisa found it daunting. With reference to her drawing she described the various pedagogical challenges she faced and how she went about dealing with them:

> I drew a person with [his hand] on his mouth and another one with someone in front of his learners in a normal situation (…). The first drawing represents someone putting his hand on his mouth. At the beginning, when I encountered the chapter on the Genocide, I did not understand it. As a reaction, I touched my mouth, my head, then scratched my head and was wondering what I was going to teach. [I noticed] that books on the Genocide were not giving relevant information for learners. When I was going to teach, I was aware that learners would ask me questions. Sometimes, I told them that I could answer some questions and fail to respond to others.

In the first drawing the person depicted was reflective and hesitant asking himself how to teach this section of school history. Metaphorically, the question mark in the speech bubble is a sign of uncertainty as is the contemplative look. Touching the mouth is a sign of someone who is thoughtful. A disappointed person can also put her/his hand on his mouth. In some circumstances, a person touching her/his mouth in the Rwandan culture can say *ni agahomamunwa*, (gah! As a sign of despair)! This attitude illustrates that the person is in a situation where she/he does not understand what to do.

In all probability, this imaginative journey was done outside school and the history class. All this means is that the task of facing this topic was daunting and followed him everywhere as it required psychological preparation before going in front of the learners. He also had to prepare the learners by informing them that as the history teacher he does not have all the answers so teaching the Genocide was difficult. However, he was aware that historical truth is provisional and that the fear of teaching the Genocide had to be challenged. This is why he was reflective and ready to take a decision to implement certain strategies. Finally, he was committed to teach against genocide. This resolution is depicted in the second drawing.

Thus the second drawing depicts the decision taken to teach the Genocide and how it will happen. The 'never again' slogan on the board in front of the faceless,

genderless and passive history learners shows that teaching against the Genocide is the main aim that Mukakalisa wants to attain:

> The second drawing is a teacher in front of learners. It is a normal situation. As days went on, I became competent to respond to learners' questions. I had to consult other persons for some clarifications. I could find responses for some and fail to get them for others. But, during the last two … three years, when I arrive on it [the chapter on genocide], I take it as a normal course and have something to tell to learners.

The use of two drawings shows that for Mukakalisa it was not possible to represent her experiences in one drawing. She was eager to illustrate how she evolved from a situation of doubt to one of confidence. The second drawing shows that the uncertainties have disappeared and that he is in control of the content and the pedagogy. The teacher knows where he is going with his teaching. But, how does he teach this course? The position of authority in front of the classroom shows complete domination. The teacher is the centre of the learning process about the Genocide. The uncertain hands have disappeared because he holds the truth that he is offering to the learners. Moreover, by pointing his finger at the blackboard and the slogan 'never again' shows that he knows the aim he wants to achieve educationally. He wishes that that Genocide should not be repeated. The class which is facing him seems to be recipients. His overbearing size denotes that intellectually he is also confident and well equipped to guide his class to the fixed objective. Therefore, he is convinced that he will achieve his aim. Thus, the content will be selected in a way of achieving the planned aim. Due to the learners' listlessness this teacher seems to be very committed to convince them about the aims he wants to achieve.

Concerning resources, Mukakalisa took the initiative of looking for reliable persons who could give her additional information. In this regard she said: "I had to consult other persons for some clarifications". Moreover, she was aware of weaknesses found in learners' references. She noticed "that books on the Genocide were not giving relevant information for learners". The use of different sources shows that Mukakalisa is committed to teaching the Genocide using a strong evidence base in a learner centred manner.

In Mukakalisa's drawing, all focus is on the teacher. In all, Mukakalisa's experience was characterized by a big change. In the beginning, she was reluctant, fearful and

not confident in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. By seeking clarification and advice, Mukakalisa is facing this topic confidently and is committed to teach it in view of 'never again'. Genocide prevention is an important aim for a society which lost one million of its population during a period of three months. Thus, Mukakalisa aims at consolidating peace and Rwandans' unity by teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

5.9 Conclusion

The analysis of drawings produced depicts different aspects of the experiences of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues. Drawings revealed participants' fear to talk to learners from perpetrators and victims' families in the same classroom. The two groups of learners have different backgrounds and experiences of the Genocide. Thus, teachers' neutrality becomes challenging because some of them also have their own opinion that they do not manage to hide. Despite their fear at the beginning of the course, participants positioned themselves as unifier in the process of unity and reconciliation and the champion of preventing Genocide forever. The teacher was also considered as someone who wants to develop learners' critical skills and conceptual knowledge. These aims to be achieved are guided by the post-Genocide context because the country is still suffering from the consequences of this tragic event. Thus, prevention, unity and reconciliation are important factors for building a better future for Rwanda. Drawings allowed the participants to start talking in an easy way about their teaching experiences. Through career life stories, the next chapter clarifies the teachers' experiences by providing enough details about the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

CHAPTER 6

EXPLORING TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHING THE GENOCIDE THROUGH CAREER LIFE STORIES

6.1 Introduction

In the methodology chapter, I described the process followed to construct the seven stories from the data gathered during my field research. I explained how I used an eclectic approach to get data regarding the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi, controversial issues and the teaching methods to construct the seven stories. Different methods such as the use of drawings, interviews and photo-elicitation were employed in generating data. The drawings were put in their own previous chapter to narrate the participants' internal feelings. This chapter is congruent with the preceding one on drawings in view of celebrating the data.

The seven stories constitute first level analysis and the first person is used to reveal the participants' real feelings while talking about their experiences. The stories include some quotes in vernacular language and their translation into English to emphasize participants' depth of emotions on the research topic. Each story encompasses different aspects of the preamble, the participants' first encounter with the course on the history of Rwanda which covers the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The aim and the contents covered with their respective teaching methods are also described in the stories. A concluding comment gives a general insight into the course of the interview and a general trend of the story.

In this chapter, I present the seven stories according to predominant teaching approaches used by the participants. I start by stories with a teacher centred approach, as stated by the participants themselves to stories with more interaction between the teacher and the learners. In all, this chapter continues presenting the data using the first person as the participants' voice.

Here is the list of the seven stories:

Arian: Never again

Mukamuhire: No discussion about controversial topics in my class

Murezi: Using oral testimonies

Semana: "I avoid long explanations."

Rukundo: Creating anti-Genocide clubs at school

Françoise: "Reconciliation as the root of Rwandans' unity"

Mukakalisa: "I use a multi-perspective approach in teaching the Genocide"

6.2 Never again: Arian's story

Arian teaches at the Saint Paul Academy in Kigali City. She was not an experienced teacher when she was offered the position, for the first time, to teach the history of Rwanda at the Ordinary Level (13-16 years). In fact, she was still studying in year 1 at the university when she was recruited to teach after the resignation of the regular history teacher. This temporary recruitment happened while Arian was still involved with her community attachment work. This is an additional academic activity done, as part of their internship, by teacher trainees at secondary schools. Arian accepted this part time job because of her educational background. She did Humanities in secondary school and was doing Humanities with education at university. Despite the fact that the school is located in the capital city it has limited teaching resources and its library is very small with few textbooks and teaching materials.

It is almost 21:00, my normal time to go to bed. Before going to sleep, I feel tired and anxious. I see a crowd of people in front of me. I don't know what they are looking for and I am gazing at them but I am a bit scared. I take my energy and enter my bed. I start imagining a lot of questions. What is going to happen tomorrow? How to start my course and how to end it? How to avoid problems? Many questions were coming in my mind and did not even allow me to find answers. I slept but not soundly. After each hour my sleep was interrupted and I continued asking myself many questions. In the next morning, I woke up, decided to be strong and to perform very well in my course as other colleagues were doing in other schools. This is how I passed a night full of queries before I start teaching a course on genocide.

Moreover, I still recall when I was at first told to teach the history of Rwanda which includes the Genocide:

Ubwo nahabwaga bwa mbere kwigisha iri somo ririmo jenoside, numvaga mfite ubwoba kandi ntumva neza ibyo ngomba kwigisha. Ntibyari byoroshye rwose.

Ntabwo wakwigisha jenoside nkuko wigisha irindi somo ry'amateka nk'intambara ya mbere y'isi cyangwa economic facts. Ntabwo wakwigisha ngo useke. Ugomba kuba 'serious' kuko nta gihe kinini gishize ibaye kandi iracyashegesha imitima y'abantu. (When I was offered to teach the course including the Genocide for the first time, I was afraid of it and bewildered. It was not easy. You cannot teach the Genocide as any other historical course such as the First World War or the way you offer economic facts. You cannot teach the Genocide and laugh. You have to be serious because this event is still recent and affecting people's minds).

In fact, most learners are still deeply affected by what happened. On the one hand I have some learners whose parents participated in the Genocide. On the other hand, the parents of others were killed during the event. As if this is not enough I also face challenges around the issues of the social identities of learners: It is not easy to talk about Hutu and Tutsi in as much as the current government wants people to feel as one nation and not members of social groups.

In light of the above, I found my introduction to teaching the Genocide threatening as I could not predict the learners' reaction. As a result, it took me a long time to be prepared psychologically for teaching the course. The strategy I adopted was to familiarise myself with the learners so that I could gain their confidence.

Due to the emotional nature of the Genocide I decided to try and be impartial during my class. Despite this intended neutrality, I noticed that learners were judging me based on my physical appearance. In fact, when I started teaching the Genocide some learners observed my face [to guess my social identity based on my physical appearance]. Consequently, I decided to avoid revealing much about myself or to talk about my social identity because it would have created problems. The learners would have judged what I was teaching accordingly. However, they still tested me by asking tricky questions.

Learner 1 : Do you have members of your family who were killed?
Teacher   : Let's first get other questions and respond at once. Who has another question?
Learner 2 : What did you do during that period?
Teacher   : Your questions are related to personal issues. Please bear in mind that I am teaching the history of Rwanda and not my own history.
Learner 2 : Please teacher! Cannot you really tell us what you saw during the Genocide?
Teacher   : That is an interesting question. The Genocide was characterized by immeasurable atrocities. People were butchering their neighbours without

mercy. They were using different weapons such as clubs, machetes, stones and firearms. Victims were buried in a dehumanizing way for instance by putting many corpses together near roads in small trenches.

Central to my teaching is genocide prevention. My main objective is to make learners understand the importance of 'never again' so that learners not only be sensitized but also advise their parents, brothers, sisters and neighbours about the effects of divisive ideology which was at the origin of the tragedy by teaching ethnicity.

As a result, I tell them that if they have friends, they should be careful. No one should come and separate them by saying that one of them is a wretched person. We are all human being race created by God with the same blood.

Overall the content I taught to my history class tackles different aspects related to the Genocide. I started with a definition of genocide, namely that it is, "The way one social group is harmed or unfairly killed due to its ethnicity or region". This is followed by the presentation of other genocides, the aim being to teach learners not to think that violence is a Rwandan case only and it prepares them psychologically before discussing the Rwandan case. The effects, causes and sequence of the Genocide against the Tutsi are also explained to the learners. In general, my methodology is expository even if I try to diversify my methods. It helps me to transmit clear messages which cannot be challenged. But, sometimes I ask questions to learners. For instance, who does not understand? Who wants more clarifications? Then, I gave opportunity to learners to talk.

In dealing with different topics and the challenges related to the Genocide, I devised an educational strategy by which I start with the consequences of the Genocide before talking about causes and sequences:

Kugirango abana basobanukirwe n'amateka ya jenoside ku buryo bwiza kandi buboroheye, mbanza kwigisha ingaruka zayo kuko n'ubu ziriho. Nyine...abanyeshuri barazibona kandi bahita babyumva. Nyuma y'ingaruka, nsobanura icyateye jenoside nuko yagenze. Nk'umuntu wiboneye jenoside n'amaso yanjye, mba mfite amahirwe yo gusobanura bimwe mu byo niboneye Atari ibyo nasomye. (To facilitate learners to understand the Genocide better and easily, I start by the consequences because they are present now. So, they are observable by learners and they immediately understand them. After these consequences, I analyse the causes and different sequences of the Genocide. As an eyewitness of Genocide, I had also a chance to better explain some aspects related to what I have seen not read).

Source: http://www.imvahonshya.co.rw/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/abanyoye_ikigage.jpg

Regarding the causes, I teach the background to Rwandan history. During these lessons, I present the traditional relationships between Rwandans who were living peacefully without divisionism or influenced by ideas about "ethnicity". I inform my class that people used to share beer during feasts. The problem in my view was the role of colonists who came and inculcated different ideas into Rwandans. They told people that they were from different 'ethnic groups'. This idea was then reinforced and used as a means to divide and rule the country!

Another significant aspect of my teaching revolves around the idea of perpetrators. I therefore explain to the learners that before the intended extermination against Tutsi occurred there were some paramilitary groups, the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi*, described in the literature. The members of these paramilitary groups opposed the returning of Tutsi from exile to their homeland and Tutsi inside the country were experiencing a kind of discrimination. Even when President J. Habyarimana signed an agreement so that they can come back some members of paramilitary groups did not want them to return home. After the grounding of the presidential airplane in 1994, they started blaming and killing the Tutsi. I also teach about the "Liberation War" and the Genocide against the Tutsi with a particular attention to the consequences. The latter is to me not only the most important but also easiest topic because the effects are still seen in society. I try to give more detail about perpetrators according to my readings mainly those from the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace.[4] In the conclusion, I advise my learners how to behave. In so doing, I want learners to promote peace in their environment as they decide to talk about what happened with their parents.

According to questions asked during debates, I noticed that some members of perpetrators' families explain the Genocide according to their emotions.

> Learner 1 : Why do you say that it was only one 'ethnic group' which was killed?
> Learner 2 : Was it killing of Tutsi only?
> Learner 3 : There were also some Hutu who were killed. For instance, the former Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana from *Mouvement Démocratique Républicain* or Frederic Nzamurambaho of *Parti Social Démocrate*. Why do you call it Genocide against the Tutsi while some Hutu were also killed with these examples of different political parties' members?
> Teacher : It was called Genocide against Tutsi because Tutsi were targeted. Different media, leaders' hatred speeches were against Tutsi and some of them did not fear to incite the population to kill them.

I admit the idea of "ethnic" groups as viewed by the learners as debatable. When I teach that the Europeans introduced the idea of "ethnic" groups the learners find this

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[4] *Institut de Recherche et Dialogue pour la Paix*, The Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace was initiated in 2001 as peace building Institute to contributes to peace building efforts in the aftermath of the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi. It did a range of studies on history and conflicts in Rwanda; Genocide denial and strategies for its eradication and other programmes aimed at sensitising the youth and the whole community for peace building (see http://www.irdp.rw/spip.php?article1).

very controversial. Consequently, some learners wonder out loud why it is said that Europeans did so while it is also written that one of the "ethnic" groups came from Ethiopia before Europeans came. It is not easy for me to explain this. The learners also wonder why it is said that Europeans brought divisionism when Hutu and Tutsi social groups were in place before their arrival. The learners also struggle to understand how at the end of monarchy as a system the subsequent power struggle was between the Hutu and the Tutsi and not between the Rwandans and Belgians.

I also faced challenges in teaching other sections of the curriculum related to the Genocide. For example, it was not easy to explain certain aspects related to the socio-economic workings of ancient Rwanda as the official textbook only provides general guidelines and not advice about controversial questions. A case in point is the fact that some books consider institutions like *ubuhake (*clientship) as a tool to dominate other social groups. But learners said that cows were owned by all social groups because Rwandans used them in wedding ceremonies as a dowry. Due to propaganda *ubuhake* was seen as an activity done by one social group only. Consequently, all its negative aspects were used by propagandists and the media to sow divisionism during the "Liberation War" in the 1990s.[5]
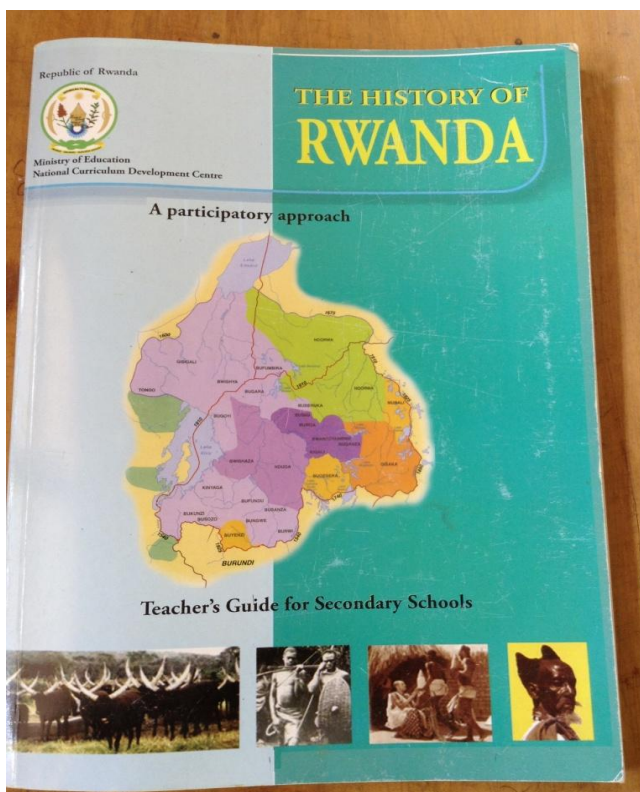
I am confronted in my teaching with a range of controversies related to the Genocide. It is not easy to talk about the associated statistics mainly those of victims. There are different sources and I decided to use the one from the *Gacaca*

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[55] As *Ubuhake* was considered by some ideologues as an instrument used by Tutsi to dominate Hutu, some media mentioned that the Rwandese Patriotic Front victory during the 'liberation war' (1990-1994) would mean the restoration of *Ubuhake,* or Tutsi domination.
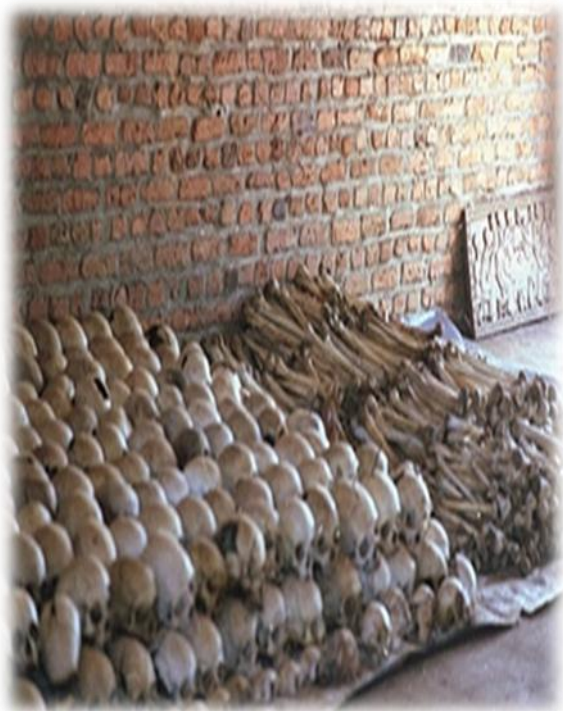
jurisdiction - one million people. I did this because it is a recent publication and that figure of around one million was proposed by an official institution. For teaching these figures, I use pictures of dead persons lying in the streets and tombs of Genocide victims. These pictures are in a book and I show them as well as memorial sites as a tangible fact. It helps me to talk about these statistics of victims such as a million people who were killed. Learners do not question these statistics.

It is not easy to explain these controversial issues, including the Genocide itself, to my learners. This is especially so since the current government wants Rwandans to feel as one nation. With my expository method, I also use a variety of teaching aids in the process and include, for instance, documentary films such as *Rwanda's 100 day genocide* which more specifically shows how members of the *Interahamwe* militia were butchering people. After showing them, I point out key aspects and ask a few questions.

Teacher : Who can tell us what George Sentayana said?
Learner : He is inviting people not to forget the past not to repeat it.
Teacher : What do they say in the film regarding relationships between Rwandan tribes in the past?
Learner : Rwandan tribes often intermarried.

I continue asking questions regarding the official propaganda in fuelling hate and violence against Tutsi; the failure of the Ministry of Defence to protect innocent people, rather organised the killings of Tutsi; the failure of Tutsi resistance and different weapons used for killing. In my view the film helped learners to understand

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how a divisive ideology can be very disastrous. When I show how people were cutting human beings like trees, learners understand its evil and make a decision of never accepting such divisive ideas. However, I am confronted by the fact that learners who lost their parents during the Genocide see the film, the pictures of what happened and they are negatively affected. They get very sad, lie with their heads on their desks or cry. The affected learners are also accompanied by fellow learners to the outside of the class. The failure to deal appropriately with traumatism is a weakness in my teaching. For me, it would be ideal to have counselling skills in order to provide care to the traumatised learners so as to alleviate the trauma they endure when viewing the films. However, before using the films I invite my class to be strong.

Source: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506
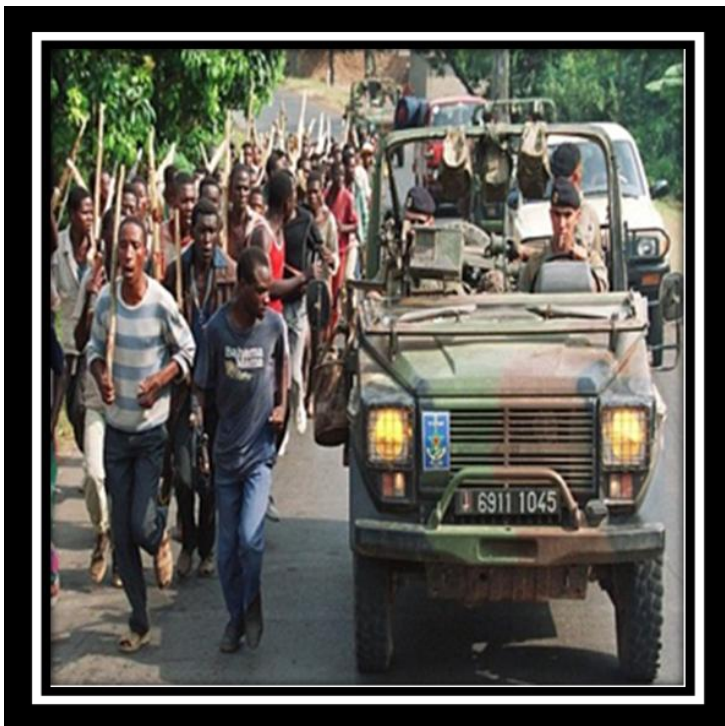
In a nutshell, the choice of my methodology which is mainly expository is guided by the nature of the course. It is a horrific topic and learners can be traumatised if they do not pay attention or if they are not psychologically prepared. I am also aware that there is a national attention to the teaching of this topic. It is difficult to teach the Genocide because of political discourse.

It is not easy to help learners develop critical thinking through this course fearing to allow learners use views contradicting official narratives on some aspects such as the role of France in the tragedy. The teacher has to be careful.

Despite her younger age, when Arian started teaching the history of Rwanda, she became very committed and was very conscious of identity problems in her class and the political discourse around genocide which led Arian to self-censorship. This

situation undermined the development of learners' critical skills. Arian revealed many controversial issues raised by her class and showed how she was facing challenges to deal with those controversies to learners. But, she devised a teaching method of starting by consequences of the Genocide which she found easy to understand before tackling causes and other more complicated aspects. In her interview, it was difficult for her to remember exactly what she taught at the beginning when she was still a student and what she taught later.

6.3 "No discussion about controversial topics in my class": Mukamuhire's story

Mukamuhire has a Bachelor's degree in Arts with History as a subject. Before completing her bachelor's degree, she did a course on the history of genocides. Her Bachelor of Arts' dissertation was related to the Genocide against the Tutsi in one of the Rwandan regions. In addition to teaching she is a researcher and interested in other domains connected to history. In the early 2000s she started teaching at Saint Lewis School, a private institution in Kigali City which is relatively well endowed with teaching resources. She is currently teaching history at both the Ordinary Level (13-16 years of age) and the Advanced Level (16-19 years of age).

My experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues is full of challenges but I am confident, due to my academic skills, about how to do it. At the beginning of my career I was not worried about teaching the Genocide because I was aware of the history programme that needed to be offered at school level and I was feeling a kind of dilemma that the Genocide constitutes.

Throughout my experience of teaching the Genocide the majority of my challenges were related to questions asked by learners. Learners are in general curious to know because they are convinced that the knowledge they acquire in the classroom follows a clear logic and is different from what their parents, the media or other people tell them secretly. In my view a historical event analysed scientifically is different from personal experiences which sometimes are characterized by stereotyping. As far as I am concerned frequently what is said at home is not true because it is not supported by research or analysis. For instance, some learners acquire knowledge about Genocide denial at home and such information creates hatred between social classes. In fact, a learner from a Hutu family can for instance be told at home that the Tutsi are bad people because they mistreated them over a long period of time. On the other hand, survivors can say that the Hutu are bad people because they have been killing the Tutsi since 1959. If one parent was

persecuted since 1959, 1960, and so forth, she/he will not question the individuals who did it. She/he will confirm that it was the Hutu who had done so.

What I do not find easy to deal with in my history classes is the issue of the relationship between the Rwandan social classes. I think that personal experiences hinder the building of a coherent society and the teaching of this through official channels is problematic. For instance, young people learn the history of Rwanda in solidarity camps. They teach them how Rwandans can live together. The National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation uses the same history in view of restoring cohesion between Rwandans.

Source: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2001)
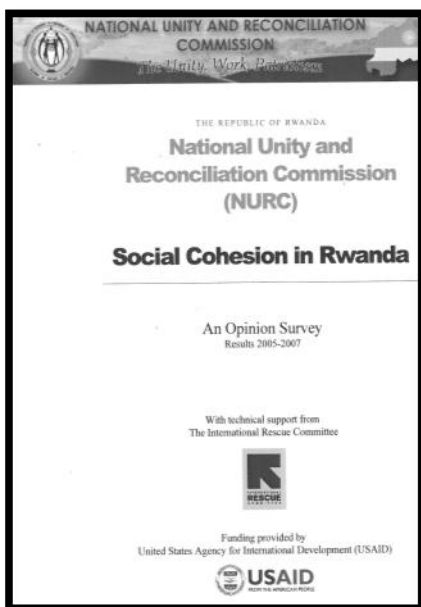
In schools there are also textbooks on the history of Rwanda. Moreover, most of the learners benefit from public lectures on the history of Rwanda during the commemoration period of the Genocide (April-July). Through these channels there is a very strong political influence but there are two conflicting versions of one reality namely the official and the unofficial versions. Unfortunately, in my view, there is no clear policy on how to teach the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

In the face of the above-mentioned challenges my interest in better understanding the historical content about the Genocide helps me very much as I feel comfortable about teaching the event and learners obtain good results in the national examination. After the course on the Genocide the learners change their views and they first think as human beings before considering themselves as members of a social group. I observed that classes could consequently meet and celebrate and enjoy life.

Learner 1 : Dear teacher, thank you for attending our party. We appreciate what you did for us, because you showed us the interest of working harmoniously in unity.
Teacher   : Thank you also for your noble idea of meeting as brothers. I am feeling proud of you. I wish other classes and schools do the same. Keep united it will generate many positive deeds in your life to come.

Even if teaching the Genocide is a challenging course I hope that the planned objectives would be achieved. Firstly, in my view, there is a need for qualified historians who can teach the course on the Genocide. By qualified teachers, I do not mean those who are working for political interests but those who are working for the nation, those who can heal all Rwandans. My concern is that some are teaching their own feelings arguing that there are people who have no right to exist. When you teach by saying those are wretched people or those ones deceived death you are contributing to division. Thus, qualified teachers would help Rwandans to reconcile not to divide them.

While teaching the course on the Genocide, my main objective is to make the "never again" slogan a reality. For me, education is a process of societal transformation. It is why I want to develop learners' critical thinking first. In this regard I advise them not to rush into anything new without making a sound judgment. Thus their decision making ability can prevent them from reacting as those who were sensitized to kill and did so. Secondly, as learners have some knowledge at the end of the course they should understand the origin of the Genocide. Thirdly, they have to understand the relationship between Rwandans during ancient times. In addition, they have to comprehend how divisive ideas have grown and to discover the wickedness that existed and how Rwandans in the process came to do evil to their neighbours. Next, they have to grasp the different consequences of the Genocide and the '1990s war'.

I give a moral dimension to my explanations as it is related to the consequences of the Genocide. This is to ensure genocide prevention. One of the positive aspects of the course on Genocide is to get learners to learn respect for human rights. I say that learners have to understand that if Rwandans had managed to know the evil of divisive ideas and how to avoid them the Rwandan tragedy would not have happened. It is therefore imperative to explain that genocide should never be allowed to take place against other human beings because it would prevent them

from their rights to life. I have to educate learners to avoid the mistake of killing their neighbours due to their identity. I was not born in Byumba because I wished so. No one should be victim of his or her ethnic group, religion, physical appearance or his/her region of origin. No one chose his or her identity. Learners have to grow-up bearing in mind that they do not have to destroy their society and that a nation is strengthened by the unity of its people. Learners have to feel themselves as Rwandans not as people from their social classes. It is an aspect of mind change, as the existence of social classes always creates conflicts and it is as a bomb waiting to explode.

So as to achieve the objective of preventing Genocide, I am convinced that all learners should learn history so that all school graduates understand the past the same way. As far as I am concerned Rwandans are divided because they have interpretations of the Genocide based on what they have heard at home. At least two hours per week are needed for history and the subject should be examined at the national level. In this way positive results would be achieved as such a reform would help to progressively transform society. For instance, in the compulsory history course they can be taught about people such as Napoleon, Louis XIV, Mussolini and Hitler on one hand and on the other those who did positive things for humanity such as Mandela. He promoted reconciliation in South Africa despite some black people thinking that he should expel all white people from the country. But, Mandela and the African National Congress preferred to promote sustainable development through reconciliation.

In addition to general objectives, I strongly emphasise the role of preparing my courses especially since, in my view, doing a lesson plan for Genocide is not easy. I start by describing other genocides and lecture my learners that the Rwandan case is not very different from others which were also initiated by the state. In my view no single individual can plan and execute genocide. I tell my learners how the Genocide was planned in Rwanda. After analysing other genocides, I provide them with details about the historical background to the event by exploring the history of Rwanda. Issues around identity are a key aspect of my teaching.

Teacher   : In terms of traditional relationships before colonization, Rwandans used to share beer without considering whether you were Hutu or Tutsi. But due

to European influences the culture and relationships in Rwanda changed. During the colonial period, different identities started appearing based on European stereotypes because colonial masters had medieval beliefs with different classes such as noble, middle class and the lower class. It means   that they had demarcation of these classes.

Teacher   : Do you understand?

Class   : Yes!

Teacher   : A child from leaders or lords could not be married by someone from handcraft makers' family. A person enriched by handcraft could not marry someone from a lower class. These European stereotypes were applied to Rwandan society. Europeans did not do it to separate Rwandans. They did it so that they could have a society similar to what they used to have in Europe so that they can understand it. This European endeavour and the use of physical appearances as identity markers created ambiguities in Rwandan society.

Teacher   : Do you follow me?

Class   : Yes, we do!

Teacher   : Colonial administration could therefore register a person as Hutu whereas his parents and brothers were all Tutsi. It happened and King Mutara III Rudahigwa (1931-1959) was against this practice. You know that in biology there are what they call phenotype and genotype. Thus, people living in a same place and doing different activities cannot always have the same physical appearances.

Source:

http://www.musabyimana.net/20111117-mutara-charles-rudahigwa-un-monarque-controverse/

I am convinced that the problems attributed to social identity are exaggerated because Rwandan society was characterized by social mobility. Archaeological findings show that the ethnic connotations, economic activities and those Rwandan social groups emerged very late. Rwandans were doing similar activities and specific tasks were devoted to any social group. As most Rwandans had not studied it was easy to tell them to do anything to serve the interests of the colonists. The colonial period shows how the transformation of Rwandan society was done and led to the

crystallisation which put into place the new social classes of the Hutu and the Tutsi. In the end, this antagonism served European interests and facilitated them to stay and rule Africa and Rwanda for a long period.

I explain to my learners how the king's power was weakened and how another ruling class was introduced from nowhere. In 1959, this newly created class, educated Tutsi was fought by the European colonists and was replaced by another, educated Hutu, they had disfavoured. By this time, the latter was accepted to take part in the governing of the country and the government participated in their upheaval in 1959. People such as Guy Logiest, Belgian Special Envoy to Rwanda sent from Congo, were present. Instead of helping the population to make a revolution to gain independence the Hutu political parties supported by Belgians conducted a 'blood revolution'.[6]

While teaching the Genocide I have experienced that learners do not understand how people from the same society changed in 1959 and ended up being involved in political violence and killing others. I have not thus far come across appropriate ways to explain how ideology led them to such an act. I try to clarify for learners that the so called dominated were misled by the colonialists and that ideology played a major role. This happened because few people were educated. Learners are informed that as part of the process identity cards as official documents differentiating between people by mentioning that some were Tutsi and others Hutu were introduced.

Source: https://thesocietypages.org/specials/ethnoc-racial-categories-rwanda

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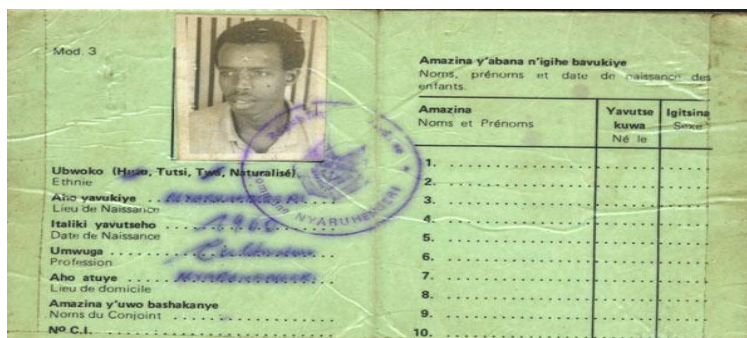
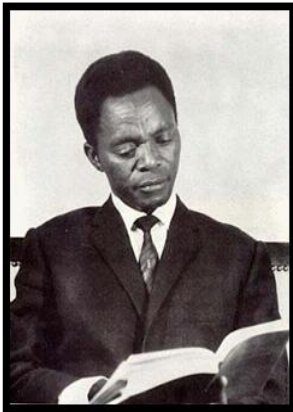[6] In the 1950s, some educated Hutu and ruling class claimed changes in Rwanda due to some social inequalities between Rwandans themselves on one hand and on the other between Belgians and Rwandan leaders. The claims led to the 1959 upheaval and were characterized by violence against Tutsi and members of the royal regime and a series of changes. Even if the Belgians' role is controversial, the colonial power was not neutral.

This identification is in my mind evidence of how a divisive policy was implemented in colonial Rwanda. I make it very clear to my learners that all people should have been called Rwandans.

Teacher : Listen carefully: Divisionism was a failed policy under the G. Kayibanda regime (1962-1973). This president was only trained to be an administrative assistant and acquired religious knowledge only which did not allow him to understand international politics.

Under his rule the Tutsi and people in exile were considered scapegoat for all of Rwanda's problems such as the economic crisis. It was a strategy of sensitizing the population that the Tutsi were bad people. The 1990s period was characterized by the "Liberation War" between the then Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. At that time refugees wanted to return home as previous regimes had hindered their return to the homeland. In the meanwhile, peace negotiations took place at Arusha between the two parties and the agreement proposed a power sharing between belligerents.

Source: De la Mairieu, 1994.

At that time, there were also different political views and international circumstances which led to the rebirth of political parties. Some of them were supporting the Rwandese Patriotic Front and others the then government. This situation created two antagonistic blocs.

In my view, political actors in 1991-1993 stirred up divisionism by sensitizing the population to see themselves in social class and regional lenses. I explain that J. Habyarimana appears on some pictures talking how to fight against the enemy. It was assumed that the enemy was inside and outside the country. The youth was also sensitized to commit the Genocide. Some young boys benefited from military training to kill people.

I expose how the period leading to the Genocide was marked by attempts of assassination.

Teacher : Keep on following. Abagogwe or people in Bugesera were killed as part of a trial. A tense period continued till the grounding of the presidential jet in 1994. I consider this grounding as an immediate cause of the Genocide. As a result, those on the side of the government side started killing people. They did not kill only Tutsi but also other political opponents. In the meanwhile, I explain how the international community abandoned Rwandans killing each other. This happened despite the fact that Rwanda was a member of the United Nations

Organization. The latter did almost nothing despite the fact that the international community has to protect countries in different ways.

Furthermore, I teach the consequences of the Genocide by showing how that act led to the change of the regime and created orphans and widows.

Teacher   : Follow carefully. Amongst other effects of the war and the Genocide were a number of people who went into exile. Infrastructures, including churches which sheltered targeted people, were also destroyed.

Thereafter, I teach the period after 1994. In this post-Genocide period I analyse how the country was reconciled, the different programmes aimed at uniting and developing Rwandans so as to give them hope for a better future. In concluding the course on the Genocide I tell my learners that despite the fact that it happened, there is a need to return to a normal life and to restore relations between Rwandans as it used to be many years ago.

My teaching methodology is mainly teacher centred. I am conscious that this teacher centred approach is considered archaic. However, I adopted it after noticing the negative aspects related to using a learner centred approach to teach the Genocide. Most of the time I teach young learners, I do not extract ideas from them. Even if they talk about ideas they refer to what they heard at home or from another place and most of the time opposite to a good history teaching process which aims at rebuilding the country. Thus, I use expository approach. I present and at the end I give them an opportunity to ask questions or get more clarifications.

I also use this approach due to a lack of appropriate teaching aids related to the Genocide and I have some concerns about some that do exist. For instance, I cannot screen films because some of them do not aim at rebuilding the country. I do, however, use pictures to teach. And since I have knowledge about the topic that the learners do not necessarily have, when I am presenting, learners follow sequences of events. It helps them to understand the logic of the topic. They can take an event and link it to the previous ones. However, I am aware that my methodology has some weaknesses. Most of the time learners are absent minded during the teaching/learning process. As a result, they fail to make connections with previous lessons and it becomes an obstacle for learners. As a result, they either fail to

interpret events or misunderstand what I tell them. Thus I am obliged to explain more and to allow them to ask questions.

In my endeavours I use the *Teachers' guide* written by some lecturers from the National of University of Rwanda at Butare.[7] This guide was produced by the Ministry of Education to aid with the teaching of the history of Rwanda. I also find textbooks very helpful because they describe the history in general and help to fight against community influence. At least, they show the guidelines of the history to be taught.

As resources, I use study tours. Visits to the main museums in Rwanda - the Richard Kandt's museum in Gakinjiro, the presidential palace at Kanombe and the national museum in Butare – are conducted during the first weeks of the course. This gives learners a solid background on the history of Rwanda. During these tours learners ask the museum guides many questions. This is good as the learners are learning in a different environment.

Cleary I avoid allowing learners the opportunity to discuss controversial issues related to the Genocide in my class. This is due in part because of texts written by Genocide deniers exist and can be found in bookshops or online as electronic sources[8]. I know these sources and they deny or justify the Genocide by arguing that the Tutsi in Rwanda were killed because the military group which was outside of Rwanda at the time supported them. In these sources those who committed Genocide contend that they were killing to protect themselves: You can understand that there was a kind of denial. It is a challenge for the teaching of this course. But, it does not affect me and learners do not have to know it. In contrast, books published in Rwanda talk about the sequences and preparation of the Genocide.

Other controversial issues such as the settlement of the population theory and physical appearances are presented through a teacher centred approach – the method that I use almost exclusively. Regarding these topics, I explain what I regard

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[7] Byanafashe, D (ed.) 2006: *The teaching of the history of Rwanda. A participatory approach. A resource book for teachers for secondary schools in Rwanda*, The Regents of the University of California.
[8] See the literature review.

as the outdated phases of the settlement of Rwanda which were previously taught in schools. This is deconstructed by referring to the archaeological findings from Prof Kanimba's publications.[9] Learners are surprised to hear that before Rwanda became a kingdom there were other people who permanently migrated to the region. It means that this country was settled by other people who cannot be called Rwandans because Rwanda as a country was created later. I confidently explain that permanent settlement started in specific places near lakes such as Muhazi and learners are really interested to understand how the evolution occurred and to discover that they have been misled.

In general, my teaching is characterized by a strong historical background of the history of Rwanda to allow the learners to understand the Genocide against the Tutsi and its effects. I do my best to deconstruct wrong theories around the peopling of Rwanda, the physical appearances and I show that Rwandans should consider themselves as part of one social class that of Rwandans for a better future.

Mukamuhire is an experienced teacher. She was able to give many details about the role of understanding the Rwandan historical background to analyse the Genocide against the Tutsi. She was facilitated in her task amongst her research related to the history of Rwanda. Her interview proved a high confidence and spontaneity on many issues. Her determination to build a new society decided her to change her methodology quickly from learner centred to teacher centred. This has an impact in the teaching of controversial issues.

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[9] Kanimba Misago (2004). Peuplement et migrations d'après l'Archéologie: Cas du Rwanda. D.Byanafashe (ed.), *Les défis de l'Historiographie rwandaise. Tome 1: Les faits controversés* (pp.103-123). Butare, Editions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda.

6.4 Using oral testimonies in my class: Murezi's story

Murezi has a good educational background. He is a bachelor's degree holder with honours in Social Science with Qualified Teacher Status in history. In his academic studies, he did a module on the history of genocides. His Bachelor of Arts dissertation focused on an institution linked to genocide issues and his topic required detailed background knowledge on genocide and the war between the RPF and the then Rwandan government (1990-1994). He is teaching at Gisagara Secondary School in the Southern Province of Rwanda. This school is located in the Rwandan countryside and has few resources. Electricity, for example, is only temporarily obtained by means of a generator. He started teaching history in 2010. Murezi who became a history teacher because he wanted to promote the history of Rwanda which was, in his view, distorted is now explaining his experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

When I had to teach a course on the Genocide for the first time my reaction was not a negative one given what I regard as my knowledge on the topic. In addition, I had witnessed the Genocide personally. I know that some learners were affected by the Genocide as many of their parents were killed during the tragedy. I am, also equally, aware that some learners' parents were perpetrators. Thus, before teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi, I have to consider the audience in my class and to not harm them. Based on my experience, I noticed that learners fear to talk about their past because they do not want to discuss "ethnicity". When I refer to Hutu and Tutsi, some of them bend their body and look down. In my view, the Genocide cannot be analysed without talking about social groups and especially the Hutu and Tutsi.

As learners are very reserved, it becomes imperative to look for appropriate approaches to put them at ease. In fact, I do not start by teaching rather I begin with a psychological preparation.

> Teacher   : Please, you are going to learn a special course. I request you to be patient and whoever may experience a problem is allowed to go outside. When someone has also a problem, other learners have the right to approach the affected one for comfort.

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Learners seriously traumatised are taken outside by their classmates. The school then takes care of the affected learner and I visit him or her after the lesson.

> Teacher   : I noticed that in general you fear to talk about some topics such as ethnicity. For me, to be a Hutu or a Tutsi is not a problem. The most important is unity and how you live with your colleagues.

When learners are prepared in this regard and put in a good mood and understand the objectives of the course the discussions proceed smoothly. But, at the outset they fear talking about the event. I also face other challenges such as the shortage of teaching resources. For instance, the lack of digital versatile discs or audio-visual resources related to other genocides and a lack of support from the district or other institutions is a problem I have to deal with.

My ability in teaching the Genocide is enhanced, not only due to the developments in Rwanda, which is educating Rwandans about brotherhood, but also due to conferences organized during the commemoration period held annually from April to July. To me, this change is evidenced by the improvement in my teaching methodology which was mainly expository in the beginning. At present I am incorporating new strategies and resources such as the use of stories/testimonies and films such as *Rwanda's 100 day genocide* to encourage learner participation in class.

In terms of aims, pedagogy and content, I focus mainly on the never again slogan and the Rwandans' unity. In this regard, in my teaching I focus on different aspects of the Genocide but I pay particular attention to its causes and consequences. It is why after completing the psychological preparation, I present an overview of the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi. At the beginning, I use the teacher centred approach. I like this approach because most of learners do not want to talk about "ethnicity". Thereafter, I screen a film on the Genocide using my computer. I am aware that learners are not completely ignorant on the Genocide as they have background knowledge on the event that they acquired at home. But, collecting evidence at home is also unproductive.

> Learner: Dad, at school, we were requested to ask you few questions.
> Parent: Yes, it helps you to learn better from your home environment and to tell what we know or experienced.

Learner: Do you know something about clans? If yes, please tell me what you know.

Parent: Yes, I do. They were many in traditional Rwanda and they still exist. Some of them are for instance Abasindi, Ababanda, Abasinga, Abanyiginya and Abakono. They had different totems and people used them in different circumstances such as in the cult of *kubandwa* or to respect some animals which were their totems. Some clans were very important because they participated in different duties at the royal court. It is the case of Abanyiginya who used to give kings.

Learner: What is our clan?

Parent: We are from Abasindi clan. But, your mother is from Ababanda. Children adopt their father's clan.

Learner: Hum! What about "ethnic" groups?

Parent: What are you saying? Who is that teacher who is sewing divisionism among learners?

Learner: No, I think we are trying to understand who we are and our past.

Parent: No, this is not acceptable. Your teacher is not preaching unity.

Very few learners find information by this means. Some parents depict the teacher as a source of divisionism. I am obliged to cover what parents fear to talk about. As part of my teaching, I help learners to enlighten on Rwandans' relationships during the pre-colonial period. I demonstrate them per lecture mode that through the Rwandan culture, before the arrival of the white colonialists, Rwandans were united and shared whatever they had. I also teach about governance because in my view a course on genocide cannot be understood without interrogating governance. The latter concept is broad in nature and includes aspects such as the role of political leaders in the relationship between Rwandans and issues of social justice because not all people were considered to be equal. It also, in my thinking, includes the idea of impunity which pushed ordinary people towards thinking that certain crimes were acceptable. Consequently, after independence, the Tutsi were accused of not being Rwandans and in their speeches leaders sensitised the army and people to kill Tutsi as they were deemed the enemies of the country. The impunity associated with these deeds created a lack of mutual understanding between people and led to divisionism.

In my teaching, I explain to learners that genocide is abnormal killings organized by the government in order to exterminate a certain group of people based on their ethnic grouping, their skin colour, their religion or their region of origin in any part of the world. To me, when I give examples of genocides from other countries, my

learners understand it better. I use in my course the cases of the Genocide against Jews, against Herero, and Cambodians. In Rwanda, Genocide played out from April 1994 when serious killings targeted the Tutsi, one of the three "ethnic" groups that existed as they were established under Belgian colonial rule. I explain that these killings were internationally recognized and confirmed by the United Nations as Genocide against the Tutsi.

Source: https://www.haikudeck.com/night-chapter-naming-project-by-neel-paithankar-education-presentation-FwhiVzs0I7#slide2

Using comparisons helps in my assessment of learners to understand the Genocide against the Tutsi better. Regarding dehumanization, I draw on the Germans' example, when they planned to kill Jews how they considered them as non-human beings.

Teacher: Who can tell us how Jews were depicted during the Holocaust?
Learner: Sometimes they were called vermin.
Teacher: Yes, thank you! This dehumanization of Jews was also applied in Rwanda.
Those who committed genocide in Rwanda were inspired by other genocides by dehumanizing the Tutsi in order to facilitate their killing. They called the Tutsi animals. Genocide in Rwanda was planned and executed by the government in the name of Hutu because the latter occupied almost all the prominent positions in the government. What do you think about the dehumanization and the Genocide?
Learner: Dehumanization allowed perpetrators to kill many people because the latter were not considered as human beings. I heard that they killed them in a horrible way by using clubs, machetes or firearms.
Learner: I do not understand how people with the same shape killed their fellows.

I appreciate films because they respond to my objectives. Audio-visual method leads to the learners' participation and they make their own analysis. However, they traumatize learners given horrendous images related to killings. In reaction, some of them sleep on the desk or have another unusual reaction.

Apart from teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi in a comparative manner, I also teach unity and reconciliation in the process. I do this by referring to examples of dances and common traditional feasts that all Rwandans share.

Source: www.africaimagelibrary.com

In order to reinforce new mutual understanding and to stop the culture of impunity,[10] suspected people were arrested and judged. However, this is not easy to teach reconciliation.

> Learner 1: I think that the Funds which assist the Genocide survivors should assist all vulnerable people.
> Learner 2: No, this is not possible because most of Genocide victims remained without anybody from their families to support them. Besides, Genocide was planned for and was a special crime with a cruel intention of eliminating a whole group of people.
> Learner 3: I notice that reconciliation process is not easy.
> Learner 2: Yes, it is true. How one who killed one's relatives can be forgiven? Why they are not executed since they killed other people?

I use my historical knowledge to clarify some current policies regarding assistance to Genocide survivors. I tell to learners that death penalty is no longer used in Rwandan judicial system and forgiveness is a way to reconciliation.

My course also includes controversial topics. For teaching them, I use mainly a teacher centred approach. But, learners are allowed to ask questions till they get better understanding. I maintain my neutrality while responding to learners. The actual settlement of Rwanda is in my experience one of the controversial aspects in the teaching of the Genocide. I mention that some books claim that Rwandans

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[10] After independence, people who were involved in Tutsi massacres were not judged and this culture of impunity somehow encouraged killers to commit the Genocide.

settled the country from different areas.[11] Accordingly the Twa were the first to arrive followed by the Hutu. The last to arrive were the Tutsi. Consequently, propagandists considered the Tutsi to be foreigners. In their view, those who settled first should benefit more from Rwandan wealth. Thus, in my view, there is a link between the Genocide and the settlement of Rwanda because the latter was exploited by propagandists and politicians. As a result, Tutsi were prevented from enjoying national opportunities and some of them were refugees thus had no right to live in the country. In teaching this aspect, I consider the learners' level of understanding and use mainly written documents. There is no evidence that Hutu or other social groups came into phases from those specific areas.

I mention other controversial topics that relate to the origin of the Genocide that I have to address as a history teacher. Some learners contend that the roots of the Genocide stem from the monarchy arguing that the Hutu were badly treated. They refer specifically to issues such as *ubuhake* (clientship)[12] and *ikiboko* (whipping)[13]. Issues around physical descriptions and stereotyping also rear their heads in class and the Hutu are described as short and good for muscular work and the Tutsi as tall, with thin noses and are intelligent. To me, this generalizing of physical features is not right. I explain that some Hutu are tall or some Tutsi short and invite them to avoid generalization based on racial ideologies. The notion of a double genocide is another controversial issue defended in some books that I have to deal with in class. I feel more confident in teaching this aspect: I am lucky because I am able to differentiate genocide and war.

> Teacher: Listen carefully! You will find that in some books the idea of double genocide. It is argued that Hutu and Tutsi died during the tragic period and after. Even if some people died due to the fight between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the then government soldiers, it is not like in the Genocide which was planned for with a clear intention of exterminating one group of people as one of you mentioned. In addition, genocide must be confirmed by a competent

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[11] Kagame, A. (1943). *Inganji Karinga*. Kabgayi; Kagame, A. (1972). *Un abrégé de l'ethnohistoire du Rwanda*. Kigali, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda; Heremans, R. (1973). *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*. Kigali, Bruxelles: Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, Editions de Boeck.

[12] *Ubuhake* is a socio-economic institution where clients sought to their patrons' protection and a cow after performing some duties. Most of cattle owners were Tutsi but some Hutu were also patrons and cattle owners.

[13] During the colonial period, people who failed to achieve the target of their imposed labour were whipped by local chiefs. The latter feared colonial masters' administrative measures and imposed such punishments to the population to force them to achieve the target.

international tribunal. Thus, there is the Genocide against Tutsi not Genocide against Hutu.

In my view, most Rwandans do not understand the Genocide and its related controversial issues and tend to explain the event the same way. This is in my estimation because Rwandan history, including the part on the Genocide is problematic to fully understand due to a lack of knowledge and because of political interests.

To conclude my teaching, I use different approaches. Frequently, I put learners in groups and give questions about the Genocide against the Tutsi. Sometimes, they do a presentation in groups on topics such as unity and reconciliation or some causes of the Genocide. Despite, poor collaboration of parents, historical evidence collected at home reinforces their ideas during presentations. In these sessions they can share their points of view and are encouraged to emphasize the slogan 'genocide never again'. I also use oral testimonies in my class, for example, the story of Gashayija which is used so that learners can discover the life of a Tutsi during the tragedy, the role of some Hutu families and the positive aspects of reconciliation. After telling the story, they take three minutes to think about it by writing down what they retained and they share it with the class and their ideas are around those mentioned aspects. An excerpt of his story runs as follow:

> As Gashayija's family was targeted, he lost some family members including his father, four sisters and their husbands, father's brothers, aunts, uncles and other relatives. His Tutsi neighbour was also killed. At that time he was 13 years' old. He escaped because he spent much time in the forests and grass hiding there. How was Gashayija saved? Later on, there was a Hutu family who took him and protected him from their house. He was freed when the Rwandese Patriotic Front army stopped the Genocide in July 1994 and a new life was possible. When schools re-opened, it was a nice time to continue his studies. But, at that time he had no hope of life considering the death of his relatives and destruction of their home [house] and other assets. Yet, at school, Gashayija changed his mind due to advice from his friends. At school, he worked hard and decided to recover whatever he had lost during the genocide and even it was not possible to recover all he had lost. Fortunately, he managed to finish his tertiary education and now is able to satisfy all his basic needs. One time those who killed his parents recognized what they have done and demanded pardon. For the moment, Gashayija lives in harmony with them because he realized that there is no need to live with them in permanent conflict.

I am convinced that unity and reconciliation can be achieved because young learners support change. In their discussion after the lesson, they tell me that they need to have a better tomorrow's Rwanda, a country where they are all integrated without divisionism. There is a need of collaboration of different partners in education to achieve this goal instead of leaving the task mainly to teachers in as much as some aspects are not spoken about by parents to their children.

Murezi was very calm while talking about his experience. He did not present any emotions when he was talking about the Gashayija's story. His wish is to help learners have a better Rwanda. He is also innovative because he managed to find teaching strategies which could break learners' silence and engage with some topics considered as taboo. In addition, he shows a big commitment to teach this course by using his own computer in a school with poor resources. The use of the story in the conclusion is also a powerful strategy because learners find both social groups working against the evil, which is a way of achieving the never again aim. The prevalence of the teacher centred approach helps him to transmit clear messages to learners and to avoid learners' inertia and possible denial.

"I avoid long explanations": Semana's story

Muko secondary school is a private school located in a rural area in the Eastern Province of Rwanda. This isolated place is surrounded by landscape and is very sunny during the sunny season. Access to the school from the provincial headquarters is not easy because of a scarcity of transport means. People then needs to hire motorbikes to reach the area in which the school is located. The population of the area is, generally speaking, poor and relies on agriculture. However, they have only small plots of land to cultivate. The school is mainly attended by learners from the vicinity. It does not have enough teaching and learning equipment such as, for example, computers, but has the opportunity to be electrified. It is in this area that Semana, holder of a Bachelor's degree in Arts, offers his history courses. He has been teaching for more than 20 years mainly at the advanced level (16-17 years old). In terms of his academic background he has benefited from courses in special teaching methods (history) and teaching practice.

After the 1994 tragedy, the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi was embedded in the history curriculum. As history teacher, I had to follow the programme put into place by the ministry.

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTRE
BP 608 KIGALI

HISTORY PROGRAM FOR ADVANCED LEVEL
SECONDARY SCHOOL

June 2010
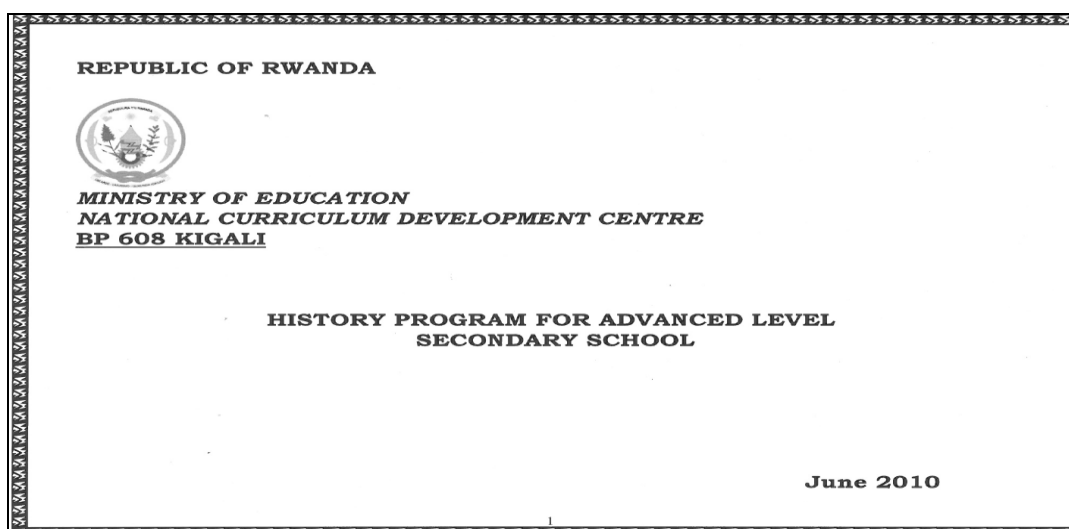
Source: National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010

Secondly, I had to explain clearly how the Genocide against the Tutsi evolved because the learners are tomorrow's leaders and good citizens who have to build

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our country, Rwanda. Therefore, they have to know how it occurred to prevent it in the future. My experience related to teaching the Genocide started with the ministry's decision to teach the history of Rwanda and grew due to the increase of teaching aids such as written documents; movies; debates and public lectures done during the annual commemoration week (April 7 and 14) and the construction of memorials of the victims of the Genocide. I am convinced that learners' knowledge is also increasing. They do not only discuss the Genocide in the history class but also in their respective extra-academic clubs.

For instance, members of Facing History and Ourselves, Unity and reconciliation clubs and the *Association des Etudiants et Elèves Rescapés du Génocide*[14] discuss Genocide related issues and the Rwandan programme of unity and reconciliation at their meetings.

Source:
https://twitter.com/aergfamily

Due to the horrific nature of the Genocide and the age of the learners I teach, when I offered a course on the Genocide for the first time, I was very anxious and unhappy, unlike when I teach other courses. I was surprised and afraid but I had to be cautious about the words used to teach. You can tell a story which can harm and generate other consequences. To me, despite the fact that it was part of a history course, it dealt with atrocities and people are still traumatised by it. The teacher's message can be misunderstood and he can be considered as someone who is biased, who supports one side or denies the Genocide. The way the security services, local administration and learners appreciate the message must be taken into consideration while teaching this course.

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[14] Genocide survivors' students Association

During my teaching experience, I find the writing of the history curriculum problematic because one part of the society is ignored. The curriculum does not take into account that some people of different social groups saved targeted ones. The culpability as per the curriculum of a whole section of the population is not correct.

It is also challenging because the whole truth about the Genocide is not yet publically known due to different reasons. This is made worse according to me by the fact that witnesses of the Genocide are passing away and some issues are not yet known.

While teaching the course on Genocide I do not want to use all the facts I have because, according to me, the Rwandan society is not ready to respond positively to certain issues. The reason for my self-censorship according to my reasoning is that some people can say that I am propagating divisionism mainly due to my historical background. They can say look at people from J.Habyarimana regime who do not accept change. This behaviour prevents us from being free to explain what happened. Such challenges were discussed during the National University of Rwanda training of which I was part. The university promised to evaluate the problems history teachers faced in this regard but I have no idea about the follow up. Some, institutions such as the Parliament, Senate, District, Police and Security services come to talk with teachers. But as far as I am concerned institutions and universities should come more frequently to the field and evaluate the situation related to the teaching of the Genocide in history classrooms.

Despite challenging aspects related to the teaching of the Genocide I have noticed that in certain schools the course on the Genocide is not only allocated to trained historians to teach but also to those who did economics or English. The argument is that they are capable of offering history. To me this is highly problematic and it should be avoided - confusing this course with political education. It has to be based on the past to help learners develop their analytical skills and get a lesson for the future. In fact, objectives as stated in the history curriculum can only be achieved if the course is taught by trained and informed history teachers.

While teaching the Genocide I tackle the different aspects as set out in the history curriculum. I look at the historical background to identify the root causes of the

Genocide. I then proceed to talk about the evolution of the Genocide. It is not possible to teach the Genocide in a short period. It is offered in many sequences like: Pre-colonial Rwanda, colonial Rwanda, post-colonial Rwanda and post-Genocide period. All steps should be shown because it took time to plan it and the truth should be told.

> Teacher: In the past, Rwandans used to live in conviviality. Who can tell us some coagulant element of the Rwandan society?
> Learner: Some of the traditional values were solidarity, intermarriage, sports and leisure.
> Teacher: In fact, in the past Rwandans used to help people in critical conditions such as those who had no shelter and they put their effort together to build them a traditional house. During the cultural seasons, they used also to work together to help each other. Different sportive competitions could gather them mainly at the royal court or during military parade. National ceremonies such as the first fruitful festivals, *umuganura,* reinforced their social cohesion. Listen! These aspects were slowly destroyed by the colonial administration which put an end to *umuganura* and the time spent to perform forced labour reduced the chances of working together as a coherent community.
> Teacher: Please be advised that in human society, there are some good times but when people are not careful, the joy time can finish dramatically and everybody can face disastrous consequences. It is why we are going to study the Genocide against the Tutsi which had appalling consequences on Rwandan society.

After this introduction, I then provide my class with a summary of the history of Genocide stating some causes and consequences. This is followed by questions related to my presentation. The next pedagogical step is to place the learners into groups where they have to work with different topics related to Rwanda from before the colonization through independent Rwanda up to the contemporary post-Genocide period.

In their group work, I facilitate the learning process by availing the learners with historical documents from newspapers which I deem to be appropriate to their level. Learners are given some documents from the official textbooks. They read themselves these resources but they are informed about the hate speech used, as contained in the documents, which were used to prepare certain sections of society to exterminate others. I am convinced that they understand better when they read themselves. In an effort to extent the work done in groups, at times I ask the learners to speak to their parents. Eventually the history learners do a presentation of the group work they have done. I then evaluate their work and offer comments in line

with the Ministry of Education document. I also deconstruct learner bias and certain community influence.

> Teacher: Thank you for your presentations. It was a good attempt. Next time you have to respect the time allocated to you. It is one of the criteria for marking. For group 1, it is better for the colonial period to add the objectives of different political parties so that we can understand how they contributed to what happened at the eve of independence. Note also that even if some political parties had a negative impact, the role of political parties is to propose different programmes to improve the welfare of a nation. I am going to give you a text for everybody to read and understand it. The same group talked about how the colonists tore the Rwandan society. As homework for next time, everybody has to draw two columns, one stating positive aspects of the colonial period and another one negative ones. We are going to discuss it. The third group which talked about the genocide in Rwanda, you should also understand that all people did not want to exterminate others. There are some who were courageous and even became victims.

In general, in my view, the community influence is not negative and the learners do not really publicly reveal their ideas in the history class. What do they say privately? Their views are not different from the official curriculum. But, comments are done in a hidden way. For instance, two or three learners can whisper when they disagree with what the teacher says. From my perspective the disagreement is due to the different backgrounds of the learners: Those whose parents are in jail due to *Gacaca* courts, those with unknown social group because they were found in Congolese forests. There are also learners from survivors' families.

It is also highlighted that different governments did not manage to put an end to

discrimination. Through their speeches, political leaders, and especially President J. Habyarimana, contributed to the planning of the Genocide by particularly explaining to the general populace who the enemy was.[15] In addition, the training of the *Interahamwe* militia was organized.

> **Source**: http://bakanyarwanda.blogspot.co.za/2016/03/celebrating-late-habyalimana-juvenal.html

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[15] In a report issued by ten military senior officers appointed by the Chief Commander on 4/12/1991 of the then Rwandan Army, the term enemy refers to extremist Tutsi, inside and outside the country, who were not acknowledging the realities of the 1959 revolution and who wish to regain power by all means including the use of weapons. Secondly, the enemy was his partisans and the document enumerates different acts connected to war they can participate in to support the enemy.

Thereafter, the Genocide was executed to exterminate members of the Tutsi social class and this happened despite the presence of United Nations troops led by Romeo Dallaire.

Therefore, in my view, the Genocide was committed before the eyes of the international community which was capable of stopping it, but did nothing. This tragedy was not stopped by itself. It was ended by Rwandans' strengths through Rwandese Patriotic Front forces and their commandant, Paul Kagame.

Source:
http://socioeconomicforum50.blogspot.
co.za/2013/07/

In a didactical manner, I explain the causes and consequences of the Genocide. I explain the divisionism brought by colonial rule through the use of the identity card system. Consequently, discrimination was, during the colonial period, institutionalized because the colonialists introduced identity cards and specified everybody's 'ethnic group'. They decided and recorded who was either Tutsi or Twa.

Regarding the consequences of the Genocide, I explain to the learners that the defeated army and a crowd of people fled the country, mainly to Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and ended-up in refugee camps. The majority of these people were hostages of the former government who had executed the Genocide. When the Rwandese Patriotic Front seized power it faced many problems, mainly related to the burial of victims whose bodies were scattered all over. There were also orphans and widows who were left without anything. As far as I am concerned, this tragedy cannot be forgotten and this is ensured by the annual commemoration of Genocide against the Tutsi where people remember the victims. I tell the learners that despite these challenges brought about by the Genocide there is a hope for a better future and continuous support for Genocide survivors.

In addition to these general aspects of the Genocide, I also present the specificity of the Rwandan case.

> Teacher: The Genocide against the Tutsi was very specific comparatively to other genocides. Killers used traditional weapons such as machetes or clubs. In addition, in a period of three months, more than one million people were killed. You can calculate the average per day and compare to the Holocaust. Look! Another aspect in the case of Rwanda is the destruction of evidences. You have heard how some *Gacaca* documents disappeared or some victims considered as eyewitnesses killed. The manner in which Genocide ideology is still being spread by the deniers, scattered in different parts of the world.

The learners' presentations about the consequences of the Genocide, including the remembrance of the victims, are reinforced by a visit, organised by myself, to a nearby memorial site. Their presentations are not very challenging because the topic on consequences that they are given is not very sophisticated. Regarding the study tour, I was not using it at the beginning. I adopted it after the inauguration of the memorial site although I do not exactly remember the year. When the learners arrive at the site they are psychologically prepared by the site guides who explain to them that they have to be strong because what happened was atrocious. Mature learners or school partners of the memorial centre then present their testimonies:

Source: http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2015-07-11/190503/

It is not easy to talk about what happened during the Genocide. When the Genocide started, I was studying in senior 2. After the President death, I noticed that my parents were anxious. They kept following the news on the national radio and sometimes we joined them to know what was happening. Thereafter, I saw a crowd of people running all around shouting that they were searching for the enemy. They came at home to identify our visitors who were stuck at home. They suspected that they were accomplices of the Rwandese Patriotic Front. But, one of them later told me that the jobless guys wanted to loot my parents' house. One day, we heard that some Tutsi in our area were killed and very few

managed to escape to unknown places probably in the marshes. There were many rumours about the reason of their deaths. My father had prevented us from going out. When the Rwandese Patriotic Front arrived in our cell, most of the perpetrators escaped. They managed to arrest those who were still looting. The life was hard but we managed to go back to school. We missed some of our teachers and friends, who were as young as we were. What we see here is a lesson for us. Now, we have to stay united to avoid the same disaster.

The eyewitness accounts help the learners to know the truth as it relates to the events. Moreover, the eyewitnesses also remember the innocent victims. The learners, by means of the field visit and the testimonies, manage to acquire a better understanding of what happened and the sequence in which the Genocide took place. When the resource persons talk about their lived experiences and show their personal emotions, they can cry and learners can listen and see the survivors' sorrow. For the memorial centre, learners see the victims' remaining. It is impossible to deny the Genocide. There is tangible evidence of what happened and learners can see it. This is important in as much as in the society, learners face the denial of the Genocide. The testimonies allow the learners and the teachers to think deeply about the evil and negative consequences of the Genocide against the Tutsi. In general, the lecture and discussions at the site and testimonies normally take place close to the annual commemoration period.

In the past, I used to get documentary films related to the Genocide from the district office. I am, however, no longer using them due to their unavailability and traumatic problems. When I did use the films the learners viewed them and then commented orally on issues of unity and the reconciliation programme. This programme was often shown in films. I appreciated the films because they showed images of perpetrators of the Genocide and the inhuman hunting and killing of targeted people. However, from my experience, the problem is that most of the time, learners who watched them, were affected by sorrow and traumatism because some sequences of films were too horrific. Learners cried but after they accepted it because they were more informed about the Genocide. The awareness is the beginning of genocide prevention. When learners were traumatized during the screening, they were taken outside to an isolated place by their classmates and were not prevented from continuing their reactions. Some water was given to them and when they had calmed

down they came back into the history classroom. Trained people continued counselling them because the traumatisation could continue during their lives.

The Genocide against the Tutsi is deeply controversial in numerous ways and needs deep historical understanding. In my view, Rwandans and non-Rwandans do not agree on the sequences of the Genocide. There is an official version on the Genocide which is also presented to the population. Conversely, perpetrators also have their own views. In accordance to my opinion, discussing these controversial aspects should facilitate Genocide understanding. For instance, the settlement of the population in phases should be clarified. It is said that Twa came first, followed by Hutu and then Tutsi. There is a need of a conference, a research or a debate to get clarifications on this issue. The settlement in different phases is a post-independence version which shows that some are more nationals than others. The role of the colonialists in creating Rwanda's problems is also controversial in my estimation. I am convinced that introducing the identity card and the three social groups based on their features had an impact on Rwandan society. To me, the colonial policy in this regard was motivated by anthropological research. Those who collaborated with the colonialists are also controversial especially since they are all considered to be wretched because they implemented the administrative orders related to the imposed labour (*shiku* and *uburetwa*).

I clearly think much about the historical roots of the contemporary problems faced by Rwanda and the controversies it implies. Hence, I also try to make meaning of enrolment in education during the colonial period and the later consequences thereof by commenting: How were learners dispatched in schools? For instance, the history of *Groupe Scolaire of Butare*, the report of its first years in 1929-30 reveals that it was the school of chiefs' sons. The principal was complaining about some children who were sent with a dubious origin. To me, this demonstrates that the colonialists had their own agenda and wanted to replace traditional chiefs by their children. How is it considered the fact that colonialists came and promoted one category of people and that favouritism later on had consequences? In addition, stereotypes given to people were not attributed in one day. Some were given by Europeans and on the other hand we accepted them ourselves. What is our role as Rwandans?" Rwandans are complicit in many ways along colonial policy.

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There are numerous challenging questions I face. As far as I am concerned, I know that not all learners are convinced by the answers given to them and that some of the answers they view as incomplete. For instance, the available evidence used mentions that the Genocide was committed by one side. That side took time to think about it and to plan it. On that question, the answer is given with caution and I avoid showing the whole truth due to how the answer can be received. Another aspect is related to the idea that the Genocide ideology was spread by a group of individuals and that it was not a generalized case. Other unanswered questions relate to the categories of the victims. Only one social group is mentioned, but others also died. We do not give learners enough time to talk about events which occurred before 1994 and make them public. In view of sorting out Genocide consequences, some needy learners do not feel integrated in Government programmes. There is a written curriculum with some facts left aside.

Briefly, I teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues but avoid expanding on many aspects thereof in the course: I use the teaching aid from Ministry of Education. Even if I know much on the Genocide, I do not present it to the learners. With my predominant expository approach, I avoid long explanations. Learners research on the topic; they have a way of finding them. This should equip learners not only with historical knowledge but also with the analytical skills of the subject. These skills are gained by encouraging the learners to read and not to rely only on radio and political speeches. They are encouraged to read newspapers such as *Icyizere*, the *New Times* or studies from the Rwanda Commission for the Fight against the Genocide and books. In the end, they have to compare the evidence found in all these sources and if they do that it can help them to analyse, discover and know the Genocide better.

Semana as an experienced teacher feels that there is what has to be said and what to avoid in Genocide teaching. His low voice during the interview showed that he was talking about serious issues. His story is full of nuances and suspicions among the Rwandan society and a deep encompassing hurt that still exists. In this regard,

his teaching methods immerse mainly learners in the content and lets them take their own decisions.

6.6 Creating anti-Genocide clubs at school: Rukundo's story

> Rukundo holds a Masters degree. At undergraduate level he majored in arts and education. He has been teaching history for 13 years. Presently he is teaching History at both the Ordinary (13-16 years old) and Advanced (16-19 years) levels at Ntenyo Secondary School in the Western Province of Rwanda. The school he is teaching at is located in a rural area with limited resources. The Internet facilities, for example, struggles with a narrow bandwidth, electricity is a problem and library for teachers is very small. Rukundo is describing his experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

When I was given the course on the Genocide to teach the first time I did not find it easy. This was the case because I could not imagine what the learners were thinking about the subject. Moreover, during my first year of teaching history I was challenged on issues related to ethnic groups and the trauma my learners have experienced. In an attempt to come to grip with the challenges I faced I started reading various resources related to the social groups in Rwanda. I also attended a training course organized by the Ministry of Education which empowered me in preventing cases of trauma before they occurred. As a result, I feel that I can teach learners how to speak when they are talking about Genocide; the terminologies they are supposed to use and the terminologies they are to avoid so as not to offend their neighbours. For instance, they should not talk about the victims' remains but their corpses or bodies, terms which are more respectful. For the Genocide against the Tutsi, they should not use the 1994 civil war, the 1994 upheavals, double genocide or Rwandan conflict of 1994.

Iyo umunyeshuri ahahamutse, arataka nk'aho hari uje kumwica. Kuri ubu, ndamwegera nkamushyira mu cyumba cya wenyine. Mugusha neza akavuga ibyo yabonaga byose ntamuhagaritse. Ubwo ngerageza kumwereka ko atari wenyine, ngerageza gukoresha amagambo yo kumuhumuriza. Nka nyuma y'iminota makumyabiri aba azanzamutse. Ngerageza kandi kugira inama abanyeshuri baba batahahamutse kudaha akato cyangwa ngo batinye uwo wahahamutse. (When a learner is traumatized, he screams as if somebody is coming to kill him. For the moment, I approach him and carry him in a separate

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room. I set him free and he talks about all he was observing without interruption. Meanwhile, I try to show him that he is not alone just by using words of comfort. He is normally recovered after 20 minutes. At the same time I advise the learners that were not traumatised not to isolate or fear the one that was traumatised).

In relation to my teaching experience, it is easy for me to teach the effects of the Genocide because some of these are still present and observable by the learners. Moreover, many authors are writing on the effects. But, I find it much more difficult to teach the planning of the Genocide. This is the case because the teaching material available is not sufficient to compare and see the different points of view involved. However, the most important topic for me when I teach the Genocide is how it has been stopped and the achievements that were made by the Government of Rwanda to prevent it from happening again.

My primary aim while teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues is to unite Rwandans and to teach learners the nature of good relationship to the extent that they would not engage in Genocide like atrocities. In line with my primary aim I teach learners to debate so that they can defend their ideas, make judgement and take decisions. Given my teaching the Genocide experience, and my interest in the history of Rwanda, I formed an anti-genocide club here at my school. The aim behind this club is also in achieving my primary aim. The club assists the school in the promotion of a culture of peace, tolerance, reconciliation and patriotism amongst students in order to transform them into good Rwandan citizens. As part of the activities of the club learners are also given the chance to debate issues school wide. These debates take place on Fridays and on such occasions, learners who are doing history engage with those who do not study history. The purpose is for the non-history learners to gain some understanding of the Genocide. Thus far, I have noticed that learners in my school live in harmony without ethnic tension, religious distinction or other forms of discrimination and exclusion that have in the past caused problems such as the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. I believe that this cohesion is related to the positive impact that the teaching of the history of the Genocide has had towards me achieving my primary objective.

Source: http://eskiyanza.com/kwibukag.html

Despite the positive sentiments I have about the extra-curricular teaching of the Genocide in my school, I am very aware that many learners are also at the receiving end of knowledge from other sources about the event. Some of this originates from their families who assist the learners positively by, for example, providing them with films. But in other cases they are given messages which are very different from what the learners had learnt at school. One such issue relates to the definition of genocide. For me, "genocide is the act of killing a target group of people to the extent that nobody may survive to tell the story. Just it is an extermination of a certain group of people."

à l'origine de la *fureur populaire* hutu. Cette dernière entraîna la révolution sociale de 1959 qui consista à remplacer cette monarchie par une République. La révolution sociale de 59 provoqua l'exil d'un nombre important de réfugiés vers les pays limitrophes dont l'Uganda, le Burundi et la Tanzanie pour ne retenir que ceux-ci.

La polarisation ethnique a concrètement démarré au Rwanda, en 1959, attisée par un mouvement connu sous le nom de *Manifeste des Bahutu*, catalyseur de la révolution. Les tentatives de rapatriement, deuxième source de la fureur populaire, ont ajouté l'insulte à l'injure et les politiciens en ont profité pour développer la haine ethnique dont l'aboutissement fut le génocide.

Les réfugiés lassés par l'exil engagèrent, en octobre 1990, le rapatriement forcé en attaquant à partir du territoire ugandais. La fureur populaire entraîna le génocide prédit par le Président Kayibanda en 1963. Depuis cette attaque, les Tutsi ont été la cible de mauvais traitements et ce jusqu'au 4 juillet 1994. Durant 90 jours, la machine de mort a fait l'essentiel de son travail mieux que par le passé.

La troisième cause prêtée à la fureur populaire et la plus décisive fut le crash du Falcon 50 qui ramenait de Dar-Es-Salaam à Kigali, le Président Habyarimana, dans la nuit du 6 au 7 avril 1994. C'est à partir de cette date que le pire se produisit au vu et au su de toute la communauté internationale. La chasse au Tutsi fut organisée et exécutée minutieusement dans le but immédiat de venger la mort du Président; le but ultime étant de faire disparaître une fois pour toute la composante ethnique tutsi, auteure présumée de l'attentat contre l'avion présidentiel. L'apocalypse annoncée par le Colonel Bagosora dans les corridors de l'Arusha International Conference Centrer (AICC) où se déroulaient les négociations de rapatriement pacifique fut accomplie. La communauté internationale fut avare de l'unité lexicale *génocide*. Ses auteurs et leurs complices furent évidemment les premiers à réfuter le vrai terme de ce qui se passait au Rwanda pour des raisons que l'on peut imaginer.

Tout bien considéré, la fureur populaire est le principal élément qui, à chaque fois, justifie le crime et nie son fondement par voie de conséquence.

> *« Toutes les violences dont les Tutsi ont été victimes étaient légitimées, au niveau du discours et de la mobilisation, par leur caractère défensif face à l'imminence de l'anéantissement voire de l'extermination des Hutu par des Tutsi »*[7].

Le négationnisme procède ici par présentation du génocide comme un crime collectif commis en guise de légitime défense.

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7. Furumba Cyusa, 2004, *Le rôle des idéologies du pouvoir de l'État dans l'explosion et l'évolution des conflits identitaires au Rwanda : analyse des discours politiques de 1959 à 2003*, UNR, Butare, mémoire de licence, p. 32.

Minimisation de la portée de l'événement et de l'effectif des victimes.

Le négationnisme pur et dur considère qu'il n'y a eu au Rwanda que de simples massacres de masse, dont l'effectif aurait été intentionnellement gonflé par la propagande pro-FPR (Front Patriotique Rwandais) parti au pouvoir depuis juillet 1994. La communauté internationale a plutôt parlé de guerre civile, de conflit interethnique, de massacres préventifs et plus tard d'actes de génocide, comme on l'a vu plus haut.

Le colonel Théoneste Bagosora, un des auteurs présumés du génocide des Tutsi, ne s'est-il pas exclamé un jour (devant les journalistes qui lui demandaient pourquoi il avait organisé le génocide des Tutsi) en disant : *« Génocide ? Mon œil ! Des Tutsi, il y en a encore plein à Kigali!»*[8]. Pour cet officier supérieur qui ne devait pas ignorer le fondement des massacres, il n'y aurait pas eu de génocide au Rwanda puisque les Tutsi n'ont pas été exterminés. Pour lui, les massacres des Tutsi sont considérés comme de simples tueries par légitime défense. Les termes, expressions et syntagmes qui réfèrent à cette situation de simples tueries sont légion dans le discours de l'après-génocide :

a) *« Mu ntambara yo muri 94 »* [« Pendant la guerre de 94 »] (*Imvaho Nshya* 1261, p. 1) :

b) *« Ibyabaye muri 1994 ni amahano yagwiriye u Rwanda n' Abanyarwanda »* : [« Ce qui s'est passé au Rwanda en 1994, ce sont des horreurs qui se sont abattues sur le Rwanda et sur les Rwandais »] (*Imvaho Nshya*, n° 1226 p. 4) : Gasana Anastase ex-ministre rwandais des affaires étrangères s'adressant au journal *Imvaho Nshya* dans le but de calmer la population qu'il n'y aura pas de génocide des Hutu en guise de vengeance.

c) *« Ubwicanyi bwabaye mu Rwanda kuva muri Mata 1994 bwahitanye abanyarwaanda batagira ingano ».* [« Les tueries qui ont eu lieu au Rwanda depuis avril 1994 ont emporté d'innombrables Rwandais »]. (*Kinyamateka*, n° 1414 p. 1)

d) *« ubwicanyi bwo muri 94 »* : [« Les tueries qui ont eu lieu en 1994 »] (*Imvaho Nshya* n° 1230 : 10).

e) *« ibyakozwe muri 94 »* : [« Ce qui a été fait en 1994 »] (*Imvaho Nshya* n° 1227, p. 2)

f) *« Isubiranamo ry'amoko »* : [« guerre fratricide »] (*Kinyamateka* n° 1447, p. 7).

g) *« Ubushyamirane bw'amoko »* : [« Conflit interethnique »] (*Kinyamateka* n° 1414, p. 1).

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8. Semujanga Josias, 1998, *Les récits fondateurs du drame rwandais. Discours social, idéologies et stéréotypes*, L'Harmattan, Paris, p. 28.

Source: Ntakirutimana (2010).

However, the challenging issue is that this is not explained the same way elsewhere where the Genocide is equated to a simple war. Hence, the learners talk about a distorted history that it is not the real history of Rwanda. I tackle these issues in my lessons. Other topics that I have to engage in include the planning of the Genocide; its execution; the way it was halted and its negative effects on Rwanda.

What is clear is that the learners in my classes have a range of views that are sometimes in agreement and other times not. This is the case for example for my senior 6 learners in their discussions:

Learner 1: In precolonial Rwanda people used to live in harmony. There was no conflict based on 'ethnic' belongings.

Learner 2: I agree that Rwandans were united. Some institutions like *Ubuhake* contributed to this unity.

Learner 3: I am also of the view that *Ubuhake* and *Ibikingi*[16] were social institutions that bound the people of the pre-colonial society of Rwanda together. For instance, by *Ubuhake,* clients could get from their patrons cows, which were a sign of wealth, and protection. Clients could also graze in their patron's *igikingi*. If your patron was not generous you could leave him and get another one. For me, these institutions were the foundations of social cohesion in precolonial Rwanda.

Learner 2: Yes, I understand even it better by explaining its socio-economic dimension.

Learner 3: *Uburetwa* is another aspect used in a wrong way to explain that the traditional administration exploited some people whereas it was a colonial technique used by Europeans to favour their economic interests in Rwanda.

Different points of view arise especially between post- and pre-Genocide on certain concepts. The group, which contains mature learners doing a catch-up programme, and who started their schooling before the Genocide tend to debate during group discussion using the "Hamitic myth and migrations theories".[17] But, the "Hamitic theory" and the phases of migrations in regard the settling of people in Rwanda are rejected in the post-Genocide textbooks books and the younger learners have not heard about it at all. Thus when I am teaching about the settlement of the population of Rwanda they use it with reference to the origin of "ethnic" groups. It is challenging to discuss this theory in class since some learners have never heard of it.
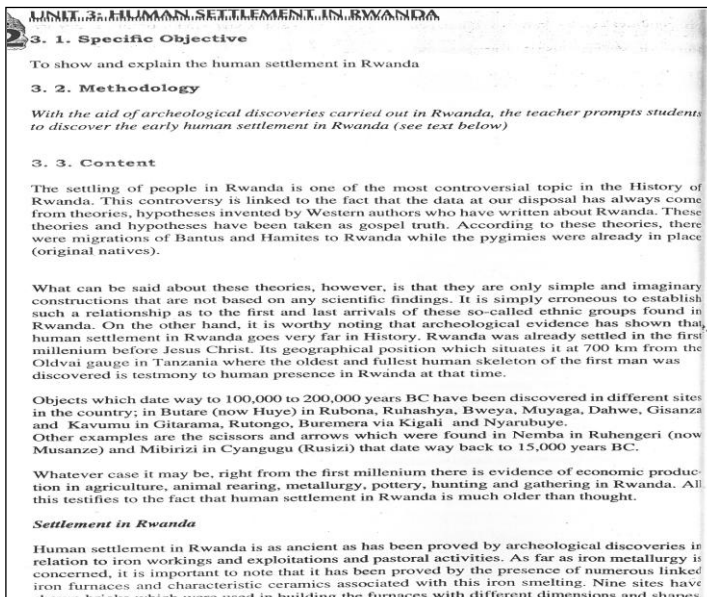
Source: Republic of Rwanda (2010)

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[16] *Igikingi* (singular) *Ibikingi* (plural) are reserved herding domain not accessible to all herders. It was detached from the province to which it belonged. The king entrusted it to a herder who became his direct client and only had obligations to him were reserved for the cattle of the beneficiary and his clients, other herders who had used these tracts were now refused access to them (Vansina, 2004).

[17] The Hamitic theory was based on European racist ideologies used by first Europeans in Rwanda where Tutsi were considered as a superior race which came from outside of Africa in the Caucasus region with a white skin, after mixing with groups in North Africa, their descendants brought the civilisation to native people of African Great Lakes region who were backward (Gasanabo et al., 2014).

I have to then explain to all the learners that the "Hamitic theory" was a tool used by the European colonizers to divide Rwandan society so as to allow them to rule over the country. Thus, I use the teacher centred approach to explain it. Related to the "Hamitic theory" is the controversial idea amongst my learners of the existence of different ethnic groups as one of the causes of the Genocide.

There are learners who argue that in the neighbouring countries there are many different ethnic groups but they do not kill each other or their neighbours. As a result it is not accepted by all history learners that the existence of different "ethnic" groups led to the Genocide. To them one cause cannot explain the origins of the Genocide.

Another controversial issue that is discussed in my history class when teaching the Genocide relates to the issue of a double genocide.

> Learner: Teacher, I think there is also another genocide due to the fact that I heard that some Hutu people died in the "Liberation War".[18]
> Teacher: It is not Genocide because people who died in the war were not targeted. During the war, there was no planning or intention to exterminate all Hutu. After the Genocide, there were few people who were victims of the revenge killings due to the Rwandese Patriotic Front soldiers who were unhappy because of their relatives who were horribly executed. The government made enough efforts to stop this inacceptable attitude. Soldiers who did so were convicted in military courts for their deeds.

Based on my explanation I am confident that learners are able to differentiate between the actual Genocide and the effects of the "Liberation War" and scattered revenge killings which followed the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Given my academic qualification and experience, since the beginning of my teaching career, I like using interactive methods when teaching Genocide and its related controversial topics. It helps learners to internalise their content and some activities like group works increase their unity. For instance, in the introduction of my lesson on the causes of the Genocide, I ask the learners questions about the definition of genocide according to their understandings. I also ask questions about pre-colonial

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[18] The "Liberation War" is the civil war that opposed the J.Habyarimana regime and the Rwandese Patriotic Front- *Inkotanyi* from October 1990 to 1994, when the latter were fighting mainly for power change and the Rwandan refugee return to their homeland.

Rwandan society so as to determine what they know mainly as causes of disunity. I follow the same approach for the body of the lesson. The learners can give answers according to what they know.

Teacher: Tell me different facts that can cause misunderstandings between people.

Learner: People can misunderstand due to different ideas, conflicting interests or selfishness.

Teacher: Another idea! Please wake up!

Learner: There is misunderstanding between two people or groups of people due to a third person who divide them for his or her own interests.

Learner: Lack of mutual trust can also create misunderstanding between people.

Teacher: You mentioned different ideas including divergent ideas, lack of mutual trust even if you did not mention how this can raise and you mentioned a third person who can sew problems between two friends. How can you link these aspects to Rwandan history which led to Genocide?

Learner: I can link the selfishness to the exclusion against Tutsi and people from southern regions in education and some strategic public institutions positions.

Learner: In Rwanda people had different views regarding how the war between the then Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front could end. Some people were supporting negotiations seen as Rwandese Patriotic Front bloc and others wanted them to fail. These different views emphasized ethnic antagonisms which contributed to the beginning of the Genocide.

Teacher: How do you define genocide?

Learner: It is killings to exterminate Tutsi.

Teacher: Yes, but no other extermination of a group of people who are not Tutsi occurred?

Learner: Hitler wanted to exterminate Jews. It is an extermination of an ethnic or any group of people.

Learner: It is to plan and exterminate a group of people.

On this I then build and continue to explain the causes of the Genocide. I invariably conclude my lesson with a revision or summary and an evaluation exercise on what I have taught.

Sometimes, I divide the learners in my history class into groups so that they can analyse stories related to the Genocide and understand specific decisions. For the planning of the Genocide I, for example, use mainly a study done by the Rwandan Parliament.[19] It deals with the genesis and development of the Genocide ideology. It shows for instance how colonial racism changed into national ethnicity, the role of political parties, and the role of propaganda, and the description of enemy namely

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[19] Parliament, The Senate (2005). *Rwanda Genocide Ideology and strategies for its eradication,* Kigali.

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the Tutsi in the post-independence period. For this topic, I use a teacher centred approach because the document gives a series of hatred policies and extract of speeches. It is done in this way because my main aim here is not to help learners internalise this discrimination but to understand how bad policies can lead to disastrous events. When I give them the story on the preparation and the motivation to commit genocide, I ask the learners some questions to develop their critical thinking. I myself write the stories inspired by some texts on the Internet or from Radio Rwanda in the programme of unity and reconciliation:

> Before the Genocide erupted, I was very young and strong. I was a member of our political party youth organisation. We used to accompany the party leaders in political meetings. Youth, we were sensitized to be ready to secure our country. When the Genocide started, we felt that it was courageous to kill Tutsi as we were told that they were Rwandese Patriotic Front accomplices as a way of protecting our country. I thought we were really protecting our country. May God forgive me!

> During the *Gacaca* courts, I pled guilty and confessed to have killed people in my village. The *Gacaca* courts reduced my sentence and I was released. For the moment, I participate in activities of helping my neighbours who were affected by the Genocide and I pray so that no more people be involved in such hate deeds against Tutsi or one's neighbour.

I ask at once a series of questions to the learners after two minutes of reflection, they start giving their views: If it was you who were young member of the political party what would you have done at the eruption of Genocide? Did those involved do something good? The decisions taken was it done with judgment? What do you think about the decision to plead guilty? Was it a firm decision or a strategy to be released?

> Learner: I think everybody was not member of a political party. This person should have decided to leave the party and stay independent.
> Learner: I find it difficult to leave because they could suspect him to support those who were attacking.
> Learner: I should have decided to leave Rwanda.
> Learner: People who killed prevented others from their right to life. The decision taken by this person I think he had reflected on it because he continued to help affected people when we hear on radio that some killers still want to continue killing.
> Learner: It is true. Some survivors are even attacked or killed. He is sincere and I support his idea of advising people.

The learners get an opportunity to think about decision taking. In the process, I guide them when they face misunderstandings. In addition, I expect the learners to do oral presentations. Their presentations are followed by questions. Thus, in my view, learners have the opportunity to engage in the lesson and to express their opinions and views concerning the genocide. At the same time, they enhance their historical thinking skills and strengthen their decision making capabilities. In the end, I draw all the presentations together by means of a general overview. But according to me, the learners face language problems and some of them are shy because they do not know how to express their views in English, the medium of instruction.

In attempting to achieve my objectives I also use other teaching aids. These include, amongst others: pictures; maps; films and resource persons. In terms of pictures I use numerous which, for example, depicts the way in which the pre-colonial society collaborated and shared resources; how colonialism destroyed the unity of Rwanda by using for instance the identity card and others showing the sensitisation of people to commit genocide and also how it was executed. I also use pictures showing different actors in genocide such as United Nations or French troops during the 1990s, orphans and other Genocide consequences and the hope for Rwandans to live a better life in the future. In working with the pictures learners are expected to do so in groups during which they have to study the pictures and answer the questions given to them. While given a picture on the identity card, learners had to share in a group of five what they observed and give comments by writing a coherent text.

> Group 1: Identity card is an official document used for administrative purposes. It contains different aspects namely the owner's names and photo, place and date of birth, children's names and their dates of birth, the spouse name, social security number, blood group, social group and place of residence, etc. It is better to have inhabitants registered because it can help in planning or to help them quickly after an accident if there is a need of blood transfusion. Its negative aspect was the mention of social groups. People could fail to get a job due to their region of origin or social group. Moreover, during the Genocide, it facilitated killers to identify Tutsi.

As far as I am concerned, the pictures help learners to better understand the way to the Genocide and me to explain more comprehensively the history of the Genocide.

Maps are used when I teach the history of the Genocide and the "Liberation War".
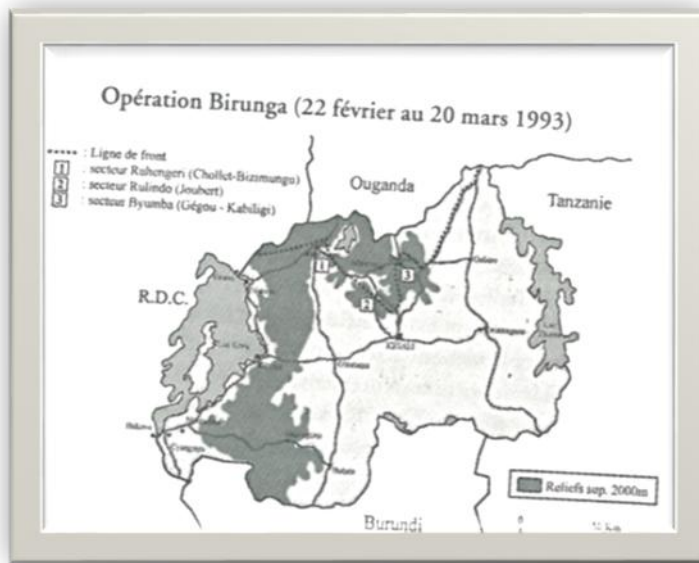
Maps assist me in locating, for the learners, the area where the Genocide or the 1990 war originated and how it expanded and intensified. But, I find it a problem in locating findings on appropriate maps. To concretise the event I also used to screen films such as *Tuez-les tous* to show

Source: Tauzin, 2011.

senior 6 learners how the Genocide was executed and how the *Interahamwe* militiamen killed people. Pedagogically speaking, in my view, with films learners observe and listen at the same time to what happened. They are requested to write a summary of the film. This also helps them to relate to what they have learnt in class. Those who have means can also continue learning at home. I also engage in field work when teaching the Genocide. During field work, resource persons, mainly local leaders and old people who know and have experienced the events, are invited to talk about the Genocide. If I try to recall what one local leader told my learners, his testimony runs as follows:

> Before things fall apart, people in this *commune* were living peacefully. We were sharing joy and sorrow. When someone, had a feast, he used to invite neighbours and it was the same when you lost a relative or a friend. But, local leaders had hidden agenda. In their speech at July 5, they used to recall that Tutsi ruled many years and thereby we were requested to safeguard the achievements of the Hutu revolution. I remember very well that in our region when *Inyenzi* attacked Rwanda, Tutsi in this region were afraid of the retaliation. In 1970s before the J.Habyarimana putsch, my brother was fired from his job. Tutsi's fear was high since the 1990s when some newspapers started to diabolise all Tutsi considering them as Rwandese Patriotic Front accomplices. During the Genocide, Tutsi had no right to life. Most of them fled at the Parish and it was there that they were exterminated by their neighbours helped by militiamen and instigated by the *burgomaster*. Very few survived due to their brave neighbours who saved them till the Rwandese Patriotic Front role to end

this madness. Now, you have to know that the Government of national unity is doing its best to unite Rwandans. The former combatants are now integrated in the army; children are going in secondary schools because of their marks not of their ethnic group or region of birth. You have to not allow anyone who wishes to separate you to do so.

I use testimonies from local leaders and elders as primary evidence so as to compare their experiences to what happened in other areas where the Genocide had occurred. Before the visit, learners are requested to write in their notebooks main ideas and questions to the local leader or elder. Back at school, they are requested to find similarities or particular aspects of the told testimonies. Similarly, my class visits to the Rugarama memorial site and families that have been affected by the Genocide discuss how they have been assisted and live with their neighbours. In my view, learners are interested in knowing how people were reunited after horrible events that had occurred. After such visits learners are given time to explain what they have seen and to reflect on how the genocide has impacted on people. Moreover, according to me, by visiting families they get to realise that there is a hope for the future and that Rwandans will be united. The reconstruction of the country is one of the ways that can show affected learners that they are not alone. However, I admit that for visiting sites can be a problem as it requires transport which not every learner can afford. The study tours were adopted in my second year of experience after identifying where and who to visit and the school planning financially for it.

I also urge my history learners to use sources from the Internet while preparing, for example, their presentations. But, the learners are not free to use any website - only the recommended ones such as the documents on the National Unity and Reconciliation websites.[20] My reasons for this is that if learners stray beyond the recommended websites they can end up gaining information from sites that would traumatise them and their fellow learners or deny the Genocide. I also have the same concerns about certain
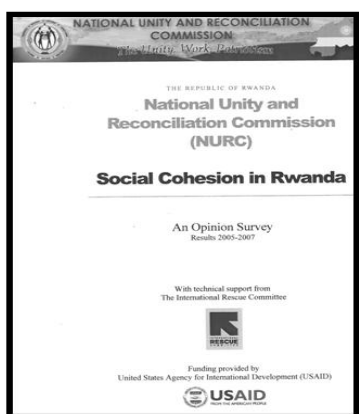
Source: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, (2008).

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[20] http://www.nurc.gov.rw.

books that were not written by trained historians.[21]

Reading such books requires skills which the learners in my estimation do not have. I am also circumspect when it comes to the using of films and I argue that they cannot be used by everybody. This is the case because they are very expensive and most learners cannot continuously access electricity at home to view them. The learners in my estimation are also not even aware of the films.

Source:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nzoxz_-vulQ

On top of all the sources that I use, I also believe that I should differentiate in terms of the methods used when teaching the history of the Genocide in Senior 3 and Senior 6. At Ordinary Level, considering the young age of the learners and their lower level of interpretation I do not go into a deep analysis. I merely limit my instruction to the introduction and teaching about the causes and effects.

I use the lecture method and I pay attention to not talking about horrible events that can negatively affect the minds of the learners and be a source of mental problems such as trauma. For example, I cannot show them films that display images of people involved in killings. However, for Senior 6, who are mature students with an advanced level of critical thinking and who have prior knowledge on the history of the Genocide I use the lecture method and also group discussions. Besides group discussions, I also show them films on the Genocide and ask them to summarise, analyse and assess the activities and events embodied in the film by responding to some questions. For instance, for the film *Tuez-les-tous*, I used to ask them different questions.

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[21] Wende, H. (2014). *Valleys of silence into the Rwandan genocide*. Rosebank: Sunday Times Books.

Teacher: In your today's homework respond briefly to the following questions to be submitted in our next History lesson: Show if colonists contributed to sow divisionism in Rwanda. Explain the role to propaganda and how Radio *Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* contributed to the killings. By considering J.P.Chrétien's comments explain the role of elites. Discuss the role of France in Rwandan conflict and finally discuss if the film conclusion contribute to the Rwandan reconciliation.

In addition I also ask the Senior 6 learners to collect evidence from their families on topics related to the Genocide. The different views and opinions collected from different people also become a theme for discussion and based on what has been taught in classes the learners come up with a common understanding on the subject.

Despite this multidimensional teaching, I deplore the fact that history teachers are sometimes not free to teach the history of the Genocide. This is the case because the teachers are not aware of learners' reactions. Rather, they are obliged to prepare learners psychologically because some words or teachers' position on some issues can harm or hurt learners. As I teach the Genocide not only to understand its causes, sequences and effects, but also to help them to strengthen Rwandans' relationships. Thus, I improve learners' analytical skills and use extra-curriculum activities for awareness of genocide and its related issues and improving community cohesion.

Rukundo was a very cooperative participant. He was always available to clarify some issues despite his duties. His story reveals his emphasis on extra-curricular activities for genocide teaching and prevention. His interactive teaching approach uses very diverse strategies and he is aware of the problems of Rwandan historiography. Thus, his clear guidelines to his class while using some sources such as the Internet are motivated by the lower level of critical analysis of his class and other reasons he does not detail.

6.7 Reconciliation as the root of Rwandans' unity: Françoise's story

> Marian College in Murama is a new, well-equipped school in the Northern Province, which has computer facilities and the Internet. The average number of learners per class is around 25 and this low number when compared to other Rwandan schools brings about a different dimension to the teaching/learning process. It is in this school that Françoise started teaching history a decade ago to learners 13-15 years of age, in the ordinary level. With her Bachelor's degree in Education she chose to become a history teacher because it spoke to her academic background and because she was interested in learning about and teaching the history of Rwanda. She is now talking about her experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

When I was told the first time that I had to teach a course on the Genocide I feared to teach it because the learners were supposed to have strong "ethnic" feelings rather than strong leanings towards Rwandan citizenship. I was also apprehensive with regards to teaching about the atrocities related to the Genocide and wondered: How shall I explain issues related to killings to young learners? How will they react? Won't they be traumatized? However, nothing really negative occurred and my fear changed, during the process, into hope. This was due to the training offered by the Rwanda Education Board as well as my personal conviction:

> *Iyo ndimo kwigisha isomo kuri jenoside, cyane cyane ku byabaye mu Rwanda abana bato batabibonye cyane, ngerageza kubasobanurira ibyabaye nkababwira ko nubwo byabaye, tugomba kubabarirana kugirango dushobore kwiyunga. Kwiyunga niyo nkingi y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda.* (When I am teaching a lesson on the Genocide and what happened in Rwanda to young learners who did not experience it very much, I try to explain to them what happened and tell them that even if it happened, we should pardon one another so that we can reconcile. Reconciliation is the root of Rwandans' unity).

Based on my experiences, I am confident that my noble objective of reconciling Rwandans through the teaching of genocide will be achieved. My optimism is based on how learners respond during the lessons. This hope is also based on moral issues taught in religion and how it is employed in the subject: In religion, learners are taught that killing one's fellow is a sin because we are all God's children. I have

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also noticed that learners are sensitized and that their relationships are irreproachable because of what happens in religion. Hence, when I am in front of the class I feel like a teacher as well as a Rwandan and I want to help them by reinforcing unity so as for them to become good citizens. Amongst other objectives, there are the analysis of causes, role of different actors in the Genocide and consequences.

In teaching the Genocide I tackle not only this tragedy but also other related issues which are in the national history curriculum of Rwanda. But, for the most part, I focus on the Genocide against the Tutsi without any particular reference to other genocides. I use a multidimensional approach to underline different aspects to be covered in this course. I initially teach the first and second republics[22] and then the Genocide. Thereafter, primarily by means of the teacher-tell cum lecturing mode, mixed with questions and answering, I introduce in an evaluative manner the negative and positive aspects of the post-independence period. In doing this an emphasis is placed on the negative aspects which led to the Genocide.

Conceptually I make a clear difference between genocide and other killings:

> *Nsobanurira abanyeshuri ko jenoside ari ubwicanyi…bugamije kumaraho igice cy'abantu aba n'aba bahereye ku bwoko, akarere cyangwa ukwemera. Ariko ubwo bwicanyi bugomba kuba bwarateguwe. Ubwicanyi bwose ntabwo ari jenoside.* (I explain to learners that genocide is killings … aimed at exterminating one group of people based for instance on "ethnic" group, religion or beliefs. But, these killings have to be planned for. All killings are not genocide).

I think that some topics related to genocide in general, and the Genocide against the Tutsi itself, are controversial because opposing explanations exist. These controversies are due to the fact that Rwandan historiography was politically manipulated, including the policies of "divide and rule" used by colonialists who distorted some realities. I noticed that during classroom discussions learners also bring contradicting views to the fore.

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[22] The first republic refers to the President Grégoire Kayinda regime (1962-1973) and the second one to the Juvenal Habyarimana regime (1973-1994).

In this course on the Genocide, I teach different aspects. For instance, I foreground the causes of the Genocide. Here, I pay particular attention to the role of the Belgian colonial administration which tore Rwandan society apart. Genocide was caused in part by the Belgian colonialists who reinforced the demarcations between the three social groups - Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. I mainly teach how colonialists divided us into three social groups. I explain to the learners how on the basis of their Hamitic myth colonialists at first favoured one social group in the political administration. Later on, they changed and favoured another group to rule the country. This "divide and rule" policy was used so that Belgians could command the country. I teach this colonial system to help learners to understand the Genocide by looking at how Rwandans were divided against themselves from then on. I tell the learners that this policy remained unchanged after independence in 1962. National leaders reinforced it and maintained the identity card introduced by the colonists to separate the three social groups.

I also tell my learners that during the Genocide the identity card was a weapon used

to kill the Tutsi. When it was stated on your identity card, "Tutsi", you were killed. Under the Habyarimana regime, the ideology of *akazu,* which favoured people from his birth region, was implemented. Dignitaries, in order to protect themselves, trained and armed the youth, known as the *Interahamwe* militia, who ended-up killing the Tutsi in 1994. In my teaching, I show that what happened were not simply killings but genocide because it was organized, for the *Interahamwe* were prepared and trained to kill Tutsi.

Source: http://clajot.photoshelter.com/image/

In my teaching, I also use group presentations and discussions. The learners examine the role of different historical actors in the tragedy. They discuss different topics such as the role of Churches, the role of political leaders and the French troops who trained the *Interahamwe* and the official army. Learners also discuss the role of the United Nations and specifically the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda commanded by Romeo Dallaire during the period of the Genocide. When these United Nations troops were in Rwanda they did nothing to save the Tutsi who were being killed during that time. I tell the learners how the Genocide was halted thereafter by the current President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame with the aid of the Rwandese Patriotic Front army and how the government dealt with the consequences of the Genocide. This is followed by my concluding summary of the day's topic because all relevant matters are not necessarily covered during the lessons of that day.

I also teach learners how genocide should be stopped forever so that they do not face the same problems like us. My emphasis on the consequences is followed by discussions that I lead. In general, learners agree on the effects: dead persons, traumatism, and mistrust between Rwandans. Regarding what the government of unity is doing to alleviate the effects of the Genocide they have similar views. They talk about punishing those who committed crimes and discuss unity and reconciliation. As far as I am concerned they understand the consequences and the effects in the same manner.

Sometimes in teaching the execution of the Genocide and its effects, I screen films, use pictures and resource persons who act as witnesses and museums. I mainly use pictures from the textbooks, provided by school leaders and look for others showing people carrying weapons for killing and others explaining how people were killed in large numbers. I put one textbook on each desk and indicate to learners which picture is related to the topic for the day. Learners then observe the picture and make comment on it. I like using pictures because they help learners to see, for example, the faces of historical actors. If President Habyarimana is mentioned, learners can see him in a picture and know how he looked. However, I have noticed that pictures do not show all the consequences of the events.

Source: Murungi & Karinda (2015).

In my view films are better than other teaching resources because when I teach they show the reality and facts of the Genocide. Yet, I am of the view that some images from films are terrifying. The most difficult strategy I used and which some learners have problems with is film. Once I screened *Long Coat* but was unable to complete it because it traumatized learners. I wanted to show how people were killed *en masse,* in large numbers. Sometimes, movies are not *at the learners' level.*

I also use museums to show the tangible facts related to the Genocide to learners. Our school visits the Murama Genocide memorial site during the commemoration period (April-July)[23]. During this visit I have no specific role because it is organized at district level. At the memorial site, the priest prays and the district representative explains to the audience issues related to the execution of the Genocide and its effects. But these visits are full of challenges. Due to the trauma learners experience by seeing, for example corpses, first aid is provided during memorial sites visits. I stay close to my learners and try to calm them down, *guhumuriza*. When it becomes very problematic, learners are sent to the medical centre. When we are back in the class the learners are then allowed to give their comments mainly as it relates to the large numbers of victims of the Genocide.

In my teaching, I benefit from the 1994 Genocide survivor testimonies. Such testimonies describe how people from the social group of the survivors was hunted,

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[23] In Rwanda, each year there is officially one week in April (starting generally on April 7) to remember the victims of the genocide. The United Nations has also named April 7 as the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Genocide against Tutsi. *Ibuka*, Association of Genocide survivors, also instituted a period of three months for Genocide commemoration which equals to the duration of the Rwandan tragedy.

how they tried to hide themselves and how they died in large numbers during the process. In the case of resource persons, learners listen to the direct witness who talks about her/his experience and what happened to her/him. When someone is talking about what happened to her or him, learners understand it better because it is explained by an eyewitness.

I do admit that some of the aspects I teach do not meet the unanimity of learners. The most controversial issues are mainly related to the causes of the Genocide. These causes that I teach through a lecturing mode, group presentations and learners' discussions, are challenged by the questions of the learners. With reference to the causes of the Genocide, I remember that one day learners commented:

Source: Republic of Rwanda (2010)
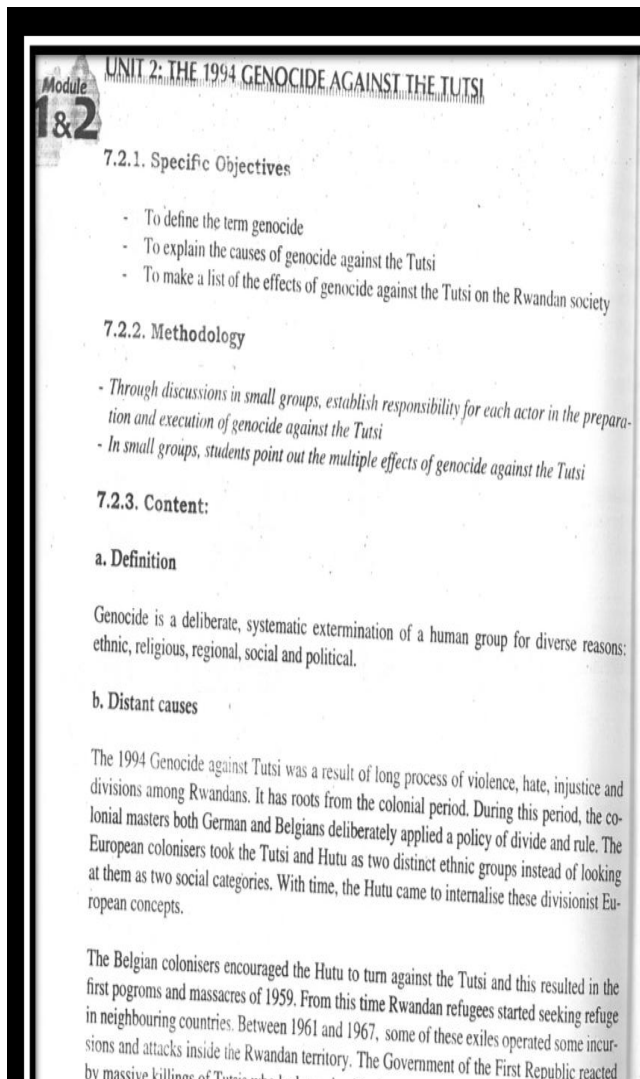
"Ni indege ya Habyarimana yaguye, imaze kugwa abakundaga Habyarimana batangira kwica Abatutsi bavuga ko ari bo bamwishe; ko aribo bahanuye indege; abandi nabo ntibabyemera bakavuga "oya, impamvu si iyo…Twize amateka ya mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu mu wa kabiri kandi bavuga ko…ntuzi ko abakoloni baje mu Rwanda batugabanijemo ibice bitatu: Abatutsi, Abatwa n'Abahutu? Abandi bakavuga imiyoborere mibi…*Muri make bamwe bavuga imiyoborere mibi, abandi indege, abandi amacakubiri, ni aho impaka ziba ziri.* (It is the Habyarimana's plane which crashed and after this crash those who liked Habyarimana started to kill Tutsi arguing that it is them who killed him; who grounded that plane; others reject this idea and say: "no, the cause is not that one ...", we have also learnt the precolonial history in senior 2 and they say, "don't you know that when colonialists came in Rwanda, they divided us in three groups Tutsi, Twa and Hutu"?

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And others mention bad governance … Then some mention bad governance, others the airplane, the divisionism and the discussion lies here).

In such a discussion, I help learners to reach a conclusion by looking at the real causes as found in the textbooks and insist on the role of the colonial administration in dividing Rwandans as key. However, since the Genocide is such a recent event, there are not enough textbooks explaining it. In addition, some textbooks have shortcomings. In this regard, I warn learners especially in senior 1, that written documents can also mislead the learner. Someone can write information guided by his ideology. I invite them to read many books to get different viewpoints.

For teaching the settlement of the population in Rwanda, I use a lecturing style.

> Teacher: Note that without considering archaeological findings, killers used ideas borrowed from some history books stating that during the settlement of Rwanda some people came from Ethiopia, others from Chad.[24] By means of propaganda, they were considered as foreigners. During the Genocide, the killers requested victims to return to Ethiopia. Listen! This understanding also contributed to the Genocide eruption.

In my teaching, history learners also raise the issue of double genocide. Moreover, they question the term genocide.

> Learner 1: Teacher, we hear people saying that in 1994, it was not only Tutsi who died.
> Learner 2: Why do people say the Genocide was perpetrated against Tutsi only?
> Teacher: Listen carefully! It was not only the Tutsi who died but the Hutu who were killed during that time were not specifically targeted. It was because they were collaborating with the Tutsi or because they were hiding them. This is why it cannot be considered a double genocide.

But, learners do not understand how people killed others.

Surprisingly to me, during the class discussions, learners' ideas reveal a certain kind of denial. To me, I think this is due to the use of the Internet and what they read on it and it worries me. Nowadays, technology is advanced and there are some

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[24] Kagame, A. (1943). *Inganji Kalinga*. Kabgayi; Kagame, A. (1972). *Un abrégé de l'éthno-histoire du Rwanda*. Butare: Editions Universitaires du Rwanda; De Lacger, L. (1959). *Le Ruanda*. Kabgayi; Heremans, R. (1988). *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*. Kigali: Editions rwandaises; Maquet, J.J. (1954). *Le système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancie*n. Tervuren: MRCB.

challenging explanations learners get from the Internet. According to what they read on the Internet they advance the argument that no genocide occurred in Rwanda but only killings. In addition, I note the denial of a genocide against the Tutsi that appears in some publications. Instead of discussing the Genocide, some authors state that there was a war between the Hutu Bantu and the Tutsi pastoralists which was a civil war. In such occasions, I notice the difference between the young age of the learners and the knowledge they have.

I do my best to diversify my teaching strategies. However, I find some strategies more appropriate in teaching the genocide. Group discussions are easier for me because every learner gives her/his views and we reach conclusions together. But, some topics such as the causes of the Genocide are challenging. They are difficult to teach because learners are challenging one another and do not agree on them. When they do not agree the solution for me is to use the textbook. In conclusion, I believe that my multidimensional approach in teaching helps learners to develop reading and analytical skills, so that they can defend their ideas on the Genocide publicly. They also gain knowledge on that topic related to its causes and consequences. Despite my efforts to help learners to live harmoniously so that they can all feel Rwandans, I am worried that this is undermined by a lack of teaching materials, the use of internet which reinforce the Genocide denial by some online resources.

Françoise was very communicative during the interview. Even if she minimises learners' questions, they demonstrate the controversial aspect of the Genocide teaching. By her multidimensional and integrated approaches she managed to guide learners to conclusions provided by the official textbook. Françoise also is aware that the Genocide teaching can be holistic by drawing some moral issues from other courses such as religion in order to reach her main aim of reconciling Rwandans and genocide prevention.

6.8 "I use a multi-perspective approach in teaching genocide": Mukakalisa's story

Mukakalisa has a good educational background consisting of a Bachelor's Degree in arts in education, history and geography. She likes doing research on community cohesion in Rwanda and visits libraries and Genocide memorials to update her knowledge on the Genocide. She was elected by her neighbours, at grass roots level, as a local leader. Given this status, she receives many official documents related to the Genocide against the Tutsi during the commemoration week held generally from 7 to 14 April each year, to be used to sensitize the population. Commemoration week is held countrywide and in the Rwandan Diaspora communities.

At present, Mukakalisa teaches at Spring Academy, a private school located in Kigali City. The school has modern facilities such as computers and connection to the internet. Her work experience is relatively extensive because she started teaching history on a part-time basis in 2003 and a full-time basis in 2006. She chose education as a profession because she likes history. "History is our life", she claims. She further argues, "To study this course [history] at tertiary level was my choice. When someone knows history, she/he knows where she/he comes from and the life people are living in and their vision." Mukakalisa is now talking about her experience of teaching genocide and its related controversial issues.

My first reactions to teaching the Genocide, which I in myself regard as a controversial issue, as an experience that has evolved tremendously over time: Initially I was full of fear and uncertainty. I find the Genocide complex. The Rwandan tragedy occurred but people's minds do not manage to grasp how this act of inhumanity erupted. It was characterised by dreadful killings where people killed their neighbours. In addition to this appalling aspect, I noticed that there was a lack of appropriate books and other learning material to help learners to understand the topic. Even if I managed to secure additional hours to teach this topic at Ordinary Level it merely equals to only two hours per week spent on the topic. This was mainly a major concern for new teachers. Consequently, I know some of them who

omit it. As the time went on, there was an improvement in my teaching of the Genocide. As a result, for the last two or three years, I teach the Genocide as a normal chapter. This development was due to my personal initiatives and the institutions I am collaborating with. I was interested in researching on the history of Rwanda and visiting Genocide memorials to get more updated documents. Now I am a self-proclaimed confident history teacher.

What then are my main aims in my course on the Genocide and its related controversial issues? My main objective is to get the learners feel as one nation, feel as Rwandans. To achieve such nation building, different but specific aspects of the Genocide against the Tutsi are emphasised and explained in my course. I like to talk to learners about Genocide preparation and execution through the historical background and discuss the Genocide sequences and how some Hutu risked their lives and saved Tutsi during this chaotic period.

My lessons clearly depend on the time I have (one or two consecutive periods). In general, for starting, I provide my class with a clear, scholarly researched explanation of the term genocide and how it is different from other crimes against humanity.

> Teacher: Who can explain us the meaning of the word genocide?
> Learner: It is the extermination of a group of people.
> Teacher: Thank you! Who has another idea? Yes...
> Learner: This extermination has to be systematic and has to target an ethnic group.
> Teacher: Yes! You are in the right way. Let's have a look at its etymology to understand it easily. In fact, the term genocide comes from two words, *genos* which means 'ethnic group', and a Latin word *caedēre* which means to kill, *kwica*. So, it is to kill people systematically. The term was coined by Raphael Lemkin in his work *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.[25] The systematic destruction target all or a big number of a racial, ethnic, religious or national groups. Therefore, it is different from other crimes because there is the intent to destroy those groups in whole or in part. According to Lemkin, genocide does not necessarily mean immediate destruction of a nation. There is a coordinated plan aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating them. These killings are based on ethnicity because the extermination of the Jews was different from normal killings.
> Teacher: Who can tell us important components of the life of a national group?

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[25] Lemkin R (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of occupation – Analysis of Government – Proposals for Redress.* Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), pp. 79-95.

> Learner: Amongst important components, I can name, I think it is like the culture of a group of people.
>
> Teacher: Yes! The destruction aims different aspects economic organization, social organization, arts of a people, etc. It is clear that it takes time for preparation and execution. It becomes feasible due to the State implication.

After the concept clarification I explain using a lecturing mode that in 1948, the United Nations put into place a convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, which explained 5 different acts of genocide.

> Teacher: You should retain that according to the convention, genocide is related to committing any of the following acts with the intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, racial, religious group or ethnical one firstly by killing its members; secondly by causing members of the group serious bodily or mental harm; thirdly inflicting to the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; fourthly imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and finally forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. This you can even read yourself online.[26]

Source:

http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/the-holocaust/pictures

I go on by presenting briefly other genocides and screen a film on the Second World War showing how the Holocaust was executed. The learners see gas chambers and how Jews were hunted. I continue informing learners about the Genocide which occurred in Rwanda.

The historical background to the Genocide against the Tutsi is also analysed in my class. I point out that Rwandan traditional relations in the past were characterized by community cohesion where people used to share sorghum beer in a vat. This sharing reveals that during the colonial period and the first and second republics (1962-1994) Rwandans were living together harmoniously. Even if there were some politicians who were propagating that Hutu and Tutsi had no relationship, it is clear that in the countryside, Rwandan social groups had no major problems between them. In teaching genocide and this historical background I use a multi-perspective

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[26] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CrimeOfGenocide.aspx retrieved on December 20, 2013.

approach including group work with a specific task for each group. This requires research by learners where they use different readings to search for historical evidence with my support. Topics such as Rwandan intergroup relationships before the colonial period; the role of colonialism in bipolarizing Rwandan society; *Ubuhake*, clientship and imposed labour are researched by learners in groups. Afterwards each group gets 15 minutes to present its findings to the class. The presentations are followed by a class discussion.

Even if Rwandans were sharing food and drinks they had different identities. When the identity card system was put into place in the 1930s by the Belgian colonial administration every adult person had her/his own identity card specifying which social group, Twa, Tutsi or Hutu, to which she or he belonged. The future negative consequences were not foreseen and there were cases where one brother was classified as a Hutu and the other one Tutsi, despite sharing a common ancestor. At the beginning of the genocide these identity cards were checked at roadblocks. When someone was identified as a Hutu, militiamen allowed him or her to pass easily. In tackling this aspect of the Genocide I use an identity card as another teaching aid. I show it to learners and after their observations they make comments.

Source:
http://www.borgenmagazine.com/photos-from-rwandan-genocide/

The learners can understand aspects of the Genocide better when it is taught by means of tangible pictures. They can then, based on such evidence, discover the planning and execution of the Genocide and also its consequences. At times, I also invite learners to create groups and create a story around these pictures to present to the class.

Learner: After the Genocide, Bana stayed alone. His parents and two sisters were killed. Their house was also partially destroyed. He could not find anyone from his family to support him. Hunger and bad living conditions were defused when the Red Cross took him to an orphanage. There, he started a new life. Other orphans and the employees were his new family. Daytime was irreproachable because he was playing with his friends. But, the nights were very long as sometimes he could not sleep, remembering what happened to

him, mainly the corpses which were surrounding him. When class started, his life became better.

Teacher: The Genocide did not only target mature people, it targeted Tutsi children. It left behind orphans without any assistance. In some cases, they killed parents and left children, mainly female children arguing that they will die on their own.

In such cases, I have only to comment or give additional information. In my educational view by using pictures the teaching of the consequences of the Genocide becomes easier as learners can relate it to current issues still affecting them.

In terms of the historical background to the Genocide, I also pay attention to the post-colonial period. For this topic learners have to collect oral evidence from their parents and families. The latter have to narrate to them their personal experiences related to both republics (1962-1994) so that learners can understand some of the root causes of the Genocide as it relates to the post-independence period. The latter period is also explained to learners through using living people as historical resources. One such person used is Fedha Uwamahoro who narrated how she has been mistreated when she was in secondary school:

> *Ubwo yigaga mu mashuri yisumbuye, umunsi umwe yasabye mwarimu ko yakongera akamukosora kuko yabonaga yibeshye. Ahubwo igitangaje ni uko mwarimu yahise amukuraho amanota mu gihe abandi babonaga ayabo. Mwarimu yahise amubwira ko amusumba atagomba kumugarukira mu ishuri. Abandi banyeshuri bashatse kunga mwarimu na Fedha ariko birananirana kuko mwarimu yavugaga ko n'Imana itihangana igihe cyose. Yasobanuye ukuntu yahise ajya kwiga mu ishuri ryigenga. Jenoside itangiye yabaye uwa mbere wo kohereza abantu bo kujya kumuhiga iwabo ngo bamuhitane, batazi ko yimutse.* (When she was still in secondary school, one day she claimed for remarking because she noticed that the teacher was mistaken. Surprisingly, the teacher deducted her marks while others got theirs. She was told by the teacher that she was taller than him and requested her not to come back to his class. When other learners wanted to make mediation between the teacher and Fedha, the teacher refused arguing that God is not also indefinitely tolerant. She explained that she left public school for a private one. At the beginning of the Genocide that person was the first to send people to look for Fedha to kill her. He ignored that she had moved to another place).

The use of this person as living historical evidence revealed that some people have adopted the hatred ideology between social groups. Through their discussion, the testimony helps learners to think about genocide preparation and mistreatment of

Fedha's social group. By using living historical resources like Fedha, learners have an opportunity to interact with an eyewitness and get first-hand information.

To explain Rwandans' experience during the planning and execution of the Genocide, I screen documentary films borrowed from one of the Genocide memorial centres. I also use individuals to share their experiences orally. These films are very helpful as far as I am concerned because they allow learners to observe what happened. One such film is called *Rescuers*[27] showing people who saved others during the Genocide. This includes one young girl who had the courage to save another one she did not know. I ask learners to write down some sentences which touched them for sharing after the screening.

Teacher: Let's share what you wrote down!
Learner: Being rescuer requires a great sense of humanity.
Learner: Their great act saved many who survived.
Learner: I was interested by a young girl who saved a kid.

Learner: Wherever I go, I can never forget you. Ever!

Learner: Teacher, I was sad when Vanessa wanted to know how her mother was looked like.
Learner: It is also sad to see how killers invited people to loot their neighbours in difficulties.
Learner: Those who implanted the Genocide gave a vile message that caused death to a million of people.

Source: *Ubumuntu. Rescuer: People who saved lives in the Rwandan genocide.* At https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=ADYbN6Fo1iA.

Learner: Me, I liked Vanessa's idea of bringing justice to people in difficulties.
Learner: At the end, Vanessa told Grace to keep doing well in her life.
Teacher: Yes, well done all. This movie invites us to be strong and avoid taking a bad position even during hard situations. The idea of bringing justice to oppressed people is also very strong. We don't have to be insensitive to others' sufferings. It is why we have to help others as much as we can.

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[27] *Ubumuntu. Rescuer: People who saved lives in the Rwandan genocide.* At https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ADYbN6Fo1iA.

Another film, *Twese turi Abanyarwanda*, translated as "We are all Rwandans" relates to children from Nyange School who defied infiltrators[28] and refused to group themselves according to their social groups so that infiltrators could kill the Tutsi amongst them. These children preferred to be killed together. Learners make comments of the film by saying what touched them and thus they learn moral issues from these films and it helps them to avoid stereotyping. For instance, they mentioned that all Hutu are not wretched people. One learner concluded that from the film, he noticed that her/his fellow is like a part of his body. To harm him is to harm himself. After the film, they are convinced that they are part of one nation.

The role of the youth in the execution of the Genocide is another aspect related to the Genocide I teach. I point out how they were carrying clubs to kill people. I provide much detail in this regard during the research process and explain that clubs were the main weapons used during the Genocide. People were even killed in churches which proved that there were no safe hiding places as Rwandans killed each other.

The Genocide left behind enormous consequences such as orphans without any assistance. Another consequence was the exile to neighbouring countries of many Rwandans such as the former Zaïre, currently the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There, they did not experience good health and others who did not flee and stayed in the country had to feed their family members in jail.

These topics outlined in the previous paragraph, I teach by using the stages of genocide preparation and execution approach. I show to learners that genocide is prepared and thus can be prevented:

> Teacher: The Genocide preparation follows eight steps. The first one is to create groups by saying "we" and "they" by race, ethnic group or nationality. And for this first stage, this happened by showing supposed areas Tutsi and Hutu came from and at different periods to differentiate them. Don't you see that in Rwanda, we were one nation as we had the same culture and the same language?
> Teacher: The second stage is symbolization consisting of putting signs/stereotypes…they have long noses, they are arrogant, that they are

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[28] After the Genocide, the defeated army exiled in the current Democratic Republic of the Congo attempted to return by force. Its *guerilleros* penetrated in Rwanda and were generally hidden among the population and forests and thus were considered as infiltrators.

intelligent…they are like this and this…and the group which is targeted starts getting its symbols/stereotypes.

Teacher: The third stage is dehumanization in this process of dehumanization they start giving them names of animals and animals which have to be chased by everybody or those who have the competence to do it. Those names they started to get are like cockroaches. And then, the creation of militia to exterminate people like *Impuzamugambi* and there were no group created to eliminate Hutu. This fourth stage of has a chance to erupt due to State participation. The government teaches it so that one group can exterminate another one. There was no government which sensitized Tutsi to exterminate Hutu. Where it occurred, it was the consequences of the Genocide. This happened when someone arrived and noticed that his family was exterminated, it became obvious that he revenged. If those people were not punished, it can be explained by authorities. But, if those cases exist, there should be ways to follow them up but those crimes are not on the same level as the Genocide. How do you think people can fight against dehumanization and genocide organization?

Learner 1: I think it is impossible to fight the organization stage because the State is involved.

Learner 2: The international community can punish countries which organize genocide.

I continue with other stages namely polarization, preparation, extermination and denial. During learners' presentations, I invite them to link their ideas to these stages and how the knowledge of these stages helps in genocide prevention. This link is also done for comments and comparisons made for resource persons' testimonies in view of genocide contextualization.

During my teaching, I noticed that controversies come from learners' questions and views. For me, controversial topics are due to different causes: Normally, people do not write or talk about facts in the same way. Controversies are due to political reasons. Those who want to achieve their different interests use a strategy either of hiding evidence or interpreting available evidence in a wrong way. There is a group which consumes indoctrination, most of the time they are many as they follow blindly.

Regarding the questions raised on the Genocide during my classes, I either respond to them immediately or ask learners to provide answers. I believe that despite the complexity of understanding the Genocide learners are not ignorant about the topic. They are informed, not only by various forms of media, but also by their parents who come from either the sides of the perpetrators or those of survivors. In this context

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each side has its own way of explaining the Genocide. However, some learners are not satisfied by what they hear from their families or the media and they want an additional explanation from their history teacher. I think that many children believe in their teacher's views rather than those of their parents. Therefore I am convinced that the Genocide against Tutsi must be taught in the country's secondary schools because of the vague and limited knowledge learners have and also because they are curious as can be seen from the fact that they keep asking many questions about this tragedy.

La Nuit rwandaise

de Kayibanda reproduit intégralement dans un livre de propagande du régime Habyarimana, rédigé par l'un des principaux idéologues de la CDR [12]. En somme, Kayibanda avait déjà théorisé ce que ne feront que reprendre et appliquer, en 1994, Bagosora et ses acolytes de l'*akazu*, en déclenchant « *l'apocalypse* ». Comme en 1959-1967, l'appel au massacre des *inyangarwanda* (ennemis du Rwanda, mot qui désigne les Tutsi) est justifié par la défense du *rubanda nyamwinshi* (peuple majoritaire, désignant les Hutu).

Le « petit génocide » de 1963

En 1963, à Gikongoro, dans la préfecture où se trouvent Kibeho, Kaduha, Cyanika, se sont déroulés les massacres les plus importants de la période 1959-1967 au Rwanda. C'est là qu'ils ont pris le caractère génocidaire qu'ils auront en 1990-1994, les gens étant tués par familles entières. Dans cette seule préfecture de Gikongoro, de 8000 à 14000 Tutsi ont été tués sur l'ordre du préfet André Nkeramugaba. Il s'agit d'un plan organisé d'extermination. Comme l'expliquait à l'époque un missionnaire britannique : « *Les troupes gouvernementales ont fermé les frontières et les Tutsi sont bloqués à l'intérieur du Rwanda.* » [13] « *Encouragés par les autorités, les Hutu attaquent les huttes des Tutsi, armés de lances et de massues. Ils massacrent tous*

Source: Gouteux (2002).

I explain that in Rwanda many people do not know how genocide is different from other war crimes. I think that it can be one among the reasons that bring this controversial idea about the Genocide in Rwanda. Another controversy related to the Genocide is about the causes of the Genocide. Learners ask if the Genocide was caused by the grounding of the President J.Habyarimana's plane. I am convinced that with such question it is imperative to use historical evidence during debates.

To me the answer to any question related to the causes is clear from the evidence provided by numerous authors who wrote

about it: I make it clear that in 1963, from December to January 1964, killings occurred and Tutsi were targeted. For instance, the writer Jean Paul Gouteux in his

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book *La nuit tombe à Kigali,* from page 86 to page 89 explains that in Rwanda happened a 'small genocide', that at Cyanika between 8 and 14,000 people were killed and their bodies thrown in Mwogo river. I further explain to learners how events evolved by giving examples of other killings which targeted the Tutsi in Bugesera, in Murambi and concluded that all this was not due to the crash of the presidential plane.

The question about a "double genocide" is also raised by learners arguing that the Hutu and the Tutsi killed each other. According to my point of view a double genocide was impossible. Genocide is only possible when there is state involvement. I illuminate to my class the fact that genocide is different from other killings viewed as war crimes. "The extermination of Tutsi was planned, evidences are available. I invite learners to avoid politics but invite them to look at facts. I explain to them that genocide against Tutsi had to occur because since many years Tutsi were targeted. I give to them references showing how different authors explain it". After the Genocide, the Rwandese Patriotic Front did not urge Genocide survivors to avenge. Those who did it were arrested; there was no official plan to exterminate Hutu people.

I also have to deal with moral questions. For instance, learners wonder how anyone can kill her/his neighbour after calling her/him the enemy. The answer is not an easy one but I try to explain to them that genocides are prepared slowly and start by the spread of an ideology. From this it grows gradually until a phase is reached whereby neighbours find themselves in opposed groups. Thus, I explain that genocide takes time to unfold as a process.

Other moral dilemmas related to the Genocide also raised by learners are questions about the punishment given to perpetrators.

> Learner: Is not a culture of impunity to release someone who pleads guilty to commit the Genocide and let him/her go home after few years of imprisonment followed by public works?[29]

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[29] TIG (*Travaux d'intérêts généraux*) are public works done by released perpetrators whose sentences were reduced because they pleaded guilty to commit the Genocide.

Teacher: Some perpetrators are almost innocent. The government of the time planned the extermination and it was imposed on them to do it. If someone has accepted his/her guilt and shows that he/she has been misled and has discovered the truth, in that case, he/she should not be punished in the same manner as original planner of the idea.

In the multidimensional approach followed in teaching the Genocide I face a lot of challenges. It is not easy for learners to collect evidence from the local community related to the post-independence period. They also do not find it easy to collect evidence at home on the Genocide against the Tutsi. Some bring little oral evidence because they are unwilling to participate and their parents also do not want to do so which means the prior knowledge of the learners on the topic is limited. Many of the parents also do not read material on the Genocide that appears in French. Because of this I regard my role as the teacher in teaching the Genocide as extremely important. Regarding the people used as living evidence on one hand their information is not always true and sometimes exaggerated. At the same time, the films are also not sufficient. There is a need of having books at learners' level so that they do not use so many testimonies from particular people. This would allow them to compare the evidence on the Genocide from people from different parts of Rwanda.

The biggest challenge I face though is that both pictures and films serve to traumatize learners. Ah! Since I started teaching, I faced eight learners' cases of traumatism. Normally, I avoid showing horrible images where people are being killed. In my class, traumatism was not only due to pictures of people bearing clubs for killing their fellows but also due to the empathy of that girl who saved her colleague by taking her from Gitarama to the former Zaïre. Her testimony traumatized learners because some of them remembered how they were saved and it took them back in a bad situation.

In all, I believe that the objectives of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi as a controversial issue will be achieved due to the opportunities that exist. The latter are linked to books/textbooks which are becoming more and more available such as *A participatory approach. Teacher's guide for secondary schools*. On my side, I make an effort to use different resources and strategies to help learners to achieve that

goal. As far as I am concerned, I allow learners to talk about different aspects of the genocide including controversial ones. In the conclusion, I briefly tell them that divisionism led to the Genocide. I invite them to be united so that what happened in Rwanda cannot happen again. But, I noticed that Ministry of Education is not giving enough attention to the Genocide as a controversial issue. There is a need for educating teachers and for producing adequate teaching aids so that the Genocide could be taught in detail. Therefore I would like to see all competent bodies give sufficient attention to the course on genocide.

Mukakalisa is involved in many activities which help her to enlighten her understanding of the Genocide. At the beginning, she was very enthusiastic to respond to my interview questions. This passion was not manifested with self-interview. But, she gave many details related to her different teaching strategies and the content which help her to guide her class to her main aim of building one nation.

6.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the participants' stories on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Firstly, stories using a mainly teacher centred approach were presented and followed by those ones employing a learner centred one. The stories presented here give details regarding the content. Some aspects such as the harmonious traditional intergroup relationships, the role of the colonists who tore the Rwandan society, the post-independence period which was also characterized by inequalities in terms of admission in education system or labour and the war between the then government and Rwandese Patriotic Front are recurrent topics in different stories. Some aspects are raised as controversial including the denomination of the Genocide, its causes, and the number of victims, the post-Genocide management and the role of international community in the Genocide. These topics are taught by means of different teaching methods such as learner centred or teacher centred through a range of activities such as collecting evidence at home, listening to testimonies, watching and analysing movies, visiting museums and responding to different questions orally or by writing. The choice of these teaching methods are guided by a range of reasons. In the next chapter, I discuss and analyse the two previous chapters, namely one related to drawings and

these stories, at the second level to find out to what extent they contribute to the understanding of the controversial issues theory in Rwandan context.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION - HISTORY TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES IN TEACHING THE GENOCIDE AND ITS RELATED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES – MINDSETS, AIMS AND CONTENT

7.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters I have presented how the participants drew their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues as well as the re-storied stories of their experiences in this regard. The following two chapters, 7 and 8, are the discussion chapters for my study which I am going to use to build my thesis and present possible answers to my "why" research question. In so doing I am going to conceptualise and discuss each identified theme. Thereafter, each theme will be brought into conversation with the literature so as to understand what is new and what can be confirmed in a scholarly sense. The findings that emerged from this process will be viewed through the theoretical lenses applicable to this research

In the present chapter the narrative continues by drawing together the main findings from the drawings and stories in a discussion. In this qualitative study, I have presented the participants' drawings and stories from seven participants respectively in the fifth and sixth chapters. Considering the participants' backgrounds each participant had her/his own experiences of and about teaching the Genocide. At the same time the participants have been directly or indirectly affected by the Genocide. These aspects pushed the participants to position themselves differently. Regarding the outline of this chapter, firstly, I present the participants' mind-sets at the commencement of their teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Secondly, I analyse issues related to participants' experiences in choosing the aims they want to achieve in their teaching and the reasons behind their choice of aims. Thirdly, the discussion focuses on the participants' experiences in dealing with the historical content related to the Genocide and its controversial issues. In so doing I argue that history teachers face a range of challenges in teaching the

Genocide and its related controversial issues. This is due mainly to the post-Genocide socio-political context which is still affected by the wounds of what happened.

The abovementioned themes were identified by coding the data from the drawings and stories which took into consideration the main educational activities of teaching history namely: aims, content and teaching methods. It was assumed that the teaching methods employed were underpinned by using certain educational resources. In addition, the learners who are the recipients of the planned teaching, are part of the themes under discussion. Other aspects which emerged from the data, such as emotions and challenges, were also included in the discussion. The order I used to present this chapter follows a certain educational logic namely the commencement of a topic, the choice of aims and the content to be covered. Other themes which are more practical such as engaging with the teaching methods and resources and other implications related to the teaching of the Genocide are discussed in the next chapter, which is chapter 8.

7.2 The commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues

Before starting to teach a new topic teachers think about what they are going to do. This research showed that Rwandan history teachers reflected seriously on the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi which was introduced into the history curriculum after the tragedy. One of the themes which emerged from the research data was the commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Simply put – what were the mind-sets of the research participants before teaching this daunting new topic with its roots in contemporary history?

Some scholars suggest a series of points to be taken into consideration when a teacher is going to teach a new topic or course (Ledeboer (n.d.); Lyons, McIntosh & Kysilka, 2003; Provitera-McGlynn, 2001). The points to consider include thinking about which purpose of school history the topic is related to. In other words, it is an opportunity to think about aims as will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. At the same time to teach a new topic implies deciding on the appropriate teaching methods, to think how to build on what learners already know about and "to

think about what questions or problems are posed by the topic" (Haydn et al., 2001, p.46). The teacher has to devise a detailed class plan and be aware of what has to be said at the start so as to create a suitable impression and to think about what questions learners can ask. If the topic is the introduction to the course the teacher can also help learners to get to know each other. Such an introduction can be done according to the educational context in which the teacher finds him or herself. For instance, Provitera-McGlynn's (2001) advice is not to use racial or cultural difference for courses which are not related to those issues.

Even if the literature provides the above advice for the beginning of a new course some of it is not relevant to the teaching of the Genocide in Rwanda and its related controversial issues. This is so because the topic is not taught at the beginning of the history course. However, certain aspects, such as a detailed class plan and to know what has to be taught to learners, are relevant. For instance for the Advanced Level, the Genocide is the last chapter of the curriculum taught together with the "Liberation War" of 1990 and the achievements of the Government of National Unity. The curriculum specifies the aims to be achieved, specific content and activities to be undertaken by learners (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010). In light of the above the discussion that follows helps to bring some understanding of how the Rwandan history teachers who participated in this research reacted at the commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

One of the subthemes related to the commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues as gleaned from the drawings and constructed stories was an anticipatory fear expressed. It would in all probability be unforeseen to find a Rwandan history teacher who did not feel a kind of fear before teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. However, the Rwandan history teachers' fears were described differently by different teachers and were triggered by different issues. However, what was a real challenge was that an anticipatory fear had an impact on the teaching process, from the time of preparation till the dispensation of the course. During their initial psychological preparation to teach the Genocide anticipatory fears were expressed through imagination as evidenced by the following statement by Arian:

It is almost 21:00, my normal time to go to bed. Before going to sleep, I feel tired and anxious. I see a crowd of people in front of me. I do not know what they are looking for and I am gazing at them but I am a bit scared ... This is how I passed a night full of queries before I start teaching a course on the Genocide.

Arian was imagining what was going to happen the next day and was afraid of what the learners were looking for. Probably she was wondering how to start her teaching of the topic. The point is that a day before starting to teach a course encompassing the Genocide for the first time, Arian was terrified.

Alongside the fear of the first day another subtheme related to anticipatory fears which emerged was the fear to harm. The participants' fear of harming was not only evidenced by statements but also in their drawings. For instance, Semana drew a man holding a machete (See Figure 5.5) which is a traditional weapon used in different activities including the killing of animals. Killing is a horrendous act. Thus, teaching the Genocide for the first time could be compared to a horrendous harmful activity. In this regard Semana clearly explained why he was afraid of teaching the Genocide: "I know that I teach to young learners a course which deals with atrocities, if I do not make attention I can harm them by my teaching. On my side, I have also to be careful about my explanations". Based on his fear Semana adopted a position to avoid harming his learners by remaining careful about how he taught and the content covered.

Almost all of the participants were, in some way or another, afraid of content that described horrendous scenes which characterised the Genocide against the Tutsi. Arian portrayed her fear in a religious way by means of a cross which she explained as follows: "At the beginning, it was like a cross I was carrying, a kind of Calvary!" The use of a Christian symbol representing Christ's suffering metaphorically demonstrated to her the difficult task she was anticipating. Thus, teaching the Genocide is compared to an overwhelming religious burden. It must be pointed out that Arian's fear could not be attributed to her short teaching experience because she was not the only teacher to have such a view. Other more experienced teachers such as Françoise, Mukakalisa and Mukamuhire had similar fears. What it boiled down to was that some of the research participants felt that teaching the Genocide is

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not like teaching other courses or subjects because it is no light-hearted laughing matter.

The curriculum content also provoked initial worries amongst the participants. Consequently, teaching the Genocide implied choosing the appropriate words when speaking to learners. Inappropriate words, such as *ibisigazwa* (remains), instead of corpses of the victims, war instead of Genocide could harm learners, create resentment and even cause problems in the teaching and learning process. In this regard experiencing anxieties was another subtheme related to the commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues which emerged from the analysis of the data. The use of phrases such as "Before going to sleep, I feel tired and anxious" (Arian); "Many questions were coming in my mind and did not even allow me to find answers" (Arian); "Initially, I was full of fear and uncertainty" (Mukakalisa); "I know that I teach to young learners a course which deals with atrocities, if I don't make attention I can harm them by my teaching" (Semana) or "Scratching the head" (Mukakalisa) show the challenging personal mind-sets with which the participants had to deal. This was exacerbated by the complexity of it all as articulated by Mukakalisa: "I find the Genocide complex. The Rwandan tragedy occurred but people's minds do not manage to grasp how this act of inhumanity erupted. It was characterised by dreadful killings where people killed their neighbours."

The fear and anxieties as outlined above were accompanied by a range of questions that stemmed from the minds of the research participants. For instance, Mukakalisa was wondering what she was going to teach, while for Arian it was the start: "I start imagining a lot of questions. What is going to happen tomorrow? How to start my course and how to end it? How to avoid problems?"

Almost all the history teachers who participated in this study explained that their first experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues was characterised by some kind of fear and anxiety. The first idea which generally came to their minds was to consider the teaching of the Genocide as a frightening task and this mind-set helped them to decide on what to do and what to avoid. In other words, their emotions had an impact on their mental preparation to teach the

topic. For instance, the psychological preparation had an impact on the choice of right words to be used in the class to avoid the Genocide denial or harming learners. The avoidance to harm learners guided teachers in their preparation to select the teaching aids which do not traumatise learners. This happened because the participants were obliged to think deeply on what they were going to do and how they were going to do it. The data, however, do not show fear and anxieties as barriers which prevented the participants from organising their ideas or negating their responsibilities as history teachers. In other words, fear and anxieties somehow positively contributed to the history teachers' psychological preparation for their lessons on the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

The exception proved to be, Mukamuhire and Murezi. Both claimed that at the beginning they were confident, based on their educational backgrounds and the knowledge of the Rwandan history curriculum, in engaging with the topic. A careful analysis of the confident participants' constructed stories however revealed that they contradicted themselves and that their confidence was misplaced. Evidence for this was the dilemma that the Genocide constituted to Mukamuhire and fear of harming learners in teaching the topic that Murezi had. Their educational backgrounds thus proved not to be sufficient evidence to explain their confidence because the other participants had undertaken similar studies in education. Rather, the misplaced confidence of Mukamuhire and Murezi was rooted in their personal interest in the topic given the research they had done while still at university.

The mind-sets prior to the first encounters in teaching the Genocide as outlined above made the participants feel threatened, intimidated and frightened. This tally with what other scholars have found in terms of teaching the Genocide/Holocaust (Buhigiro, 2011; Masabo, 2014; Philips, 2008; Salmons, 2003; Schneider, 2014). In this regard Philips (2008, p.224) posits that "The Holocaust is one of the areas of history which is so horrific and possibly beyond rational understanding that it can be difficult to know where to begin". Having to deal with such unimaginable deeds made teachers uncomfortable and created barriers in teaching the topic. By asking themselves what they were going to tell learners, the participants' questions aimed at showing the desire to help learners better understand the Genocide (Hayes, 2003). However, fear and anxiety contradicts what Hargreaves (1998) regarded as positive

emotions that influences good teaching. Fear and worries, which are negative emotions, did however push the participants to think more deeply on the topic.

Before starting to teach, each of the participants positioned themselves differently by anticipating what could happen in the class. Considering their experience of Rwandan society, they were careful and evaluated the topic. They positioned themselves as educators willing to avoid harming learners. Consequently they followed a process of careful psychological preparation. The psychological preparation aimed at guarding the history teacher against any harm which the topic could cause to them or to the learners. In terms of controversial issues, the participants were aware of the sensitivity of the topic and different experiences learners had from their families. Because of the outlined fears and anxieties, the history teachers who participated in this research, inadvertently as a first step considered the aims as stated in the history curriculum. This selection of aims will be discussed in the next section

7.3 Selecting the aims for teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues

Conceptually, aims can be understood as general statements related to the overall goals, ends or intentions of teaching. Objectives on the other hand are the individual stages that learners must achieve on the way in order to reach the stated educational goals (Williamson, Chow & Pallant, n.d.). Thus, aims are general whereas objectives are specific. However, lesson aims can be called different things such as objectives, outcomes and goals. For this chapter, I will use the term aims, which are more generic, to explain general and specific aspects of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Without clear specific aims lessons cannot be coherent. They become a pointless activity rather than developing learners' knowledge, skills and understanding (Drake & Jackson, 2016; Haydn et al., 2001; Philips, 2008; Prakash, n.d.). Clear aims of what the teacher wants to achieve in the short or long term are important and it is why teachers decide on aims to be achieved.

Some of the general aims embedded in the 2008 and 2010 Rwandan history curricula are related to the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi (National Curriculum Development, 2008, p.3; National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010, p.5). These include the right to live in harmony free from any discrimination; the promotion of a culture of peace, tolerance and reconciliation and a love for Rwanda. The mentioned curricula also aimed at developing history learners' critical thinking skills. More specifically, learners have to be able to define the term genocide and differentiate it from Rwandan inter-ethnic massacres of the past. Learners, with the aid of their teachers, also have to be able to establish the role of national and international institutions during the Genocide. They must also be able to expound the political, economic and socio-cultural consequences of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Finally, learners had to be able to identify the post-Genocide achievements of the Government of National Unity. The prescribed curricula of 2008 and 2010 do not specifically state the aim of preventing Genocide. Collectively, the aims of the respective history curricula can be categorised as being socio-political, moral and academic in nature. In addition to the aims stated in the curriculum, which the teachers had to engage with, the history teachers also inserted their own aims into their teaching. They felt that stated aims were not sufficient. The mostly moral aims added by teachers are related to their commitment to the prevention of genocide in order to build a peaceful society which can no longer ignite divisions leading to atrocities. The engagement of the history teachers who participated in this study with the stated and personal aims are discussed in the next three sections.

7.3.1 Dealing with socio-political aims

One of the findings which emerged from the analysis of the data relates to socio-political aims which were strongly foregrounded by the research participants. Socio-political aims manifested themselves in different ways such as through teaching for genocide prevention or unity and reconciliation or patriotism. Given the past atrocities and the resurgence of genocidal acts and ideology, the Government of Rwanda had put into place the National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation, as envisaged by Arusha Peace Agreements and a National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, for a better Rwanda (Clark, 2010; Hilker, 2009; Repubulika y'u Rwanda, 2007; Waldorf, 2009). Thus, unity and reconciliation and genocide prevention are strong socio-political and content oriented aims that the participants

are expected to achieve in their history classrooms. In line with this teachers are eager to educate learners so that they do not participate in killings or other related activities. Therefore, education through history teaching is seen as an efficient means to achieve this aim. In the following subsections, themes related to socio-political aims such as engaging with genocide prevention; teaching genocide for unity and reconciliation are discussed.

One of the socio-political aims is teaching the Genocide for prevention. It was found that the participants without exception taught, in one way or another, the Genocide for future prevention. This was evidenced not only by participants' drawings but also by the constructed professional stories. For instance Mukakalisa expressed her commitment to teaching for genocide prevention by inserting the "never again" slogan in her drawing (See Figure 5.8). In turn Arian stated:

> Central to my teaching is genocide prevention. My main aim is to make learners understand the importance of 'never again' so that learners not only be sensitized but also advise their parents, brothers, sisters and neighbours about the effects of divisive ideology which was at the origin of the tragedy by teaching ethnicity.

The participants understood the importance of genocide prevention and made themselves the champions of educating the learners in their care to avoid participating in dubious political activities while rather encouraging them to become activists who can positively influence society. In a country where more than one million Tutsi were killed in a period of three months, genocide prevention is a way of contributing to lasting peace. The importance attached by the history teachers to teaching about genocide prevention or the "never again" slogan expounds the role of living in peace and harmony as an intention stated in the Rwandan history curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010).

One of the strategies to achieve this aim as stated by Semana and Mukamuhire is to explain to learners the historical perspective which led to the Genocide. Even if learners are not totally ignorant about what happened in the Genocide against the Tutsi, all do not necessarily have knowledge of the discriminatory policies which historically characterised the Rwandan society. Together with the discriminatory policies, hatred propaganda and stereotyping of social groups were apparent, not

only in official speeches, but also in history textbooks. Teachers who participated in this research noted that learners have to understand how this process of hatred evolved and its paroxysm was the Genocide. Understanding this, it was argued, could alert learners so that in case they face a similar situation they can react accordingly. The participating history teachers were convinced that teaching learners about facts was not sufficient. The learners had to become mini-agents to propagate the idea of genocide prevention to their families for an efficient prevention. The thinking behind this was that if learners are sensitised and their parents are not, it will be a work half done. Therefore, an aim related to genocide prevention was for learners to be educated to become "good citizens" who can contribute to peace and stability of their country.

The aim of understanding the role of practices of hatred in creating conflict was supported by the literature. As Kennedy (2008) posits, teaching about the Genocide could help learners to understand how race, religion and ethnicity are used by people for separating, isolating and segmenting others. Different scholars therefore argued that for emotional historical issues such as the Genocide or the Holocaust, learners need to know why and how these tragedies occurred so that they can help to prevent them in future (Burtonwood, 2003; Eckmann, 2010; Kennedy, 2008; Maitles & Cowan, 1999; Strom, 1994). In the case of Rwanda, Masabo (2014) noted that skilled people have to be able to identify Genocide ideology in oral and written documents. This ability concurs with the findings of this research which mentioned the sensitisation of learners regarding divisive ideologies. As argued by Waterson (2007), past atrocities are not unique but a warning to the future. However, on the downside there is no empirical evidence that having as an aim the teaching against genocide can prevent it (Gasanabo, 2014).

In line with the teaching of controversial issues, the research participants' stated commitment to convince history learners of genocide prevention was characterised by a lack of support and engagement with democratic pedagogies as recommended in the curricula. For instance, certain verbs used in Arian's story such as "so that learners not only be sensitised, but also advise their parents" show a commitment to convince learners about the importance of genocide prevention without any critical engagement. It is close to a kind of indoctrination for peace-making (Stradling, 1984; Wassermann,

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2011). Considering positioning theory, the determination of Arian and other participants can be explained by the Rwandan context where many people were killed in a short period of time. Thus, critical reflection about a recent monstrous act can be considered as lack of respect for the life of victims. Moreover, with genocide prevention being a government policy (Republic of Rwanda, 1999), the participants want to achieve it in as straightforward a manner as possible. However, the lack of critical pedagogy in for example Arian's statement of sensitising learners about the "never again" slogan contrasts with the work of scholars who emphasise the role of thinking "critically about attitudes of prejudice and intolerance and to challenge acts that facilitates violence" (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2012, p.4).

Alongside prevention the idea of a patriotic unity also emerged as an important socio-political aim in the participants' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. For a country that was affected by Genocide, the search for unity is a cornerstone in the policy of the Rwandan Government. The stated curriculum emphasises the interest of unity, the right to live in harmony without any form of discrimination and a culture of peace and patriotism. The history class, by means of the teaching about the Genocide, is therefore positioned to impart to learners historical knowledge which can allow them to understand the past so as to live peacefully. Both participants' stories and drawings indicated the importance they as Rwandans' attached to the aim of unity. A case in point is Murezi's drawing (See Figure 5.3) which represented learners holding hands, meaning that Rwandans must collaborate in unison in their daily activities. Similarly, Mukamuhire explained remaining united as follows:

> I was not born in Byumba because I wished so. No one should be victim of his or her ethnic group, religion, physical appearance or his/her region of origin. No one chose his or her identity. Learners have to grow-up bearing in mind that they do not have to destroy their society and that a nation is strengthened by the unity of its people. Learners have to feel themselves as Rwandans not as people from their social classes. It is an aspect of mind change, as the existence of social classes always creates conflicts and it is like a bomb waiting to explode and I help learners to enlighten on Rwandans' relationships during the pre-colonial period. I demonstrate them per lecture mode that through the Rwandan culture, before the arrival of the white colonialists, Rwandans were united and shared whatever they had.

The teachers who participated in this research understood the role of tolerance as an aim in order to achieve unity and reconciliation because any society is composed of people with different identities. Identities should not, as it was argued, be a barrier for living in harmony as was the case in the past. In this regard precolonial Rwanda is used as a template to teach learners how Rwandans used to live harmoniously so that they can learn from that period in order to reinforce contemporary unity so as to achieve the socio-political aim of unity and reconciliation. Teaching the precolonial period in this way aims at deconstructing "ethnic" identities and educates young Rwandans to become patriots by avoiding "ethnic" conflicts which can polarise and fracture Rwandan society. For that reason the participants complied in their aims, not only with the policy of unity and reconciliation, but also with the history curriculum which seeks to reinforce unity through the Rwandan identity and not "ethnic" identities.

The official Rwandan policy links unity and reconciliation however, in many cases the participants (Arian, Mukakalisa, Mukamuhire, Murezi for example) separated these stated socio-political aims. For instance Murezi explained how he wanted to achieve the socio-political aims of unity and reconciliation: "I demonstrate them … that through the Rwandan culture, before the arrival of the White colonialists, Rwandans were united and shared whatever they had". So as to achieve a united and reconciled nation, the teachers who participated in this research understood that the role of individuals is very important. Even if the Genocide destroyed many aspects of social cohesion, some aspects of traditional Rwanda were used to show how relationships between individuals in the community were very important. For instance, some practices such as *kurahura umuriro ku muturanyi* (to get fire from the neighbour), *gutumirana* (to invite one another), *gutizanya imfizi* (to borrow a bull – for reproduction) were common. Thus, the teachers who participated in this research in an idealistic manner wanted to teach learners that unity starts in their immediate environment and that it was not a new concept but has deep historical roots. In this immediate environment learners have to tolerate one another's differences because Rwanda, like any other society, has different identities, which should not be a barrier to living harmoniously. However, the tolerance of others' identities can be in contradiction of the Rwandan policy of promoting Rwandan identity. In navigating through these contradictions the participants preferred to use regional identities such as Byumba and not "ethnic" identities. This avoidance is a kind of teacher self-care

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by somehow being in harmony with a policy which urges to reinforce Rwandan identity. The respect of national policy was stronger and more recommendable to learners than using "ethnic" identities.

Furthermore, the reason research participants did not all use unity and reconciliation as per the official policy documents was mainly due to the fact that the Government policy places a major emphasis on unity and reconciliation as a social group-to-social group process while the data shows that in the classroom context the intrapersonal dimension is as important as the group-to-group one (Clark, 2014). Therefore, the history teachers focussed firstly on intrapersonal relationships as a way of achieving unity. Thereafter, they taught about the role of unity in traditional Rwanda so as to help Rwandan learners improve their relationships and create reconciliation between them. In other words, unity and reconciliation were intertwined with genocide prevention.

The aim of teaching unity and reconciliation for prevention was motivated by the fact that in the Rwandan context, "ethnicity" was amongst the main causes of the Genocide (Nkusi, 2004). Thus, the literature corroborates the research findings which mentioned that people should not be victims of their "ethnic" or regional identities. The literature describes how Rwandan social classes were "ethnicised" during the Belgian colonial period and how the Tutsi had a range of stereotypes bestowed on them (Hintjens, 1999; Newbury, 1995; 1998; Prunier, 1997; Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011; Rutembesa, 2011). Teaching about the Genocide as per the literature could at the very least raise awareness about genocide ideology (Masabo, 2014) or ways in which people used ideas of hatred to separate Rwandans.

Regional and "ethnic" identities were specified by the history teachers as barriers to achieving the aim of unity. For instance Mukamuhire stated that, "No one should be victim of his or her ethnic group, religion, physical appearance or his/her region of origin". Understanding such regional and "ethnic" barriers could, in the view of the teachers, assist learners to identify problems that Rwanda faced in the past which can undermine the current government policy of unity and reconciliation. Equally, according to the teachers' stories as based on their experiences, studying the challenges Rwanda faced can help learners grasp the effects of these challenges so

that they can positively contribute to the future of the country. Thus, attempts by means of history teaching at achieving unity and reconciliation concurs with the Government policy which is against the promotion of any form of discrimination such as "ethnicity" and regional discrimination as discussed in the literature (Hilker, 2009; Repubulika y'u Rwanda, 2007; Zorbas, 2004). However, none of the participants mentioned specifically the role of discrimination based on religion and nepotism as hindrances to unity. This silence can be due to the fact that, considering the history of Rwanda, regional favouritism was most of the time accompanied by nepotism. In terms of religion some forms of discrimination against Muslims were latent since the colonial period (Buhigiro, 2012; Kubai, 2007; Mbonimana, n.d.; Nzabalirwa, 2010; Prunier, 1997). The participants' silence in this regard may be caused by the great influence of the Catholic Church in Rwanda to the extent that its role was equated to that of the Government (Longman, 2001).

Regarding reconciliation, contrary to for example Cambodia, the findings of this research revealed that in Rwanda the Genocide is taught in view of reconciliation. The Khmer Rouge period in Cambodia is greatly avoided for political reasons as part of the reconciliation process. In this case forgetting the past was a way of achieving reconciliation (Dy, 2013). In Rwanda, the government which committed the Genocide was completely defeated. This is contrary to Cambodia where some members of the Khmer Rouge remained influential in decision making. Hence genocide is taught in school history in Rwanda.

7.3.2 Engaging with moral aims

Moral aims are also called human rights objectives by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (2012). Moral aims are not clearly stated in the history curricula however, such aims emerged strongly from the stories and drawings of teachers such as Arian, Françoise and Mukamuhire. In fact none of the participants questioned the role of dealing with moral issues while teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Clearly, due to the high numbers of victims in a short period of time, the history teachers understood the rationale of focusing on moral issues in teaching learners so that they grasped the notion of respecting the life of others. This was evidenced by the use of an integrative educational approach by some of the history teachers (Aljiffri, 2009). This integrative

approach was adopted by three history teachers who borrowed ideas from the religion curriculum. Religious beliefs and moral aims were viewed as being in support of each other because both are against killing. More specifically in this regard Françoise declared:

> This hope is also based on moral issues taught in religion and how it is employed in the subject: In religion, learners are taught that killing one's fellow is a sin because we are all God's children.

Apart from borrowing from the religion curriculum, some of the participating history teachers added their own moral beliefs in the aims to be achieved. Reasoning along these lines Arian and Françoise stated that ethical aspects can provide learners with a moral guide which can help them respect the lives of others. Consequently, the mentioned teachers found it imperative to explain to learners that genocide should never be allowed to take place because it would prevent others from their right to life. By informing learners not to kill other human beings, the mentioned teachers embraced the religious moral principles of not killing.

Other moral aims also emerged from the history teachers' constructed stories include being just and righteous, sinless and unselfish. For instance, by inviting learners to avoid stereotyping and bringing justice to oppressed people, Mukakalisa emphasised the importance of being just and righteous. Learners were also encouraged by Arian and Françoise to be "sinless" in a religious sense by avoiding killing. With reference to Tutsi exclusion, Rukundo taught learners that being selfish has also to be left aside so that nobody can be a victim of discrimination.

The data emanating from the research showing the importance of respecting other people's rights in view of genocide prevention correlates strongly with the literature. For instance, Kennedy (2008) posits that the teaching of genocide could help to explain to learners that the respect of human rights is important in a society so as to avoid atrocities. In this regard, moral issues are intertwined with genocide prevention because they aim at preventing people from killing others or committing injustice which can generate conflict. The only demarcation is that moral aims refer more to the behaviour of individuals with particular reference to religious principles which can help them gain an appropriate moral position (Taylor, 2003).

The participants' drawings and re-storied data did not question the role of using moral aims in teaching the Genocide. However, scholars do not agree on the role of moral issues in history teaching and more specifically in genocide/Holocaust teaching (Cavet, 2007; Kinloch, 1998; Lawrence, 2012; McCully, 2012). Dealing with moral issues while teaching genocide is considered as reducing the importance of key questions such as "how" and "why" the tragedy occurred (Kinloch, 1998; Lawrence, 2012). As the Rwandan teachers did not question the role of moral aims in teaching the Genocide, their positions in this regard corroborate certain studies (McCully, 2012; Salmons, 2010) who did not exclude from the role of history teaching the analysis of moral issues. In this regard certain moral issues, such as the international community's failure to intervene in Rwanda during the Genocide, provide an opportunity to discuss not only moral issues in a historical perspective, but also to analyse the political implications of moral decisions (Apsel, 2004; Mukamana & Brysiewicz, 2008; Waterson, 2007). The integration of moral issues in the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues thus showed the history teachers' intention to protect the society within which they teach against any evil.

The participants' plan to attain the identified moral aims was generally achieved by means of teacher centredness. Teacher centredness in this context can be seen, not only as a commitment to fight the re-occurrence of atrocities, but also as a means of complying with the socio-political aims of peace, unity and reconciliation. By using especially religious principles this commitment is also characterised by a kind of indoctrination (Momanu, 2012) since avoiding the issue is not linked to the official policy of fighting against Genocide denial. Officially, there are some timid steps being taken to avoid mixing Genocide with religious issues (Ndahiro, 2013).

Other moral issues which characterised the Genocide such as rape (Apsel, 2004; Mukamana & Brysiewicz, 2008; Taylor, 1999) did not appear at all in the participants' drawings and constructed professional stories. The silence on rape can be explained by the lack of attention to this aspect in the history curriculum and in the first United Nations conceptualisations of genocide. It was later considered by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda as a genocidal act (Verdirame, 2000). It could have also been challenging for the participants to explain the moral complexities related to

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rape to learners. In Rwandan culture, issues related to sex are not discussed in public. During the Genocide, sexual intercourse done against the will and consent of women had negative consequences including involuntary pregnancies, infection and other forms of trauma. In class, some learners who could have some links with people who were victims of rape, could have been emotionally affected. Therefore, history teachers could not easily talk about moral issues related to rape. For instance, history teachers could not tell learners about the degrading treatment meted out against women in what Mullins (2009) called genocidal rape. Thus, it was easier for the history teachers to talk about killings rather than rape.

7.3.3 Dealing with academic aims related to history teaching

Academic aims emerged as another sub-theme of teaching aims from the analysis of the drawings and stories. Academic aims are related to knowledge and skills in, and an understanding of, the broad conceptual and theoretical foundations of subjects – in the case of this study, history. For instance, academic history aims are mainly related to "an interpretative activity relating the current state of the discipline to new research findings" (Husbands, 1996, p.5). The aims stated in the Rwandan history curricula include differentiating genocide from other "ethnic" massacres and identification of the causes and consequences of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Other academic aims include the explanation of the causes and effects of the "Liberation War" of 1990 and the identification of objectives and achievements of the Government of National Unity (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010).

All the research participants were interested in empowering learners with historical knowledge. In so doing, they wanted to fulfil the academic aims stated in the curriculum including the conceptualisation of the term genocide and the explanation of the causes and consequences of the actual Genocide. The research participants understood that leaners needed both conceptual and content knowledge, not only to better understand the Genocide as a historical event, but also to use the Genocide for gaining other skills such as the use of evidence in critical analysis, vocational skills including communication, creativity and in doing research. As Rukundo explained: "I teach the Genocide not only to understand its causes, sequences and effects ..." Françoise, in turn, expounded that learners needed to understand the

different culprits involved in causing the Genocide as well as the consequences of the event. Certain participants, such as for example Murezi and Mukakalisa, added that historical knowledge related to other genocides also needed to be understood. By pursuing the aims as outlined the teachers who participated in this research complied with the history curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010) which recommend the aims and content to be covered. In addition, the comparative approach with other genocides pushed the participants to teach the factual history of genocides. Historical content is as important as skills and conceptualisation and the analysis presented in the next section (7.3) shows that the content on the Genocide was given an important role in the teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Academic aims also comprised of transferable skills. History teachers such as Mukakalisa, Rukundo and Semana were aware that after completion of their lessons on the Genocide and its related controversial issues, learners should be able to use the skills gained outside the school setting. The following statement by Mukakalisa explains this clearly: "I believe that my multidimensional approach in teaching helps learners to develop reading and analytical skills so that they can defend their ideas on Genocide publicly through discussions and debates". Skills were gained by learners through a range of learner centred activities such as group presentations and discussions and the use of different historical sources. These aspects will be discussed in the next chapter. By discussing it was argued that learners can understand the importance of respecting different views and can in so doing develop skills which are essential for citizens to make appropriate choices. In this regard Semana explained the link between teaching the Genocide and educating good citizens as follows: "I had to explain clearly how the Genocide against the Tutsi evolved because the learners are tomorrow's leaders and good citizens who have to build our country, Rwanda."

The focus on historical content as an academic aim of teaching the Genocide concurs with the literature on the teaching of other genocides. As the Genocide against the Tutsi is a historical event teaching about the event can allow learners to gain historical knowledge including facts, figures, dates and maps (Kennedy, 2008). As some teachers aimed at improving discussion skills, a debate can encourage

learners to build their own personal conceptualization on genocide and controversial issues (Cavet, 2007). Critical thinking about controversial issues in history can help to prepare learners to be responsible citizens in a free society by preparing them in how to be involved in discussions, to evaluate various perspectives on an issue fairly and to take appropriate decisions (Burron, 2006; McCully, 2006; Wassermann et al., 2008). Despite the interest in discussing issues related to the Genocide some issues existed in this regard. For example, Mukamuhire, did not focus on decision taking through debate so as to avoid learners from using the platform to "bring hatred ideas in the classroom". The fear was that the use of positions of hatred can create an unsafe environment in class and generate division. Consequently, on the down side some low level indoctrination, which will be fully discussed in the teaching methods section (7.4), happened which indicates that the use of multi-perspectivity is more of an exception. As a result the development of the critical skills of learners seems to be somewhat of an illusion.

Additionally, the linking of academic aims to the education of good citizens who can lead Rwanda in the future can be understood in the sense that "bad leadership" was considered by the Rwandese Patriotic Front as one of the causes of the Genocide (Republic of Rwanda, 2007; Waldorf, 2009). Creating good patriotic citizens it is argued enhances social cohesion and hence the history teachers are working to fulfil this government policy aim.

Taylor et al. (2003), advances that one of the values of the school history class is to contribute to learners' lifelong learning process by them being conscious of their heritage and societal changes. In the Rwandan history curricula developing learners' interests in their heritage and understanding of their immediate environment do not clearly appear in the curriculum as academic aims. However, the findings in relation to attempting to get learners to be lifelong students do articulate on certain levels. A case in point was Rukundo who used his own initiative and visited communities affected by the Genocide as will be discussed later on (See 7.9). Other participants also creatively interpreted the curriculum and visited, for example, Genocide memorials. A point in case is Françoise who helped her learners gain historical knowledge related to the importance of Genocide memorials (See 7.5.2).

Another striking element is the position taken specifically by Semana: "As history teacher, I had to follow the programme put into place by the Ministry". Semana's clear position does not take into consideration the curriculum statement which expects innovation. He rather took the compliance route which made him feel safe. This compliance with the history curriculum contradicts the notion of curriculum knowledge (Munby, 1987) which requires a teacher to stand critically towards the curriculum so as to identify the gaps and fill these by taking ownership. For Semana his compliance can be explained by his avoidance to use long explanations. Long explanations could either compromise him or harm learners by talking about unofficial histories the society is not ready to discuss yet. In so doing learners can miss the opportunity of engaging with important academic aims.

In conclusion, all participants, as far as could be determined, did their best to comply with the stated curriculum aims and helped learners to understand the relevance of a culture of peace, tolerance, reconciliation and patriotism. The socio-political aims pursued concurred with the Rwandan policy of unity and reconciliation. In addition, to the prescribed aims, teachers also added their own moral aims which they deemed could help to prevent genocide and contribute to Rwandan unity. Adding moral aims showed that history teachers cared about the Rwandan society of which they were part. Creating a united nation was a call to learners to be patriots. In terms of academic aims, the participants' aims also focused on the importance of other transferable skills such as decision making and communication.

Even if the participants did their best to comply with history curricula aims, the issue of critical pedagogy as an aim was not strongly tackled. Teaching the Genocide by focusing single-mindedly on unity and reconciliation has its problems. The aim was to convince learners about the role of unity and reconciliation but teaching the way the history teachers did could lead to a lack of opportunities of developing learners' critical skills so as to be critical citizens. Thus, the participants' positioning in line with aims was somewhat complex. By sensitising learners for unity and reconciliation, the participants positioned themselves as committed to promote peace in post-Genocide Rwanda and build a coherent society (Stradling, 1984; Wassermann, 2011). In addition, teaching unity and reconciliation the way they did was tantamount to a form of indoctrination (Momanu, 2012; Stradling, 1984) as learners were not involved in a

critical engagement with the ideas of unity and reconciliation and patriotism. However, imparting learners with some debating skills implies that a certain critical thinking was part of the teaching. Clearly, in their experiences, the participants were torn between the curriculum aims and the compliance with the Government policies which required respect of certain narratives as officially explained by law (Republic of Rwanda, 2013) and their own well-being and that of their learners.

In terms of positioning theory, teaching against genocide denial did not clearly emerge from the data. Rape was as explained, another topic not mentioned in class. The avoidance of talking about rape was in line with the ideas underpinning positioning theory by in the case of this study positioning avoidance (Harré et al., 2009). Thus, the participants have continually positioned themselves as people who did not want to harm learners. Hence it was easier for the history teachers to talk about killings rather than rape. Given this avoidance, learners can as a consequence fail to understand and also acquire skills on how to deal with complex moral issues (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2012). Thus, in their selection of aims to teach the Genocide the participants can be positioned as avoiders who were foregrounding self-care – that is caring for their personal well-being in a societal context – as well as that of the learners by not contradicting the officially accepted legal narrative.

7.4 Selecting and engaging with the content

Having discussed teachers' thinking at the commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues and the selection of aims, I will now discuss the history teachers' experiences of selecting and engaging with historical content. The content identified came to the fore during the analysis process of the drawings and the constructed professional stories of the history teachers. In line with intended and personal aims content related to the Genocide was chosen to be taught as per the Rwandan history curricula. The topics from the intended curriculum included:

- "The [conceptualisation] of "genocide"
- A comparative study of other genocides
- The causes and consequences of the Genocide."

Other aspects covered by the history curriculum include:

- "Stages of genocide
- Planning and execution of Tutsi and Hutu that opposed to [sic] the genocide ideology
- The consequences of genocide [at] different level[s]
  - Political
  - Economic
  - Social
  - Cultural"
- Negationism [Genocide denial] and persistence of genocide ideology (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010, pp.58-59).

In addition to the above bulleted topics, the "Liberation War" of 1990 and post-Genocide management are also part of the curriculum on the Genocide against the Tutsi. In general, the curriculum insists on the teaching of the causes and consequences of the Genocide. Regarding conceptualisation, there is an intention of distinguishing genocide from other crimes. The specificity of the Rwandan case has also to be highlighted.

In the analysis I will explain, with reference to the above bulleted curriculum content, what the participating Rwandan history teachers covered in terms of content and their motivation behind their choices. Their experiences in selecting and engaging were influenced by both the intended and the hidden curricula. At the same time, I will clarify how the selected content is linked to the aims discussed in the previous section. The main themes which emerged in terms of how the participating teachers interpreted the curriculum included: the conceptualisation of genocide, the historical background to the Genocide and facing the actual Genocide. In addition the role of the international community and rescuers during the Genocide were also discussed. Finally, the management of the post-Genocide period also comes under the spotlight.

7.4.1 The conceptualisation of genocide

The conceptualisation of genocide is one of the themes which emerged from the data analysis of the participants' stories and the drawings. In education, when learners discuss their conceptual understanding, it helps them to better comprehend

the topic being taught and to make sense of the world in which they live. Thus, understanding a concept is more than mere knowing but a deep cognitive engagement with a building block of knowledge rather than a superficial knowing and memorisation of facts (Haydn et al. 2001; Kielbasa, n.d.). As Gerring (1999) notes the lack of common understanding of concepts facilitates the progress of science. Regarding the term genocide, the literature explained the controversies related to the conceptualisation as proposed by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide regarding, for instance, the composition of targeted groups (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Fein, 1992; Harff, 1998; Jørgensen, 2001; Katz, 1991; Kissi, 2004; Straus, 2001; Verdirame, 2000). Against this backdrop the participants in this study explained how they dealt with the conceptualisation of genocide as it refers to Rwanda.

What appears is that in terms of concept clarification most of the participating history teachers used aspects of conceptualisation found in academic studies. However, despite taking their inspiration from academic literature the history teachers' conceptualisations of the genocide showed some slight nuances. In general, the participants pointed out that genocide is different from other crimes against humanity because it is concerned with planned killings that imply an intent and commitment in the name of a ruling power. This is evidenced by the following statements:

> I explain to learners that genocide is killings … aimed at exterminating one group of people based for instance on ethnic group, religion or beliefs. But, these killings have to be planned for. All killings are not genocide (Françoise).

> Genocide is not self-committed. It is committed by human beings who are against the life of others with the aim of exterminating them so that they disappear forever or prevent them from reproducing (Semana).

> Rwandan case is not very different from … others which were also initiated by the state. In my view no single individual can plan and execute genocide (Mukamuhire).

> For me, genocide is the act of killing a target group of people to the extent that nobody may survive to tell the story. Just it is an extermination of a certain group of people (Rukundo).

Within the aspects related to genocide found in scholarly literature one participant, Murezi, added that genocide has to be confirmed as such by a competent international body. In the case of Rwanda, Murezi argued that "serious killings

targeted the Tutsi, one of the three "ethnic" groups … these killings were internationally recognised and confirmed by the United Nations as Genocide against the Tutsi".

Another participant built her conceptualisation on the etymology of the term. Mukakalisa, drawing on her strong scholarly background, referred to Lemkin's definition as coined in 1944 as the conceptualisation she taught her learners:

> Let's have a look at its etymology to understand it easily. In fact, the term genocide comes from two words, *genos* which means 'ethnic group', and a Latin word *caedēre* which means to kill, *kwica*. So, it is to kill people systematically … The systematic destruction target all or a big number of a racial, ethnic, religious or national groups. Therefore, it is different from other crimes because there is the intent to destroy those groups in whole or in part. According to Lemkin, genocide does not necessarily mean immediate destruction of a nation (Mukakalisa).

What seems different from most scholarly studies is the composition of targeted groups. The targeted groups mentioned by Arian, Françoise, Mukakalisa and Murezi refer to racial, ethnic, religious, national and regional groups. Thus, the participants included regional groups among the targeted groups. For instance, Murezi, argued:

> … genocide is abnormal killings organized by the government in order to exterminate a certain group of people based on their ethnic grouping, their skin colour, their religion or their region of origin in any part of the world ...

A more sophisticated idea related to genocide as found in the curriculum was raised by Mukakalisa who spoke about "genocide ideology" a scholarly concept linked to genocide. She argued that a certain Genocide ideology is still being spread by certain Rwandan and foreign scholars who deny the Genocide. Her idea is linked to genocide prevention since this recently coined concept refers to a set of ideas of hatred which can contribute to the discrimination against and extermination of a group of people.

Most of the history teachers who participated in this research study could also explain how they engage with the conceptualisation of the term genocide in their classes. They taught that genocide means the systematic killing of people based on their racial, ethnic, religious, national and regional affiliations. The participants explained that genocide is different from other crimes because the intent is to

destroy a targeted group of people (Tutsi in the case of Rwanda) partially or completely. However, some participants did not make any distinction between "in whole" and "in part" and viewed genocide as a complete annihilation. By conceptualising genocide as they did the Rwandan history teachers aimed at differentiating it from other killings and in so doing complied with the history curriculum. Drawing on Lemkin (2005) the learners were invariably taught that genocide does not necessarily mean immediate extermination but generally follows a coordinated plan aimed at the destruction of the essential foundations of the life of people with the aim of annihilating them as happened to the Jews during the Holocaust. This form of conceptualisation became the blueprint on how the curriculum content related to the Genocide against the Tutsi was approached.

Although nuanced the research participants' conceptualisations concurred with the reviewed literature. A case in point is Mukakalisa's conceptualisation which refers to the etymology of the term genocide which spoke to the academic explanation found in the literature which refers to the origins of the term coined by Lemkin (Desiatov, 2016; Straus, 2001; Verdirame, 2000). However, the ideas on the composition of targeted groups do not totally validate the conceptualisation of such groups in the literature. By adding regional groups to national, ethnic, racial or religious groups, the thinking of Arian and Murezi did not match the reviewed literature (Straus, 2001; Verdirame, 2000) and served to enhance the understanding of who is targeted in genocide. Region consequently became an important aspect to be considered in the conceptualisation of genocide. The reference to regional groups could have been motivated by the quota policy which was mainly used under the Habyarimana regime (1973-1994) which had at the same time "ethnic" and regional components (Hilker, 2011; Hodgkin, 2006; Nzabalirwa, 2010; Uwamahoro, 2009; Walker-Keleher, 2006). The high number of students and recruited employees allocated to the region of birth of the former President Juvenal Habyarimana can also serve to explain why certain participants included regional groups in their conceptualisation of genocide. In addition, the destruction of a group in whole or in part found in the definition of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide does not clearly specify if the group has to be found countrywide, in a specific area or a town/city (LeBlanc, 1984). In the case of Rwanda, sporadic killings targeted Tutsi in

specific regions. These "ethnically" and regionally based killings could have been a way of testing future killings (Mugesera, 2004; Verwimp, 2011).

Additionally, the idea of genocide ideology as evoked by Mukakalisa, is also substantiated by the literature. Such thinking serves to affirm that ideology can lead to the legitimisation of the persecution and elimination of a category of the population (Des Forges, 1995). Since 2003, the term genocide ideology has been embedded in the Rwandan Constitution and it is used to show the interest of understanding the causes of the Genocide in a society characterised by a single culture and the need to fight against any resurgence of sectarianism (Republic of Rwanda, 2006). However, the idea of genocide ideology was considered by certain scholars as a political tool used to mute the political opposition (Freedman et al., 2008; Waldorf, 2009). But this was not the main reason Mukakalisa foregrounded genocide ideology. For her it is linked to her commitment to teach against the Genocide as evidenced by her drawing of a teacher who wrote the "never again" slogan on the blackboard (Mukakalisa: Figure 5.8).

Generally speaking the conceptual ideas related to genocide as presented by the history teachers who participated in this research are not vastly different. They taught that genocide means the systematic killing of people based on their racial, ethnic, religious, national and regional belongings. Mukakalisa, who used the etymology of the concept seemed to be an exception and brought a deeper scholarly understanding to the concept. In contrast the other history teachers did not do deep scholarly work around the concept. In all, the history teachers' conceptualisation took into account their experience of Rwandan society which historically faced different forms of injustice. The regional aspect as explained could have motivated the participants to include regional groups in their conceptualisation. In addition, teachers' experiences took into consideration existing controversial literature on genocide. By conceptualising genocide and genocide ideology the way they did the participants positioned themselves as people willing to teach genocide by gaining historical understanding and teaching against genocide because understanding the concept was the first step in understanding the phenomenon.

7.4.2 The historical background to the Genocide

Having discussed the conceptualisation of genocide, it is necessary to turn the attention to the next major theme that emerged from the analysis of the drawings and the participants' experiential stories, historical background to the Genocide. The data analysis clearly revealed that the teaching time spent on the historical background to the Genocide dwarfed the time allocated to the teaching of the actual Genocide. In terms of the historical background all the participants without exception presented precolonial Rwanda as an idyllic historical period where Rwandans used to live harmoniously. A case in point is Arian who explained it as follows: "I present the traditional relationships between Rwandans who were living peacefully without divisionism or influenced by ideas about "ethnicity". I inform my class that people used to share beer during feasts". In light of this it is therefore striking that certain precolonial events considered as controversial and a source of early Rwandan conflict were not considered as such by the research participants:

> For me, these institutions [*ubuhake* and *igikingi*] were the foundations of social cohesion in precolonial Rwanda … *Uburetwa* is another aspect used in a wrong way to explain that the traditional administration exploited some people whereas it was a colonial technique used by Europeans to favour their economic interests in Rwanda (learners in Rukundo's story).

Within this romanticised view only the positive side of traditional life was highlighted. Consequently, Rukundo affirmed what his learners stated and did not guide them to discover if there was another darker side to the above mentioned institutions. With reference to *uburetwa* Rukundo also did not help learners to think about the controversial aspects of the origins of the institution, namely it either started during the precolonial period or was introduced by Europeans (IRDP, 2006).

All the participants were also convinced that the Genocide as a historical event could not be taught in isolation. As a result, all the participants focussed on the Rwandan historical background as a historical cause of the contemporary event. By drawing a floating ladder (Figure 5.6), Rukundo expressed the idea that learners should learn the historical process leading-up to the Genocide. In other words, the historical background is paramount for a better understanding of the Genocide because learners grasp knowledge about how an ideology of hatred can lead to atrocities in Rwanda and elsewhere.

The reference to the traditional relationships and the historical background aimed at showing that a historical event such as the Genocide cannot erupt in a vacuum. Accordingly historical background was used by the teachers to show what was deemed to be the root causes of the Genocide. By doing this, the participants complied with the curriculum because learners who have to write a national examination at the end of Ordinary and Advanced Levels have to grasp the Genocide antecedents including different colonial policies which created injustices in Rwandan society. In addition, beliefs about learning reveal that learning depends on the capacity to link prior knowledge to new experiences and contexts.

The tendency to describe precolonial Rwanda only in positive terms contradicts the literature (IRDP, 2005; Magnarella, 2000; Maquet, 1963; Republic of Rwanda, 1999; Taylor, 2011). Consequently, the hardship of socio-economic institutions such as *uburetwa* and *ubuhake* were attributed by the participants to the former colonial powers. The participants' avoidance of tensions and problems which existed in precolonial Rwanda can also be attributed to the contemporary official narrative which praises the precolonial period. The official narrative, which bears some contradictions, rejects out of hand sources which depict the precolonial past otherwise (Republic of Rwanda, 1999). Thus, the history teachers preferred to comply with the official position because they aimed at teaching the Genocide for unity and peace and consequently an idyllic precolonial period can give solace to the user of the history and help to find positive aspects to build a better future for Rwanda because in general the precolonial period was not characterised by "ethnic" violence and wars. Similarly, the enacted curriculum content is characterised by silences about "ethnic identities" in pre-colonial Rwanda. Again this is in line with the official narratives which strive for Rwandan social cohesion. Accordingly the history curricula which the teachers follow complies with this governmental aim (Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Freedman et al. 2008; National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010; Republic of Rwanda, 1999; 2007). Thus Rwandan politics influence the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

In terms of my theoretical framework, describing precolonial Rwanda in an idyllic way is a form of indoctrination. Momanu (2012) expounds that indoctrination implies to

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teach only the positive aspects of a doctrine/history. Thus the one side teaching of precolonial Rwanda prevented learners from critical engagement with the precolonial past of Rwanda. In a post-Genocide situation Rukundo's single minded position on precolonial Rwanda, for example, can be understood in the sense that indoctrination is used in history teaching as part of "unification policies". Thus, as Buckley-Zistel (2009) suggests, the aim of the post-Genocide Rwandan leadership is to find a history which can unite and reconcile Rwandans. In this respect the research participants contributed to this effort of creating a collective identity by forgetting past precolonial challenges and tensions (Renan, 1990). Such thinking brought another aspect of the theoretical framework into play - so as to comply with the official narrative the history teachers could be considered as peace makers (Wassermann, 2011).

The actual reference to the Rwandan historical background is underpinned by the literature which explains the need for learners to know the how and the where of an event. For example, the Second Word War was a prerequisite to the Holocaust. In this regard Lindquist (2006) points out that the Holocaust must also be understood within the context of the Nazi period with the development of a totalitarian regime characterised by anti-Semitism, racism, extreme nationalism and the rise of the Second World War. Similarly, the Genocide was taught so as to make historical connections to precolonial Rwanda be it in a one-sided romanticised manner.

Following the romanticising of the precolonial period, the history teachers taught the colonial period in Rwanda. In light of this Belgian colonial rule was presented as one of the major triggers of the Genocide in a powerful subtheme manner. It was explained that the Belgian policy of divide and rule reinforced the demarcation between the three social groups, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Ostensibly this was done by means of identity cards. The following statements give some insights into how two of the participating history teachers, Mukamuhire and Françoise, engaged with this aspect of colonial history:

> During the colonial period, different identities started appearing based on European stereotypes because colonial masters had medieval beliefs with different classes such as noble, middle class and the lower class. It means that they had demarcation of these classes … Colonial administration could therefore register a person as Hutu whereas his parents and brothers were all Tutsi … As most Rwandans had not studied or understood political theories it was easy to

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tell them to do anything to serve the interests of the colonists ... In the end this antagonism served European interests and facilitated them to stay and rule Africa and Rwanda particularly for a long period. (Mukamuhire)

Genocide was caused in part by the Belgian colonialists who reinforced the demarcations between the three social groups - Hutu, Tutsi and Twa … I mainly teach how colonialists divided us into three social groups. (Françoise)

The two research participants' statements bear some contradictions. On the one hand, the colonial administration is accused of having reinforced demarcations between Rwandan social groups. The idea of reinforcement implies that some differences already existed. On the other hand, colonialists are identified as those who divided Rwandans into three social groups. Only one participant with extensive teaching experience, Semana, offered a nuanced explanation in this regard and questioned the role played by Rwandans in dividing themselves: "What is our role as Rwandans? Rwandans are complicit in many ways along colonial policy." Semana's questions made the issue controversial and a topic for discussion. This was different from most of the participants who explained the role of the Belgian rule in a one-dimensional way to cajole learners into understanding how intergroup tension grew under colonialism in Rwanda.

All the participating history teachers and the literature reviewed were in agreement that the classification, under colonialism, of the Rwandan population by means of identity cards determined an individual's life chances in the socio-political colonial world (Harrow, 2005; Hintjens, 1999; Longman, 2001; Newbury, 1998). As noted by Buckley-Zistel, "Today it is beyond doubt that colonialism in Rwanda had a detrimental impact on the social, political and economic composition of the country. Not only did it consolidate a superior position for Tutsi it also increasingly portrayed them as foreign migrants who occupy and oppress its original inhabitants" (2009, p.36). In this regard the literature points to different socio-political reforms performed by the Belgian administration which first favoured the Tutsi and later the Hutu. This Belgian reversal was aimed at weakening the Tutsi chiefs' emancipatory rise (de Lacger, 1959; Gasanabo, 2003; IRDP, 2006; Kayihura, 2004; Mbonimana, 1981; Mbonimana, n.d.; Rutayisire & Munyaneza, 2011; Republic of Rwanda, 1999b; Reyntjens, 1985; Sherti, 2014). The issue of Rwandans' role in the divisionism, as explained by Semana, is evidenced by Rwandan scholars such as Kagame (1943;

1972) who propagated the "Hamitic myth" which argued that a Tutsi superiority existed. Moreover, the literature shows how the Tutsi elite was convinced of its nobility and as a result collaborated with the colonial administration while the Hutu felt inferior and as a result harboured resentment (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Des Forges, 1999).

The research participants' views on the role of Belgian rule as a long-term cause of the Genocide can also be supported by the literature. According to Uvin (2001), on the one hand the post-Genocide social constructivist discourse affirms that the distinction between Hutu and Tutsi was created by the colonisers from pure imagination. On the other hand, the essentialist approach propagated during the Genocide considered Hutu and Tutsi as two different groups with different origins and histories. Some scholars have a clear position and state that the Belgian administration "strengthened an already existing Tutsi domination" (De Heusch, 1995, p.4). However, the role of Belgians putting into place a Tutsi monopoly of power sowed the seeds of future divisionism in Rwanda (Des Forges, 1999).

In line with my theoretical framework, the one-dimensional way of teaching the role of Belgian colonial rule in the causes of the Genocide is not in line with the discussion or other learner centred activities advocated for in the teaching of controversial issues (Johnson & Johnson, 1979; Manyane, 1995). However, this one-dimensional approach fits with some theoretical positions explained in the model proposed by Stradling (1984) such as indoctrination and stated commitment. By indoctrination, one side of an issue is put forward in class when there is a commitment to comply with the official narrative which in the case of Rwanda considers the colonial period as the major source of sowing divisionism in Rwandan society (Republic of Rwanda, 1999). Thus, the Belgian policy of divide and rule and ethnic divisionism is against the policy of unity and nation building put forward in the post-Genocide Rwanda.

From the analysis of the drawings and the stories Rwandan political leaders also emerged as a key aspect of the content covered. Subsequently, the role of political leaders as triggers of the Genocide also emerged as a theme. In this regard,

participants such as Murezi and Mukamuhire linked issues related to social injustice to poor leadership as one of the causes of the Genocide:

> I also teach about governance … It [governance] also, in my thinking, includes the idea of impunity which pushed ordinary people towards thinking that certain crimes were acceptable. The impunity associated with these deeds [considering Tutsi as non-Rwandan and leaders sensitisation to kill Tutsi] created a lack of mutual understanding between people and led to divisionism (Murezi).

> In my view, political actors in 1991-1993 stirred up divisionism by sensitizing the population to see themselves in social classes and regional lenses. I explain that J. Habyarimana appears on some pictures talking how to fight against the enemy. It was assumed that the enemy was inside and outside the country. The youth was also sensitized to commit the Genocide. Some young boys benefited from military trainings to kill people ... local leaders had a hidden agenda. In their speech on July 5 of each year, they used to recall the population that Tutsi had ruled the country for many years and thereby the population was requested to safeguard the achievements of the Hutu revolution. (Mukamuhire)

The root causes of the Genocide, according to the mentioned research participants, can be found not only in the precolonial period but also in post-colonial Rwanda. The role of political leaders in this regard is explained differently by the participating history teachers. Murezi and Mukamuhire pointed to poor leadership based on the way Rwandan political leaders demonised the Tutsi and considered them as scapegoats for Rwandans' problems. The role of political leaders in corrupting the youth who accepted to be trained so as to participate in killing is evidenced by Mukamuhire's statement. According to Mukamuhire, the role of political leaders is intertwined with ideology because the youth was convinced that they should kill the Tutsi so as to protect the "Hutu Revolution". Thus, the role of poor leadership intertwined with ideology was taught as being disastrous. Taught in this manner, the learners gained historical knowledge and understood that the culprits were not only political leaders who were instigators but also the general public which executed the orders given. These explanations about the role of political leaders contradict Buckley-Zistel (2009) who argued that Europeans were considered as source of origin of the Rwandan tragedy to absolve perpetrators in view of achieving Rwandans' unity.

The participants' explanations of the role of certain Rwandan political leaders as causes of the Genocide articulate with both the views of certain scholars' views and the contemporary Rwandan Government. Under the policy of unity and reconciliation

it is clearly enumerated that a range of factors contributed to the deterioration of social relations between Rwandans which in turn led to the Genocide. These factors include bad governance with its associated issues such as regional, religious and "ethnic" discrimination, mistreatment and wars. A further aspect related to bad governance is that certain political leaders also considered Tutsi as foreigners (Repubulika y'u Rwanda, 2007; Straus, 2004; Verwimp, 2011).

Ideology and propaganda have also been identified by a range of scholars and Rwandan official sources as contributing factors to the eruption of the Genocide (Chrétien, 1995; Hintjens, 1999; Newbury, 1995; Prunier, 1997; Republic of Rwanda, 2006; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014). By arguing that the Tutsi had ruled for many years implies that the Rwandese Patriotic Front seizure of power equalled a return to *ubuhake*. This, according to Staub (2012), was a kind of past victimisation which led some people to fight against Tutsi domination. Therefore, it was an ideology based on Hutu domination and autochthony. This ideology appeared in some history books and textbooks (de la Mairieu, 1972; Gasanabo, 2010; Kagame, 1971; Melvern, 2004). But some literature rejects the idea of Hutu autochthony. Even old theories of the settlement of the population in Rwanda located the origin of the Hutu outside of Rwanda (Kagame, 1943; Mulinda, 2002).

The research data, be it the constructed stories or the drawings, did not show if the participants in their teaching experiences categorised the role of political leaders as being triggers of the Genocide or if they opposed the killings. During the Genocide, all leaders were not necessarily inclined to sensitise the populace to commit Genocide. As Loyle (2012) observed the role of leadership explains the variation of participation across Rwanda because where local leaders were eager to participate it increased the rate of participation and violence contrary to place like Butare where at the beginning the *Prefet,* was against the killings (Des Forges, 1999). Despite the participants' statements, which show that the role of ideology and propaganda was disastrous, Straus (2007) does not consider racial propaganda or ideology as the principal motivating factor for perpetrators. Rather he asserts that intra-Hutu enforcement and coercion were the main factors.

In all, the participants without exception focused on the historical background to the Genocide. Focusing on the historical background can be seen as a way of avoiding the actual Genocide. The participants were aware that the actual Genocide as a recent event is well known. The more a sensitive topic is recent, the more it becomes challenging to teach and the participants chose to avoid it. This avoidance and focus on precolonial Rwanda aimed at achieving certain aims. By showing an idyllic image of precolonial Rwanda in view of a united society, the participants came across as peace makers (Wassermann, 2011). Guided by their experience of the Rwandan society the history teachers wanted to contribute to the stated curriculum aims of unity and reconciliation by educating learners to be patriotic by being aware of the past of their county and to avoid mistakes of the past. The one-dimensional manner in which the precolonial period and the role of the Belgian administration in tearing Rwandan society apart were taught is in line with the perspective of complying with the national policy of building a grand new Rwanda. In doing so, there was no multi-perspective take on the past. This avoidance of multi-perspectivity can be considered as a strategy of teachers to avoid contradicting certain accepted views and in so doing taking care of and protecting themselves. This can be seen in the avoidance of naming specific historical figures, except President J.Habyarimana, as triggers of the Rwandan tragedy.

7.4.3 Dealing with the role of the international community

In addition to pre-colonial Rwanda, colonial rule and that of the certain political leaders, the failure of the international community also emerged from the data analysis as being among the causes of the Genocide. This aspect was especially highlighted by history teachers with deep academic subject knowledge. A special emphasis was being placed by them on French troops which trained the *Interahamwe* and the official army. Similarly, the failure of the United Nations troops in protecting the targeted people in Rwanda is also mentioned. In this regard Françoise argued as follows:

> My learners examine the role of different historical actors in the tragedy. They discuss different topics such as the role of Churches, the role of political leaders and the French troops who trained the *Interahamwe* and the official army … When these United Nations troops were in Rwanda they did nothing to save the Tutsi who were being killed during that time.

The identified actors which were involved in the Rwandan problem included countries and institutions. Their obligation to intervene in case of conflict is pointed out by Mukamuhire who stated that "the international community has to protect countries in different ways". Consequently the failure of countries and institutions to intervene is highlighted by Françoise and Murezi. For instance, Murezi observed that "the Genocide was committed before the eyes of the international community which was capable of stopping it, but did nothing". In the case of the United Nations and the French troops, the role of the international community is taught in a one-dimensional way by Françoise. By mentioning the training of *Interahamwe* by French troops, there is an innuendo that this meant training the perpetrators of the Genocide. This one-dimensional way of teaching with reference to the role of certain members of the international community was confirmed by Arian who stated that: "It is not easy to help learners develop critical thinking through this course fearing to allow learners use views contradicting official narratives on some aspects such as the role of France in the tragedy". In general, the participants revealed that the international community not only failed to intervene but also indirectly participated in what happened.

As discussed in the literature the role of the international community in the Genocide was multifarious (Barnett, 1997; Kuperman, 1996; 2000; Melvern 2000; Morel, 2014; Stanton, 2004; Uvin, 2001; Verschave, 1994). The varied roles of the international community in the Genocide were also underlined by history teachers who taught about the failure to intervene in the Genocide and the indirect participation through the training of future perpetrators. Regarding the failure to intervene the literature shows that despite early warnings, the international community did not mobilise the necessary resources to prevent the tragedy. This lack of external constraints facilitated the eruption of the Genocide (Fein, 1993; Uvin, 2001). The literature does not only focus on the role of the international community in infusing the genocidal process but also it concurs with the research findings which mentioned the conspiracy of France with its troops in Rwanda before and during the Genocide and French financial support for arms purchase (Verschave, 1994). On the other hand, the literature contradicts the findings of this research which showed only one side of the relationship between Rwanda and France. For instance, the military intervention of the early 1990s aimed at ensuring stability of the country during a war period

between the then Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (see 2.4.1). In addition, some military operations such as Amaryllis and Turquoise, aimed at rescuing French nationals, which also aided certain Rwandan victims without considering their social group status, were treated with silence by the participants (Cumberland, 2012).

The findings of this research revealed that the participants did not point to the creation by the international community of a favourable context for the Genocide by means of the structural adjustment programme by the World Bank and the International Community Fund which imposed austerity measures. The measures imposed involuntarily contributed to the Genocide process by worsening the economic and political situation which led to the creation of political factions in the regime of the time. These political factions adhered to anti-Tutsi propaganda (Chossudovsk, 1996; Kuperman, 2000). The participants' silences on economic factors show that in their view these were not seen as contributing factors to the eruption of the Genocide.

With reference to the theoretical framework adopted the teaching done of accusing the international community aims at showing that Rwandans were left alone as victims. In so doing the participants did not consider different aspects of the role of the international community in the Genocide. For instance, learners should also know the reasons behind the weak involvement or action by the international community such as the hesitation by the United Stated of America after the Somalian crisis; the inadequacy of the United Nations decision-making process and its lack of permanent peacekeeping forces (Stanton, 2004). The compliance by the history teachers with the official narrative about the failure of the international community is taught in a one-dimensional manner and is tantamount to a form of indoctrination (Stradling, 1984). Teaching only one side of this problem is motivated by the history teachers' sense of self-care because the relationship between Rwanda and France has been very tense in the post-Genocide period as evidenced by the rupture of diplomatic ties and the prosecution of officials by both countries which is an ongoing process (Delany, 2010; Girinema, 2016; Verschave, 1994). In this case, the participating history teachers confirmed that it is challenging to discuss certain recent

controversial issues in a history class in a multi-perspective way (Barsalou & Cole, 2006).

7.4.4 Dealing with sequences of the Genocide

With reference to the themes in the intended curriculum as mirrored in the data analysis it is important to discuss the actual Genocide. One of the major findings of this research relates to how the participants deal with the sequence of the Genocide as well as the aftermath and consequences. Alongside the Belgian colonialism, the role of certain local political leaders, the failure of the international community, the research participants pointed out the identifiable culprits, the so-called "bad apples" who caused the actual Genocide.

The identification of the culprits by the history teachers was done through drawings and their stories. For instance, Semana's drawing of a man holding a machete (Figure 5.5) and that of Françoise of a man asking pardon (Figure 5.7) allowed the participants to talk about their experience of teaching about the perpetrators of the Genocide. Despite doing so the identification of a specific group which participated in the killings was a uniform concern for the participants. This is articulated as follows by Arian:

> Another significant aspect of my teaching revolves around the idea of perpetrators. I therefore explain to the learners that before the intended extermination against Tutsi occurred there were some paramilitary groups, the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi* … [who] opposed the coming back of Tutsi from exile to their homeland and Tutsi inside the country were experiencing a kind of discrimination. Even when President J. Habyarimana signed an agreement so that they can come back some members of paramilitary groups did not want them to return home. After the grounding of the presidential airplane in 1994, they started blaming and killing the Tutsi.

Arian's statement discriminates between the *Interahamwe*, *Impuzamugambi* and other paramilitary groups. She avoids using a generic name for all groups of perpetrators under the umbrella name of *Interahamwe*. Two other participants, Arian and Rukundo, similarly mentioned paramilitary groups which not only were associated with political leaders' activities but also opposed the return of refugees, demonised them and killed them after the grounding of the presidential jet. However, only one participant mentioned the members of the former army as perpetrators of the Genocide.

The history teachers were also eager to explain reasons which pushed the participants to get involved in the killings. Protecting the Hutu Revolution as earlier discussed was one such reason (see 2.3.2). This protection can be equated to the protection of the country. However, some leaders felt, according to Rukundo and Françoise, the necessity of protecting themselves:

> I was member of our political party youth organisation … Youth, we were sensitised to be ready to secure our country. When the Genocide started, we felt that it was courageous to kill Tutsi as we were told that they were Rwandese Patriotic Front accomplices as a way of protecting our country. I thought we were really protecting our country (Rukundo).

> Dignitaries, in order to protect themselves, trained and armed the youth, known as the *Interahamwe* militia, who ended-up killing the Tutsi in 1994 (Françoise).

Amongst all the different categories of perpetrators raised by the research participants, the members of the official Rwandan Army were not openly mentioned. The plausible explanation for this can be the fact that in the locale of the research participants most of the atrocities could have been committed by the paramilitary troops. The paramilitary troops' vandalism could have been etched more in their memory than those of other perpetrators. The typology and motivation of the perpetrators respond to the aims of teaching the Genocide on one hand for prevention and on the other hand for adhering to academic aims. According to one scholar, "Determining the motivations and conditions for participation in mass violence is essential for establishing patterns of prevention" (Loyle, 2012, p.26).

In addition to perpetrators' motivations, two participants' drawings namely a man holding a machete (Semana: Figure 5) and a man asking pardon (Françoise: Figure 5.7) are clear evidence that men rather than women were deemed as being involved in the killings. This is the case as no drawings depicted a woman as a perpetrator was created. Culturally, Rwandan men were trained to be warriors. This, alongside the patriarchal nature of Rwandan society, explains why most paramilitary groups were men and explained as such by the participants through their drawings. The predominance of men in the Genocide against the Tutsi as described by the participants is not different from other conflicts (Loyle, 2012). As McDoom (2013) observed, a person can participate in intergroup killings because of the influence of

what people close to her/him such as family or community members do. As the traditional Rwandan army was composed of men and the post-colonial one dominated by men, it was easier for the militia to have male members.

7.4.5 Engaging with the rescuer

Alongside the actual genocide the role of the rescuer became important in the teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In the process of teaching how the Genocide unfolded a clear sub-theme, not explicitly found in the stated curricula, emerged. Certain research participants, including Mukakalisa, Murezi and Semana, dedicated much time to engage with the constructions of "heroes" – that is Rwandans they deemed to have taken the risk to courageously save their neighbours:

> As the family of one Gashayija was targeted, he lost some family members including his father, four sisters and their husbands, father's brothers, aunts, uncles and other relatives. His Tutsi neighbour was also killed. At that time he was 13 years' old. He escaped because he spent much time in the forests and grass hiding there. How was Gashayija saved? Later on, there was a Hutu family who took him and protected him at their house. He was freed when the Rwandese Patriotic Front army stopped the Genocide in July 1994 and a new life was possible. When schools re-opened, it was a nice time to continue his studies (Murezi).

> One such film is called *Rescuers* showing people who saved others during the genocide. This includes one young girl who had the courage to save another one she didn't know (Mukakalisa).

By using an example of a girl who saved her neighbour, the teachers in question wanted their learners to do good things. In addition, Murezi use of the above story was based on his personal Genocide experience as a Genocide survivor. He was not only saved by a Hutu family but also by the Rwandese Patriotic Front. The intentions behind these heroic moral tales are to show learners that not only adults are entitled to be brave. Children can also show their courage in difficult conditions. The history teachers in question thus aimed to show learners that in their conduct they had to avoid collaborating with wrongdoers. Thus, teaching the Genocide for prevention were in these instances done by exploring different aspects related to rescuers as heroes.

In this process, the heroes at micro level are taught similarly to the heroes at the national level, the Rwandese Patriotic Front which saved people and stopped

vandalism. According to Semana, "When the Rwandese Patriotic Front arrived in our cell, most of perpetrators escaped. They managed to arrest those who were still looting". No other institutions are mentioned to have saved the Tutsi. The silence may be due to the fact that some institutions which saved or sheltered Tutsi had some of their members accused of participating in the Genocide. The actual motivations which motivated the rescuers to save the Tutsi were, however, not clearly explained by participants thus drawing a veil of silence over their actual motivations.

The silence over the motivations which drove the mentioned rescuers points to the idea that people save others because they are in difficult conditions. The literature, however, evokes a range of reasons for such actions including empathy, group norms, obligation to a social group reference, moral principles, distinguishing between right and wrong (Jefremovas, 1995; Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Rothbart & Cooley, 2016).

The findings show that the research participants teach that the Rwandese Patriotic Front stopped the Genocide and after that a new life started. In other words, the Rwandese Patriotic Front is considered a rescuer. The findings of this research contradict some of the literature which describes the Rwandese Patriotic Front as a Tutsi dominated group (Des Forges, 1995; Newbury, 1995). This identity implies that it could have had a moral obligation to save the Tutsi therefore cannot be qualified as a rescuer. The mentioned two authors also argued that the main aim of the Genocide was to defeat the then army and capture power rather than to save Genocide victims (Des Forges, 1999; Kuperman, 2006). Despite these points of view the views of the research participants concur with Jyoni wa Karega's (2011) position. For Jyoni wa Karega (2011), the Rwandese Patriotic Front devised a strategy aimed at saving the victims. The argument is thus that military victory argument is supported by those who wanted to tarnish the Rwandese Patriotic Front image. By teaching the micro level and macro level of heroism as discussed in the literature the history teachers who participated in this study encouraged the learners to behave patriotically regardless of the situation so as to ensure genocide prevention.

In light of the teaching of controversial issues the rescuer renders an activity which can help learners understand how to make sound judgements (Burron, 2006; Manyane, 1985). The foregrounding in teaching of the idea of rescuers is also an exercise which can contribute to peace-making by training learners to resist evil (Wassermann, 2011). However, on some aspects Rwandan history teachers are circumspect of critically engaging the learners. The actual Genocide is dealt with very "thinly" in order to side-step a contemporary event which is well known and difficult to deal with due to its sensitivity.

7.4.6 Engaging with the consequences and post-Genocide management

Having discussed how history teachers deal with the actual Genocide, it is paramount to discuss the experiences of their engaging with the consequences of the Genocide. In this subsection aspects which emerged from the data show how Rwandan history teachers who participated in this research engage with the consequences of the Genocide, including the denial of the Genocide and the role of forgiveness in the post-Genocide period. The participants focussed, as stated in the history curricula, on the social, economic, political and cultural consequences of the Genocide (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010). The following extracts from participants' constructed professional stories are clear examples of how the participating Rwandan history teachers, and more specifically Semana and Mukakalisa, approached the consequences of as well as the post-Genocide management:

> Furthermore, I teach the consequences of the Genocide by showing how that act led to the change of the regime and created orphans and widows … Follow carefully. Amongst other effects of the war and the Genocide were a number of people who went into exile. Infrastructures, including churches which sheltered targeted people, were also destroyed (Semana).

> There [in exile], they [Rwandans who fled to neighbouring countries] did not experience good health and others who did not flee and stayed in the country had to feed their family members in jail (Mukakalisa).

The above statements show that the Genocide did not impact only the victims' lives it also negatively affected the different layers of Rwandan society. This included the lives of those who stayed inside the country after the extermination process and those who fled to neighbouring countries. Similarly victims and perpetrators were traumatised by what happened as it appears in the following statement from

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Mukakalisa's re-storied story: "The nights were very long as sometimes he could not sleep, remembering what happened to him, mainly the corpses which were surrounding him". Apparently, the person who was surrounded by murdered people was a survivor. The scene continued to haunt him. However, someone who was not targeted by the killings could also have seen that scene and psychologically it could have affected her/him. Despite the acuteness of this issue, the 2008 and 2010 curricula do not mention psychological consequences as such. More specifically, the demarcation between psychological and other social problems as a consequence of the Genocide, which does not appear in the curriculum, can help learners to better understand the complexity of the consequences. The data emerging from the stories and drawings in this regard gives credence to the literature which mentions that the Genocide left behind many psychological problems including trauma, depression and loneliness (Shyaka, 2011; Uwizeye, 2011).

Alongside psychological problems, a striking example of how the history teachers engage with the consequences of the Genocide is that only one participant, Mukakalisa, showed that she is aware of the denial problems: "Another aspect in the case of Rwanda is the destruction of evidences. You have heard how some *Gacaca* documents disappeared or some victims considered as eyewitnesses killed". Thus, denial appears in different forms. Firstly, there is disappearance of written evidence from *Gacaca* courts. Secondly, Genocide denial targets the life of eyewitnesses. Another aspect is the strategy of spreading an ideology of genocide denial. The silence about denial by all the other participants can be explained by the complexity of the actual Genocide.

Genocide being a recent phenomenon keeps evolving as new evidence is discovered. The new insights on the Genocide can push history teachers to avoid teaching the denial for reasons of self-care because they either lack enough skills to deal with such issues or avoid them due to lack of enough evidence to use in a history class. In relation to the literature, Genocide denial was discussed by some authors as a consequence of the Genocide (Simon & Ensign, 2014; Republic of Rwanda, 2006) and identified as one of the challenging aspects in the teaching of the Genocide (Buhigiro, 2011; Masabo, 2014). Despite all these problems, the participants were collectively confident that the Rwandan future is promising. Some

institutions such as the Red Cross, the various Funds which assist Genocide victims and the youth which is back to were seen as signs of hope for the Rwandan future.

In view of post-Genocide management, one of the findings from the data pointed to the issue of reconciliation at micro and macro level. The participants linked their understanding of reconciliation to forgiveness as stated in Murezi's story and observable through some of the drawings:

> One time those who killed his parents recognized what they have done and demanded pardon. For the moment, Gashayija lives in harmony with them because he realized that there is no need to live with them in permanent conflict. (Murezi)

The story of Gashayija and the drawing by Françoise (Figure 5.7) consider forgiveness as a moral obligation. It also shows it as of paramount importance to live peacefully with neighbours. This is argued for because permanent suspicions are viewed as causing conflict and problems. Thus, through this story learners can be brought to understand that the reconciliation process starts at the micro level between individuals.

Religious aspects, a component of moral aims, were also used by the participants to explain how post-Genocide Rwandan society can reconcile. In the drawing by Françoise (Figure 5.7), for example, a kneeling man was a metaphoric representation of someone in the Sacrament of Penance asking forgiveness. The interaction between the two persons, seemingly a kneeling perpetrator and a standing victim, is unequal in terms of power because the perpetrator is in submission asking for forgiveness and reconciliation.

Despite their deeds, the perpetrators it was argued also believe in God. For example, the witness in Rukundo's story believes that by praying people can refrain from committing atrocities:

> During the *Gacaca* courts, I pled guilty and confessed to have killed people in my village. The *Gacaca* courts reduced my sentence and I was released. For the moment, I participate in activities of helping my neighbours who were affected by the Genocide and I pray so that no more people be involved in such hate deeds against Tutsi or one's neighbour (Released prisoner from Rukundo's story).

Personal beliefs are used by referring to God in general. However, in Rwandan schools religious aspects can be used to talk about reconciliation. More specifically the data from this research revealed certain religious aspects which have similarities to Rwandan culture such as to kneel in front of the person to ask forgiveness. "I pray", which is embedded in Rukundo's story can have two meanings, namely on the one hand to address a request to God and on the other hand to address a prayer to God. Both meanings imply a request to God to intervene in the change expected by the released perpetrator. Confession in a Christian culture means accepting sin and is not very distant to the Rwandan culture where people could accept their fault and ask for pardon. Thus, both Christian and Rwandan culture is not incompatible in helping people to confess their atrocities in view of reconciliation. History teachers therefore used the Christian aspects of praying and the Sacrament of Penance in their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Reconciliation has been a difficult concept to explain in the process of peace-building. Clark (2014) observed that it has been romanticised because people use it to talk about immediate harmony and additionally the elite or leaders impose measures of redress so that societies keep on moving forward without considering the causes which instigated harm on the victims. The conceptualisation of reconciliation is also closely linked to concepts such as "justice, apology, forgiveness, individual healing, commemoration, and the reform of education" (Cole, 2007, p.1). The conceptualisation by Cole articulates well with the views of the history teachers as a prisoner apologised and was forgiven for his involvement in killing people. However, the inequality between the perpetrator and the victim in the drawing done by Françoise does not meet the conceptualisation which differentiates between reconciliation, mercy and forgiveness (Cole, 2007). However, the meeting between the two individuals is a sign of hope given the atrocities. Another sign of hope is that the victim is represented by a woman. In Rwandan culture, woman is known as kind, generous and humble. At the micro level, the participation in activities of helping neighbours, as explained by Rukundo, is one aspect showing that restorative justice can be used in the reconciliation process (Clark, 2009).

At a macro level, reconciliation is marked by inclusive policies. Rukundo mentioned that, "The former combatants are now integrated in the army; children are going in

secondary schools because of their marks not because of their ethnic group or region of birth". The participants' understanding of reconciliation corroborates with the new macro conceptualisation which focuses on the importance of institutional change for furthering reconciliation (Cole, 2007).

In general, the participants did not raise other challenges Rwandans had to face in the reconciliation process such as the creation of a more just society (Opotow, 2001), the place of "ethnicity" in a post-Genocide society in the face of the Government's efforts of single categorisation, and finding ways to resolve tensions related to Rwandan history (Hilker, 2009; Moss, 2014; Zorbas, 2004). Only Mukakalisa and Murezi evoked judicial problems and support to survivors' children. The participants' silences on these matters can be explained by the fact that they understood reconciliation as a process involving mainly two individuals, the perpetrator and the victim. Another plausible explanation can be the fact that the post-Genocide reconstruction is taught in history at the end of the history curriculum and teachers do not have enough time to deal with it. Furthermore, the recent history is most challenging to discuss because it deals with an aspect of history which is ongoing and in which the learners' parents participated and with which they still live (Magendzo & Toledo, 2009).

Theoretically, the teaching of reconciliation in the post-Genocide Rwanda aims at building a peaceful society. In the process peace-making teachers seemingly help learners to forget what happened (Wassermann, 2011). In this context, the fact of approaching the victim to ask for forgiveness is evidence that in the Rwandan context the past is not forgotten - rather it is faced in order to build new and improved relationships.

All–in-all, it appears if the participants focused little attention on the sequences and consequences of the Genocide. Very little is known about the hiding places (Gashayija's story), weapons used and the expansion of the Genocide. The limited focus on the sequence of the Genocide may be explained by the fact that much time is spent on the historical background. Another plausible explanation could be, not only the avoidance of talking about sensitive issues which can provoke emotions during the class, but also the issue of care for themselves and for the learners.

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Clearly, history teachers did not want to spend more time on a recent period and which is politically and emotionally sensitive. In most cases, the participants covered the content with the view of genocide prevention and building a better Rwanda. The historical knowledge appears also as another aim to be achieved. Thus, most of the history teachers can be seen as peace-makers and the historical knowledge about the Genocide and its related controversial issues are mainly achieved through a one dimensional way of teaching.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the findings from the drawings and participants' stories as it relates to the history teachers' experiences about their commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. It was shown how teaching this topic provoked fears and anxieties. These emotions were not a barrier to their teaching but rather a reason to think deeply and plan for their teaching. In this chapter I also discussed how history teachers decide on aims to be achieved when teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The participants aim at achieving socio-political, moral and academic aims. However, critical skills development are hampered by the teachers' self-care activities which is based on avoiding, not only harming learners, but also contradicting some narratives aimed at building a united society.

It was shown that the teaching of the Genocide should help learners to understand the issue of dehumanisation for genocide prevention. In the same perspective, they should also learn to respect the life of others. However, the lack of critical historical skills can turn learners into victims of hatred ideas. Other aspects related to aims showed that by being careful most participants avoided discussing issues related to Genocide denial. In relation to the content, the discussion showed that the history teachers spent more time on the historical background. Consequently, the actual Genocide was not well foregrounded. Given the aims and content covered in teaching the Genocide, the participating history teachers positioned themselves as peace-makers. By considering one narrative in teaching the historical background, history teachers can also be considered as indoctrinators. However, the data revealed that critical thinking skills were not totally absent in teaching the Genocide. Through discussion the history teachers imparted to learners some critical skills they

could use to discuss the Genocide outside the school setting. But by avoiding a multi-perspective take on the historical background, the partial development of critical skills can be considered as but a form of compliance so as to appease the authorities. This means that the teachers seemingly did their best to comply with the curriculum which requires the enhancement of critical skills. At the same time they did their best to respect certain narratives so as to protect themselves and their learners. Navigating between these realities was an indication that the teachers were much concerned with their personal well-being in a post-conflict society and that of the society itself. But, in a real sense, the history teachers were torn between the two mentioned realities without achieving all the expected aims.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION - HISTORY TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES IN FACING THE GENOCIDE AND ITS RELATED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES: TEACHING METHODS-EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES AND COMMUNITY

8.1 Introduction

The eighth chapter of this research is a logical continuation of the discussion which started in the previous chapter. In the previous chapter, I argued that teaching the Genocide is a challenging task because the history teachers adopted forms of self- and societal care so as to comply with the official narratives on the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In doing so the teachers aimed at educating learners to be patriotic and how to avoid being involved in destructive atrocities. In doing the aforementioned the history teachers have also ensured that they were seen to respect the history curricula which recommend the use of participatory approaches and the development of learners' critical thinking skills. This chapter continues the discussion by focussing on practical educational issues namely how the Genocide was taught by the participants.

In the following sections, particular attention is paid to teaching methods used to teach content and topics discussed in the seventh chapter. As teaching methods are supported by educational resources, the way the participants engage with resources in this process of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues is also highlighted. This is followed by how the history teachers dealt with the challenges they faced, namely how they deal with emotions when teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Furthermore, the place of learners in this research is also engaged with. Finally, I deal with how the schools the participating teachers represented collaborated with the communities the learners they taught came from as well as with other institutions.

8.2 Engaging with teaching methods

The Rwandan secondary school history curricula of 2008 and 2010 recommend certain teaching methods to be used to offer the prescribed content (National

Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010). Both the Ordinary and the Advanced Level curricula emphasised the use of participatory approaches. In addition to certain prescribed activities the curricula requires teachers to be creative and innovative while developing learners' critical skills. Teachers were also expected to motivate learners for continuous improvement of their knowledge (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010). Furthermore, the history curricula considered teaching as the opportunity to provide learners with the freedom of commenting and critiquing any fact which happened within or outside the classroom. Accordingly, learners were expected to actively participate in the class with the history teacher "considered as a coordinator … an organiser, an experienced counsellor and a guider whereas … he/she [the teacher] is the main agent" (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010, p.60). Specifically, the Advanced Level curriculum recommended practical and comparative activities such as collection of oral historical evidence, reading and interpretation of maps and statistics (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010). In this regard learners have to develop specific historical skills. In light of what is recommended by the curricula, what were the experiences of secondary schools' history teachers who participated in this research on how they taught the Genocide and its related controversial issues and why did they teach the way they did? The subsection that follow will discuss the teaching methods used in this regard. The teaching methods which will be discussed include group work, class discussion, teacher-talk and the class answering questions (Danks, 1994).

8.2.1 Prevalence of teacher centredness

As Cole and Barsalou (2006) observed, approaches to teaching are of paramount importance. Within teacher centredness, the teacher is the key player. Haydn et al. (2001) advise teachers to be aware of the advantages and disadvantages of using such an expository approach. On one hand the exposition helps the teacher to efficiently use the time available because the teacher prepares a clear presentation and keeps on clarifying new concepts and ideas during the teaching. Teacher centredness also allows an opportunity for the subject to be more enjoyable by means of jokes and anecdotes. However, learners are considered as passive empty "vessels" to be filled with the knowledge dispensed by an expert.

One of the major findings from the drawings and constructed stories of this research related to teachers' experiences on how the Genocide and its related controversial issues were taught. What was revealed was that most of the participants predominantly used teacher centred methods. At the outset, I have to say that teacher centredness does not mean that the participants did not use learner centred methods as will be discussed further down. Rather, teacher centredness tended to prevail in their teaching. Some of them were aware that they mainly used such methods. An illustrative case is that of Mukamuhire who said: "My teaching methodology is mainly teacher centred".

Teacher centredness was especially evidenced by the use of certain verbs which do not require learner collaboration, active participation and reflection. Such verbs which appear in all seven stories are for instance "I analyse"; "I use the teacher centred"; "I look at the background"; "I proceed to talk"; "I like to talk"; "Listen!", "I foreground the teacher centred and I explain using a lecturing mode". Moreover, teacher centredness was also shown through the analysis of certain drawings which showed the participants' illusion of using a multi-perspective learner centred approach. For instance, in the drawing done by Mukakalisa (Figure 5.8), the teacher was standing in front of the classroom. The position of authority in front of the classroom showed complete domination of all educational activities, hence teacher centredness. In addition, the teacher was a man. Culturally, Rwandan men were considered as persons to be respected, to be listened to without interrupting them as the following saying reveals - *nta wuca umugabo mu ijambo*, no one was authorised to interrupt a man's speech. In this context, the teacher was the masculine centre of the learning process about the Genocide who had all the answers. He was considered as the exclusive expert of what happened (Haydn et al., 2001). Consequently, in the drawing done by Murezi (Figure 5.2), the pointing of a finger is a sign of talking to learners somewhat aggressively so as to try and convince them of a certain perspective. Thus, it denotes teacher centredness.

Mukamuhire was quite aware that teacher centredness was archaic but kept using it. Her perseverance denotes a kind of resistance to comply with curriculum guidelines which recommends active participation of learners (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010). The resistance to adopting a critical learner

centred approach was also evidenced in the stories of Arian, Françoise, Mukakalisa, Mukamuhire and Semana. They taught different aspects of the content through teacher centredness which included historical background, the causes, sequences and consequences of the Genocide. This happened despite most of them holding a Bachelor's degree in history with education and thus knowing the advantages of following a learner centred approach. The adoption of teacher centredness can be motivated by the teachers' experiential knowledge of Rwandan society. For them, allowing discussion can lead to the transmission of uncontrolled messages which can either harm certain learners or cause disruptions in the class. Therefore, the teachers were careful in not allowing any knowledge that they deemed to be harmful to be used in class. At the same time there is a tension between the teachers' monopoly of the truth and the history curriculum which recommended participatory teaching approaches.

The prevalence of teacher centredness amongst the research participants corroborates the literature which shows that the Rwandan education system has traditionally been teacher centred with little focus on discussion (Freedman et al., 2008; Hodgkin, 2006; Walker-Keleher, 2006). Before the Genocide teacher centredness was frequently used in Rwandan schools and this foregrounded rote learning instead of critical skills thus creating a culture of obeying top-down instructions. It is argued that this unquestioning culture influenced some perpetrators in their decision to participate in the killings (Hilker, 2011; Muhimpundu, 2002; Walker-Keleher, 2006). In the post-Genocide period there is a concerted effort to change these authoritarian ways of teaching to more democratic ones which would enhance critical thinking and hopefully increase mutual understanding. The resistance to use learner centredness contradicts the methods of teaching controversial issues which requires the use of multi-perspectivity (Manyane, 1995; McCully, 2012). At least topics which are not very recent such as, for example, the role of the colonial administration in Rwanda can be approached in a learner centred manner. This is in contrast to more recent topics such as the actual Genocide which are consequently more sensitive (Johnson & Johnson, 1979).

The participants' motives for, contrary to what policy expects, of using teacher centredness are multifarious. These reasons include the transmission of an educational message with a clear logic delivered by someone who knows:

> I have knowledge about the topic that the learners do not necessarily have, when I am presenting, learners follow sequences of events. It helps them to understand the logic of the topic. They can take an event and link it to the previous ones. (Mukamuhire)

Another reason, raised by participants such as Arian and Semana, is the fear of contradicting official narratives and thus sowing divisionism. In this regard it was pointed out that:

> It is difficult to teach the Genocide because of political discourse. It is not easy to help learners develop critical thinking through this course fearing to allow learners use views contradicting official narratives on some aspects. (Arian)

> Most of the time I teach young learners, I do not extract ideas from them. Even if they talk about ideas they refer to what they heard at home or from another place and most of the time opposite to a good history teaching process which aims at rebuilding the country. (Mukamuhire)

The participants' stories and drawings clearly show that they used teacher centredness to transmit unchallenged messages to comply with the official narrative. The purpose of transmitting one unchallenged narrative is aimed at protecting the teacher against any trouble by not allowing unexpected conversations to take place in class. Thus, the teacher's safety was guaranteed by respecting the accepted official narratives. Such a monopoly of the truth allowed the history teachers to avoid histories from, for example, communities. The avoidance of such oral evidence show that the participants considered history as a fixed, agreed upon narrative that the teacher had to transmit. The findings of this research concurs with the literature which argues that historical knowledge can be seen "as a fixed and external body of information which teachers 'know', and generate a teacher-centred pedagogy which focuses primarily on the skills and knowledge the teacher possesses, rather than on the ways teachers interact with pupils" (Husbands, 2011, p.85). In this particular case, the teacher's knowledge of the horrific past conforms to the official narrative of the past aimed at promoting the political goals of unity and not necessarily critical historical thinking (Freedman et al., 2008).

The security bodies can be viewed as the guards or protectors of the national policy of unity and reconciliation. As a result the participants became the referee of what must be told based on what they assumed to be the security bodies' intentions. This implies that the participants could have had another version of the truth that was different from the official narrative. This is similar to what was found in the literature from Estonia in line with Estonians' understanding of how Estonia was attached to the Soviet Union. In this instance the official history was different from the unofficial version. This was referred to as "a pattern of knowing but not believing". (Freedman et al., 2008, p.668). This means that Semana, for example, did not identify with those in charge of deciding the official version. He wanted to remain safe and to protect the learners and himself from harm by avoiding contradicting views. Semana's biography, as one who grew up under the Habyarimana regime, did not allow him to be freer in his teaching. However, he did not resist change and thus decided to comply with the official version which could help to reunite Rwandans. The alternative narrative, which could have been seen as undermining the official one, was avoided so that he could not be seen as a trouble maker. Therefore, there is a tension between the participants' avoidance of community histories and the history curriculum which recommends the use a participatory approach which allows learners to challenge any narrative (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010).

All the challenges of not using learner centredness in the Rwandan history classes of the research participants validate the literature which pointed out that the change to democratic ways of teaching is challenging and complex and may result in fear of raising controversial issues which can contradict the official narratives (Freedman et al., 2008; Hodgkin, 2006; Walker-Keleher).

To alleviate the difficulties of teaching the Genocide Arian devised a strategy of starting with the consequences and to walk backwards into history by then teaching the causes and sequences. Apparently, the mentioned teaching strategy was based on the belief that learning is complex and not linear. The expected effect of starting with the known before moving to the unknown was motivated by the fact that according to Arian, "It becomes easier because learners are aware of the consequences which still affect the Rwandan society". As Haydn et al. (2001) suggest, it is important to understand the present in light of the past. Linking the

present and the past could therefore help learners understand the relevance of grasping the historical background to the Genocide.

What the analysis of the data also revealed was that teacher centredness was used for explaining a difficult concept supposedly new to learners. Rukundo, for example, affirmed that he used teacher centredness to explain a concept such as the Hamitic myth: "I use the teacher centred approach to explain it [the Hamitic myth]". Along the same lines of teaching new or difficult concepts the level of the history learners also convinced Rukundo to use teacher centredness. In this regard teacher centredness was preferred in the Ordinary Level where he limited his teaching to causes and effects and avoided so-called horrible events. In other words, teacher centredness was preferred because of the younger age of learners who were deemed not capable of critical reflection.

Teacher centredness was also motivated by learners' fear to talk about "ethnicity". In this regard Murezi explained his choice of teacher centredness: "At the beginning, I use the teacher centred approach. I like this approach because most of learners do not want to talk about 'ethnicity". Not to talk about "ethnicity" implies that there are certain conceptual aspects related to the Genocide that the learners fear to discuss. These include, for instance, the 1959 events termed the "Hutu Revolution" (Lemarchand, 1995; Murego, 1976) or the targeted persons during the Genocide, the Tutsi. However, the downside of this is that the historical context of the ethnic labels of Twa, Hutu and Tutsi cannot be understood by silencing discussions on them.

The idea of using teacher centredness to teach new concepts concurs with the literature which affirms that by using teacher centredness, "Any subject-specific words can be explained as the talk proceeds" (Haydn et al., 2001, p.73). The decision to use teacher centredness because of new concepts was based on Piaget's pessimism of young people's capacity to come to informed historical judgement (Taylor, Young, Hastings, Hincks & Brown, 2003). This implies that there is a certain age at which learners should start learning the Genocide. Totten (1999), for example, argued against the teaching of such a topic to young learners because of its complexity and its horrendous character which they supposedly cannot master. However, the idea of not teaching the Genocide to young learners, even by means of

learner centredness, is in contrast to what has been argued by scholars that what matters most is not the age but explicit explanations (Taylor et al., 2003). In this regard certain scholars support the teaching of anti-genocide education from primary school level upwards. This is based on the assumption that people can be taught anything in an intellectual honest way at any age. What matters is not the age but how the genocide/Holocaust is taught (Maitles & Cowan, 1999). Thus, young learners who have historical knowledge from diverse sources can discuss historical events without necessarily. But in attempting to care for the learners the history teachers adopted teacher centredness to prevent the former from talking about issues which are, due to political discourses which are seeking to promote a unified national identity, silenced by the community (Freedman et al., 2008).

The use of teacher centredness based on learners' fear to talk about "ethnicity" is related to the ambiguities on how to use "ethnic" identities in Rwandan society. In this context, there is a tension between the government policy of creating a united nation and the existence of three social groups. In this regard Waldorf (2009) noted that there was an effort to avoid "ethnic" identities in the discourse on the Genocide. As evidence, President Kagame himself, during the commemoration of the Genocide, mentioned that Rwandans killed their fellow Rwandans. The learners' fear of discussing ethnicity can thus be explained by government efforts to silence references to "ethnicity" in order to avoid the reoccurrence of divisionism (Buckley-Zistel, 2006; Freedman et al., 2008; Waldorf, 2009).

Reference to "ethnic" identities is also avoided in the history curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre 2008; 2010). Thus, the research participants complied with the curriculum and official narrative by not engaging by means of critical pedagogical methods with the concept of ethnicity. However, to complicate matters for the teachers since 2008 "ethnicity" was used to describe the Genocide and it consequently appeared in the constitutional amendment to detail the targeted group. These changes created a difficult to negotiate ambiguity. But, in Rwanda there is no law preventing people from talking about "ethnic" identities (Republic of Rwanda, 2010). Furthermore, the teachers' and learners' fear of talking about "ethnicity" contradicts certain sources of literature which observed that the Rwandan "ethnic" identities namely, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa cannot be ignored and are needed for

a deep understanding of the causes and consequences of the Genocide (Gasanabo, 2014). Thus, by avoiding critical engagement with "ethnic" identities there is a failure to openly discuss a key aspect of the historical knowledge related to the Genocide as expected by the history curricula.

The resistance to adopt learner centredness can also be related to the research participants' backgrounds. They in all probability teach the way they were taught (Maloy & LaRoche, 2010). Through teacher centredness, history teachers were sure of controlling the educational message they were transmitting. Thus, no trouble making message could circulate during the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In this regard references to a positive narrative from the past are made to educate learners to live in a united manner. By using a single narrative the participants were committed to inculcate into learners the interest of building a better and united patriotic society. In other words, their exclusive partiality to reach this aim can explain their use of teacher centredness. Therefore, the teacher centredness employed by the Rwandan history teachers was not very far removed from the notions of stated commitment (Stradling, 1984), exclusive partiality (Leib, 1998) or determined advocate (Lockwood, 1996).

Other positions such as peace-making can also explain teacher centredness predominating in the history class. By pointing his finger at the blackboard and the slogan "never again" Mukakalisa wishes that the Genocide should not be repeated. As Stradling (1984) argues, there are some issues which push teachers not to maintain a neutral position but rather to advocate for them. In this context, convinced by the idea of genocide prevention, Mukakalisa thought that genocide prevention could be best understood through teacher centredness and thus decided to advocate for it. In doing so Mukakalisa's position can be considered as a way of complying with the Government policy of fighting genocide ideology in view of lasting peace. However, the avoidance of talking about difficult issues and imposing a single historical view is tantamount to a kind of indoctrination (Momanu, 2012). The resistance in adopting the critical approach the curricula expected, and the use of learner centredness instead, can also be viewed as an avoidance of controversial issues (Kitson & McCully, 2005). This is so because teaching such issues requires allowing contradicting views. Thus for the history teachers the main concern was the

transmission of officially accepted knowledge (Brown, 2003). This meant that the history teachers were complying with the official narrative and thereby protecting themselves against any unofficial historical knowledge which could bring a threat from outside into the classroom. In doing so a tension arose between the aims to be achieved and the teaching methods prescribed which required participatory approaches.

All-in-all the teaching of the Genocide in a teacher centred manner was the norm. The reasons for this are diverse and include the avoidance of community histories, advocating for unity among Rwandans for a better future and inculcating the idea of "never again" into learners. As a result, the development of critical skills advocated for in the history curricula was endangered because the teachers' experiences of Rwandan society convinced them to comply with narratives aimed at creating a patriotic united society.

8.2.2 Attempts at learner centredness

Although teacher centredness was almost the rule in the participants' experiences in some instances forms of learner centredness were also used to achieve the stated aims and to teach the prescribed content. Learner centredness, also known as a democratic approach, (Tabulawa, 2013) is advocated by the history curricula. Due to it placing the learner in the centre of the educational endeavour (Brown, 2003), it was considered by Altan and Trombly (2001) as a model for engaging with learners' challenges. In other words, the teacher encourages learners to develop their aptitudes without being the sole source of information. Rather, the teacher and learners work as a team (Jones, 2007).

In the case of this research study a number of teaching methods which are critical by nature, such as group discussions and presentations, were used by the seven participating history teachers. For the most part this was revealed by the teachers' professional stories and not their drawings. Only Arian's drawing (Figure 5.2) showed a teacher in an open area - a reference to the fact that the teacher wanted to benefit from the environment to make the lesson more viable. In the following subsections, I explain the role of using certain teaching methods, such as group presentations and discussions, as forms learner centredness to teach the Genocide.

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Despite the predominance of teacher centredness most of the participants, including Françoise, Mukakalisa, Murezi, Rukundo and Semana, at times used group presentations and discussions. In this regard Françoise explained her motivations as follows: "I find some strategies more appropriate in teaching the Genocide. Group discussions are easier for me because every learner gives her/his views and we reach conclusions together." In my assumption, the use of group discussion by Françoise was motivated by some beliefs about learning. First, learning is a process of making meaning of the world. Secondly, learners are unique and responsible of their learning. The expected effect was to expose learners to multiperspectivity through their discussions and to allow everyone to give her or his opinion. Françoise did, however, made it clear that in her experience certain topics are too controversial to teach by means of group discussions. These topics included the causes of the Genocide because learners challenged one another and did not agree on them. Françoise explained: "It is the Habyarimana's plane which crashed and after this crash those who liked Habyarimana started to kill Tutsi arguing that it is them who killed him …Then some mention bad governance, others the airplane, the divisionism and the discussion lies here". Different causes of the Genocide such as the grounding of the presidential jet, the colonists' role in ethnicity and bad governance were discussed by learners.

For Françoise a discussion along these lines could turn the class into an unsafe environment which she could not manage successfully and to avoid any problems she was very selective about when to use class discussions. Further evidence of this is that Françoise, when learners did not agree on an issue, used the textbook to impose a final official idea. By imposing the textbook explanation, and in so doing avoiding a deep discussion, Françoise's positioning contradicts the understanding of a discussion because diverse views were not considered (Hess, 2009). Thus, in this case the participant's position was an illusion of learner centredness and class discussions were the exception rather than the rule.

In line with discussion, Rukundo devised an innovative approach for teaching the Genocide as a whole school activity by putting into place an anti-Genocide club:

As part of the activities of the club learners are also given the chance to debate issues school wide. These debates take place on Fridays and on such occasions, learners who are doing history engage with those who do not study history. The purpose is for the non-history learners to gain some understanding of the Genocide.

The creation of such a club can be explained as the teacher's personal innovation as required by the curriculum because without reaching the whole school community the aims of unity, reconciliation and genocide prevention cannot be achieved. The idea of a whole school discussion about the Genocide concurs with what Salmons (2001) proposed for a British school, not only to deal with the issue of lack of enough time to deal with the Holocaust, but also to respond to other aims of teaching the Holocaust. For instance, learners can come to an understanding that the Holocaust was cruel and it is inadmissible to kill people for whatever reasons. As Rukundo used the whole school approach, it could help non-history learners to gain very necessary historical knowledge on the Genocide. Furthermore, the nature of the discussion implied that all learners were considered as equals and could therefore participate in the deliberations in a democratic manner (Hess, 2009).

What also emerged from the data analysis was that despite the use of group presentations and discussion learners were generally not given an opportunity to critically engage with the ideas of their peers. This is borne out by Semana's statement: "Eventually the history learners do a presentation of the group work they have done. I then evaluate their work and offer comments in line with the Ministry of Education document. I also deconstruct learner bias and certain community influence." In this instance the history teacher, under the guise of being policy compliant, took it upon himself to make comments about learners' presentations. The learners were not given an opportunity to improve their skills by engaging with each other's ideas. However, the participant considered that learners are unique and everybody received comments about the presentation.

Stories were another teaching method adopted in view of learner centredness. In an innovative way three research participants, Mukakalisa, Murezi and Rukundo, used stories as a form of learner centredness to teach the Genocide and its related

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controversial issues. In these instances stories were constructed, either by learners or provided by the teachers. The three participants were trained history teachers. In other words, the educational background facilitated the use of learner centred methods. However, the use of learner centredness for trained history teacher was not the general rule. No specific training related to leaner centredness after completion of their studies was mentioned by the selected participants. In the case of Rukundo, in order to develop learners' critical thinking skills, he divided them into groups, "so that they can analyse stories related to the Genocide and understand specific decisions." In turn Murezi used stories in the form of oral testimonies to teach the Genocide for reconciliation and prevention:

> I also use oral testimonies in my class, like, for example, the story of Gashayija which is used so that learners can discover the life of a Tutsi during the tragedy, the role of some Hutu families and the positive aspects of reconciliation. After telling the story, they take three minutes to think about it by writing down what they retained and they share it with the class and their ideas are around those mentioned aspects.

The story of Gashayija, which was based on actual events, helped learners not only to understand Gashayija's suffering as a micro-history in a specific milieu, but also to gain some historical knowledge about the Genocide such as hiding places, difficult living conditions of victims and the courage to save others. The story was based on one belief about learners' learning stating that learning is more effective when information is included in meaningful experiences. In the process a range of skills was developed including communication, collaboration with peers and defending ideas. The time allowed for reflection was also an opportunity to internalise the story and to prepare ideas for discussion.

In order to help learners to develop critical skills specific questions were posed to aid them to think deeply about the story. This was, for instance, done by Rukundo on the story of a youth political party member who was involved in the killings during the Genocide:

> If it was you who were young member of the political party what would you have done at the eruption of the Genocide? Did those involved do something good? The decisions taken was it done with judgment? What do you think about the decision to plead guilty? Was it a firm decision or a strategy to be released?

The questions posed by Rukundo were not aimed at imposing specific values on the learners. His procedural neutrality stance gave the learners an opportunity to discuss their views so as to help them grasp the complexity of the situation. During the discussion, when necessary, Rukundo guided learners when they misunderstood the situation.

Rukundo's questions were both inventive and evaluative in nature (Haydn et al., 2001). However, the questions posed did not focus on interpretation. For instance, Rukundo did not ask about the writer's purpose of telling the story or to compare the story with existing historical knowledge. Learners were also not expected to evaluate the evidence revealed or if it was in contradiction of other evidence. Thus, the questions asked had some limitations and are an indicator of the aims he wanted to achieve during the teaching process (Haydn et al., 2001).

What has emerged is that the teachers who had used stories allowed for a series of skills to be developed. For instance, the learners were given time for reflecting before giving their views and stories were discussed in groups so as to allow for the exchange of ideas and interpretations. This upholds the ideas from the literature that learners are required to be more responsible for their own learning by working, for instance, in groups as a form of active and collaborative learning. Such teaching can foster a climate of tolerance and respect (Alo, 2010, Haydn et al., 2001; Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1998; Prince & Feldar, 2006; Smith 1996).

In addition, the use of stories for the purpose of reconciliation also concurs with the literature about the post-Holocaust period. During the Holocaust, Poles were considered as bystanders or perpetrators. Thereafter, relationships between Poles and Jews were improved by means of narratives of the righteous (Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013). In history teaching, stories about the Holocaust are also considered as the best way of showing learners that "big' history events happen to real people in real places and to explore the relationship between the two" (Osowiecki, 2012, p.46). In the case of Gashayija, the story could have helped learners to understand the gravity of the Genocide and the circumstances that affected individual people without necessarily using the general big framework of the event (Lindquist, 2006). This is the case because the story of Gashayija refers to the

micro level of the Genocide and helped to show how all Hutu were not involved in killings. This micro level history can also help to bring understanding to the motivations of people to either commit Genocide or to save others (Burtonwood, 2002).

The literature also posits that the challenge of using stories resides in the fact that teachers can fail to put characters in their historical context (Lindquist, 2006). In the above case Gashayija's story was placed in historical context because the story was employed "so that learners can discover the life of a Tutsi during the tragedy". But, the possible distortions present in the story were seemingly not discussed.

In terms of controversial issues theories, the use of discussion by Rukundo can be compared to the nurturant facilitator (Lockwood, 1996) because he made an effort so that learners could present their views on values clarification within a safe environment. However, most stories were proposed by the history teachers. Therefore, teachers aimed at controlling the content and the learning were not predominantly process-based (Manyane, 1985) by allowing learners to form their own stories. Thus, teachers allowed for minimal learner centredness. The avoidance of stories created by learners can be seen as an effort by teachers' to prevent learners from bringing officially unacceptable narratives in to the history class. Similarly, Rukundo's questions were a good exercise of interpretation but the avoidance of comparing his story with other historical evidence was also a strategy to ensure that unwanted stories are not revealed in class.

In all, teaching methods adopted by Rwandan history teachers who participated in this research were predominantly teacher centred. The history teachers adopted teacher centredness to control the information used in class. This control was due to issues such as "ethnicity" which the learners feared to discuss because it is not openly discussed in society. So as to avoiding problems teacher centredness was privileged. However, learner centredness was also used through discussion, group works and the use of stories. Due to diverse reasons, including teaching the Genocide for peace and unity, the participating teachers preferred low-level indoctrinating instead of enhancing learners' critical skills.

8.3 Engaging with teaching/educational resources

After discussing the history teachers' experiences related to the teaching methods used in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, I will now explain how they engage with the teaching resources used. In her typology Danks (1994) conceptualises educational resources as written, pictorial, artefacts, field trips, computer programs, historical films, empathetic reconstruction (film/videos), visiting speakers, role play and texts. Educational resources are supported by, for example, overhead projectors, computers, flip charts or blackboard – the so-called teaching aids. In this section, particular attention is paid to information and communication technologies, use of museums and resource persons. Other resources, such as learners collecting oral evidence, are discussed in the section 7.8 as this is associated with the role of the community in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Earlier I have explained that the history curricula recommended the use of participatory teaching approaches. In this regard, the Advanced Level curriculum advocated practical and comparative activities. The learners had to, in the process, develop certain skills. These included reading and interpreting as well as gathering historical sources, including films related to the Genocide, as well as official documents such as the Arusha Peace Agreement between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the then Government, the Government programme and the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010).

8.2.1 Use of Information and Communication Technology

The use of Information and Communication Technology in the history classroom is not only related to the use of the Internet. Other devices, such as computers, televisions and geo-browsers are part of Information and Communication Technology. These technologies have a range of advantages in the history classroom such as quick access to large volumes of information, providing speedy feedback to learners and facilitating communication. On the other hand, teachers are faced with the availability of many sources and complained about the time consuming nature and skills involved in the preparation of activities related to Information and Communication Technology. Despite this, Information and Communication Technology has the potential to develop a range of skills in the history class by exploring the curriculum in a more active and engaging way (Haydn

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et al., 2001; Taylor et al., 2003). In this research project the use of Information and Communication Technology has been identified as a clear theme which emerged from the data related to educational resources.

One key issue that emerged was the participants' concerns about websites visited by learners in the absence of their history teachers. On this Françoise commented as follows: "To me, I think this is due to the use of the Internet and what they read on it and it worries me. Nowadays, technology is advanced and there are some challenging explanations learners get from the Internet". There is a belief about learning that this learning is contextual. Learners can be influenced by their environment namely the denial on the Internet.The research participants' concerns led them to take precautionary measures related to learners' use of the Internet. A case in point is the practice by Rukundo who kept an eye on the websites used by history learners during research sessions. He explained: "But the learners are not free to use any website - only the recommended ones such as the documents on the National Unity and Reconciliation websites."

The participants' care about the websites the learners accessed is twofold. On the one hand the history teachers wanted to avoid harm coming to their learners by being exposed to traumatising sources. On the other, as articulated by Françoise, there is a fear that learners can be immersed in Genocide denial websites.

In addition to the Internet, the relevance of using films was pointed out by most of the participants including Arian, Françoise, Mukakalisa, Murezi and Semana. These history teachers used documentary films in their teaching of the Rwandan Genocide and its related controversial issues. Françoise found documentary films "better than other teaching resources because … they show the reality and facts of the Genocide". Films screened as teaching resources included: *The Long Coat, Tuez-les-Tous* (Kill them all), *Rescuers* and *Rwanda's 100 day genocide*. For instance, the *Rescuers* were used to show people who saved others during the Genocide. Another film, *Twese turi Abanyarwanda* (We are all Rwandans), was about children from Nyange School who defied the killers by refusing to group themselves according to their social groups so that infiltrators could kill the Tutsi amongst them.

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It is important to provide a short explanation on how the participants used films in the classroom so as to create a better understanding of their relevance. In the view of Arian films helped learners to get an opportunity to internalise what they have seen by writing down what they have watched. They also had an opportunity to respond to recall questions. This is evidenced by the questions asked by Arian such as: "Who can tell us what George Sentayana said? What do they say in the film regarding relationships between Rwandans?" However, interpretive questions which help to develop learners' critical thinking were also used by the participants as evidenced by the following statement from Rukundo's story:

> Teacher: In your today's homework respond briefly to the following questions to be submitted in our next history lesson: Show if colonists contributed to sow divisionism in Rwanda. Explain the role to propaganda and how Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines contributed to the killings. By considering J.P.Chrétien's comments explain the role of elites. Discuss the role of France in Rwandan conflict and finally discuss if the film conclusion contribute to the Rwandan reconciliation.

By listening, writing and sharing views on film, learners were seemingly helped to develop their decision making capabilities with an intention of developing human rights activists who can respect others' life. Thus, by foregrounding humanity through the film *Rescuers,* Mukakalisa strongly emphasised the theme of teaching the Genocide with the view of preventing similar atrocities. Alongside the big pictures of the Genocide, some minor historical details such as weapons used during the Genocide are also explained by means of films. Other aspects of the Genocide, including the role of media, different historical actors in the Genocide are also visualised by means of the films shown.

The screening of films did not only occur in well-resourced schools. One participant from a rural poor-resourced school, Murezi, also screened films. He used his personal laptop to do so. This was based on his own educational initiative and commitment to improve the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In normal circumstances, the screening of films should have happened in schools with related equipment. However, the screening done by Murezi shows that innovation can challenge the circumstances in which an action takes place.

Despite the interest in using films as teaching resources, Mukamuhire, for one avoided them "because some of them do not aim at rebuilding the country". No specific film was mentioned as igniting divisionism in Rwandan society. However, the avoidance of films shows that for Mukamuhire they are not essential for teaching the Genocide. Mukamuhire's rejection of the use of films did find some resonance with the reviewed literature which found feature films such as *Hotel Rwanda*, used to teach the Genocide in British schools, inappropriate. The film portrays a happy end for the survivors when real survivors were in fact in difficult conditions at the end of the Genocide (Adhikhari, 2008; Lawrence, 2012).

The interest of using the Internet and other Information and Communication Technologies in history classes was supported by a range of different scholars (Adesote & Fatoki, 2013; Ni & Kinabalu, 2012; Haydn, 2000; Haydn et al., 2001; Haydn, 2011; Philips, 2008; Taylor et al., 2003). Totten (1987), for instance, advocated video presentations as they could make a topic real for learners. However, the learners must explicitly engage in seeing and critically interpreting the images so as to gain literacy skills. Thus, films were not used as a pastime, rather the participants had in mind clear aims to achieve. In addition, by watching some Hutu performing acts of kindness, as is also found in the literature (Buhigiro, 2011; Jefremovas, 1995; Mulinda Kabwete, 2007; Rothbart & Cooley, 2016), the learners can understand the historical content while participating in building a better future.

Regarding the control exercised on learners not to use any website or Mukamuhire's refusal of using films, it can be seen, not only as an avoidance to discuss controversial issues (Stradling, 1984), but also as a lack of skills to deal with controversial issues. There is also a commitment to protect young learners not only against hatred ideas and the denial but also against traumatism. Thus, there are multiple explanations regarding the avoidance of visual resources. But, the avoidance is not a panacea because the learners can view films with hatred ideas and denial of the Genocide in other resources such as the Internet. In the age of new technologies, it is difficult to hide information.

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None of the participants evoked any other activities done by learners by means of Information and Communication Technologies found in the literature such as the use

of computers to create a data base related to the Genocide, organising ideas, communicating and presenting information, detecting bias in Internet based sources and designing timelines related to the Genocide (Taylor et al., 2003). The silences in this regard can be attributed to lack of skills and teaching aids in Rwandan schools (Taylor et al., 2003). Teaching how to use resources related to the Genocide is therefore paramount. Teachers, for instance, used films to educate learners who can in turn imitate those who saved others. At the same time, history teachers were aware that Information and Communication Technologies could divert learners away from the official narrative which seeks to promote unity and reconciliation. Putting into place guidelines for using resources was a way of protecting themselves against any harm that might emanate from the resources. Therefore the history teachers' care about learners' use of resources also aimed at avoiding a narrative which could endanger teachers' and learners' safety in more ways than one.

8.3.2 Using museums and resource persons

According to Marcus (2007), museums and other historical sites preserve and memorialize the past. The development of learners' understanding of the past can thus be supported by the use of museums and memorials. The Rwandan history curricula indicate a range of educational materials which can be used to teach the history of Rwanda. Included are museums and memorials. The curricula do not make any specific recommendation for visiting Genocide museums or memorials. However, the data from this research have shown that the participating Rwandan history teachers did use Genocide memorials and museums for teaching the Genocide.

Two kinds of museums were visited by learners: an ethnographic museum visited by an urban school led by Mukamuhire and Genocide memorials visited by the classes of Françoise, Semana and Mukakalisa. The aims of visiting these two different types of museums differed according to the educational views of the participants. Semana and Mukakalisa used Genocide memorials so as to create a better understanding of the consequences of the event while at the same time honouring the victims:

> Visits to the main museums in Rwanda - the Richard Kandt's museum in Gakinjiro, the presidential palace at Kanombe and the national museum in Butare – are conducted during the first weeks of the course. This gives learners a solid background on the history of Rwanda. During these tours learners ask

the museum guides many questions. This is good as the learners are learning in a different environment (Mukamuhire).

The learners' presentations about the consequences of the Genocide, including the remembrance of the victims, are reinforced by a visit, organised by myself, to a nearby memorial site (Semana).

In contrast, Mukamuhire used ethnographic museums to build a strong historical background for her history learners. Mukamuhire did this because the specific aim was to show learners tangible evidence that, in view of the fight against denial, the Genocide really happened. The learners managed to learn by seeing and listened to the speakers who were political leaders. Françoise added that the discussion about the visit was done in class and allowed learners to give their comments as it related to the large numbers of victims of the Genocide. The role of museums in their teaching as explained by the participants substantiates the relevance of museums in teaching history as found in the literature. As Marcus (2007) expounds, history teachers can use museums to enhance what was taught in class. By engaging with displayed artefacts and stories narrated at museums learners work with historical content in ways unavailable through classroom activities.

At Genocide memorials speakers were political leaders and their speeches were not followed by an exchange of ideas. Apparently, visits to Genocide memorials were an opportunity for learners to listen to an official message related to the event. Therefore, the idea of multi-perspectivity advocated for in the teaching of controversial issues was not apparent (McCully, 2012). The discussion which followed in class nevertheless allowed learners to give their points of view. My assumption is that the class discussion evolved around the orientation done previously by the political leader.

Alongside using resource persons at museums, living persons as historical resources were also invited into the classroom. They were used by Mukakalisa, Françoise and Rukundo. In this they drew on the lived experiences of the resource persons to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues. To McCully resource persons' stories are considered "a very valuable resource in the history classroom, provided they include a full range of perspectives" (McCully, 2012, p. 155). In this regard Françoise commented:

> In the case of resource persons, learners listen to the direct witness who talks about her/his experience and what happened to her/him. When someone is talking about what happened to her or him, learners understand it better because it is explained by an eyewitness.

In the view of Françoise the learners are more convinced by listening to resource persons who were eye witnesses and could provide first-hand accounts and "facts" the learners could link to their studies. Furthermore, the resource person was from their immediate environment and as a result, the learners could grasp the reality of the Genocide. In this regard, Françoise explained: "In my teaching, I benefit from the 1994 Genocide survivor testimonies". Other participants, such as Mukakalisa and Rukundo, similarly used either Genocide survivors or religious leaders. One such resource person used by Mukakalisa to enhance the teaching of the Genocide was Fedha Uwamahoro. She told the learners about the mistreatment of her social class and referred to her personal experience when she was in secondary school. In this case the focus of the resource person was on the micro level and related to the causes of the Genocide and the actual extermination process. But what Uwamahoro's testimony did not reveal was that all members of the same group faced the same problems and experienced the same injustices. In short, not all the perspectives were necessarily revealed.

The efficiency of the use of survivors' testimony has been recognised by Lawrence (2012) who argued that learners have the possibility of seeing the real victim as a human being and not in a dehumanised situation as portrayed by the killers. This human dimension is considered by Totten (1987) one of the most powerful methods of teaching genocide. However, if the selection of the resource person is not well done there is a risk of losing focus and the danger arises of destroying the subject matter through dilettantism (Waterson, 2007).

In contrast, no perpetrator or released prisoner was used as resourced persons by the history teachers. The avoidance of using released perpetrators can be due to the fear that they could justify their deeds thus denying the Genocide in front of the learners. For learners' well-being the history teachers preferred to leave out perpetrators' narratives. Therefore, the history teachers cared for their learners' minds and also the role they were expected to play in the society. Instead of using

perpetrators as resource persons, Rukundo, inspired by some written texts and a Radio Rwanda programme, wrote a story of a former detainee who pleaded guilty. By writing the story himself, Rukundo was sure that no divisive information could come from the used teaching resource. Thus, for his own well-being and that of the learners, Rukundo was protected against any threat which could come from a bad choice of teaching resource. The avoidance of using perpetrators' stories contradicts the literature which used story telling between descendants of Holocaust victims and descendants of Nazi perpetrators as a way of decreasing enmities in view of reconciliation (Bar-On, Kutz & Wegner, 2000). However, the risk in the case of the Genocide against the Tutsi which is a recent event, of using a perpetrator as a resource person, exceeded the reward.

8.3.3 Using written documents

Despite the curriculum proposing the use of written documents participants such as Françoise, Mukakalisa, Mukamuhire and Rukundo generally only used pictures and textbooks. But in some instances learners were encouraged to read, in class, different documents and compare the evidence but without any critical engagement exercise being part of it. Despite this, learners were warned about the shortcomings of written documents. Françoise explained that: "In this regard, I warn learners especially in senior one, that written documents can also mislead the learner … Someone can write information guided by his ideology. I invite them to read many books to get different viewpoints".

In contrast some of the history teachers affirmed that they used written documents to provide incontestable evidence to learners. This was done in order to convince them about controversial aspects such as the causes of the Genocide or the settlement of the Rwandan population:

> For instance, the writer Jean Paul Gouteux in his book *La nuit tombe à Kigali,* from page 86 to page 89 explains that in Rwanda happened a 'small genocide', that at Cyanika between 8 and 14,000 people were killed and their bodies thrown in Mwogo river. (Mukakalisa)

> I explain what I regard as the outdated phases of the settlement of Rwanda which were previously taught in schools. This is deconstructed by referring to the archaeological findings from Prof Kanimba's publications. (Mukamuhire)

I mention that some books claim that Rwandans settled the country from different areas …There is no evidence that Hutu or other social groups came into phases from those specific areas. (Murezi)

Although written documents can help learners to identify other causes of the Genocide the history teachers in question seemingly only used one source. This was done to inculcate a certain view about the causes of the Genocide and not to discuss the causes. The inculcation of a specific view was because the history teachers wanted to prevail on learners the official view of the history of Rwanda so as to avoid unofficial narratives and the troubles they could bring.

Mukamuhire and Murezi's statements revealed that they used teacher centredness to explain what was found in written documents related to the settlement of the population in Rwanda. Their teacher centredness is evidenced by the verbs they used in their stories: "I explain; I mention". The settlement of the Rwandan population, considered a controversial issue in the literature (Nkusi, 2004), was thus avoided by the history teachers.

As proposed by the literature and the curriculum, the participating Rwandan history teachers did not use, for example, extracts from official documents to understand particular policies during or after the Genocide (Haydn et al., 2001). This gap can partially be attributed to a lack of financial means to get the recommended documents or to look for others appropriate to the topic. Consequently, learners failed to observe, touch, manipulate and make interpretation of written documents.

In terms of controversial issues theory, the use of written documents can be considered as a stated commitment (Stradling, 1984) to convince learners about the settlement of the population in Rwanda. The written documents served to deconstruct outdated migration theories related to the settlement of the population in Rwanda. The outdated theories argued that Rwanda was settled in different phases as some groups came from outside the current borders of Rwanda. Even if Hutu autochthony is viewed as being controversial (Mulinda, 2002), the migration theories were exploited by political leaders for political reasons to consider Tutsi as foreigners (IRDP, 2006). Therefore Mukamuhire and Murezi, were committed to rejecting these

old theories in order to avoid any ideas related to the foreign origins of some Rwandans.

Even if Mukamuhire and Murezi used teacher centredness, the circumstance created by the use of written documents led to a situation where the discussion of certain controversial issues was unavoidable. Learners did not respect the rule and sought clarification of certain issues. By raising questions learners positioned their teacher not as someone entitled to present an unquestionable truth but who had the responsibility to respond to their questions. As some authors (Dennen, 2006; Richtie & Rigani, 2001) posit, discussants have different responsibilities and expectations based on the positions that they occupy as are noted by their words and interactions. By allowing the discussion, Murezi positioned himself as a co-learner because he allowed learners to air their points of view. Thus, identity and self-positioning are highly interrelated and in turn impact on how an individual accepts positioning and categorization by others (Dennen, 2006; Harré & Maghaddan, 2003).

The rationale of using pictures from textbooks offered by the teachers was to make it easier to grasp certain aspects such as the consequences of the Genocide. For Françoise:

> … they help learners to see, for example, the faces of historical actors. If President Habyarimana is mentioned, learners can see him in a picture and know what he looked like. However, I have noticed that pictures do not show all the consequences of the events.

The use of pictures was generally done in an innovative way as recommended by the curriculum. By means of pictures, including an identity card, Mukakalisa devised different activities including observation, commenting on the pictures, writing a story in groups related to the pictures shown and presenting it to the rest of the class. One such story was that of Bana who, due to the killing of his parents, lived alone. This allowed learners to understand, for instance, the psychological consequences of the Genocide. Other methods followed included teachers analysing pictures related to the Genocide. By focussing on pictures from textbooks, Françoise for example, ensured that learners engaged with them under the guidance of the teacher and not by means of self-discovery. For the most part pictures were strongly foregrounded for learners to observe, analyse, construct stories and discuss with their peers.

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The use of the only official textbook is different from the literature which proposes other sources such as websites, museums, books and magazines (Sieber & Hatcher, 2012). By using pictures from textbooks, Françoise was committed to comply with official documents. Her guidance in interpreting pictures can be considered as teacher centredness which served to prevent any misinterpretation by the learners'.

8.4 Dealing with emotions in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues

Having discussed the experiences of how history teachers engaged with resources in their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, it is paramount to discuss how the history teachers dealt with emotions in teaching the mentioned topic. Scholars do not necessarily agree on the conceptualisation of emotion in the literature (Cabanac, 2002; Ekman & Friesen, 2003; Kagan, 2007; Zemach, 2001; Zembylas, 2002). Cabanac posits that, "The term is taken for granted in itself and, most often, emotion is defined with reference to a list: anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise" (2002, p.69). Other basic emotions such as excitement, shame, embarrassment, pride, amusement, satisfaction and contempt have been mentioned in the literature by Ekman (1999). A controversy, however, exists whether emotion is an intentional attitude or not (Zemach, 2001).

The role of facial expression to detect emotions has been highlighted (Ekman & Friesen, 2003). Facial expression, body movements, voice predisposition and words help to bring understanding, even if people are trying to hide them. Therefore, when a teacher has a certain emotional intelligence she/he can pay attention to learners' emotional challenges. When learners have a certain emotional intelligence it can help them in their engagement with their peers (Brackett & Katulak, 2006). Even if Lofti Kashani, Lofti Azami and Vaziri (2012) found no significant correlation between emotional intelligence and learners' achievement, ignorance of it can hinder any fruitful engagement with controversial issues (Zembylas, 2012) because emotions can arise during an educational engagement with controversial issues (Johnson & Johnson, 1979; Stradling, 2001; Stradling, 2003; Wassermann, 2011). The issue is thus to understand the research participants' experiences related to the emotions

faced during the teaching of the Genocide against the Tutsi, a topic related to the extermination of a national group which happened in a recent past and which is therefore still fresh in the minds of Rwandans. This research has revealed the role of resources and content in traumatising the learners as well as the strategies the history teachers used to deal with emotions.

8.4.1 Traumatising educational resources, content and implications

Certain educational resources provoked emotions in the history classroom. Films, photographs and visits to Genocide memorials are among the teaching resources which traumatised learners. Most participants, including Mukakalisa, Françoise, Semana and Arian, indicated that the screening of films such as *Long Coat*, *Twese turi Abanyarwanda* (We are all Rwandans) and *Rwanda's 100 day genocide* served, to, in one way or another, traumatise certain learners. In fact there is a belief that learning is significantly affected by emotions. This is evidenced by the following statements:

> Once I screened *Long Coat* but was unable to complete it because it traumatized learners. I wanted to show how people were killed *en masse,* in large numbers. Sometimes, movies are not at the learners' level (Françoise).

> The biggest challenge I face though is that both pictures and films serve to traumatize learners. Ah! Since I started teaching, I faced eight learners' cases of traumatism. In my class, traumatism was not only due to photographs of people bearing clubs for killing their fellows but also due to the empathy of that girl who saved her colleague … Her testimony traumatized learners because some of them remembered how they were saved and it took them back in a bad situation (Mukakalisa).

Certain scenes in the films, such as corpses of people killed, were sources of traumatism. They reminded certain learners of horrendous events related to the Genocide which they saw or heard about. Viewing films made them recall these experiences. Altruism was also another source of learners' emotions. Rescuers did their best to save people. Saving itself is not a problem for learners. However, learners put themselves in the place of those who suffered and felt a distinct discomfort.

Not only teaching resources contributed to the rise of emotional behaviour in the various history classes but also the historical content covered provoked learners' emotions. Murezi explained: "I noticed that learners fear to talk about their past

because they do not want to discuss ethnicity". Considering learners' reactions, emotions prevented the history teachers from dealing efficiently with certain aspects of the course such as "ethnicity".

Some participants revealed that they were obliged to change their positionality vis-à-vis the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues due to emotions. For instance, Semana was obliged to be very cautious because he was aware that learners and members of the community were still traumatized and his message could therefore be misunderstood. Semana's anticipation of the emotional situation forced him to exercise a form of self-censorship. The position taken by him was not always respected by the questions learners asked. Another example in this regard is Arian's fear to reveal her own story during the Genocide. Due to learners' tricky questions, she was obliged to talk about her experience during the Genocide. This submission to learners' determination to know her past broke Arian's neutrality. However, the teachers' changing positions was guided by the circumstances. On one hand learners from the affected Rwandan society necessitated a non-traumatising or partisan message. On the other hand, learners' questions also required the teachers to commit themselves in their responses so that learners continued trusting them.

The learners' emotional reactions were underlined by the participants. Rukundo explained that: "When a learner is traumatized, he screams as if somebody is coming to kill him". Other learners, according to Murezi, when he referred to Hutu and Tutsi, "some of them bend their body and look down". Emotions such as those outlined prevented learners from discussing issues related to the Genocide. For instance, the story about the young girl who saved her peers prevented the class from discussing the issue of rescuers due to the emotions created by the story. The same could be said of study tours to museums which traumatised some learners. Consequently, the use of tangible evidence to fight denial as a phenomenon was hampered. Contrary to the commencement of teaching the Genocide where emotions forced history teachers to consciously plan their teaching, in class emotions became a barrier to historical understanding. Therefore, the drawings and constructed stories revealed that the history teachers lacked in their care of not harming learners. An unsafe classroom, due to learners'

emotions, showed the teachers' lack of emotional intelligence and confirmed that teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues is not an easy task.

Despite these negative emotions participants such as Françoise, Mukakalisa and Mukamuhire expressed hope that the teaching of the Genocide can contribute to reconciliation in Rwandan society. Their hope was based on the way learners reacted in class and how they met and entertained after class. Consequently, positive emotions were, based on their experiences of teaching the Genocide, expressed by the history teachers. More particularly Mukakalisa explained how she is now proud and serene when teaching the Genocide:

> I teach the Genocide as a normal chapter. This development was due to my personal initiatives and the institutions I am collaborating with. I was interested in researching on the history of Rwanda and visiting Genocide memorials to get more updated documents. Now I am a self-proclaimed confident history teacher.

Based on the participants' stories and drawings a typology of emotions provoked by the teaching of the Genocide in Rwandan schools can be constructed. The identified emotions included fear, shame, serenity, traumatism, anticipation, submission, disapproval and hope. The identification of possible emotional challenges can help history teachers plan in advance on how to deal with the problem. It has also been observed that emotions do not have a permanent character. They can change from fear to hope or pride depending on the teaching circumstances. Some history teachers' negative emotions disappeared because of training and personal initiatives such as by doing more research on the topic as was the case with Mukakalisa and Rukundo.

As discussed emotions is a hindrance in teaching controversial issues in history as has also been observed in post-conflict societies such as Cyprus. Teachers expressed discomfort at teaching controversial issues for promoting peaceful coexistence due to the emotions created by the recent past of the country (Zembylas & Kambani, 2012). Due to learners' emotions the first implication is that the classroom becomes unsafe. In this regard Holley and Steiner (2005) argue that without a safe space learners cannot feel comfortable and thus take risks in discussing controversial issues and honestly sharing their views. Thus, without a

safe classroom environment certain topics cannot be discussed. For instance, in the case of this research, the shame created by using "ethnic" identities has had an impact on the teaching of the Genocide because learners cannot discuss openly about what happened in as much as social identity is the key factor of the Genocide. As Hilker (2009) posits, in Rwanda ethnicity is taboo in public but continues in private. Therefore, "looking down" can reveal that some learners feel guilty of what was done by the members of their "ethnic" group. There is a kind of collective responsibility expressed by that shame. Thus, some learners are considered as descendants of perpetrators while others as of the victims. This binary understanding divides the classroom and causes emotions to arise.

The feeling of guilt in the case of Rwanda is similar to what Gryglewski (2010) found in Germany which prevented learners from taking an interest in the Holocaust because their backgrounds were not taken into consideration. In Germany, collective guilt has affected interaction between families and hindered the creation of a national identity after the Nazi period (Rensman, 2012). In the case of Rwandan schools it also hinders discussions in class for, as Mukamuhire mentioned, families perpetuate divisionism among learners. However, the rejection of discussing the Genocide or the Holocaust cannot be generalised. For instance, considering Short's (2013) findings about how Muslim learners reacted while learning about the Holocaust, he found that all Muslim learners do not have a negative view of the Holocaust. Some who were exposed to radical education did not like learning about the Holocaust, while others have no animosity and are eager to learn about the Jews' extermination and suffering. This means that if the feeling of guilt is not well managed in class it can lead to resentment of learning about the Genocide. This is why Murezi, for example, tried to appease learners by telling them that being Hutu or Tutsi is not a problem, the most important issue is to work towards reconciliation.

The literature highlights strategies to deal with emotional discomforts. The advice found in the literature includes how to develop a trusting atmosphere in class, sharing biographies with learners, being sensitive to their past and to reflect critically on learners' and teachers' emotions (Zembylas & Kambani, 2012). However, teachers' decisions to disclose or not to disclose their own identity to

learners are controversial (Hess, 2009). In the case of Rwanda, the fear of disclosure can be linked to the challenging aspect of teaching the Genocide. Learners could criticise the teachers' identity and that could serve to undermine the education process. Hence the history teachers did not speak about it.

Despite the existence of challenges related to emotions in history classrooms most of the participating history teachers revealed their lack of skills in dealing with learners' emotions. This lack of skills can again explain the challenging aspect of teaching the Genocide. The next subsection shows that only one participant has the required skills in the matter.

8.4.2 Strategies to deal with learners' emotions

In the face of the emotions experienced in teaching the Genocide the research participants adopted different strategies to deal with it. On the one hand, teachers dealt with their own emotions before starting to teach through psychological preparation. On the other hand they had to deal with learners' emotions because the safe classroom protects learners from emotional or psychological harm (Holley & Steiner, 2005). However, only one history teacher, Rukundo, did a linguistic preparation before tackling the teaching of the Genocide:

> I feel that I can teach learners how to speak when they are talking about the Genocide; the terminologies they are supposed to use and the terminologies they are to avoid so as not offending their neighbours. For instance, they should not talk about the victims' remains but their corpses or bodies, terms which are more respectful. For the Genocide against the Tutsi, they should not use the 1994 civil war, the 1994 upheavals, double genocide or Rwandan conflict of 1994.

The above statement reveals that language matters when teaching genocide. The use of some words such *ibisigazwa* (victims' remains) creates sadness as the Rwandan society wishes to respect the bodies of the persons killed during the Genocide as a way of rehabilitating them. Learners therefore needed to be educated about these sensitive aspects before engaging in discussion so that they did not offend each other. The avoidance of using certain words once again reveals teachers' caring bent because they did not want to harm the learners and the society. Concerning the language preparation done by Rukundo, it concurs with Davies (2012) who argues that certain words used in the teaching of the Holocaust

such as 'ethnic cleansing' due to its closeness to 'cleanliness', are inappropriate. However, the language issue does not prevent the teacher from presenting the correct historical facts. But provoking emotions can disturb the educational process.

The learners' psychological preparation in view of managing their emotions was also mentioned by the participants. Françoise, for example, explained: "I stay close to my learners and try to calm them down (*guhumuriza*). When it becomes very problematic, learners are sent to the medical centre". This psychological effort to create a safe environment was done after noticing the negative effects of certain teaching resources. However, this was done after some learners were negatively affected. Contrary to Françoise, Murezi, was aware that the topic was horrific and gave some preliminary advice to his learners:

> Please, you are going to learn a special course. I request you to be patient and whoever may experience a problem is allowed to go outside. When someone has also a problem, other learners have the right to approach the affected one for comfort.

In light of the above, the majority of history teachers who participated in this research study, including Arian, Semana, Rukundo, Mukakalisa and Murezi, were aware of the emotional aspects of the topic and accordingly did their own psychological and lesson preparation. A strategy adopted by Arian was valuing the topic she was going to teach. She understood that the Genocide is different from other historical topics, thus for her, "You cannot teach genocide and laugh. You have to be serious because this event is still recent and affecting people's minds". The participants' commitment to preparing learners concurs with views expressed in the literature (Barton & McCully, 2007; Johnson & Johnson, 1979). These authors advocate for lesson preparation to create safe spaces so as to successfully discuss controversial issues.

Despite the traumatizing effects of films and visits to museums the drawings and stories revealed that no film pre-screening or psychological preparation was done by the participants. This failure can be explained by a lack of emotional intelligence and skill in the use of Information and Communication Technology in teaching history. The literature recommends a pre-screening of videos (Taylor et al., 2003). With time, Mukakalisa understood that she had to avoid using traumatising resources,

"Normally, I avoid showing horrible images where people are being killed". This avoidance of traumatising films implies a certain pre-screening.

Only one history teacher, Rukundo, affirmed that he was trained in counselling skills so as to take care of the learners when necessary:

> When a learner is traumatized, he screams as if somebody is coming to kill him. For the moment, I approach him and carry him in a separate room. I set him free and he talks about all he was observing without interruption. Meanwhile, I try to show him that he is not alone just by using words of comfort. He is normally recovered after 20 minutes. At the same time I advise the learners that were not traumatized not to isolate or fear the one that was traumatised.

In terms of the positioning theory, prepositioning is not efficiently taken into consideration. Prepositioning is a positioning act which assigns or deletes duties (Harré et al., 2009). For instance, to say to learners: "By visiting Genocide memorials or watching films, you have to avoid being traumatised; you have to be strong". In the case of this research, Françoise calmed down learners when they were already traumatised by the Genocide memorial. Thus, the prepositioning was done at an inappropriate time. However, Murezi did it properly as learners were advised in advance.

In all the research participants used resources such as documentary films which provoked learners' emotions. These emotional situations clearly show the challenging aspect of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Emotions were also a hindrance to the use of participatory teaching approaches and to the achievement of the intended aims. Other sources to be analysed include different documents and films related to the Genocide and government policies (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010). Some aspects of the content such as the use of "ethnic identities" shamed learners and most of participants lacked skills to deal with emotional situations.

8.4 Engaging with curious learners in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues

Alongside emotions the history teachers also had to engage with learners' questions and backgrounds. Taylor et al. (2003) pointed out that in learning history adolescents are influenced by their socio-cultural contexts. Within this context history learners are

influenced by different sources and face contradictory views from official and non-official history. The previous sections on teaching methods and resources (7.5; 7.6) have shown diverse activities performed by learners in class. In their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the participants have revealed via their drawings and professional stories how they engaged with curious learners.

8.5.1 Dealing with learners' background

One of the findings that emerged from this research related to how history teachers dealt with learners' background. Many of the participants, such as Arian, Françoise, Mukamuhire, Murezi and Semana, exhibited fear due to the learners' backgrounds. The presence of learners from families with different experiences of the Genocide proved especially challenging as Françoise and Mukamuhire explained:

> I have mentioned that [at the ousted] I had feared to teach learners from perpetrators and victims' [families] … When I was told the first time that I had to teach a course on the Genocide I feared to teach it because the learners were supposed to have strong "ethnic" feelings rather than strong leanings towards Rwandan citizenship.

> In fact, a learner from a Hutu family can for instance be told at home that the Tutsi are bad people because they mistreated them over a long period of time. On the other hand, survivors can say that the Hutu are bad people because they have been killing the Tutsi since 1959.

What proved challenging was not the learners' physical presence but the issue of the Genocide that needed to be taught to them. Learners' "ethnic" positions and feelings and views seem, due to the official policy of promoting national cohesion and putting aside "ethnic" identities, to be very challenging for the history teachers. The teachers were aware that the Rwandan Government will not be able to erase "ethnic" issues from the minds of the people. Additionally, in their stories and drawings the participants did not mention learners from families who have been living outside of Rwanda for many years due to various reasons. Bystanders and rescuers were also not readily mentioned. These silences do not mean that these groups which were not mentioned could not be affected by what is said in the classroom. Rather, this binary categorisation to present the Rwandan society during the Genocide as victims and perpetrators does not reflect the real situation and can be divisive because it labels all Rwandans as victims and perpetrators (Elitringham, 2004). Another challenging issue related to learners' background is the contradicting views faced as mentioned

by Mukamuhire when explaining his drawing: "I have chosen to draw two walls because they are like two blocs. It means that one group has its own understanding whereas the other one has also its own".

Learners from different backgrounds also exist in other post-conflict societies. For instance in Northern Ireland, the two religious/political communities do not necessarily have the same views on the legitimacy of the state and the role of their communities within the state. Given their contradicting views, the two communities failed to achieve a consensus on a common narrative of the regional history that can be taught in schools or in public places (Barton, 2005).

The presence of learners from victims and perpetrators' families in the case of Rwanda can be compared to this Northern Ireland case mainly due to the use of the participatory approach recommended by the curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010). As such it becomes challenging to accommodate learners' narratives in class without revivifying conflict. The challenge is due to learners' knowledge of different stereotypes which characterises Rwandan history. Learners heard the stereotypes from different sources, mainly the community, as mentioned by Mukamuhire. As a consequence, teaching learners from different backgrounds led some participants to silence "ethnicity" in class. In addition, it is not easy to teach the suffering of the target group without stirring-up emotions in the classroom. This challenge of talking openly about recent violence has also been noted in the literature by Barsalou and Cole (2006).

The challenge to teach the Genocide to learners from different communities has similarities to the teachers' concerns of teaching the Holocaust and other historical events to multicultural classes (Avraham, 2010; Håvardstun, 2012; Salmons, 2003). Concerning the Holocaust, Avraham (2010) recognises that victims, bystanders, perpetrators and rescuers are possible groups a teacher can have in class. He suggests that these groups should be taught the same way. Only, the age of learners can be used as a guide on how to teach them. The age can indicate which sources to use and how to talk to particular age groups. However, some authors do not agree with Avraham (2010) and argue that learners' backgrounds cannot be avoided when teaching. If all historical versions are not dealt with the learners may

feel that their past has been neglected. Consequently, teachers are advised to be aware of learners' social circumstances and to be sensitive to their learners' feelings, opinions and expectations (Håvardstun, 2012; Salmons, 2003). But teachers do not always have enough information about learners' family background. Therefore, they have to remember that learners can be connected to the content covered in class in different ways (Håvardstun, 2012). In the case of this research the participants had in front of them learners whose families acted as perpetrators or who were targeted by killers. Learners also carried stereotypical ideas related to "ethnic" groups. The history teachers had the difficult task of taking this into consideration while teaching so that the school does not become a venue for extending the conflict between learners. What is clear is that the Rwandan history teachers did not discriminate in terms of the content to be taught to the different categories of learners as suggested by Håvardstun (2012). However, some activities done, such as visiting affected communities as earlier discussed (8.5), was an indication that the place of Genocide victims is paramount in teaching.

8.5.2 Learners as critical enquirers

One of the most striking findings of this research is that learners frequently, in the absence of their teachers doing so, positioned themselves as critical enquirers. As some participants avoided discussing controversial issues in their classes and instead opted for the safety of teacher centredness, some learners raised questions related to the Genocide. To avoid duplication controversial issues discussed elsewhere in this study are not repeated in this subsection. A case in point is the issues raised by learners such as the grounding of the presidential jet as a cause of the Genocide and the statistics about the victims.

Other controversial issues raised by learners in their history classes included the role of the colonial administration in sowing divisionism in Rwandan society. At the same time the learners questioned the role of Rwandans themselves in their divisionism as experienced by Arian:

> I admit the idea of ethnic groups as viewed by the learners debatable. When I teach that the Europeans introduced the idea of 'ethnic groups' the learners find this very controversial. Consequently, some learners wonder out loud why it is said that Europeans did so while it is also written that one of the ethnic groups came from Ethiopia before Europeans came. It is not easy for me to explain this.

The learners also wonder why it is said that Europeans brought divisionism when Hutu and Tutsi social groups were in place before their arrival.

For their ideas learners drew on different sources of information including written documents. However, these documents could contradict what the teacher, in this case Arian, told them in terms of the introduction of "ethnic" groups. The learners were clearly not ready to absorb everything the teacher told them without questioning it. To make matters worse the teacher, because of his/her positionality, was not able to satisfactorily clarify learners' questions. The doubt created can be seen, not only as a lack of content knowledge, but as a lack of skills in dealing with controversial issues.

More complicated moral questions were also asked by learners as noted by Mukakalisa:

> Learners wonder how anyone can kill her/his neighbour after calling her/him the enemy. The answer is not an easy one but I try to explain to them that genocides are prepared slowly and start by the spread of an ideology. From this it grows gradually until a phase is reached whereby neighbours find themselves in opposed groups. Thus, I explain that genocide takes time to unfold as a process.

The answer to moral questions of this nature posed by learners is not easy. The learners' questions allowed Mukakalisa to explain the limitations of historical evidence as well as the almost incomprehensibility of the Genocide. Whether this satisfied young inquisitive minds is hard to tell from the available data. The learners' questions are related to the beliefs about learning specifying that learning is a process of making meaning of the world.

The focus by learners on moral aspects can be considered as a gap in the curricula (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008; 2010) which did not link moral aspects to historical perspective in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The learners' questions did not only raise an empathetic disposition to understand the discriminatory process against the victims but also a profound rational process which explains the causes of the discrimination which led to the extermination (Avraham, 2010).

What is clear is that despite the complexity in understanding the Genocide as an event, learners are not ignorant of the topic. They are informed, not only by various forms of media, but also by their parents who were either perpetrators or survivors as stated earlier. In this context each side has its own logic and method of explaining the Genocide. However, some learners are not satisfied by what they hear from their families or the media and they want an additional explanation from their history teachers. Even though Mukamuhire, for example revealed that learners relied more on school history than the knowledge gained in their communities to understand the Genocide, the learners' questions can be interpreted as a gap found in the teachers' content. This means that certain expectations learners had before learning about the Genocide and its related controversial issues were not fulfilled. Consequently, some sources used by learners can contradict the official narrative. In fact, as Lee (2005) and Haydn et al. (2001) noted, learners do not come into classroom as empty "slates". Their preconceptions and wrong ideas can be addressed in classrooms and the teachers' role in this regard is most crucial because of the reality of Genocide denial and the dubious nature of many sources.

8.5.3 Learners as unintentional "deniers" or risk takers

There is much literature which describes what happened in Rwanda as Genocide. In addition, what occurred in 1994 was recognised by the United Nations as such (Des Forges, 1999; Jørgensen, 2001; Kimonyo, 2008; McDoom, 2007; Newbury, 1995, 1998; Prunier, 1997; Rutembesa, 2011; Semujanga, 2003; Sherti, 2014; Stanton, 2004; Verdirame, 2000). However, the literature revealed a range of scholars minimising the spread of the Genocide or denying its existence (Gasanabo et al., 2014; Ruzibiza, 2005; Waldorf, 2009). Genocide denialists believes that there was no Genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and argue that "many people were killed in 1994 by both sides making those who carried out the [G]enocide and their enemies morally equivalent" (Caplan, 2007,n.p). However, negation of the Genocide is considered by Rwandan law as a deliberate act done in public and denying the existence of the Genocide, preaching the theory of double genocide and other related aspects as specified in the law, are punishable acts (Republic of Rwanda, 2013).

With reference to the above Françoise explains a kind of Genocide denial she noticed in her class:

Surprisingly to me, during the class discussions, learners' ideas reveal a certain kind of denial. To me, I think this is due to the use of the Internet and what they read on it and it worries me. Nowadays, technology is advanced and there are some challenging explanations learners get from the Internet. According to what they read on the Internet they advance the argument that no Genocide occurred in Rwanda but only killings.

This quotation does not aim to judge learners as deniers because it is not the role of this research to do so. Rather, it helps to understand the experiential challenges faced by teachers when they teach the course on the Genocide. As Françoise noted, a major challenge is the use of the Internet where learners find a range of diverse information. Even if Genocide denial, called "negationism" in the history curriculum, is mentioned in the topics to be covered, it does not have a specific aim in the history curriculum to address this challenging problem (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2010, p.59).

The idea of a double genocide was also raised by learners "arguing that the Hutu and the Tutsi killed each other". For instance, in Françoise's class one learner asked: "Teacher, we hear people saying that in 1994, it was not only Tutsi who died. Why do people say the Genocide was perpetrated against Tutsi only?" The learner's questions had a double aim. By questioning, for example, the naming of the Genocide, the learner implies that Hutu were also killed. In Arian's classroom, specific names of Hutu who died such as Agathe Uwilingiyimana, the former Prime Minister and Frédéric Nzamurambaho, former Minister of Agriculture were given as examples. Françoise's responses to this question made her positionality clear:

Listen carefully! It was not only the Tutsi who died but the Hutu who were killed during that time were not specifically targeted. It was because they were collaborating with the Tutsi or because they were hiding them. This is why it cannot be considered a double genocide. (Françoise)

A similar tone is adopted by two other participants:

Genocide is only possible when there is state involvement. I illuminate to my class the fact that genocide is different from other killings viewed as war crimes. The extermination of Tutsi was planned, evidences are available. I give to them references showing how different authors explain it [that Tutsi were targeted since many years]. After the Genocide, the Rwandese Patriotic Front did not urge Genocide survivors to avenge. Those who did it were arrested; there was no official plan to exterminate Hutu people. (Mukakalisa)

It is not Genocide because people who died in the war were not targeted. During the war, there was no planning or intention to exterminate all Hutu. After the Genocide, there were few people who were victims of the revenge killings due to the Rwandese Patriotic Front soldiers who were unhappy because of their relatives who were horribly executed. The government made enough efforts to stop this inacceptable attitude. Soldiers who did so were convicted in military courts for their deeds. (Rukundo)

The responses given to learners as outlined above are in line with the aim of teaching the Genocide and relates to the differentiation between genocide and other crimes. The idea of planning to exterminate a targeted group and state involvement in it appear as some of the pre-requisites to a genocide. The statements show that Françoise was circumspect and invited learners to listen to her carefully while explaining the idea of double genocide. The use of "listen carefully" was an invitation to learners that they were about to receive an unquestionable truth. This position can be considered as a commitment to invite learners to comply with the law.

With reference to Slocum and van Langenhove (2004), in the positioning theory the actorness depends on the assessor's point of view. Thus, by affirming that the Genocide did not occur, the learners can be considered as playing devil's advocate or risk taking. In that case they can push the teacher and the colleagues to argue more deeply and critically (Stradling, 1984). If learners were convinced of their evidence they can be positioned either as deniers or lacking the skills to confront contradictory sources. Another possible explanation is that when learners do not get answers in school history to their questions there is a danger that they will look for evidence supporting their beliefs without making a sound judgement (McCully, 2012). The data did not reveal if the teachers had managed to explain the specificity of the Rwandan case so that learners understood why the Rwandan case cannot be compared to normal killings. However, there is extensive literature available supporting both learners and teacher's views. The learners' views are officially considered genocide denial whilst the teacher differentiates between the Genocide and other killings (Capla, n.d; Des Forges, 1999; Jørgensen, 2001; Kimonyo, 2008; McDoom, 2007; Newbury, 1995, 1998; Prunier, 1997; Rutembesa, 2011; Semujanga, 2003; Sherti, 2014; Stanton, 2004; Verdirame, 2000).

Generally speaking history learners entered into the classes of the research participants with a range of ideas on the Genocide against the Tutsi based on a range of different sources. These sources led the learners to question the teachers' narratives on the Genocide. For their self-care, history teachers did their best to respond by taking into consideration the accepted official narrative. The lack of skills in dealing with the controversial aspects of the Genocide as raised by the learners participants, coupled with teachers' compliance with official narrative, can lead learners to doubt the history they are taught at school.

8.6 Collaboration with the community

Having considered the history teachers' experiences of dealing with learners in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, it is also necessary to analyse the collaboration between the school and the communities the learners come from. This collaboration intertwines with the aims behind teaching the Genocide and the teaching methods employed to do so.

Some of the participants explained their collaboration with the community in their constructed stories and drawings. They mentioned that their collaboration was characterised by visiting an affected community and a local Genocide memorial. Regarding visits to local communities only one history teacher, Rukundo, chose to visit a community affected by the consequences of the Genocide. This community was considered a source of information that could contribute to learners' historical knowledge by sharing their lived experiences as explained below:

> My class visits to …families that have been affected by the Genocide discuss how they have been assisted and live with their neighbours. In my view, learners are interested in knowing how people were reunited after horrible events that had occurred. After such visits learners are given time to explain what they have seen and to reflect on how the genocide has impacted on people. Moreover, according to me, by visiting families they get to realise that there is a hope for the future and that Rwandans will be united. The reconstruction of the country is one of the ways that can show affected learners that they are not alone.

Visiting communities can help learners to gain first-hand information in relation to reconciliation and an opportunity to reflect and internalise the local history. The same can be said of visiting Genocide memorials:

> Our school visits the Murama Genocide memorial site during the commemoration period (April-July). During this visit I have no specific role

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because it is organized at district level. At the memorial site, the priest prays and the district representative explains to the audience issues related to the execution of the Genocide and its effects. When we are back in the class the learners are then allowed to give their comments. (Françoise)

In the case of meeting the local community at the Genocide memorial the learners could commemorate alongside the victims with the neighbourhood.

Rukundo was aware that a bad choice of resource person could mean that the teaching aims would not be achieved because of bias or omissions. This shortcoming was mediated by the teacher who visited the affected community. The community visit was done during his second year of teaching in the area. In the case of the Genocide memorial, the teacher had no say in the choice of the speakers. The speakers were selected by the administrative authorities. However, the talk by the district representative was not followed by an exchange of ideas and as a result the learners did not get a diverse range of information. They were exposed to a one-dimensional memorial lecture.

Ostensibly, visiting Genocide survivors was only done by Rukundo and his class. His educational background as a specialised history teacher is not enough to explain his choice because other participants with the same background did not do so. Another possible explanation can be found in his personal experience and interest of observing survivors' life conditions and their relationship with neighbours. Rukundo's positionality can be seen in his drawing of a ladder. He thinks that reconciliation is a long process and both survivors and their neighbours have a role to play.

The reviewed literature shows that genocide can also be taught by going to the field beyond the classroom or textbook for active engagement (Philips, 2008; Smith 2012). The discussed study visit aimed, not only at showing empathy to affected communities in view of reconciliation, but also to listen to people talking about their experiences and about their relationship with their neighbours in the post-Genocide period. The role of teachers' empathetic dispositions has been emphasized by some authors (Burtonwood, 2002; McAllister & Irvine, 2002) especially while teaching the Holocaust or other controversial issues. It is what Noddings (1994) called feeling with and in this case the sufferings or joy of affected communities are shared by the

learners during their visits. According to McAllister and Irvine (2002, p. 433) "Empathy can potentially foster openness, attentiveness, and positive relationships". But, exercises in empathy can be frivolous as well as risking over-identification with either the perpetrator or the victim (Burtonwood, 2002). The choice of the person to visit in the community was in the case of this study meticulously done. This choice concurs with the literature as Waterson (2007) posits that if the selection is not well done there is a risk of losing focus and it creates the danger of destroying the subject matter through amateurism.

In terms of teaching controversial issues, the visits were a way of showing empathy to learners who lost their relatives during the killings (Irvine, 1990). In contrast, the lack of exchange of ideas at the memorial can be seen as a hindrance to the promotion, not only of the historical knowledge, but also to other skills learners can gain and use outside the school related to the use of memorials and discussion on the Genocide and its related controversial issues (Haydn et al., 2001; Manyane, 1985; Marcus, 2007; Taylor et al., 2003).

Some participants such as Mukakalisa, Murezi and Rukundo urged their learners to collect oral evidence in their communities. In some cases this collaboration proved to be unproductive. This is evidenced by one learner sent by Murezi to collect oral evidence related to social identities to build a solid argument during their presentations. The following teaching scene from Murezi's story is evidence in this regard:

> Learner: What is our clan?
> Parent: We are from Abasindi clan. But, your mother is from Ababanda. Children adopt their father's clan.
> Learner: Hum! What about 'ethnic groups'?
> Parent: What are you saying? Who is that teacher who is sowing divisionism among learners?
> Learner: No, I think we are trying to understand who we are and our past.
> Parent: No, this is not acceptable. Your teacher is not preaching unity.

The dialogue shows that collecting oral evidence, even at home, is challenging. The parent was ready to talk about clans not about "ethnic" identities. This means that the choice of topics to be discussed by the community is a determinant in the collaboration between the school and the parents. Talking openly about "ethnicity"

became a taboo in Rwanda because of official policy of unity and reconciliation which seeks to promote "Rwandeness" (Republika y'u Rwanda, 2007). On their side, parents also want to comply with the policy of promotion of unity by disowning their "ethnic" identities. Despite these challenges Mukakalisa keeps using oral evidence collected by learners at home. Mukakalisa's determination in using oral evidence from learners' communities can be due to the success of this approach in her experience of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

A different position was taken by Mukamuhire. Instead of requesting learners to collect oral evidence in communities, she decided to dismiss unofficial histories and does not build learners' knowledge based on what they already know from their families and the media. She is convinced that learners appreciate school history because it provides an analysis of facts with clear evidence: "Even if they talk about ideas they refer to what they heard at home or from another place and most of the time opposite to a good history teaching process which aims at rebuilding the country". In this regard, she affirms that,

> … a learner from a Hutu family can for instance be told at home that the Tutsi are bad people because they mistreated them over a long period of time. On the other hand, survivors can say that the Hutu are bad people because they have been killing the Tutsi since 1959. If one parent was persecuted since 1959, 1960, and so forth, he/she will not question the individuals who did it.

Mukamuhire's statement bears prejudices which can be used for discussing controversial issues. However, the participant did not want to do so because it had the potential to generate hatred ideas as the teacher can fail to control the situation. The demonising of community history by Mukamuhire does not help either and undermines the use of it for the basis of discussion so as to underpin school history. Without only talking about "ethnicity" the community can provide other relevant information related to the topic and supportive to the curriculum.

The participants also revealed the timid role of other institutions such as higher learning institutions, in teachers' professional development: A case in point is the statement by Mukakalisa:

> The university promised to evaluate the problems history teachers faced in this regard but I have no idea about the follow up. Some, institutions like the Parliament, Senate, District, Police and Security services come to talk with

teachers. But as far as I am concerned institutions and universities should come more frequently to the field and evaluate the situation related to the teaching of the genocide in history classrooms.

Despite this timid role Mukakalisa and Françoise appreciated the effort of the Rwandan Education Board to provide some teaching resources such as the *Teachers' Guide*.

The shortcomings of history from the community has been also identified in Northern Ireland where learners found that it "was often partial and fragmented, and frequently political motivated" (Kitson & McCully, 2005, p.32). However, school history as presented in textbooks is also motivated by legitimated ideologies and represents important values from influential groups in a given country (Crawford, 2003). Thus, the history from the community was avoided by Mukamuhire. Given a challenging aspect of teaching the Genocide, the history teachers preferred to be careful in not allowing any harmful message in the classroom without the required skills to deal with it. However, other participants, such as Françoise and Rukundo, used learners' knowledge from communities and they were aware that it does not always substantiate school history.

In terms of teaching controversial issues, the dismissal of unofficial histories from learners' communities does not accommodate either the learner centredness or the balanced approach propounded by Stradling (1984). It does not allow the identification of what is controversial from community knowledge for teaching purposes (Hess, 2004). The dismissal of unofficial histories is close to teacher centredness and commitment to convince learners about certain truths instead of critical engagement with different sources. Silencing communities' histories also contradicts the teaching of controversial issues which favour community participation in view of having good citizens (Oulton, Day, Dillon & Grace, 2004). As noted by McCully, Pilgrim, Sutherland and McMinn (2002), learners rarely arrive as empty slates in class. Their communities have a role to play as the school cannot teach all history (Totten, 2001). Thus, learners have some knowledge from communities which has to be taken into consideration so that they can understand why there are different interpretations.

Presenting one narrative as is happening in Rwanda contradicts what was found in some post-conflict societies such as Northern Ireland where teachers did not chose to present an agreed narrative of the past. Rather, they empowered the learners by enabling them to critically analyse the past based on evidence and by considering any narrative of the past as provisional and open to critics (McCully, 2011). However, presenting one narrative in the case of Rwanda is close to the Cambodian case where some teachers "continue to have some fears over introducing KR [Khmer Rouge] history into their classrooms. History teachers would not dare deviate from the approved social studies textbook of the Ministry of Education" (Dy, 2013, p.7). There are many emotions related to Khmer Rouge history for political reasons as discussed earlier.

In a post-conflict society one narrative can be used to shape a national identity, the question in this regard is to learners' reactions at school and afterwards. Learners in Northern Ireland were happy with school history because it gave them an opportunity to learn about other perspectives to understand other communities' experiences and motivations (McCully, 2012). But, by muzzling certain narratives school history can lead to conflict or learners can fail to understand present issues (McCully, 2011). Thus, the implications of teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues in this way are ambiguous. It aims at contributing to peace-making (Wassermann, 2011) but can also lead to conflict in the long run. This ambiguity shows the challenging nature of teaching the Genocide when people's wounds are not yet completely cicatrised.

8.6 Conclusion

The previous chapter discussed the history teachers' experiences on how they use teaching methods and resources and the reasons behind their choices. Considering my research paradigm the two discussion chapters did not aim to provide the best way of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. It was shown that in general the teacher centredness is predominant in a history class for diverse reasons including the transmission of unquestionable truths related to some specific controversial issues which were considered part of the causes of the Genocide. The mentioned aspects included the settlement of the population. Learner centredness

was also used, in a lukewarm manner, by means of a range of activities including group presentations and discussion.

Even if the Genocide is a sensitive and controversial issue, some success were pointed out. For instance, the topic was not skipped. Rwandan history teachers did their best to use a range of resources such as documentary films, textbooks, resource persons and study tours. All the participants were eager to build a better society through the teaching of Genocide and its related controversial issues. Despite history teachers' efforts, a scarcity of resources existed and some were even inappropriate. For their safety and so as not being accused of divisionism the learners' communities were also reluctant to cooperate in teaching the topic. Communities feared to deal with some specific sensitive issues such as "ethnicity". The communities' reluctance in the matter shows the challenging nature teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Considering the above discussion, in their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the participants adopted changing positions according to the content and emotionally charged post-Genocide socio-political situation they find themselves in. Their positions oscillated between peace-making, neutrality, commitment, nurturant facilitator to indoctrination. In this regard, Rukundo, for example, was positioned as a nurturant facilitator when he wanted to improve learners' decision making capabilities and to express their views and opinions on the Genocide against the Tutsi. The nurturant facilitator was not maintained on some sensitive issues such as the double genocide. No discussion about the so-called double genocide was accepted and the teachers were committed to comply with the law rejecting the double genocide theory (Republic of Rwanda, 2013). The same stated commitment to reject the double genocide theory was adopted by Mukakalisa. But, in other circumstances, the history teachers were positioned as peace makers by providing a range of examples of people who risked their lives to save others.

Regarding neutrality, it was motivated by the presence of two groups of learners, the victims and those linked to perpetrators. However, this neutrality was abandoned by the participants. A clear case is that of Arian who preferred to comply with official sources to confirm the number of victims. Thus, when a case required being

circumspect, based on the teachers' experiences of the Rwandan society, they opted to comply with official sources for their own safety and that of learners. Thus, without it being their main intention, most of the participants indoctrinated the learners. This indoctrination was seen mainly through the use of teacher centredness where, for instance, learners were requested to listen carefully to their history teachers without giving their interpretation. The avoidance of discussing controversial issues was mainly observed through the predominance of teacher centredness used in teaching even historical events of the deep past. In view of protecting learners from harm, and to avoid Genocide denial, none played devil's advocate. Rather, learners can be considered as the risk takers by raising controversial issues. In all, teachers' positionality changed according to the circumstances they taught in and the aspect of the Genocide they were covering.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUDING THE JOURNEY ON TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHING THE GENOCIDE AND ITS RELATED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

9.1 Introduction

This study aimed at understanding Rwandan secondary school history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The guiding key research questions to understand the participants' experiences were:

- What are the controversial issues related to the Genocide against the Tutsi that are being taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools?

- What are the research participants' experiences on how the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools?

- Why do the participants have the experiences they had on how the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues are taught in history in Rwandan secondary schools?

In chapters 5 and 6 I interpreted the findings from the participants' drawings and re-storied professional experiences. In chapters 7 and 8, I discussed the findings and linked them to the reviewed literature and my theoretical framework. Through the discussion an understanding of teachers' experiences on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in Rwandan schools was achieved. The purpose of this final chapter is to provide a logical conclusion to this research through a reflection on the emerged findings and to develop my thesis and recommendations.

As this ninth chapter concludes the study I present an overview of each chapter in a reflective manner. After the presentation of the overview I advance my thesis by proposing answers to the research questions based on the findings emerging from chapters 7 and 8. This is followed by an explanation of the merit of the scholarly contribution of this study. Thereafter I assess the strengths and weaknesses of the research design and methodology used in this study. In the next section I reflect on how conducting this research impacted on me personally and professionally. In the

final sections of the chapter the limitations of the study are highlighted, recommendations are suggested and ideas for further research are proposed.

9.2 Overview of the study

This study on teachers' experiences on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues was structured into nine chapters. In this section I present an overview of the nine chapters by focusing on the major issues encompassed in each.

Regarding the first chapter, its purpose was to provide a background to the thesis. In this regard a series of issues were covered. For instance the geopolitical location of Rwanda, the location of this research study, was described. Additionally, a brief background on the history of education in Rwanda was provided. I also explained how, due to the Genocide, the history of Rwanda was reduced in the curricula studied in Rwandan secondary schools. Following this restructuring process topics such as the Genocide were not taught. Subsequently I clarified my positionality towards, and my motivation and rationale for the study. I positioned myself as someone committed to teaching controversial issues but also committed to understanding how the teaching of controversial issues, including the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues, was done in Rwandan secondary schools. The purpose and focus of this thesis were outlined and linked to the research questions posed. In the first chapter I also explained the theoretical considerations related to this research undertaking and elucidated methodological aspects of this research. Finally, I presented a chapter by chapter preview of the envisaged thesis. In conclusion, the first chapter aimed at setting the scene for the research thesis as a whole.

The second chapter focused on the historical background of Rwanda. The purpose of this historical overview was to help the reader understand, not only the root causes of the Genocide, but also the historical content teachers were facing and the context in which they were teaching. In this chapter I also presented the different coagulant elements and challenges related to Rwandan unity during the precolonial period. Particular attention was placed on the pseudo-ethnic identities, Twa, Hutu and Tutsi, and it was explained that they did not always mean the same thing in different times and historical contexts. Thus, I showed that the mentioned "ethnic"

identities were fluid. The role of colonial powers and certain Catholic Church leaders in turning them into fixed identities was also highlighted. The chapter furthermore focused on how "ethnic" identities were used to officially create social injustice in the education sector and in filling politico-administrative positions so as to advance European interests. The second chapter also analysed how the post-colonial period was characterised by social injustice. The quota system which aimed at creating a balance between "ethnic" groups, regions and genders was elucidated. The chapter continued by analysing how the system was used to exclude Tutsi and certain regions from fully benefitting from opportunities available. This discriminatory policy was exacerbated by the outbreak of the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. The enormous effects of the Genocide, which are still impacting Rwandan society in general and teachers and learners in particular, were highlighted. In summation, the second chapter exposed the historical root causes of the Genocide and the difficult contextual conditions under which the history teachers who participated in this study were operating.

The third chapter, the literature review, explained not only the challenges of conceptualising genocide and controversial issues, but also the relevance of teaching both genocide and controversial issues. Specific cases of post-conflict societies were taken as examples to understand how controversial issues, including genocides, are dealt with in classroom situations. In this regard, the Northern Ireland and Cambodian cases were outlined and compared to that of Rwanda. Particular attention was paid to the Holocaust as a template for teaching genocides. In the third chapter I also explained positioning theory which was used in this research. The limitations of positioning theory were highlighted and ways of alleviating them were proposed. With reference to controversial issues the theoretical ideas of Stradling (1984) and other scholars on teaching controversial issues, such as procedural neutrality, stated commitment, balanced approach or indoctrination, were also reviewed. The chapter helped to provide a deeper understanding of the scholarly work on genocide and controversial issues. The reviewed literature on controversial issues provided me with the key concepts used to design my theoretical framework used to analyse the data and to speak back to research questions. Most importantly in reviewing the literature a niche was identified for my study.

The research methodology was unpacked in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, I expounded how the data were gathered. As the main purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers in teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues the research design and research methodology employed were unpacked. With reference to the research design, the research approach, research paradigm, ontological and epistemological assumptions, framing and locating of the sample and the ethical procedures followed were explained. The methodology, which dealt with the positioning of career life stories, the data gathering methods including drawings, photo-elicitation and use of interviews, were also fully unpacked in this chapter. The choice of the sample used in this study was also explained. Finally, the process of analysing and interpreting drawings and reconstructed career life stories was also outlined.

In the fifth chapter the drawings created by the participants of their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues were analysed. The analysis of the drawings was done first because they depicted the participants' insights at the commencement of teaching the Genocide. By means of drawings the participants' emotions, such as fear, anxieties and hope, related to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues were revealed. In general, the drawings were a powerful research method, not only for starting the interviews but also to reveal the participants' insights of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues which were not readily revealed by the other research methods.

In the sixth chapter, I presented the data from the photo-elicitation, semi-structured and self-interviews which were used to construct career life stories. The stories were constructed by means of open coding and took into consideration the main aspects of teaching. Consequently, each story included a short biography, the participants' description of their first encounters with the Genocide, their aims of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, the content covered, and the teaching methods and resources used to teach the Genocide. The rationale of using teaching methods and a short concluding commentary were also outlined in each story.

In chapters 7 and 8 I thematically reported the findings of my thesis. The findings from the drawings and stories were brought into conversation with the reviewed literature. In chapter 7 I presented the findings related to the commencement of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues as well as the aims identified and the content covered. In chapter 8, I reported on findings related to teachers' experiences in terms of teaching methods, resources, emotions, learners' roles and cooperation with the community and other institutions. From the theorisation of the findings it was found, amongst others, that teacher centredness, due to the socio-political context which requires teachers to be careful to avoid harming learners and to protect themselves, prevailed. Consequently, learner centredness was but superficially practiced. Other factors such as aims to be achieved, scarcity and nature of teaching resources, the collaboration with the community, learners' and teachers' emotions and how they impacted on the way the Genocide and its related controversial issues were taught were also foregrounded.

In the ninth chapter, I concluded the study.

The overview of this study aimed at explaining the process followed to propose answers to the research questions posed. The firm findings which emerged were used in the next section to propose my thesis statement based on the answers to research questions. The next section thus links the research questions to the findings and theoretical framework.

9.3 Linking research questions to findings

Firstly, what then were the controversial issues brought to the fore by this study?

9.3.1 Identifying controversial issues

In the experiences of Rwandan secondary schools' history teachers when teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues a series of controversial issues arose. These controversies not only related to the content taught but also to teachers' positionality, the educational sources used to teach, the teaching methods employed and the relationship between the school and the community. With reference to the content a range of issues, such as the naming of the Genocide, the causes of the Genocide, the grounding of the presidential jet, the

role of the international community in the Rwandan tragedy, the number of victims and the management of the post-Genocide period were identified as being controversial.

One of the major findings is that most of the controversial issues were identified by learners. This is due to the prevalence of teacher centredness. By using the teacher centredness, most of the teachers taught the Genocide and its related controversial issues in a one-dimensional way. In so doing they did not raise controversial issues. As learners have a range of sources, such as media and their communities, at their disposal they noticed gaps in the teachers' message. As a consequence the learners raise a range of controversial issues. For example, the naming of the Genocide. More specifically they asked why the naming focused only on the Tutsi whereas people from other social groups also died during the genocidal process. In this case, certain names of political leaders from opposition political parties such as Frederick Nzamurambaho, who was Minister of Agriculture, or Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who was Prime Minister, were mentioned. The naming of the Genocide implies that the policy of memory is also controversial. In this regard, the history curriculum does not distinguish between the extermination of Tutsi and Hutu opponents (National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008).

This study also revealed that in their responses to the learners the history teachers adhered to the official master narrative and explained without hesitation that it was called the Genocide against the Tutsi because the Rwandan Tutsi were targeted based on their social group. This response corroborates the literature, including official documents and local publications (Nkusi, 2004; Republic of Rwanda, 2013). However, the participants' responses did not provide any specific name for the killing of the non-Tutsi Rwandans who had died during the Genocide. The literature, in turn, indicates that they were victims of human rights violations (Ntakirutimana, 2014; 2016; Rubibi, 2013). Thus, the history teachers' positionality aims at inculcating an official narrative in the learners. This can be seen as a kind of avoidance of discussing controversial aspects of the question raised. Concerning the history curriculum's position regarding non-distinction between Tutsi and other social groups' victims, it could have been due to the fact that the naming of the Genocide kept changing. The curriculum was written when the target population was not yet

officially specified. Thus, the curriculum positionality vis-à-vis the victims also make the Genocide controversial.

The idea of double genocide was also considered by the learners as a controversial issue. The learners argued that the Hutu and Tutsi killed each other. The learners' point of view was also rejected by their teachers who argued that the Genocide against the Tutsi was planned for many years and there is evidence for this. Claiming that some Hutu were killed after the Genocide, the participants clearly responded that the Rwandese Patriotic Front did not urge Genocide survivors to avenge. Those who did so were arrested and there was, furthermore, no plan to exterminate all Hutu. Thus, the idea of a double genocide was dismissed by the history teachers in question. On the one hand certain literature supports the participants' answer that there was no plan to exterminate Hutu and the wrongdoers were punished (Beloff, 2014; Prunier, 1997). On the other hand, however, another category of authors point to violations of international humanitarian law which were not seriously investigated (Des Forges, 1999; Peskin, 2005). Beloff (2014) points out that certain people such as Paul Rusesabagina, the controversial hero of *Hotel Rwanda* wrongly equates the Hutu killed to the Genocide. The teachers' positions on this matter were categorical and verbs such as "listen carefully" were used to convince the learners about a single historical truth. The double genocide theory is considered a crime under Rwandan law and this could serve to explain the teachers' commitment to avoid discussing the matter. In addition, contradicting official narrative on sensitive topics can be considered as divisionism.

Alongside controversial aspects discussed in the classroom, the community attitude contributed to making teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues controversial. This was evidenced by learners' questions to their parents during their homework. The discussion about certain aspects such as "ethnic" identity was rejected by one parent whereas other non-controversial aspects such as clans were discussed. The parent did not want to be considered a source of divisionism. The general avoidance of using evidence from the community or the parent's refusal to talk about "ethnic" identities can be explained by the Government position which fingers "ethnicity" as one of the major causes of the Genocide. The search for a common Rwandan identity makes the Government promote the idea of unity and this

leads to tension when scholarly questions are asked (Buckely-Zistel, 2009; Freedman et al., 2008; Hilker, 2009; Repubulika y'u Rwanda, 2007). Thus the collaboration between the school and the community can be regarded as controversial.

The teaching resources used to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues also served to make the topic controversial. The findings revealed that some teachers used films to teach the Genocide. However, Mukamuhire rejected the use of films accusing them of sowing divisionism in the Rwandan community. On the other hand, other teachers used films in view of achieving certain stated aims. In addition, one history teacher was obliged to use the official textbook in order to help learners achieve an agreement in their discussion. Electronic and Internet sources were also carefully used as they were suspected of containing either traumatising or divisive information. As a result, learners were required to use sources which offered a one-dimensional narrative. This decision reflected an incomplete image of the Genocide and served to make the teaching of the Genocide even more controversial than it already was. Focusing on a single narrative, rejecting films and strict control of the Internet contradict the idea of using multiple sources to allow for deep historical understanding (Taylor et al., 2003).

The prevalence of teacher centredness was also controversial because the curriculum recommended the use of learner centredness. Most poignantly teacher centredness was portrayed by Mukakalisa (see Figure 5.8), as a big man in front of learners pointing to a masculine connection to this teaching approach. The depicted man and his domineering position were used to denote how, by means of his influence, an undebatable truth was about to be transmitted to the audience of learners. In relation, the literature helped to explain, for instance, how certain positions taken by the history teachers, such as the use of a one-dimensional narrative, were characterised by commitment to support the Government policy of unity (McCully, 2012; Stradling, 1984). In other words, adhering to the state as the "big man" and his uncontested version of events, this lack of multi-perspectivity can also be viewed as controversial because the curriculum recommends a participatory approach.

In all, the content, teaching resources, the role of the community in teaching the Genocide, teaching methods, the curriculum and the policies of memory contributed to the controversial aspects of teaching of the Genocide.

9.3.2. History teachers' experiences on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues

The second research question dealt with the participants' experiences on how the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues were taught in Rwandan secondary schools. To reiterate - experience was considered as knowledge related to certain events including feelings and thoughts. Experience implies an impression left by an event in which someone was involved. In this regard, experiences are not only subject to internal influence but also to external ones such as social conditions and beliefs (Scott, 1991). In the theorisation of the findings related to how the Genocide was taught, I devised typology related to experiences which related to issues of physical, mental, emotional, social, educational and personal experiences.

Socially, the Genocide against the Tutsi has been very disastrous. It fragmented Rwandan society left a million dead and many more traumatised and scarred. In addition, the Genocide is a recent event still fresh in the minds of Rwandans and the teachers who have to teach it. Thus, the Genocide was taught by being careful to avoid harming learners and with an aim of creating a better society. In this regard, the findings of this study revealed that the Genocide was taught by going to the field for visiting affected communities. This teaching method was motivated by teachers' emotional experiences. By emotional experience, I mean the empathy history teachers were obliged to inculcate into learners. Through visits to affected communities and memorials, the teachers wanted to impart skills to learners which can allow them to participate in positive societal transformation. The participants were fully aware of the Genocide survivors' suffering. Learners who engaged with Genocide survivors not only came to understand their suffering but also experienced reconciliation, genocide prevention and decision taking.

Due to the history teachers' social experiences they taught the Genocide and its related controversial issues in a teacher centred manner. This was done in view of

promoting certain values such as the respect for life and peace. For promoting learners' altruism, teachers used a series of strategies such as films or resource persons so that learners could understand the necessity of resisting evil and of having the courage to save others.

The history teachers' socio-political experiences of the Rwandan society pushed the participants to be aware that unity and reconciliation were the golden objective of the Rwandan Government in the post-Genocide period. In order to achieve this aim, the Government uses history as a tool of sensitising the population to the importance to be united and patriotic. As a result, teachers predominantly adopted teacher centredness. This happened despite the learner centred approaches proposed by the history curriculum. This prevalence was proved by the frequency of teachers' statements themselves stating how they teach. They refer to themselves teaching by phrases such as: "I use a lecture mode", "I explain to learners" and "Listen!" Teacher centredness was also evidenced by the participants' drawings showing the teacher in front of learners in a position of authority and keeper of historical knowledge. The persistence of teacher centredness might have been due not only to self-care in view of avoiding harm to learners but also due to their own self-care by avoiding to contradict the official narrative in the history class (Freedman et al., 2008; Hodgkin, 2006; Walker-Keleher) and then getting into trouble.

The Genocide is being denied by some scholars. As a counter to this the Genocide memorials became a teaching method employed by history teachers to deal with Genocide denial. In this process of using Genocide memorials, mental experience implies imagination and memory. This means that learners visited Genocide memorials in order to link the observable remains to Tutsi killed during the Genocide. Thus learners realise in their minds that the Genocide was real. In the same manner films and pictures were also used so that learners could understand how certain people looked, such as political leaders.

Teachers' educational experiences helped the participants to understand that certain teaching methods were better suited than others in teaching certain aspects of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Teacher centredness was generally predominant and chosen for a range of reasons, including: so as to transmit an

unchallenged educational message out of fear of propagating divisive histories from learners' communities. The prevalence of especially teacher centredness did not exclude the occasional use of forms of learner centredness as a means of critical engagement with the Genocide. In this regard group presentations and discussion were performed in order to increase learners' critical and transferable skills. Group discussions were also used for reaching an agreed upon narrative in case of controversies. One history teacher decided to organise a school-wide debate on the Genocide in view of awareness and prevention. The idea of whole school discussion about the Genocide found in this specific school was unique and visionary and concurs with what Salmons (2001) proposed for a British school to sort out, not only the issue of lack of enough time to deal with the Holocaust, but also to respond to other aims of teaching the Holocaust including moral aspects. But using learner centredness was the exception rather than the rule.

In line with the learner centred approach, the research findings showed that through teachers' educational experiences, certain resources were also used in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues including Information and Communication Technologies. For instance, documentary films were employed to enhance learners' historical knowledge and gain some transferable skills about the planning execution of the Genocide, Tutsi resistance, decision taking and unity. Few participants used resource persons to give first-hand information to learners and, based on the local experience of the resource persons, to show the learners that the Genocide and the mistreatment against the Tutsi were real.

Teachers were reluctant to teach the Genocide based on their own personal or physical experiences. In this regard they preferred to remain neutral. However, their neutrality changed due to learners' questions and they were, at times, obliged to place emphasis on certain aims such as educating learners who are patriotic and eager to promote unity and reconciliation. At the same time, learners were educated to work for genocide prevention.

In all, the Genocide against the Tutsi and its related controversial issues were taught mainly in a teacher centred manner due to internal and external teachers' experiences which can be categorised as socio-political, mental, emotional and

educational. In the following subsection, considering my theoretical framework, I will attempt to explain why the Genocide was taught the way it was.

9.3.3 Why were the Genocide and its related controversial issues taught the way it was?

After explaining the participants' experiences on how the Genocide and its related controversial issues were taught, the last research question aimed at understanding why the history teachers who participated in this research taught those topics the way they did. A range of intertwined reasons could aid in explaining this. These include the aims, the nature of the content to be covered and emotions provoked by specific teaching resources, as well as the content and the post-Genocide socio-political context. However, in the following paragraphs, the theoretical framework is used to find the answers.

In teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues certain positions were adopted by the history teachers. Indoctrination was used in most cases because teachers presented certain topics in a one-dimensional way. Theoretically, indoctrination helps political regimes to achieve their goals by propagating a common understanding of the past. Thus, by portraying the idea that Rwandans lived peacefully in precolonial Rwanda all teachers who participated in this study were pushed to help the Government of Rwanda to educate learners to be patriotic citizens who are capable of working for unity of Rwandans. Teachers did not question the implication of silencing other narratives which can also become sources of frustration and conflicts. The literature indicated that the sensitivity of the topic and the official aim of the Government of promoting unity required the participants to respect the official narrative which mainly sought solace in a romanticised past (Freedman et al., 2008; Hodgkin, 2006; McCully, 2012).

The Genocide and its related controversial issues were also taught in view of peace-making. This peace-making was adopted with a kind of stated commitment to fight against genocide resurgence. This means that most teachers were convinced that the Genocide cannot be taught in a neutral manner. Mukakalisa's drawing, which included the "never again" slogan, explains metaphorically that the history teachers did not intend remaining neutral in the face of a serious problem which could lead the

Rwandan society in another tragedy. Thus, genocide prevention was achieved by means of teacher centredness. Teacher centredness was used by the history teachers who participated in this research as the best way to communicate and convince learners about the "never again" slogan. This went hand-in-hand with a lack of any critical engagement with the topic. Teaching the Genocide for prevention was linked to peace-making and teaching the Genocide this way was to comply with the Government's policy of fighting against Genocide ideology for achieving lasting peace (Republic of Rwanda, 2013).

In most instances the history teachers avoided discussing controversial issues in class. This avoidance was evidenced by the resistance to adopt a critical approach to the curricula expected and the use of learner centredness. By teaching the Genocide this way history teachers were reluctant to allow learners to talk about unofficial histories which could challenge the Government's vision of the past. The view was that unofficial history could bring into class hatred or divisive issues from the community or from electronic sources. In addition, the unofficial history could propagate Genocide denial. By using a single narrative the participants were determined or committed to inculcate into learners the interest of building a better and united patriotic society. In other words, their exclusive partiality to reach their aim can explain their use of teacher centredness. This teacher centredness employed by the Rwandan history teachers was not very distant to stated commitment (Stradling, 1984), exclusive partiality (Leib, 1998) or being determined advocates (Lockwood, 1996).

Teachers' avoidance of dealing with controversial issues can also be considered as a kind of containing. Normally teachers who are containers teach topics which are parallel, similar or which occurred in remote places. As some teachers such as Mukakalisa taught the Holocaust and screened a movie related to the Second World War cannot be considered as containing. However spending more time on the Rwandan historical background through teacher centredness equates containing to the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

The nurturant facilitator, which is closely associated to the Socratic cross examiner, was also adopted by history teachers, especially Rukundo, when learners were

engaged in discussion. The purpose was to allow the learners to present their views within a safe environment in order to improve their decision making capabilities and critical skills. Françoise's drawing related to forgiveness revealed that the balanced approach was at least in this instance used because the drawing showed the contradictions in the perpetrator and survivor's positions. On the one hand, the drawing depicts the dominating position of the victim and on the other hand it showed the equality between both people when negotiating about the future.

In conclusion, teachers' positions kept changing given the context. No teacher adopted one position during the whole process of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. This can explain the complexity of teaching the topic. The study revealed that the proposed positions in the theoretical framework cannot neatly fit the Rwandan context because none of the teachers used the devil's advocate fearing to be considered a Genocide denier (see Figure 9.1). The findings also showed that no participant took the risk to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues so that learners have a comprehensive multi-perspective understanding. In most cases, one side of the event was put forward.

What then is theoretically new in terms of how the teachers who participated in this study taught the Genocide? I argue that this is "compliance for self-care". Adopting a position of compliance for self-care the history teachers managed to navigate between the recommended curriculum teaching approaches while appeasing a powerful state in a post-Genocide society. Therefore, at face value teachers followed the expected pedagogy to create patriots, to work for the "never again" and to create imagined critical citizens. This theorisation will be unpacked below.

9.4 The scholarly contribution of this study

This research brought insights into the current scholarly literature on Rwandan teachers' experiences on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

Research on controversial issues was previously mainly done outside of Rwanda (Chikoko et al., 2011; Johnson & Johnson, 1997; Leib, 1998; McCully, 2006; McCully, Pilgrim, Sutherland, & McMinn, 2002; Nkusi, 2004; Noctor, 1984; Philips, 2008; Stradling, 1984; Wasserman, 2011). In the case of Rwanda, very few

researchers raised the issue of teaching controversial issues in the history of Rwanda. Furthermore, history teachers' experiences in teaching the Genocide were not their main focus (Bentrovato, 2013; Duruz, 2012; Gasanabo, 2010; Gasanabo et al., 2016; Masabo, 2014). The merit of this research was therefore the focus on the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues in a society where memories of the Genocide are still fresh. This is especially the case since Rwandan society is composed of people who are victims, those who participated in the extermination process in various aspects, and others who had various attitudes such as bystanders or rescuers.

Compliance blended with self-care is the dominant position in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues that emerged from this study (see Figure 9.1). It can be understood as responding favourably to the expectations of the authorities while protecting your personal well-being. The issue of compliance has mainly been used in health education (Calnan & Moss, 1984; Kelly & Scott, 1994) and fields of education such as psychology (Alexander, 2004; Strain, Lambert, Kerr, Stagg & Lenkner, 1983). In health compliance refers to continued adherence to the practices recommended or the respect of medical prescriptions. Failure to respect, for example, the recommended medication can have serious consequences for the patient. Thus, compliance in health follows a briefing or educational meeting. With reference to education Whitby (2014) noted that compliance hinders innovation, not because the teachers do not want to do so, but because of the system which expects that the status quo should be maintained. As Alexander suggests, "Compliance with something believed to be admirable does not guarantee that it is. And a culture of compliance reinforces policies and practices, good or bad, but cannot *test* them." (Alexander, 2004, p.7)

In light of the above compliance is closely associated with positions of commitment and indoctrination. Indoctrination in this regard relies on teacher centredness. But, in the case of this study, compliance is also due to learners' questions and the socio-political context in which the teachers find themselves. As in health issues whereby the patient has to comply with the medical officer, in teaching controversial issues, compliance refers not only to responding to learners' controversial questions by using an official version of history propagated through media and official speeches

but also by greatly respecting the content of the official curriculum. Thus, being compliant does not require criticising and interpretation of the curriculum in line with learners' socio-cognitive needs (Taylor et al., 2003). The compliant teachers of this study mostly listened to the learners' points of view but remained committed to convince them of an official narrative that served to neuter any controversy. This was done so as to appease the authorities, keep the classroom and the learners safe, but most importantly to also protect yourself as a teacher against accusations, attacks and humiliation.

Compliance is related to teachers' positioning since it commends history teachers to respect a particular narrative in view of avoiding harming, not only the learners and themselves, but also society as a whole. Therefore, compliance implies a moral positioning. This helps to explain why the teachers who unquestioningly complied with an official narrative also wanted to keep the class quiet and safe. The imagined safety a powerful society offers pushes the history teachers to comply with the official narratives and to avoid certain resources that would serve to disrupt the fragile peace. The teacher who adopts this position in relation to the teaching of controversial issues does not educate learners about anything other than what is officially stated. In so doing, they insist on a history education that gives solace to the powerful in society and security to the teacher. Compliance has thus at its heart the avoidance of multi-perspectivity for that might be a good educational manner to tackle controversial topics elsewhere but not in a society in which a Genocide took place 22 years ago. Instead, when expected to do so it is done in a masked manner whereby participatory approaches are used but generally under the strict control of the teachers.

The idea of compliance is directly linked to self-care. The term self-care has also been used in the health domain (Figley, 2002; Shapiro, Brown & Biegel, 2007; Segall & Goldstein, 1998). In health, people take certain measures so that they remain physically and mentally fit. For instance, a person can decide on a diet to avoid diabetes. A lack of self-care can therefore have a negative impact on an individual's health. In the Rwandan case of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues, history teachers undertook self-care by not pedagogically engaging with certain issues such as denying the Genocide by playing devil's advocate. Similarly,

certain controversial issues were avoided given that the official legal version provides a clear positioning. A perfect example was a participant who raised the controversial and conflictual relationship between Rwanda and France. She was aware that she could not reveal in class all aspects of the issue. Considering the history teachers' experiences of Rwandan society, talking openly about such issues in class can provoke problems with the security services. Thus, they care for themselves physically and mentally, as well as for the learners and the society and comply with the official narrative how they teach, the sources they use, and the manner in which they interpret the curriculum.

Alongside theoretical ideas, certain findings did not confirm the reviewed literature. For instance, the idyllic views used by history teachers to describe precolonial Rwanda. This romanticised version of the past does not concur with the literature which described the hardship of traditional socio-economic institutions (IRDP, 2006; Magnarella, 2000; Republic of Rwanda, 1999). The participants took into consideration the Rwandan context and complied with the policy of unity and reconciliation which foregrounds one narrative in view of creating a better Rwanda. The respect for such a narrative gives peace of mind to the teacher but, it does not mean that she/he was necessarily convinced by it. Another finding which did not confirm the reviewed literature related to the conceptualisation of genocide. By adding regional groups to other target groups as found in the literature such as national, ethnical, racial and religious (Strauss, 2001; Verdirame, 2000), the participants took into consideration the Rwandan context which was characterised by regional based injustice. In this regard, the teacher complied with the previous official narrative which identified poor governance as a source of Genocide.
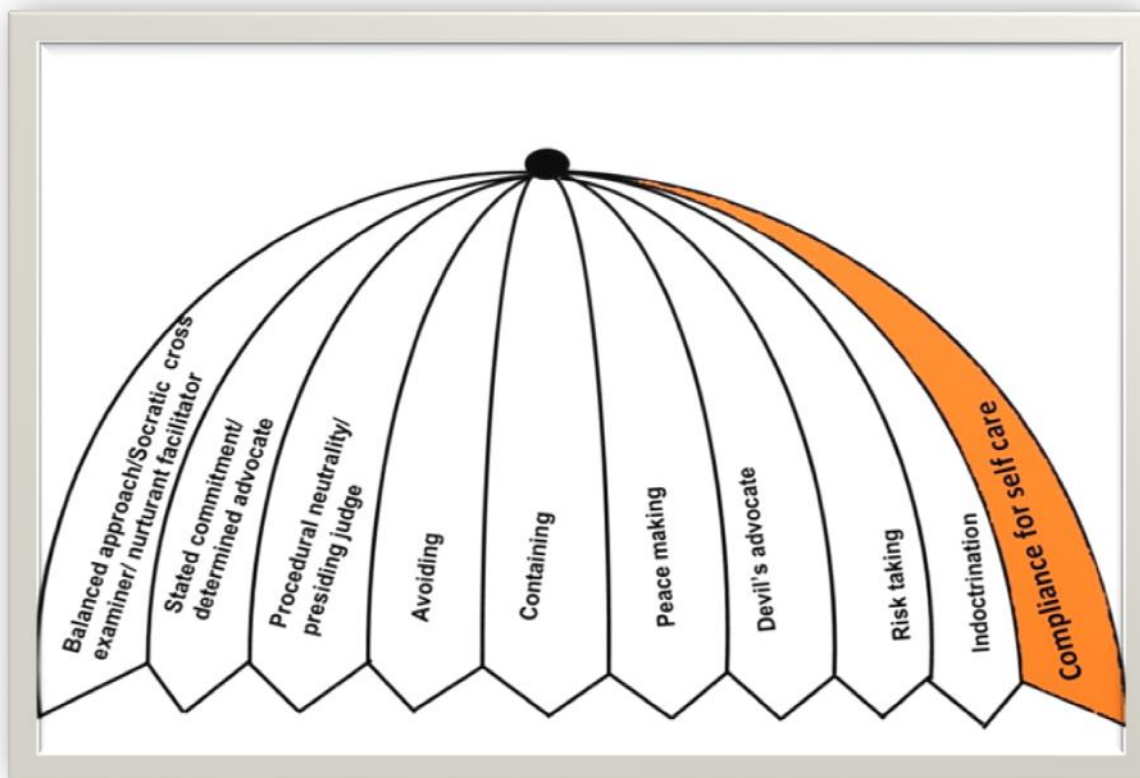
Figure 9.4: Positionality umbrella model for teaching controversial issues in post-Genocide Rwanda (adapted from Harro's umbrella model of oppression (1997).

9.5 Methodological reflections on the study

Conducting research in Rwanda on the Genocide and its related controversial issues was not an easy task. In this section, I reflect on how the research methodology, including my paradigm, research approach, research methods and theoretical positioning impacted on this study. In other words, I explain what worked well and what proved challenging.

Regarding the research methods employed, I noticed that no single method was sufficient to gather data on the experiences of history teachers teaching the Genocide. Some data gathering methods worked, at times, better than others. A case in point was the use of drawings which proved to be efficient as a starting point for the history teachers to talk about their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; King & Horrocks, 2010). However, on the negative side the drawings provided few details about the historical

content covered by the participants. This included content on the conceptualization of the Genocide, the perpetrators and reconciliation. Alongside content, teaching methods were not necessarily clearly portrayed by means of drawings. In fact, few participants mentioned the positions they adopted as teachers. The conclusion was that using drawings were not completely suitable for gathering data related to teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

On the positive side the drawings were a powerful research method for gathering data related to emotions expressed by the participants. For instance the drawings and their associated comments revealed the challenges in using procedural neutrality as a positioning. Consequently, the commitment to teaching the Genocide for "never again" was well portrayed by means of drawings. Participants' emotions on the commencement of teaching the Genocide, the presence of learners with different backgrounds in the same class, teaching a horrendous content were also clearly expressed by means of drawings.

Photo-elicitation, coupled with semi-structured interviews, proved to be useful research methods for discussing teachers' experiences about teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. During data gathering it was observed that the photographs provided helped the participants to easily talk about the historical content that they taught. The photographs allowed the history teachers to recall what they have taught, why and how they did it.

Self-interviews, used in psychology and for sensitive topics (Neck & Manz, 1992), proved not to be very successful. I used self-interviews to allow the participants to continue the interview in my absence. In my assumption the self-interviews had the possibility of increasing the participants' openness to talk freely, without my interference, about their experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In hindsight, the lack of proper channels to send the completed self-interviews back to me, without their identities, can be considered as one of the causes of the failure to get more rich and thick data from this method. If I had to use self-interviews again I will ensure that it remains anonymous. For a sensitive topic such as the Genocide some participants might prefer not to be associated with their data for security reasons and reasons of personal protection. In this regard a

submission by snail mail can be privileged instead of handing the written responses to the researcher. Computer assisted self-interviews can also be privileged.

Another methodological challenge was the realisation that it is hard to analyse the gathered data by using a set of priori codes gleaned from the theoretical framework. In this regard certain codes aligned with the teaching of controversial issues, such as the balanced approach, indoctrination, stated commitment and neutrality were privileged. The first coding exercise resulted in significant parts of the professional life stories remaining uncoded. I was obliged to review my coding methods and consequently privileged codes related to the main teaching activities which I combined with theoretical ideas in line with teaching controversial issues. My observation concurred with Jackson and Mazzei (2016) who argues that "data interpretation and analysis does not happen via mechanistic coding, reducing data to themes, and writing up transparent narratives that do little to critique the complexities of social life" (p.261). However, the theoretical framework continued to be one of the guiding tools in the discussion.

The overall methodology of using career life stories, underpinned by drawings proved to be a practical way of presenting history teachers' experiences in the form of a narrative. I realised that narratives can be analysed not by focusing on language issues but on experiences (Andrews et al., 2013). The career life stories had an advantage of giving voice by means of my constructions, not only to the experiences of the history teachers, but also their learners. An additional advantage of using career life stories was the insertion of the original text from the participant's transcript before its translation into English which allowed for the foregrounding of key aspects to be presented in the participants' own voices. The written re-storied stories were reinforced and made more viable, in line with the career life story methodology, by the addition of written documents and photographs. An additional strength of using stories was to present the data from the participant in one coherent text. In this regard, career life story was close to orality widely used in traditional African cultures.

Career life story allowed me to present the complexity of the history teachers' experiences rather than only commonalities as done by phenomenological studies

(Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). Despite the interest of using career life stories, the use of many stories proved to be cumbersome and monotonous because in general the participants discuss the same topics. A solution to this challenge was to be innovative in writing the stories and to use only seven of the original 11 stories in my thesis. However, in constructing the stories I had to constantly check my own bias and positionality.

In all, this research demonstrated that no research method can fully reveal the experiences of teachers teaching such a recent controversial issue in a post-Genocide African society. As a consequence, the findings can only reveal partial understanding. A case in point is the figure (7.1) which shows that certain aspects of the content as it related to educational aims were not revealed by the research methods used in this research study. I realised that, due to cultural issues, certain aspects of the Genocide such as rape were silenced in class as it was deemed taboo and possibly harmful to learners due to possible relationships with affected persons. However, the figure shows that history teachers aimed at achieving aims stated in the curriculum such as teaching the Genocide for preventing further atrocities, teaching the Genocide for unity and reconciliation and dealing with academic aims. Research methods also revealed aims inserted by teachers themselves namely engaging with moral aims.
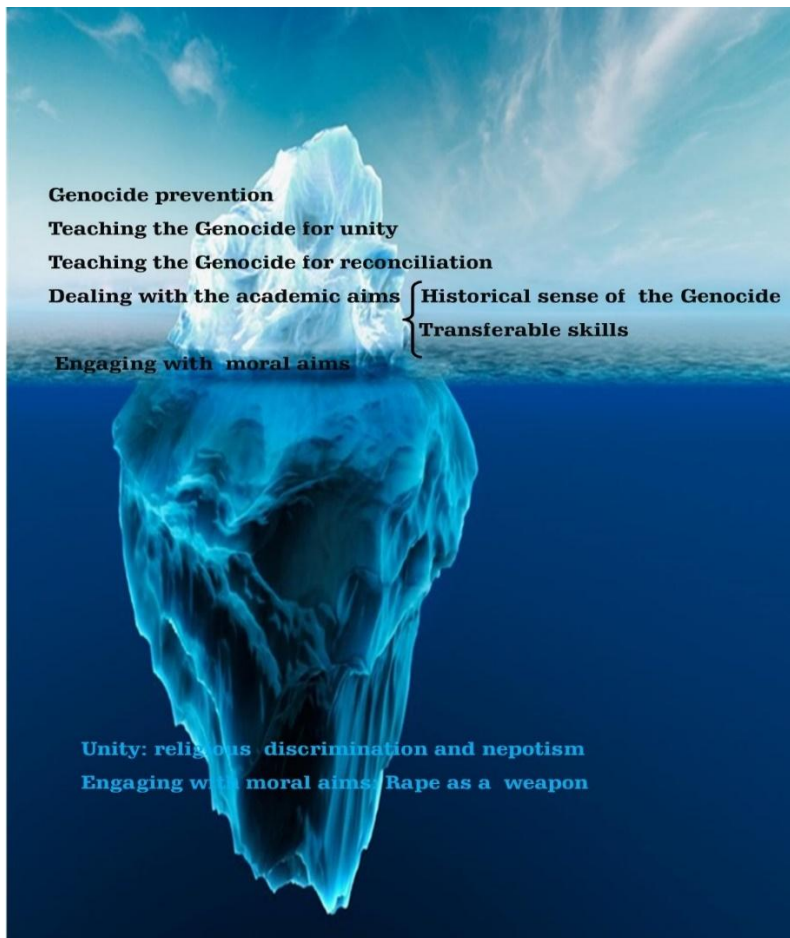
Figure 9.5 Rwandan teachers' enacted aims in teaching the Genocide

One of the major limitations of this research study is rooted in the qualitative approach followed. This approach relies on words rather than numbers and consequently the findings from the small sample used in this study cannot be generalised. Another weakness of qualitative research is that it relies on face to face contact between the researcher and the participants. There is an assumption that the contact can influence both the researcher and the participants therefore it becomes difficult to distinguish the experiences of the researcher from those of the participants. The presence of the researcher may as a result distort the findings. Another challenge with qualitative research is the overwhelming volumes of data when the researcher is not able to limit the scope of the study. The previously mentioned issues can undermine the credibility of qualitative research. Despite these challenges, the findings of this research can help other researchers who may wish to continue working on the topic.

Due to the sensitivity of the topic I was confronted with my personal emotions and was also expected to confront those of the participants who had endured the Genocide. The participants had also experienced the Genocide in different ways. The sample indicated, for instance, a history teacher who was a Genocide survivor. Other teachers may have had their relatives involved in the killings. This means that the teachers' positionality had an impact in their responses during the research. In addition, the participants' responses may have taken into consideration the way the society reacts to the Genocide.

I was also confronted with language challenges. Except for one participant the research interviews were conducted in my mother tongue, Kinyarwanda. Afterwards it was translated into English which I only started using as a medium of instruction at postgraduate level. Before that I have studied and worked in French. Even if an effort was made to respect the participants' views on their teaching experiences I am convinced that all nuances could not be captured during the translation.

Additionally, conducting the field work while based in South Africa was also challenging because the participants could not be accessed as often as I would have liked. As a result starting the analysis during the field work became unavoidable but this was not sufficient. In fact, during the process of analysis I needed some clarification from the participants. Certain details were obtained when I returned home for a conference. Later on, I realised that at a certain time, the gathered data can be used and gaps can become, not only issue for discussion to understand the reasons behind the silences, but also sources of further research.

9.6 My personal and professional reflections on the study conducted

Following the methodological reflection I now turn my reflections to my personal, professional, scholarly and conceptual growth related to this research on history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues.

At a personal level, before undertaking this research, I was convinced that the participatory approach was largely used to teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues. At the end of this study, I realised that it was almost impossible for Rwandan history teachers working in a post-Genocide context to use the

participatory approach recommended by the curriculum to improve learners' historical interpretation skills. Teachers had to adopt a self-care attitude, not only to respect the official narrative, but also to avoid harming learners and the community. Given the context, teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues to improve learners' critical skills is a big challenge. As a result achieving aims stated in the history curriculum, and those added by teachers themselves such as teaching this research topic for genocide prevention or for unity and reconciliation, were at times but an illusion.

As someone who taught the history of Rwanda in a post-Genocide context, this study helped me to understand that when I was teaching the history of Rwanda I was convinced I was using the participatory approach. However, I realised that the way I was teaching certain topics such as "ethnic" identities was characterised by avoidance. In other words, this research helped me to realise that certain topics I taught as mere content and not for improving learners' critical and historical skills. This study played a significant role in enlightening me on other positions which can be adopted when teaching history in general and the Genocide specifically. I also came to understand that there are teaching strategies which can help to avoid polarising a class. I realised that by taking into consideration the context I have to help learners understand diverse sides of any historical event.

On a professional level, as I am involved in teaching history at the College of Education at the University of Rwanda, this research had a valuable impact on my career. I was able to identify gaps in the history modules offered at my home institution. For instance, the module on teaching methods does not have a particular unit on how to teach controversial issues. During the next College review I will help my colleagues to integrate this into their teaching. Regarding the module on the history of Rwanda written for distance training programme it will in my view be enriched by the literature identified during this research. For the same module a careful analysis of the post-Genocide period is needed so as to ensure that in a safe way the challenges of different policies put into place for improving the social justice and well-being in Rwanda after 1994 are met.

Conceptually writing this thesis gave me an opportunity to engage with a diverse range of literature on genocide and controversial issues. The lack of unanimity in conceptualising both genocide and controversial issues meant that I had to develop a critical eye. In addition, I came to understand that conceptualisations based on the Rwandan context were also needed. By adding regional groups in conceptualising genocide the participants' experiences showed me that in genocide targeted groups can be extended to include any assemblage targeted by killers with the intent to exterminate them in whole or in part. Regarding controversial issues, I came to understand that they are not permanent and the controversy depends on the context. This understanding opened my eyes to look at the importance of evidence in teaching controversial issues.

On a scholarly level this research gave me the opportunity to engage with educational research. My previous experience was mainly with pure history where I was used to working with archival documents and oral traditions. The shift to history education helped me to master another academic language. I was enthusiastic to understand how facts and effects related to the Genocide and its related controversial issues are taught. Thus, the focus was not to objectively understand how and why different events happened. I was also enthusiastic to work with visual methods namely drawings and photo-elicitation which were new to me. I discovered that drawings and photographs constitute valuable data for sensitive issues. The use of self-interviews was also another new research experience. Understanding the teaching of controversial issues was a good experience in as much as I discovered new strategies on how to teach controversial issues without polarising a class and I gained more conceptual understanding of genocide and controversial issues. I realised that in a post-Genocide country such as Rwanda teachers have a big role to play by helping the society to engage in dialogue with its own past. However, by silencing certain experiences the teacher can contribute to igniting frustration and despair in a post-Genocide society. The history teacher seems to be torn between the curriculum aims and official policies. However, they have the task of teaching, not only for societal transformation, but also to enhance learners' critical skills.

9.7 Possible recommendations emanating from the study

Having presented my reflections on history teachers' experiences on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in this section I will propose, based on the findings of this study, possible recommendations to improve the teaching of the Genocide. It is important to remember that this is a qualitative study with a small sample aimed at a deep and nuanced understanding of participants' experiences and the findings cannot be generalised. Despite this, some tentative recommendations can be made for Rwandan policy makers, history teachers and other researchers to take into consideration. The proposed recommendations are related to teachers' professional development and the production of appropriate educational resources in general and textbooks in particular. A specific recommendation is made in relation to textbooks because they are used in schools.

- Based on the findings of my study it is clear that the controversial and traumatic nature of the Genocide needs a safe teaching environment. Schools and history classrooms did not always offer this as learners became emotional, and either cried or became hysterical, as they relived the Genocide at the hands of their history teachers. What must be made clear was that it was not the intention of the teachers to traumatise the learners but what emanated from amongst the research participants was that they did not have the necessary skills to deal with emotional issues in the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In light of this I would recommend that history teachers attend educational sessions to be organised by higher learning institutions on how to deal with the Genocide as a controversial and emotive issue. More specifically, they need to be prepared on how to select and present appropriate teaching material, especially visual material, and also how to engage with learners who become emotional during the teaching and learning process.

- Considering the findings of this research, it is evident that the participants mainly rely on *The History of Rwanda. A Participatory Approach. Teacher's Guide for Secondary Schools* as a teaching resource. This book does not widely focus on the Genocide. The *Teacher's Guide* does not dehumanise any Rwandan social group as the pre-Genocide textbooks did (Gasanabo,

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2014). Despite this merit, the *Teacher's Guide* does not raise the controversial aspects related to certain topics such as the precolonial period and the role of the colonisation in sowing divisionism in the Rwandan society. The use of one narrative became a hindrance to the improvement of learners' critical thinking skills. Learners should understand why people have different interpretations and views of the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In addition to the lack of multi-perspectivity the Genocide, which is a major finding of this research, was underplayed because in the above mentioned *Teacher's Guide*, it has been only covered in two pages. In light of this I would recommend that the Rwanda Education Board and its partners write a teacher's guide and learners' textbooks which can help to enhance learners' critical thinking skills and deal with multiple perspectives and critical thinking as promoted by the history curricula. The designed textbooks can give clear guidelines on specific issues to avoid responses which can be extreme or which can fail to raise important issues because of the teachers' personal positioning. The policy makers can openly discuss the guidelines with history textbook writers so that the participatory approach, which requires learners to understand different people's opinions, be reflected in the resources so as to improve learners' historical skills.

- Considering the findings, and in addition to the previous recommendation, the history teachers who participated in this research raised a problem of lack of appropriate teaching resources. For instance, no suitable maps were used by the participants to locate some issues related to the Genocide. Competent bodies should provide, not only textbooks, but also other books which can be put in schools libraries so that learners and teachers can expand their historical knowledge on the Genocide by using diverse sources. Appropriate resources also mean those related to Information and Communication Technology. The findings revealed that few participants used videos/digital video discs and one participant was obliged to show a film by using his personal laptop. I would recommend that the Rwanda Education Board, in collaboration with its partners, produce and avail educational documentary films so that learners can not only get the 'real' image of the genocidal process but also manage to improve their visual literacy.

- Although the new history and citizenship curriculum (REB, 2015, p.47) included a competency on evaluation of "different forms of genocide ideology and how [G]enocide has been denied in Rwanda and other societies", this research has shown that teachers lack historical content knowledge on how to deal with denial. The recommended textbook should take this challenge into consideration and in this process of phasing out the former curriculum an immediate solution should be found as the denial is a serious problem which challenges prevention of further genocides. I would recommend that the Rwanda Education Board design a pamphlet to help both learners and teachers to discuss this problem. Another alternative should be an organisation of school based training as part of teacher professional development programme on this issue of denial.

- The findings have revealed that learners' communities do not efficiently collaborate with schools in order to provide required knowledge to learners. For instance, some parents are not willing to talk about certain issues to their learners. I recommend that people in charge of education at district level sensitise parents on the interest of talking with their children on Genocide related issues.

- This study revealed that some teachers avoid teaching the Genocide as a controversial issue. Due to them practicing forms of self-care, they prefer to promote the official narrative in history teaching. The promotion of multi-perspectivity is hindered by the use of teacher centredness. In light of this I would recommend that history teachers be empowered in teaching approaches and methodologies which can help them so that they do not fall into self-care rather take the risk of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues by embracing the social utility of teaching history which can push the boundaries by dealing with contemporary controversial issues. In this regard, empowered teachers would be able to use a range of positions in teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues such as the balanced approach, the devil's advocate and the Socratic cross-examiner. This would help for improving learners' critical skills which can help them to detect stereotyping and hence face indoctrination, dehumanisation and any divisive message.

9.8 Recommendations for further research

This research has focused on Rwandan history teachers' experiences on teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues twenty two years after the event. However, such a small scale study could not cover everything related to the research topic. Based on the research findings and the reviewed literature some aspects merit more attention for further research.

- The participants in this study were history teachers. Therefore this research did not give a detailed account of learners' experiences on learning the Genocide and its related controversial issues. In addition, there is no specific study related to learners' views on how they learn the Genocide and its related controversial issues. Few studies done on Rwanda (Bentrovato, 2013; Duruz, 2012; Mutwarasibo, 2011) have focused on the learners' views on the history of Rwanda in general with a limited focus on the Genocide. Such a study will help to give voice to learners to understand their views as the beneficiaries of the teaching process so that proper decisions to improve the teaching of the Genocide can be taken.

- This study focused on specific teaching activities such as aims, content and teaching methods. Other aspects of teaching such as the role of assessment in teaching and learning the Genocide and its related controversial issues were not taken into consideration. Assessment is a key aspect of teaching and learning because it helps to appreciate learners' historical understanding, determine their progress and identify the challenges they face. A research project can help to understand how and why history teachers assess the Genocide and its related controversial issues the way they do. This understanding can help history teachers to improve their assessments skills.

- A qualitative approach was used in this study to understand history teachers' experiences. A large scale qualitative or mixed method research should possibly also be done to understand the how and why the history teachers teach the Genocide and its related controversial issues the way they do at national level. Such data can help policy makers evaluate what requires special attention in terms of resources, content and teachers' skills. Similarly, a textbook analysis can also be done to analyse how the Genocide and its

related controversial issues are represented in Rwandan textbooks. The analysis can help to assess the gaps and the strengths of the Genocide representation.

9.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to understand the Rwandan secondary school history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues. The findings of this study identified a range of controversial issues related to the Genocide as taught in Rwandan schools. The research findings, coupled with the literature, showed that the Genocide and its related controversial issues were taught the way they are because of a range of factors. For instance, the Genocide as a horrendous event is still fresh in teachers' and learners' minds. Due to what happened the teacher has in front of her/him learners with different backgrounds and these learners can consequently have diverse emotions based on their different experiences and those of their families and communities. As teachers had to teach about a recent atrocity the choice of words and teaching methods were carefully done so that history teachers did not revive wounds or contradict the official policies on unity and reconciliation. For self-care purposes, certain educational positions such as committed advocate, procedural neutrality and indoctrination, were mostly used to avoid contradicting official narratives.

In the history teachers' experiences of teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues there were contradictions between the use of a participatory approach as required by the history curriculum and the expectation of the Rwandan society which seeks to build a better future by silencing certain issues. Thus, the Rwanda Education Board in collaboration with its partners has a big role to play in preparing teachers by providing schools with appropriate resources which can, in a learner centred manner, give clear guidelines of how to approach the Genocide and its related controversial issues without revivifying divisionism. As far as no competent body will guide teachers on how to deal with the Genocide and its related controversial issues in a critical manner and through a participatory approach as mentioned in the curriculum no change will be made. If this is not done the history teachers' self-care will continue to result in avoiding challenging certain narratives and to harm learners and themselves. This will happen in spite of the power of the

Rwandan saying that: *Abagiye inama Imana irabasanga* (Those who can discuss their problems, God joins them!).

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LIST OF APPENDICES
APPENDIX A: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

15 November 2013

Mr Jean L Buhigiro (212558617)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Bhigiro,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1103/013D
Project title: Teaching genocide and its related controversial issues in history in Rwandan secondary schools

Dear Mr Bhigiro,

Expedited Approval

In response to your application, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Professor Johan Wassermann
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr MN Davids
cc School Administrator: Mr Thoba Mthembu

APPENDIX B: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (RWANDA) ETHICAL CLEARANCE

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, 29.07.2013
Réf. N⁰:......./12.00/2013
1793

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
P.O.BOX 622 KIGALI

Mr.BUHIGIRO Jean Leonard
University of KwaZulu –Natal
Edgewood Campus
3605 Ashwood
Tel Rwanda: +250788451371
e-mail:leobuhigiro@yahoo.fr
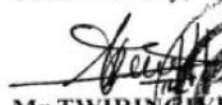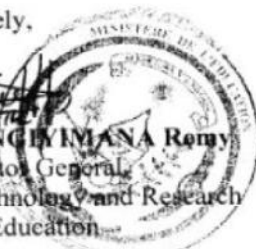
RE: Approval to conduct research in Rwanda under the project titled "Teaching Genocide and related controversial issues in History in Rwandan Secondary Schools".

I am pleased to attach a copy of research clearance which has been granted to you to conduct research on the above project title.

I wish to remind you that the research permit number should be cited in your final research report; the research should be carried out under affiliation institution of Kigali Institute of Education, under supervision of Prof.George K. Njoroge, Rector of KIE and a copy of the final research report will be given to the Ministry of Education of Rwanda.

I wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely,

Mr.TWIRINGIYIMANA Remy
Acting Director General,
Science, Technology and Research
Ministry of Education
Cc.
- Minister of Education
- Minister of State in Charge of Primary and Secondary Education
- Minister of State in Charge of TVET
- Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education
- Advisor, Science and Technology, Ministry of Education
- Prof.George K. Njoroge, Rector of KIE

APPENDIX C: LETTER OF CONSENT

Researcher: Jean Léonard Buhigiro

University of KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa)

Date:

Dear …………………………..

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my PhD in History Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa) under the supervision of Professor Johan Wassermann. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

As a teacher in a Rwandan secondary school you know that the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues was introduced into Rwandan history curriculum for all grades of ordinary level and for advanced level (senior 5 and 6) for all combinations which include history as a major (eg:History-Economics-Geography, History-Economics-Literature, etc). You provide a valuable educational role as an educator in this secondary school but not much research has been done regarding the teaching of the Genocide and its related controversial issues in Rwandan secondary schools. The purpose of this is therefore, to add to this body of knowledge a critical understanding of Rwandan teachers of this topic by working with you in your role as a teacher of the genocide and related controversial issues in the history of Rwanda.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.

Firstly, I would like to interview you to learn more about your teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues experience here in secondary school. Our

discussion will include how you perceive your role; your views on teaching genocide and related controversial issues in history of Rwanda. During the interview I will ask you questions on these topics and also, as part of our discussion, show you photographs, of which I wish you to choose 5 of them you use/can use to teach the most important aspects in the teaching the Genocide and its related controversial issues in Rwandan secondary schools. Moreover, you will be requested to write a short dialogue specifying non discussed questions during our interview. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. I will also take notes of some of the things that you say. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish to make. All information you provide is considered completely confidential.

Secondly working with you will involve a drawing of an artefact representing your teaching experience of genocide and its related controversial issues and an interview of approximately one hour in length to take place at the vicinity of your school. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish and we will move on to another question. Furthermore, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher.

Your real name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study unless you wish it to be used; however, with your permission your drawing and anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected pertaining to this study will be retained for a period of 5 years in a locked place in the Supervisor's office at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to the National Curriculum Development Centre, the Kigali Institute of Education, and other teachers of the History of Rwanda not directly involved in the study as well as to the broader research community.

There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me on +250 788451371 or by email at leobuhigiro@yahoo.fr. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Johan Wasserman on +27 (0)31 260 3484 or email wassermannj@ukzn.ac.za or the Research Officer: Ms P Ximba (Tel: +27 (0)312603587/ Email:ximbap@ukzn.ac.za).

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethical clearance through the Faculty Research Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. However, the final decision about participation is yours.

I look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Jean Léonard Buhigiro

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Source: http://www.musabyimana.net/category/multimedia-rwanda-actualite/photos-anciennes-du-rwanda/

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Photo © Corinne Dufka

Source: http://www.borgenmagazine.com/photos-from-rwandan-genocide/

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Source: http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/2558-1229902-yw2rxj/index.html

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Source: www.gettyimages.com

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Source:
http://rga1.lib.utexas.edu/index.php?title=Image:Kigali_kicukiro
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