Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Contexts:
Evaluating Education Interventions in Rwanda

COUNTRY REPORT

Authors

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From the research project *Teachers as Agents of Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion in Post-Conflict Contexts*

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This three-year research project investigated the role of teachers in social cohesion and peacebuilding in the post-conflict contexts of Rwanda and South Africa.

Throughout the research project, team members have provided insights into how teachers are framed and supported in their roles as peacebuilders and promoters of social cohesion, how they experience this support, how their practices and attitudes are influenced, and the outcomes for learners therein. Team members carried out extensive field research in South Africa and Rwanda and have produced a synthesis report on the entire project, two national country reports, and five policy briefs, as well as various journal articles. All our project publications are available at www.sussex.ac.uk/cie/projects/current/peacebuilding/outputs

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LIST OF RESEARCH OUTPUTS

Rwanda Country Report - Ndabaga, E. et al (2017): *Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding In Post-Conflict Context: Evaluating Education Interventions in Rwanda.* Rwanda Country Report, ESRC/DFID Research Report, University of Sussex, UK

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SA Country Report - Sayed, Y. et al. (2017): *Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding In Post-Conflict Context: Evaluating Education Interventions in South Africa.* South Africa Country Report, ESRC/DFID Research Report, University of Sussex, UK

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Synthesis Report - Sayed, Y. et al (2018) *The Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion in Rwanda and South Africa.* Synthesis Report, ESRC/DFID Research Report, University of Sussex, UK

Policy Brief No. 1- Policy Brief No. 1 (2017) *Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding In Post-Conflict Context: Evaluating Education Interventions in Rwanda'*. University of Sussex, UK

Policy Brief No. 2 - Policy Brief No. 2 (2017) Engaging *Teachers in Peacebuilding In Post-Conflict Context: Evaluating Education Interventions in South Africa'*. University of Sussex, UK

Policy Brief No. 3 –Policy Brief No. 3 (2017) *Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding in Post-conflict context: Curriculum and Textbooks in Rwanda and South Africa'*. University of Sussex, UK

Policy Brief No. 4- Policy Brief No. 4 (2017) *Professional Development for Teachers for Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion in Rwanda and South Africa'*. University of Sussex, UK

Policy Brief No. 5 - Policy Brief No. 5 (2018) *The Role of Teachers in Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion: Synthesis of Insights from South Africa and Rwanda'*. University of Sussex, UK

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.Ed:	Bachelor of Education
B.Sc:	Bachelor of Science
B.Soc:	Bachelor of Social Sciences and Business Studies
BA:	Bachelor of Arts and Languages
BCE:	Before Common Era
BNEP:	*Bureau Nationale de l'Enseignement Protestant*
BNR:	*Banque Nationale du Rwanda/*National Bank of Rwanda
CBC:	Competence Based Curriculum
CEDAW:	Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CNLG:	*Commission National de Lutte Contre le Génocide*
COE:	Colleges of Education
CPD:	Continuing Professional Development
CPDM:	Centre for Professional Development and Management
CRC:	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO:	Civil Society Organisation
D.E.O:	District Education Officer
DfID:	Department for International Development
EDC:	Education Development Centre
EDPRS:	Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
EFA:	Education for All
EICV:	Integrated Household Living Conditions
ESP:	Education Sector Policy
ESRC:	Economic and Social Research Council
ESSP:	Education Sector Stragegic Plan
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
FHI:	Family Health International
G.S:	*Groupe Scolaire*
GoR:	Government of Rwanda
GoR:	Government of Rwanda

GRRP:	Genocide Research and Reconciliation Programme
HEI:	Higher Education Institution
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICF:	International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health
ICPD:	International Conference on Population and Development
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
ICTR:	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
INSET:	In-service Training
IPAR:	Institute for Policy Analysis and Research
IRDP:	Institute of Research and Dialogue and Peace
ITE:	Initial Teacher Education
KBC:	Knowledge-Based Curriculum
KIE:	Kigali Institute of Education
LCP:	Learner Centred Pedagogy
M&E:	Monitoring & Evaluation
MDG :	Millennium Development Goal
MDG:	Millennium Development Goal
MEP:	Migration Education Program
MIFOTRA:	Ministry of Public Service
MINADEF:	Ministry of Defence
MINALOC:	Ministry of Local Government
MINECOFIN:	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MINEDUC:	Ministry of Education
MININFRA:	Ministry of Infrastructure
MININTER:	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MINISANTE:	*Ministere de la Sante*/Ministry of Health
MoE:	Ministry of Education
NCDC	National Curriculum Development Centre
NEC:	National Electoral Commission
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NER:	Net Enrolment Rate

NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIC:	National Itorero Commission
NIE:	National Institute of Education
NISR:	National Institute of Statistics Rwanda
NPC:	National Planning Commission
NTCC:	National Teacher Code of Conduct
NTPS:	National Teacher Professional Standards
NUR:	National University of Rwanda
NURC:	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
NYBE:	Nine Years Basic Education
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
P.4,5,6:	Primary school, class 4,5,6
P.S:	Primary School
PBEA:	Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy
PTA:	Parents Teachers Association
PTC:	Parents Teachers Committee
PVE:	Peace and Valued Education
PWDs:	Persons Living with Disability
R&D:	Research and Development
RALGA:	Rwanda Association of Local Government Authorities
RAMA:	*Rwandaise d'Assurance Maladie (La)/*Rwanda Medical Insurance
REAP:	Rwanda Education Assistance Project
REB:	Rwanda Education Board
RGB:	Rwanda Governance Board
RISD:	Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development
RPEP:	Rwanda Peace Education Programme
RTQFs:	Rwanda Teacher Qualification Frameworks
S 4,5,6:	Secondary School, Senior 4,5,6
S.E.O:	Sector Education Officer
SACCO:	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation
SDG:	Sustainable Development Goal
SNEC:	Secrétariat National de l'Enseignement Catholique

SPSS:	Statistical package for social science
STI:	Science, Technology and Innovation
SWOT:	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TAES:	Teacher Appraisal and Evaluation System
TDM:	Teacher Development and Management
ToT:	Training of Trainers
TPD:	Teacher Professional Development
TSC:	Teacher Service Commission
TSS:	Technical Secondary School
TTC:	Teacher Training College
TVET:	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN:	United Nations
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*
UNICEF:	United Nations International Child Economic Fund
UPC:	Universal Primary Completion
UR-CE:	University of Rwanda-College of Education
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
VSO:	Voluntary Service Overseas
VTCs:	Vocational Training Centres
VUP:	Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme
VVOB:	Flemish Association for Development Cooperation and Technical Assistance
WASH:	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WHO:	World Health Organisation
12YBE:	Twelve Years Basic Education

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I am most grateful to the thousands of respondents who agreed to share their experiences of peace building values and how teachers can be fundamental agents of peace in Rwanda and what the Government of is doing to see this happen. We hope that this report reflects their views, needs and hopes to build a lasting peace in Rwanda. Their voices would not have been heard without the help of the interviewers who worked tirelessly with us. Last but not in any way the least, I wish to thank our field coordinators for their dedication and work in difficult situations for coordinating the study. For confidentiality reasons, individual acknowledgements will not be listed here. However, this report would not have been possible without their support.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study is part of a broader study focusing on teachers as agents of peace building and social cohesion in the context of Rwanda as a post-conflict country. The study was funded by the ESRC-DfID Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation and links with a wider five-country research consortium on education and peace building, which, in addition to Rwanda and South Africa, looks at Myanmar, Uganda and Pakistan in the areas of teachers and educational policy. This study is embedded in UNICEF's Peace building, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) Programme (2012-2016).

It is widely acknowledged that teachers are key determinants of education quality and play a crucial role in nation building, identity construction, peace and reconciliation. What teachers do with learning resources shapes what children and young people learn, influencing their identities as well as providing them with skills for employment and peace building. Teachers' agency "in developing values of mutual respect and tolerance" is important in "a post war context characterized by persisting division and mistrust" (Davies, 2011b, p.47). Teacher training is evidently seen as a fundamental element of post-conflict reconstruction but there are doubts about both its relevance and effectiveness.

Similarly, the Government of Rwanda (GoR) recognises that the achievement of Vision 2020 hinges on the development of highly competent, world class human resources, particularly in advanced technology, knowledge-intensive growth sectors. The education sector and teachers in particular are at the forefront of this effort (Bennell& Ntagaramba, 2008). More importantly, it is common knowledge that education can be used to unite or divide a society. A respondent accentuated the role education has played in the Rwandan context in these words:

> "Education is responsible for everything that happens in society, the good as well as the
> bad. It is like a double-edged sword. So, it needs to be manipulated carefully so that
> people do not lead society into horrible things such as genocide against Tutsi. If Rwandans
> were able to commit genocide using the education system of the time, the more reasons
> why the present government of Rwanda through its socioeconomic and human

development embedded in its new education system that it can change this negative ideology of ethnic and regional divisions to enable Rwandan society to recover, reconstruct, regain social cohesion, social trust and all the values that we lost" (Director at Aegis Trust, 2016).

But before engaging in a deep analysis of Rwanda's efforts to build peace, it is paramount for the researcher to ponder the following critical background questions:

i. What are the possible drivers and historical cause for 1994 genocide against Tutsi?

ii. Are there any substantive explanations why before 1994 Rwanda education system was marked by regionalism and opted for a quota system, type of curriculum and textbooks that aggravated inequalities, social tensions and a lack of social cohesion?

iii. Did Rwanda education system before 1994 have any explicit focus on peace building and social cohesion in schools?

iv. Did Rwanda education system before 1994 have any measure for checking teachers' trust and accountability?

v. What are the gaps in Rwanda education system today after 1994 genocide against Tutsi that would prohibit smooth social cohesion enhancement? and;

vi. What current measures have the Government of Rwanda set up for peace building and social cohesion enhancement promotion?

The above questions are discussed at length in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6,7& 9 of the report.

The political and social history of Rwanda is critical for understanding its social disintegration and inequality, along with the political environment required within the past two decades to enable social cohesion and peace building (Chrétien, 2003). It is both comprehensively researched and well documented that issues surrounding Rwanda's ethnicity, regionalism and bad politics of divisionism dominated its history and culminated in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, which has forced the present GoR to leave no stone unturned in enacting strong social and economic policies, including education policies focused on teacher training programs at initial training colleges, continuing professional development for teachers, teacher trust and accountability, teacher management, recruitment and deployment, competence-based curriculum and new

textbooks which reflect the key policy of decentralization. The whole rationale is to ensure that all Rwandans are treated equally regardless of individual difference of any sort (Chrétien, 2003).

There is strong evidence that the GoR's effort to resolve the negative impacts of its divisive history of conflict and genocide is based on the national understanding that the causes of Rwanda's social conflict derive from an ideology of an ethnic divisionism implemented by colonial legacy and perpetuated by the later regime that consequently resulted in social disintegration and inequality in Rwanda, especially within the education sector. The GoR has made an effort to implement mechanisms in the form of Vision 2020, the 2003 constitution (revised in 2015) as a tool for conflict resolution and building sustainable peace in Rwanda through programs such as Rwanda Peace Education Programme and other private interventions such as Aegis Trust. Peacebuilding in the context of this study is viewed as a process of multispectral collaboration to mitigate the socio-cultural, economic, political tensions that were caused by the Rwandan conflict, especially the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi (Bennell et al, 2015). This study thus explored:

i.   How teachers are framed and supported in their roles as agents of peace building and social cohesion;
ii. How they experience this support;
iii. How their practices and attitudes are influenced by national and international educational policies and the outcome for learners.

Maria Montessori cited in Abuelaish (2012) noted that "establishing lasting peace is in the work of education; all what politics can do is keeping us out of war" (p. 2). In the context of this report, the notion of social cohesion is used interchangeably with peacebuilding by international agencies for instance UNICEF, as well as education policy research centres such as FHI (FHI360, 2015, p. 10). Within this framework, peacebuilding is regarded as the equivalent of building or promoting social cohesion. This study locates the analysis of the specific education interventions in relation to the global and national context, as well as the context of schools and institutions. In the case of Rwanda, such educational interventions include teachers' Continuous Professional Development programmes (CPD). These are mainly organised by the Rwanda Education Board

(REB) in partnership with both local and international institutions/organisations such as Aegis Trust, VVOB, and National Unity and Reconciliation (NURC), to mention but a few. Furthermore, the study focused on the role of teachers who are potential agents of both peace and social cohesion. Crucially, lasting and durable peace and the building of institutions are contingent on the workings of schools as civic institutions and teachers as agents of peace building.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The main aim of this study is to understand the conditions under which Rwandan education interventions focused on teachers and the education system in general can promote peace and social cohesion, mitigate and reduce any kind of discrimination, with a view to identifymeasures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such programs in Rwanda. The specific objectives are to:

i. Critically examine the role of teachers and teaching in supporting education for peace building in Rwanda;

ii. Enhance national and global policy dialogue and understanding about teachers as agents of peace building in Rwanda;

iii. Create and communicate new knowledge on the effects of education peace building interventions to policy experts, policy makers and civil society organisations at local, national, regional and international levels.

These objectives are to be achieved through an empirically grounded evaluation of the nature, implementation and impact of interventions that are designed to support teachers as agents of peace both in public and private schools in Rwanda.

1.3 KEY RESEARCH AREAS

The research specially focuses on three key research areas:

i. The integration of education into peace building and social cohesion processes at global and country levels;

ii.   The role of teachers in peace building and social cohesion; and

iii.   The role of formal and non-formal peace building and social cohesion education programmes targeting Rwandan schools and teachers

1.4 OVERARCHING RESEARCH QUESTION

The study is guided by the following main research question:

i.   To what extent do existing education peace building interventions in Rwanda promote teacher agency and capacity to build peace and reduce inequalities?

1.5 SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In answering this question, the study examines the underlying theory of change and conception of equity for teachers that underpins the selected interventions paying particular attention to how teachers seek to mitigate gender, ethnic, religious and socio-economic inequities to, in and through education. The main research question was explored through the following specific questions:

i.   What are the global and national policy contexts within which the education interventions in Rwanda are located with particular reference to teachers?

ii.   How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that Rwandan teachers are recruited and deployed to remote and rural areas?

iii.   How, and in what ways, do the textbooks and curricula used by teachers promote peace and tolerance in Rwandan schools?

iv.   How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that Rwandan teachers are trained for peace building?

v. How have the selected interventions managed to ensure that Rwandan teachers build trust and enhance accountability to the local community?

vi. What pedagogies and strategies do Rwandan teachers use in the classroom to develop peace building skills and attitudes to reducing conflict, between students in general and between girls and boys?

1.6 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

This study bases it analysis on the 4Rs framework: Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation (Novelli et. al, 2015). This framework combines social justice and transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peace building. In doing so, it recognizes the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often underpin contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education. The framework is in line with broader, well-established thinking on peace building (Galtung, 1976; Lederach 1995, 1997) that highlights the need to address both negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (the underlying structural and symbolic violence that often underpins the outbreak of conflict – the drivers of conflict). Furthermore, the framework recognizes the importance of addressing and redressing the "legacies of conflict" in tandem with addressing the "drivers of conflict".

Within conflict studies, there has been a long and heated debate on the relationship between inequality, injustice and conflict. The debate is often framed in terms of "*greed versus grievance*" explanations, with the former suggesting that wars are driven less by justified "grievances" and more by personal and collective "greed" (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Where humans are engaged in conflict, they are viewed as "economic agents" making cost-benefit calculations and trying to maximise returns through engagement in violent conflict. For these thinkers, the route to peace and security is not through addressing injustice, inequality, and structural exclusion, but through increasing the cost of access to resources for those regarded as engaging in violence.

A strong critique of this work argues that horizontal inequalities (between groups) are important indicators for conflict outbreak (Stewart, 2005, 2010). This argument is supported by strong econometric evidence (Cederman et al.2011). Horizontal inequalities, which often relate to ethnicity, gender, disability, or region/locality, involve a range of dimensions: economic (access to land, income, and employment), political (access to political power and representation), social (access to public services) and cultural (gender inequalities). In armed conflicts, real or perceived horizontal inequalities can provide a catalyst for group mobilisation and uprisings. There is limited research on the relationship between education and inequality in the outbreak of armed conflict.

However, recent quantitative research drawing on two international education inequality and conflict datasets (FHI360, 2015) demonstrates a robust and consistent statistical relationship. This is seen across five decades, between higher levels of inequality in educational attainment between ethnic and religious groups, and the likelihood that a country will experience violent conflict. However, this research is unable to identify causal mechanisms, or explain the complexities of understanding such causal mechanisms. Therefore, as the authors noted in their conclusions, there is a need to explore the multiple dimensions of inequality beyond education outcomes, as well as the different ways in which the education system might contribute to or mitigate conflict.

The 4Rs framework builds on this thinking by developing a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015). The framework combines dimensions of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation, linking Nancy Fraser's (1995, 2005) work on social justice with the peace building and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995, 1997), and others, to explore what sustainable peace building might look like in post-conflict environments. The examination of existing inequalities within education systems seeks to show the interconnected dimensions of the "4Rs" and how they could possibly be mitigated:

Redistribution: concerns equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different groups in society – particularly marginalised and disadvantaged groups.

Recognition: concerns respect for an affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity, culture and ability.

Representation: concerns participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources.

Reconciliation: involves dealing with past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships and trust.

Within this study, the framework is used to analyse the extent to which education in Rwanda supports cross-sectorial programming for conflict transformation in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation, and as an analytical tool within the Rwandan education sector.

1.7 REALIST EVALUATION

This study uses methodology based on Pawson's (2006) realist approach, which views evaluation as a process that both identifies how the evaluated policies and programmes work and how they expect to achieve their objectives by (re)constructing the theory of change behind the policies and programmes. The process also tests whether the theory of change is robust enough to make the policy or programme successful once implemented in the field (Mayne, 2008). In a realist evaluation, it is not enough to test whether an intervention achieves (or does not achieve) its objectives; what is required is an understanding of why the intervention does (or does not do) so as a way of drawing lessons on how to improve future interventions. It recognises that programmes do not work "generically", but work in particular ways in particular places and give rise to both intended and unintended outcomes.

Several assertions are central to the realist approach (as drawn from Pawson & Tilley, 2004). Firstly, policies and programmes are themselves theory laden, and evaluation is the process of testing and refining those theories to explain why and how they work, or do not work, in particular contexts. Policies and programmes are therefore underpinned by particular understandings drawn from social theory on the behaviour of humans as agents, which draw upon different traditions that are themselves contested. Secondly, programmes are embedded in complex social systems. The task of the evaluator therefore is to try to uncover the different layers of social reality that interact with any programme intervention. This can help to unpack why programmes might work in one place but not another, and might have a range of different intended and unintended outcomes. Thirdly, programmes are active, and mechanisms interact with living subjects who act upon those interventions. They are not static; thus relational aspects are likely to change over time and produce differing outcomes. Therefore, understanding programme participants' interpretations of interventions are crucial. Fourthly, and related to the third point, programmes are open systems subject to influence from a wide range of socio-economic, political and cultural factors and actors, and are likely to change over time as actors and factors adapt.

Moving beyond the core assumptions of realist evaluation, we now turn to presenting some of the key terminologies used in the process of applying realist evaluation techniques. As Pawson (2004 & Tilley) note, "Realist evaluation stresses four key linked concepts for explaining and understanding programmes: 'mechanism', 'context', 'outcome pattern', and 'context-mechanism-outcome pattern configuration' (p. 10).

Mechanisms allow us to go beyond the simple question of whether a programme works, getting at the deeper question of why programmes work (or do not work) by understanding the processes that operate within a programme that, in interaction with human participants, leads to some kind of change process. Programmes are often made up of multiple mechanisms that interact with one another to produce intended and unintended outcomes. For example, a teacher programme to encourage teachers to work in remote or underserved and under-resourced areas might do a range of things: provide a financial incentive, offer in-kind non-

financial incentives (accommodation), or introduce career incentives (provide training to local unqualified teachers to become registered teachers). Mechanisms might also explain a programme's failure. For example, incentives might offer a route for patrimonial or client list "capture", leading to unqualified and disinterested "teachers" gaining employment due to local contacts. To cite Pawson & Tilley (2004), "It is not programmes that work but the resources they offer that enable their subjects to make them work" (p. 4), and they may work in intended and unintended ways.

Context analysis is crucial for realist evaluation. Mechanisms are presumed to work differently in different "contexts". Understanding and making sense of the "context" thus becomes a central task of evaluation. Questions will emerge from this, like "who does this programme work for, and under what circumstances". It is a given that some contextual factors might facilitate the working of the programme and others may undermine it – with mechanisms, as noted above, which are likely to work in a range of different ways. The task of the researcher is to try and isolate the different contextual factors that affect the programme's activities.

Outcome patterns represent the intended and unintended outcomes of a particular programme intervention. These might be short term, longer term, or variegated in their effects. If we return to the example of the teacher programme in remote areas, it might be that the mechanism of incentives encourages high take-up of places in the short term, but leads to high attrition rates in the longer term. Similarly, training leading with a formal qualification for local unqualified teachers might lead to high enrolment in the short term, but upon qualification those teachers may use their new status to move from the remote area and work in "easier" urban areas.

Context-Mechanism-Outcome Pattern Configuration (CMOC) allows researchers to pull together theory, context, mechanisms, and outcomes to better understand why or why not some programmes, activating particular mechanisms in set places, lead to certain intended and unintended outcomes.

In terms of a methodological approach to applying realist evaluation, the starting point is to uncover the **programme theory**. This is often not as straightforward as it might seem, as programme theories are often implicit rather than explicit. They are thus likely to require a

process of **creative investigation**, through careful analysis of programme documents and interviews with architects of programmes, to **elicit** understanding of why a programme was developed, why it is likely to work, on whom, and with what intended effects. This would then be followed by a complex disentangling of the programme itself; tracing it from inception to implementation, **tracing the programme mechanisms** that activate (or do not) the desired outcomes, and exploring intended and unintended outcomes. This all needs to be grounded in an understanding of the particular **context** within which the programme is being implemented to try to understand why, or why not, the programme worked in location X or Y. This is followed by exploring outcomes in relation to mechanism, theory, and context, with the aim to offer advice on what might work better in certain places, and why.

1.8 MAPPING THE CONCEPTUAL TERRAIN

Although there are many issues unique to the Rwandan context, in analysing the role of teachers in peace building, there are several key concepts that have been applied in many studies on conflict and peace building around the world. While their definitions are often disputed, they are explained here in accordance with their interpretations and contexts in this study.

1.8.1 Peacebuilding

The term peace building is based on Galtung's (1976) definition, which includes mechanisms that are imbedded within structural systems and institutions "on a permanent and not ad hoc basis" (p. 301). These peace building mechanisms can also operate on an individual and community level but they ultimately address the cause and effect of conflict in society across various sectors, including education. The term peace building is distinct but related to peace education, whereby the desired learning outcomes are individual behavioural changes that promote peace (Galtung, 1976). On the other hand, the goals of peace building are positive peace, where concerns about social and structural oppression addressed, go much farther than ending physical violence and conflict (negative peace). The ways in which teachers and education tackle the various causes of

systematic inequalities through peace building is linked to the promotion of positive peace and social cohesion in Rwanda.

As a way of promoting peace and social cohesion, Rwanda has invested heavily in home grown solutions alongside other interventions. These local solutions seek to address the analytical framework for social cohesion developed by Fraser (1995, 2005) and have been used to address and support cross sectoral programming for conflict transformation in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation, and as an analytical tool within the education sector, among other sectors peace building and social cohesion. This conforms to Lederach (1997) definition that defines peacebuilding as:

> "a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition, it is a dynamic social construct" (Lederach, 1997).

Some of the Rwandan home-grown intiatives aimed at promoting peaceful coexistence and social cohesion include *Gacaca courts, NdiUmunyarwanda, Itorero, Ingando, Abunzi, Girinka Munyarwanda*, *umuganda, ubudehe* but to mention a few. These initiatives are elaborated further in chapters ahead. The 4Rs framework of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation in this research study are used to evaluate these programs as peacebuilding methods intended to rectify structural inequalities which existed in pre-genocide Rwanda, some of which may persist today.

1.8.2 Social Cohesion and Conflict

The terms peace building and social cohesion are often used interchangeably, specifically in certain PBEA operating countries due to stigma behind the use of 'peace building' as it suggests the presence of conflict. In the context of Rwanda, social cohesion is understood as "a status of affairs concerning both vertical and horizontal interactions among members of society as characterised by a set of norms that include trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help as well as their behavioural manifestations" NURC (2015). To expand the understanding of social cohesion, NURC (2015) cites Lederach (1997) and Ho-Won (2005) who that explain social cohesion as "*something that glues us together*" or "*the glue that bonds society together*".They further state that "social cohesion is correlated to social capital whereby relationships, norms, behaviors and institutions are strengthened to attract a better societal system that enhances inclusiveness and social interactions" (p.9). Hence social cohesion is considered an outcome of peace building where the multi-dimensional coexistence of different groups along religious, ethnic, political and other lines is present.

Social cohesion and conflict are not stand alone concepts. They are intricately related to peace building, reconciliation, social justice, equity, and can be viewed through various measures. These usually work together to address negative legacies left behind by conflicts such as the effects of gross atrocities committed during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. According to the PBEA programme, the dimensions of peaceful coexistence include "mutual respect and trust, shared values and social participation, life satisfaction and happiness" (UNICEF 2014). However, where social cohesion is seen as an indicator of national unity, there may be dissonance between the perceptions of social justice and equity between marginalized groups and those who implement existing programs that promote social cohesion.

Similar to the methods of peace building, improving and maintaining social cohesion requires addressing structural inequalities that threaten solidarity and coexistence. However, efforts to promote social cohesion are also considered as a state responsibility, albeit with different motivations. Generally, under liberal philosophy, the government's role is to enforce existing laws and rights and civil society organizations take on the task of promoting social cohesion.

Alternatively, the social democratic tradition calls on the state to be the standard-bearer of social cohesion in society, emphasizing equality and national values through public policy, including education (Green, Preston and Janmaat, 2006). Of note in this study is the role that the state has played in promoting social cohesion after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda through managing ethnic divisions, social and economic inequities, and corruption. The impact of education on social cohesion has been shown to be significant, depending on the initiatives taken to increase participation and transparency, equitable distribution of resources, and the development of effective peace building competencies in teachers and learners (Colenso, 2005).

1.8.3 Governance in Education

Governance refers to the sum of all concurrent forms of collective regulation of social issues: from the institutionalised self-regulation of civil society, through the diverse forms of cooperation among state and private actors, to the action of sovereign state agents (Mayntz, 2003, p. 66). Aragon and Vegas (2009) highlighted two distinctive definitions of governance. The first concerns political control of a system and the context this creates, with governance defined in terms of the policy-making process (e.g. how the rules of a political regime provide the context for policy making). The second refers to the technical capacity and the ability to implement policies (Smith, 2010, p.2014). In most contexts, both the politics and the processes of education sector governance apply.

There is also a third aspect of governance, which is more analytical and considers "governance" as a concept of our time, reflecting a shift from government to governance, and for some towards "global governance" (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992). This involves a shift from the idea of government as the unitary source of educational governance (that funds, provides, regulates, and owns the education system) towards a more "coordinating" and facilitating role involving a range of actors operating at multiple geographical scales. This can be traced to the shift from Keynesian to neoliberal, political economy approaches that have dominated international development debates since the 1980s (Robertson, et al. 2006). Dale (2005) viewed this as the scalar and functional division of education governance, which necessitates the exploration of the supra-national or international, national, and sub-national levels. It also requires exploration of

governance activities: funding, provision, regulation, and ownership, and the actors and institutions (state, market, community, and household) responsible for carrying them out.

In the Rwandan context, governance in education cannot be discussed separately from decentralisation. As will be explained further in Chapter 4, Rwanda's education system operates under a decentralised approach, where decision-making and accountability measures are established from parents and the community to the national level. A decentralization policy is in place and it is a tool for essentially empowering populace rights at the grass root level to participate in development activities and promote of peace and social cohesion. In the context of education, the Rwandan government initiated inclusive decentralized education governance in an attempt to increase access to education and address gender inequality (MINEDUC, 2003). However, this does not imply that decentralisation only applies to the education sector but rather targets all other government sectors as explained by an interviewee:

> We are one state, the district is within. The district is given responsibilities and resources, and it has to work towards the same vision as the country. That's our decentralization. This means a district or a province, a government institution or a Ministry, everyone is given responsibilities and resources but they all work towards the Rwanda vision" (Rwanda Governance Board Official, 2016).

According to the Education Sector Policy (2003) and Law n°23/2012 of 15/06/2012 relating to the organisation and functioning of nursery, primary and secondary school education in Rwanda, schools are autonomous to a certain extent. In collaboration with parents through Parents Teacher Associations (PTAs) and Parents Teacher Committees (PTCs), head teachers have the obligation of ensuring effective management of schools, promoting gender equality and national values and ensuring that they are communicated to learners, parents and teachers (MINEDUC, 2003). Burde (2004) has demonstrated the impact of parents' participation in decentralized school as is an effective mechanism to restructure the social fabric and mend social cohesion in post conflict society.

1.8.4 Equity and Inequality in Education

1.8.4.a Equity and Equality

While different authors provide multiple and in some cases, differing or conflated definitions, Holsinger & Jacob (2008) provide a distinction between the two concepts: equality is defined as the state of being equal in terms of quantity, rank, status, value, or degree, while equity considers the social justice ramifications of education in relation to the fairness, justness, and impartiality of its distribution at all levels or educational subsectors. This is indeed in line with the 4Rs framework, especially with regards to representation, recognition and redistribution. For UNICEF (2011), equity is understood as "a guiding principle" and implies "that all children have an opportunity to survive, develop, and reach their full potential without discrimination, bias or favouritism regardless of gender, race, religious beliefs, income, physical attributes, geographical location, or other status" (p.3).

In this sense, policies and programmes aim to address root causes of inequality to ensure the fundamental rights of all children. This is particularly so for those experiencing deprivation, including access to basic protection and services necessary for survival and development, such as education. Within discussions of equity and inequality, there are tensions over the principle of equality of opportunity and provision, versus targeted redress of unequal social location. For example, while a version of equity might be achieved through ensuring that all schools receive the same funding (based on pupil numbers), for others this would be seen as inequitable given that some schools are located in more socially deprived locations and face more difficult challenges than others, and therefore should be prioritised. Bourdieu (2008) observes that:

> To favour the most favoured and disfavour the most disfavoured, all that is necessary and sufficient is for the school to ignore in the content and teaching it transmits, in the methods and techniques of transmission and the criteria of judgement it deploys, the cultural inequalities that divide children from different social classes. In other words, by treating all students, however much they differ, as equal in rights and duties, the educational system actually give its sanction to the initial inequality (p. 36).

In seeking equity in education, an unequal distribution of resources might therefore be necessary to redress historical inequalities. This has been the underlying argument for policy measures such as affirmative action and positive discrimination, which often inflame political tensions. Any

analysis of equity in education thus needs to be grounded in the contextual analysis of the country, existing socio-economic, cultural, political, gender-related, ethnic/linguistic, and religious inequalities, and the resources, policies, and practices aimed at addressing them. Thus, in addressing the economic dimensions of inequality, while redistribution is crucial, there are other dimensions of inequality that also require attention. Recognition refers to the ways in which culturally related identity-based issues are better manifested, while representation concerns how different senses of isolation from decision-making spheres are addressed. These concepts reflect the ways in which different dimensions of inequity and inequality manifest themselves and highlight the need to directly redress them.

UNESCO concurs that education holds the key to achieving most of the sustainable development goals by 2030: from gender equality, healthy families and reducing poverty to sustainable consumption, resilient cities and peaceful societies. The broad vision of sustainable development will not be achieved without more substantial progress on the proposed seven education targets to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all"(UNESCO/EFA, 2015). They underscore the fact that addressing inequity should be central to education post-2015.

In Rwanda, the Education Sector Policy (ESP) is guided by Vision 2020 and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies (EDPRS I and II) which recognize the potent role that education plays in peacebuilding and bridging inequalities between girls and boys and women and men. Rwanda's vision 2020 emphasizes the importance of enhancing equality and equity through education by implementing gender inclusive policies and laws and continuously revising them to be in line with the contemporary Rwanda. Also, it buttresses education for all, eradication of all forms of discrimination, fighting against poverty and practicing positive discrimination policy in favour of women (MINECOFIN, 2000). Furthermore Vision 2020 and its Poverty Reduction Strategies (I and II) clearly highlight and put emphasis on the crosscutting issues which include gender and family, disability and social inclusion, among others. Furthermore, this study looks at the issue of 'rural and urban' as it is a key factor in influencing the deployment of teachers across Rwandan schools.

1.8.4.b Gender

Conceptualizations of gender are context-dependent and often contested. According to FAO (1997) gender is broadly defined as "the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material. Gender is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially. It is a central organizing principle of societies, and often governs the processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution" (p.1). However, gender is often misunderstood as being the promotion of women only, yet gender issues focus on women and on the relationship between men and women, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests and needs. Gender relations affect household security, family well-being, planning, production and many other aspects of life (Bravo-Baumann, 2000).

Rwanda Girls' Education Policy of 2008 defines gender as "the socially constructed allocation of roles, attitudes and values that are deemed by the community to be appropriate for each sex" (Ministry of Education, 2008). Furthermore, gender encompasses the power relations between men and women in terms of property rights, decision-making, as well as household, community and national resource allocation. This definition is also adopted by the 2011 Rwanda National Policy on Gender Based Violence.

The Rwanda National Gender Policy (2010) concedes that "the Rwandan society is characterised by a patriarchal social structure that underlies the unequal social power relations between men and women, boys and girls. This has translated into men's dominance and women's subordination. Gender inequalities have not been seen as unjust in Rwandan society, but as respected social norms" (p.8). As a traditionally patriarchal society, a gender-inclusive approach presents challenges in addressing disparities across different sectors, especially in education, as is demonstrated in gender disparities with regards to completion rates, access, and the ratio of male to female teachers. However, in line with the 4Rs framework, specifically the third R of representation, it is argued that in order for a social justice approach to ensure equal participation of a society's members, women must have the space and authority to make decisions—especially with regards to post-conflict peace building strategies. "Access to public

schools should be guided by non-discrimination" but educational institutions and curricula, when dominated by patriarchal traditions, may perpetuate traditional gender roles and entrench patriarchal values in each generation of school-going children (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 27).

By considering the gendered dimensions of peace building strategies in accordance with the 4Rs framework, a comprehensive analysis will take into account the male and female dynamics of voice and decision-making abilities as well as dealing with historical gender-specific conflict among others. While education may perpetuate gender discrimination on a systematic or individual level, it has the potential to transform the perceptions and participation of women in society. Textbooks, the availability of WASH facilities, puberty education, the gendered nature of the teaching profession and disparities in decision-making all have an impact on the transformative/reproductive nature of gender in education.

1.8.4.c Disability

Just like any other form of inequality, discrimination based on a person's disability is a barrier to peace and social cohesion. According to the World Report on Disability, disability is defined as the umbrella term for 'impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions', referring to the negative aspects of the interaction between an individual (with a health condition) and that individual's contextual factors (environmental and personal factors) (WHO, 2011). The report further explains that a person's environment has a huge impact on the experience and extent of disability. Inaccessible environments create disability by creating barriers to participation and inclusion (p.28). War and violent conflict are one of the leading causes of physical and mental disability among affected populations, so peacebuilding strategies must include measures that are inclusive and address these additional impacts of overcoming the difficulties faced by people with disabilities and requires interventions to remove environmental and social barriers. For many children with disabilities around the world, receiving access to inclusive education is a pervasive challenge—especially given that 80% of people with disabilities live in poverty (Schuelka and Johnstone, 2012). Whereas inclusive and special needs education have been traditionally considered a responsibility of families and religious organizations, there has been a marked shift in enshrining these rights in national policies. With the Convention on

the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2006 and the declaration of SDG4 as well as Education 2030 Agenda, it is clear that equal and accessible education for people with disabilities must be a state priority.

Rwanda is characterized by the adverse effects of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, which resulted in many additional Persons with Disabilities as well as mental health challenges. Article 11 of the Rwandan Constitution (2003 revised in 2015) explicitly prohibits discrimination against people with physical and mental disabilities and the Government of Rwanda further recognizes that these individuals are at an increased risk of facing gender based violence, marginalization, and exploitation. Furthermore, the Rwandan Special Needs Education Policy basically addresses inequality that specifically relates to children with physical, mental, or learning disabilities. It focuses on giving an opportunity to children with special need to access education. The objectives of the policy include ensuring conditions that allow children with special needs to access and complete school by ensuring provision of appropriate instructional materials (MINEDUC, 2007a). The policy priority is to ensure equity within all fields and throughout all levels of education and training through specific interventions to raise performance of girls and learners with special needs, including orphans and vulnerable children, and improving provision for adult literacy skills development.

Equally involved in the welfare of Persons Living with Disability (PWDs) is the Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), which is accountable to ensure the rights of individuals living with disabilities under its National Social Protection Policy of 2005.The policy stresses that in order to affirm the rights of those with disabilities, it is important to identify those who are vulnerable towards exclusion and abuse as a result of their disabilities so that support measures can be taken to ensure their full and complete participation in society. According to the National Social Protection Policy of 2005, 76.6% of households in Rwanda with at least one disabled family member are poor or vulnerable to poverty. This is due in part to caring responsibilities that prohibit income generating activities as well as the additional challenges facing the elderly who are disabled (p.12).

1.8.4.d Rural and Urban

It has been observed that the conventional theory on rural to urban migration derives from studies in geography that explains movements of people as a result of interwoven 'pull' and 'push' factors between the urban and rural areas. The pull factors are associated with better living conditions and services that urban areas have compared to rural areas. The push factors are associated with vulnerable conditions that are found more often in rural areas such as effects of vagaries of weather, food insecurity, problems in the agricultural sector and conflict (Musahara, 2011).

In trying to define or distinguish between rural and urban, it should be noted that this is determined based on the context and the criteria used to set the rural urban boundaries. Pateman (2010) argues that urban and rural areas should not be compared using more than one classification, so in general each country is analysed separately. He further notes that attitudes towards urban the rural are not the same, and contradictions arise depending on contexts. While some may view rural as a place to move away from in search of better conditions, others find rural areas more inhabitable and secure.

According to Rwanda Ministry of Infrastructure (MININFRA), the development of cities in Rwanda is very recent, and the rate of urbanization stands at about 18% (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2015). Although this rate is among the lowest in the world, the annual growth rate of the urban population of 4.5% far exceeds the worldwide average of 1.8%. Almost half of the urban dwellers are concentrated in the City of Kigali, with about one million inhabitants. This monocephalic situation highlights the imbalance even between urban centres within Rwanda. The Urbanization and Rural Settlement Sector encompasses social, economic and environmental activities. It has relevance to both, urban and rural areas. According to the Government of Rwanda, access to a decent housing and favourable living conditions is a fundamental right for all citizens. This is in line with the Habitat–Declaration agreed upon in 1996 in Istanbul, which admits that "housing is a fundamental right for every citizen" (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2015).

The urban and rural divide in Rwanda plays a key role in influencing teachers' choice of deployment as their choice are often influenced by general conditions in the location. Bennell

and Ntagaramba (2008) observe that "despite the small geographical size of Rwanda, the spatial distribution of teachers across the country with respect to key characteristics such as (qualifications, experience and gender) is markedly uneven" (p.7). The main reason cited for this was the unattractive working and living conditions in many rural schools (ibid). Thus, the majority of teachers prefer working in Kigali City where they can access services easily. It was revealed that the further one moves away from Kigali, the poorer the quality of services gets. At times, some teachers may prefer to work in their districts of origin, however, after some months request for transfers to more urbanized schools. A quote from one respondent briefly explains the trend:

> "Each and every teacher wants to be a teacher in Kigali City yet Kigali is rated as one of the provinces with very few public schools as well as other schools that operate in partnership with the government. You understand that not all can be in Kigali. So, the further you move away from Kigali, the poor the quality of teachers you get" (REB-TDM official 2, 2016).

1.8.5 Teachers and Peacebuilding

Teachers: As its starting point, this review uses the definition of teacher as contained in the ILO/UNESCO 1966 recommendations: "All persons in schools or other training sites who are responsible for the education of children or young people in pre-primary, primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education" (UNESCO/ILO, 2008. However, this definition is narrowed to primary and secondary education, and only includes learning sites other than schools where they were the main provider in a given context.

Teacher Agency: Integral to teachers' role as peace builders is their "agency" in peace building. A pervasive dualism within social sciences is structure and agency. For Emile Durkheim (1912), structure took priority over agency, meaning that social life is largely determined by social systems and conditions that regulate individual behaviour. Social life is largely determined by those individuals, 'agents', without whom there would be no social structures (Bullock & Trombley, 2000, p. 835). Sociologists sought to synthesise this binary by seeing social systems as the result of interaction between individuals (agency) who are aware of the "rules" (structure) that influence their actions, but who are also capable of bringing about structural change by influencing the "rules" that govern social action.

Teacher agency as peace builders is understood in relation to their capacity to influence their conflict-driven surroundings. It is their ability to think, feel and act in order to foster "values and attitudes" that offer "a basis for transforming conflict itself" (Novelli & Smith, 2011, p. 7). Teachers' agency as peace builders can thus be seen as static, fixed and essentialized or it can be seen as multidimensional, situated, and dynamic. For example, teachers can act as both the agents of change by promoting harmony between pupils, which includes respect, justice and inclusiveness, or as agents of conflict in the way they use pedagogy and curricula to perpetuate inequity and conflict between opposing ethnic, religious or socio-economic groups. The lines between the two are not always clear and the same teacher may play out both roles simultaneously in different moments and contexts. This is because teachers do not exercise their peace building agency in isolation from their surroundings, and their agency both influences their surrounding and is influenced by it (O'Sullivan, 2002; Vongalis-Macrow, 2007; Weldon, 2010; Welmond, 2002). Teachers are selective and strategic actors in an often politically-charged context (Lopes Cardozo, 2011; Lopes Cardozo & May, 2009).

Teacher Education: It encompasses the various stages of training including Initial Teacher Education, internships, Continuous Professional Development, and other pre- and in-service teacher education. In clarifying the difference between education and training, it is helpful to consider education as the process by which knowledge and understanding is learned and training is learning about techniques and standards that are used during one's education. While there is a great deal of overlap between the two and teachers require both technical skills and procedures (e.g. reading and writing) and knowledge and insight (e.g. the ability to discuss the meaning behind prose or literature), using the term 'education' places an emphasis on the teacher and 'training' on the process.

In the case of Rwanda, teacher training/education is centralized under the University of Rwanda-College of Education (UR-CE) which is one of the six colleges of the University of Rwanda, created after the merger of all public higher learning institutions in Rwanda in 2013. The college had initially started its operation in 1999 as Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) with a mandate to train lower and upper secondary school teachers as well as tutors. UR-CE is the apex institution in

teacher education with academic, assessment and certification of all teachers at all levels from primary to secondary school level. It is also the lead institution in teacher education with academic quality responsibility over Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) across the country.

1.8.6 Policy and Peace building

Consistent with the realist evaluation methodology of this study, the focus of our research identifies how the policies work and how the policies' objectives are expected to be achieved (Pawson &Tilley, 2004). Going farther than simply describing the policy as it is written, we are interested in exploring the motivations of actors spearheading policy implementation, who does and does not benefit from these policies, and why certain peace building policies gain traction or face resistance. The realist evaluation methodology will help illustrate any gaps between policy as written and policy as practice. Below are further brief clarifications on the definitions encompassing education policy, including that which is concerned with peace building:

A policy – is defined as a set of coherent decisions and ideas made and agreed upon by a group of actors, who are committed to courses of action serving a common (long-term) vision and purpose. Policies are usually designed at the national level; however, if education is decentralised, the local district level functions in an equally important role.

A plan – is understood as a detailed scheme or proposal for achieving something at a larger scale (e.g. National Development Plan, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, Peace building Priority Plans, Education Sector Reform, etc.). Plans are not necessarily legally binding and are usually aimed at the national level.

A programme – can be part of a policy or plan and is comprised of multiple projects that are managed and coordinated as one unit with the objective of achieving outcomes and results.

A project - is understood as a temporary activity established to deliver specific outputs in line with predefined time, cost, and quality constraints. A project can be part of a policy, plan and/or programme.

1.9 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

This chapter has presented the background and rationale of the broader study that focuses on teachers as agents of peace building and social cohesion. For this report, emphasis is on the Rwandan context. It outlined the research aims and the questions that guide the study and also presented a thorough discussion of the theoretical framework that underpins the study. Lastly, the chapter highlighted and discussed the key concepts and terms that have been used in this study. Although these concepts have been used in related studies globally, this report attempted to contextualise them to Rwanda in addition to the global contexts.

Chapter 2discusses the Rwandan context of the study by outlining the historical context of the Rwandan conflicts that culminated into the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. It discusses reconciliations efforts in post-conflict Rwanda. The chapter then discusses the legal, macro-development and policy frameworks aimed at promoting social cohesion and peace building. Lastly, it analyses post-genocide education system in Rwanda vis-à-vis social cohesion and peace education and concludes with a look at higher education.

Chapter 3 provides the general research study methodology. It presents the approaches and overall sampling and data collection techniques and methods applied in the study. In more detail, the chapter presents the data collection instruments, study phases, study population, study sites that include 9YBE, 12YBE schools and ITE case studies which are discussed one by one.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the education policies in Rwanda. It examines the relevant education policies and the extent to which they address existing challenges and promote peace building and social cohesion in Rwanda. It also highlights the perceptions of different stakeholders pertaining to peace building programs that have been put in place. The chapter reviews the role of teachers as agents of social cohesion in the Rwandan context and discusses how teachers' roles are framed in policy. The chapter also discusses governance vis-à-vis the education sector.

Chapter 5 continues the policy analysis discussion. Whereas the previous chapter focused more on educational policies in place and how they impact peace building and social cohesion with regards to teachers, Chapter 5 looks at teacher governance and seeks to understand how the selected interventions have attempted to ensure that teachers are recruited and deployed in way that promotes peace building and social cohesion in Rwandan schools.

Chapter 6 moves a step further from teacher governance by examining teacher trust and accountability in Rwanda. The chapter presents an analysis of the selected intervention discussed in the previous chapter and attempts to respond to the question of how they have managed to ensure that teachers are able to build trust and enhance accountability not only vis-à-vis the learners but the community at large.

Chapter 7 focuses on teachers' general professional development in Rwanda, more specifically through continuing professional development (CPD). It provides the chapter methodology then goes on to give a distinct discussion of-in-service and pre-service teacher training in the context of Rwanda. The chapter discusses interventions, some of which are home grown solutions that are employed in training teachers to be key agents of peace and social cohesion. Specifically, the chapter attempts to explore how Rwandan teachers understand the required professional development skills with regards to peace education and social cohesion to enable them deal with their day-to-day duties. Related to this, the chapter sheds light on how teachers benefit from CPD to be able to handle the new curriculum which seeks to inculcate peace values among learners.

Chapter 8 Chapter highlights how peace building and social cohesion are incorporated in the Rwandan curriculum and textbooks. It presents an analysis on syllabuses of Social and Religious Studies and English in Upper Primary Education; History, Political Education, English, General Communication Skills in Secondary Education as well as how peace building and social cohesion values are reflected in Knowledge Based and Competence Based Curricula (CBC). The chapter presents a review of the textbooks in use in Rwandan schools vis-à-vis cross-cutting issues of peace building, peace education, social cohesion and gender and how teachers are equipped to

integrate the cross-cutting issues in all subjects taught. Equally provided is a comparison of the curriculum content as well as textbooks before and after the 1994 genocide.

Chapter 9 provides a thorough discussion on different educational and school linked aspect such as the curriculum, teaching materials and approaches, school environment, parental involvement etc. from a pedagogical and socially cohesive viewpoint. It examines the role of education in the lead-up to the 1994 genocide through probing the inequalities of access to education, curricular content, and teaching methods that all contributed to the conditions for violence before and during 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The chapter presents an analysis of peace building approaches that have been used in rebuilding the education sector in post-genocide Rwanda as well as a discussion on the current teaching methods in that are largely teacher-centred. The chapter concludes by outlining future priorities as well as providing suggestions to ensure that education plays a more central role in promoting peace building in Rwanda.

 Chapter 10 the closing chapter of the Rwandan Report, brings together the findings from the different chapters of the study. Step by step, the chapter discusses the findings in line with the study guiding research questions. In response to the research questions, it highlights the challenges, opportunities, achievement as drawn from respondents vis-à-vis the education sector. The chapter concludes by presenting recommendations for policy and beyond as expressed by teachers, learners, parents and other stakeholders for the enhancement of, peace building and social cohesion teaching in Rwandan school

Chapter 2. The Rwandan Historical and Political Context:
From a peacebuilding and social cohesion perspective

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, it has been argued that, teachers are key determinants of education quality and play a crucial role in nation building, identity construction, peace and reconciliation. What teachers do with learning resources shapes what children and young people learn, influencing their identities as well as providing them with skills for employment and peace building. As noted earlier, teacher's agency is important in development values of tolerance and mutual respect, in post war contexts where there is divisions and mistrust (Davies, 2011). Teacher training is evidently seen as a fundamental element of post-conflict reconstruction but there are doubts about both its relevance, effectiveness and how it constructed and deployed.

This Chapter 2 strongly argues that knowledge of the Rwandan political and historical context is critical for understanding Rwanda's social disintegration and inequality that contributed to the presence of conflict and the lack of social cohesion within the last over 50 years. It has been highlighted that Belgian colonialists, for their own political gains, manipulated existing social identities into a constructed ethnicity ideology among Rwandans and introduced identity cards that bore ethnic group as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. This socially constructed identification fuelled hatred and divisionism among Rwandans. Academic studies indicate that little is known about previous divisions among the Rwandans, prior to the divisions created by the Belgians (Pottier 2002, Chretien 2003, Lema 1993, Newbury 1998). This divisionism continually grew across the post –colonial regimes so much so that it became the bedrock and foundation of genocide against Tutsi in 1994.

2.2 AN OVERVIEW OF PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL RWANDA

Rwanda has been inhabited since at least 3000 BCE, but it's modern history began with the Belgian colonization in 1922 (Chrétien 2003). At that time, and to this day, the Rwandan society shared the same language, religion and culture. In the pre-colonial period, Rwanda had three ethnic groups: the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. The Belgians used the pre-existing political structure of a Tusti monarchy and ruling class to govern over the Hutu population as a means to entrench their administration of the colony, which served to worsen the social stratification and became a major source of the social disintegration and economic inequalities within Rwanda (Langford 2005).

Tutsi was traditionally an indicator of the socio-economic status of a Rwandan with a good number of cows and Hutu indicated Rwandans with no cows but those who worked as subsistence farmers, a Twa was an indicator of a socio-economic status of neither of the two above but those who did manual work such as pottery. A Rwandan could rise to any socio-economic status depending on how many cows one has acquired. This fundamental socio-economic status was later interpreted as ethnic identities by Belgian colonialists (ibid, 2005).

Belgian colonisers developed ethnic ideology through the introduction of use of identity cards that ethnicity, which were later used during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, to identify and kill the victims. This is emblematic of institutionalised ethnicity in that the Belgian colonialists required local nationals to carry such ethnic identifiers, cementing the conceptualization of a Hutu versus Tutsi divide. The Belgian government rationalized the ethnic ideology under the theory of eugenics. Belgian scientists argued that due to apparent morphological characteristics such as height and nose shape, Tutsis were more similar to Europeans than Hutus, and thus deserved their ruling position (Moghalu, 2005). This analysis is summed up by Mamdani (2001) to indicate how the root of Rwanda's conflicts can be traced in its colonial history:

"The origin of the violence is connected to how Hutu and Tutsi were constructed as political identities by the colonial state, Hutu as indigenous and Tutsi as alien. (…). Is connected with the failure of Rwandan nationalism to transcend the colonial construction of Hutu and Tutsi as native and alien" (p. 34).

In the early 1960s, most the Tutsi chiefs were replaced by the colonial government with Hutu chiefs who persecuted the Tutsi (Prunier, 1995). The ensuing instability led to the flight of Tutsi refugees into neighbouring countries (Khadiagala, 1995). After Independence in 1961, the regimes of succeeding presidents Gregoire Kayibanda (May 1, 1924 – December 15, 1976) and Juvenal Habyarimana (March 8, 1937 – April 6, 1994) promoted policies of institutional discrimination in all sectors of government, particularly in civil service, schools and universities. Colonial government discrimination was reflected in systematic preference of Tutsis for schools, university places. This ultimately became an institutional construct of post-colonial Rwanda (Ndahiriwe, 2014, p. 111).

A particular concern of this study is to understand the ways education was used as a vehicle for institutional discrimination, which led to social disintegration and economic inequalities in the Rwandan society and ultimately the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. In terms of economic inequality, the Rwandan conflict underpinned an economic dimension as reflected in the policies of the pre-1994 Rwandan government:

> "It is well established that the majority of Rwandans lived in extreme poverty and inequality (...) At the same time the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank demanded that Rwanda implement a programme of structural adjustment, and government's budget for 1989 was slashed nearly in half at a time of famine" (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, p. 197).

The ensuing economic instability and its impact on the wellbeing of citizens affected the legitimacy of the state, especially among the majority of people living in extreme poverty, which included the minority Tutsi. The implementation of the structural adjustment programmes coupled with the decline of coffee prices and drought towards the end of the 1980's had an exponential impact on Rwanda's economy and society because coffee accounted for more than two thirds of Rwanda's foreign revenue (Paris, 2004).

The above occurrences were a vicious cycle of events that culminated with "one of the most brutal genocides in the history of mankind" (Sentama, 2009, p. 1). In the next section, we analyse how education was used as a tool for the social disintegration that laid the foundation for

inequality within the Rwandan society. Where the education system helped sow the seeds of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the aftermath of this tragedy also led to immeasurable impact on children, teachers and communities, while also leaving the education system and its infrastructure destroyed (Freedman et al. 2004; Akresh and De Walque, 2008).

The special concern of this study is to understand the ways education was used as a vehicle for institutional discrimination, which led to social disintegration and economic inequalities in the Rwandan society and ultimately the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. In terms of economic inequality, the Rwandan conflict underpinned an economic dimension as reflected in the policies of the pre-1994 Rwandan government. In order to ffind out the possible causes of these critical anti human development and dignity in Rwanda, this chapter considers the following fundamental questions:

i.   What is the possible-root cause for1994 genocide against the Tutsi?

ii.   Are there any substantive drivers and explanations for why Rwanda lacked peace and social cohesion?

iii. How did inequalities in Rwanda through education system, quota system, regionalism, curriculum, textbooks, and teachers aggravate social tensions and lack of social cohesion in Rwanda before 1994?

iv.   Was there any explicit focus on Peace building in Rwanda's education system before 1994?

v.   How and why did education system/teachers in Rwanda before 1994 acted the way it did?

vi.   What is Rwanda trying to do to make Rwanda a socially cohesive society?

vii. What are the possible challenges for Rwanda to achieve peace and social cohesion today?

2.3 METHODS

This chapter mainly employed secondary data through documentary analysis and research literature on Rwanda and elsewhere in order to build a theoretical framework on social cohesion and education policy framework in Rwandan history. Selected policy documents before and after 1994 were reviewed, including Vision 2020 (revised in 2012), Economic Development and Poverty

Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) I (2008-2012) and EDPRS II (2013-2018), the National Gender Policy (2010), among others. The selection drew on current thees that relate to peace building, social cohesion, and education. The chapter also included interviews from policy stakeholders in Rwanda such as schools, learners, and education sector NGOs, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission among others.

2.4 COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN RWANDA: THE SEED FOR DISINTEGRATION AND SOCIAL TENSIONS IN RWANDA

It is now fundamental to shed light to what is happening in Rwanda from a historical and political perspective. First of all, during this study, both literature and interviews conducted among policy makers, teachers, head teachers and parents all agree that genocide against Tutsi and its consequences evidently demonstrate very serious ethnic divisionism in Rwanda that was deeply rooted during the colonial era in order for Belgium to rule Rwanda. In spite of negative consequences of 1994 genocide against Tutsi such, many orphans, widows and an attempt to unite Rwandans that still hinder Rwanda's both human and socio-economic development, there is among Rwandans today a clear and intentional understanding and practice of social cohesion attempting to overcome the legacy of colonial rule continued in some post colonial governments.

As Mamdani (2001) points out, the root of Rwanda's conflicts can be traced in its colonial history: 'the origin of the violence is connected to how Hutu and Tutsi were constructed as political identities by the colonial state, Hutu as indigenous and Tutsi as alien. (…). Is connected with the failure of Rwandan nationalism to transcend the colonial construction of Hutu and Tutsi as native and alien (Mamdani, 2001:34).'

2.5 COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL EDUCATION SYSTEM IN RWANDA: A TOOL FOR ETHNIC, INEQUALITY, SOCIAL TENSIONS AND DIVISIONISM IN RWANDA

During the colonial period, Rwanda's education system was entrusted to Roman Catholic Church missionaries who introduced formal education at the beginning of the 20th century. The goals of this education sought to create catechists who would evangelize the local population as well as

to train a new class of administrators for colonial masters to assist them with agricultural production and managing local labour (Njoroge and Rubagiza, 2003). Asmuch as missionaries developed basic education and vocational skills in Rwanda, this kind of formal education led to negative effects on the future development of the country. As early as the 1920s, students were put in distinct categories of Hutu or Tutsi, which largely determined their fate outside of school. At first, colonialists used divide and rule strategy by grooming the Tutsi for leadership and excluding Hutu children who mainly received education from seminaries (Njoroge and Rubagiza, 2003). This kind of education system was later to contribute to the upheavals in the late 1950s, 1963, 1973, and subsequently the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

After gaining independence in 1962, education in Rwanda continued to be characterized by discrimination and elitism, where curricula typically promoted and reinforced social and economic divisions within society (Ministry of Education, 2015). Administrative structures were put in place to build a non-traditional, western-style education system. The *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale* [Ministry of National Education] was created in 1961 and responsible for enforcing many of the laws created to maintain racial divisions in schools. Major regulatory changes to the sector took place in 1979 and 1981 but none of the discriminatory policies of the post-colonial era were questioned. This kind of legal framework sustained a social-political polarisation and fostered divisionism that would later cause conflict amongst Rwandans (ibid, 2015).

2.6 QUOTA SYSTEM (IRINGANIZA) IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS BEFORE 1994: ETHNIC AND REGIONAL DIVIDE AT WORK

Rutayisire et al. (2004) discuss how policies of ethnic, regional and gender quotas *(iringaniza)* provided a legal framework for promoting violence and discrimination in Rwandan society. During the second republic of 1973-94, the policy of quotas was derived from Article 60 of the public education law regarding the conditions of transitioning from primary to secondary school. In this case, in order to be admitted to secondary school after primary school, several

considerations would be made in addition to students' academic performance, namely regional, ethnic, and gender quotas (Rutayisire et al., 2004).

Rutayisire (2007) asserts that despite the public education law, the 1970s' ethnic and regional quotas actually determined entry into all primary, secondary, and tertiary public institutions. These mandates overrode academic consideration, given that the results of primary and secondary school examinations were never published, nor were the criteria accounting for the exam results used to select students at the upper levels. "In the pre-1994 curriculum, the essentials of human emotion, attitudes, values and skills were absent, while injustices based on discrimination and conflict were imparted through formalized rote learning in history, civic education, religious and moral education and languages" (p. 117).

After the 1994 genocide, the education sector, as well as other sectors of national life, existed in emergency status during which the main objective was to reshape and try to restart the education system, which had been broken down. It was in this context that the 1998 Sector Policy was adopted. That policy mainly focused on how to bring a solution to the real exigencies of the prevailing situation, in order to achieve a significant change in the education system after the terrible events that shattered the country in 1994 (MINEDUC, 2003, p. 3).

Between the end of the 1994 Rwanda genocide against the Tutsi and the turn of the century, education policies, plans and strategies have focused on the development of human capital through an education system that aligns with the global guidelines of Education for All. The access to primary education was emphasised through policies, funding mechanisms and civil works programs to increase the number of classrooms (MINEDUC, 2015). These are intended to be accomplished through partnerships with several stakeholders in Rwanda's education system who will conduct annual assessments of the education system.

An official from Catholic education secretariat (SNEC) argued that SNEC is preoccupied with how Rwanda's education system can bring out the good out of what happened in the past [the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi] in order to build peace. This is an issue regarding the core values of human beings, most especially freedom. It implies that responsible freedom should be exercised:

"I'm free to do everything I want but how can I do it without being a burden to a neighbour. The main issue is based on reconstructing history of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi that destroyed our society that negatively impacted on Rwandan families and teachers themselves. Peace building must concern children, teachers and parents, politicians and all actors of education. Everyone must play a role. And also there must be written textbooks about ways of building peace, specific programs teaching peace. There must be examples, models at every level" (SNEC official, 2016).

An official from REB stated that the Rwanda's current education system is designed for the inclusion of all Rwandan learners, which is a reversal of the quota systems in 1970s and 1980s. Character building among Rwandan learners must be emphasised for shaping Rwanda's future in order to avert another national tragedy. Rwanda has made a new step in embedding peace building in the new curriculum through the 2016 competence-based curriculum. Regardless of the subject being taught, there are elements of peace building incorporated, in mathematics and chemistry, among other subjects. The official reiterated that teachers must ensure that peace building is embedded in all subjects. The mission of the education sector in Rwanda is to instil the young generation with skills in critical thinking, resilience, positive attitudes and values, and so there is a strong element of promoting social cohesion and peace building.

2.7 MACRO LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK IN RWANDA: A MOVE TO ENHANCE PEACE VALUES AND SOCIAL COHESION

In assessing and analyzing Rwanda's endeavor to build sustainable peace, social cohesion and socio-economic development after 1994 genocide against Tutsi, one has to critically investigate what is the government of Rwanda is attempting today towards making Rwanda a socially cohesive society to foster sustainability, not only for peace but also socio-economic development.

Kosner et al (2001) ascertained thatRwanda has deliberately set out to build social cohesion, recognising it as essential for a sustainable society that meets all the needs of all citizens. Building social cohesion permeates all levels of society from the national to the village but also includes the private, non-government, and the public sector (Kotsner, and Kuehnast 2001, Ministry of

Local Government and Social Affairs, 2002). At the national level, the 2003 constitution was developed through a participatory process, as was the Vision 2020 and the subsequent development strategies. There is a Forum for Political parties and the National Dialogue Summit which enables all Rwandans the future development of the country. The participation of the citizens has both vertical and horizontal linkages. At the community level, all residents are members of the village council, the National Women's Council, the National Youth Council and National Council for People Living with Disabilities (Republic of Rwanda, 2014).

There is also the political will to enhance consensus-based governance systems, through the main forum for Political Parties. After a political party registers in Rwanda, they become part of the Forum for Political Parties. This body functions as a platform for dialogue and exchange among political organizations. The main functions of the forum are to offer consultation and political contribution to good governance towards national unity, which includes party leadership development as well as information, evaluation, and political mediation between disputing parties. The activities of the Rwandan Forum for Political parties, relate to the aspect of recognition in Fraser's (1995, 2005) analytical framework of social cohesion, which concerns respect for an affirmation of diversity and identities in governance structures, processes, and content in terms of political leadership for peace building and social cohesion. Hence forth, the imperative to ensure social cohesion and reconciliation Rwanda's peace building process is reflected in the 2003 constitution and the 2015 revised version, where the preamble clearly states that:

'We, the people of Rwanda,

CONSCIOUS of the genocide committed against Tutsi that decimated more than a million sons and daughters of Rwanda, and conscious of the tragic history of our country;

MINDFUL that peace, security, unity and reconciliation of the people of Rwanda are the pillars of development;

COMMITTED to building a State governed by the rule of law, based on the respect for human rights, freedom and on the principle of equality of all Rwandans before the law as well as equality between men and women;

COMMITTED further to building a State based on consensual and pluralistic democracy founded on power sharing, national unity and reconciliation, good governance, development, social justice, tolerance and resolution of problems through dialogue;

COMMITTED to preventing and punishing the crime of genocide, fighting genocide negations and revisionism, eradicating genocide ideology and all its manifestations, divisionism and discrimination based on ethnicity, region or any other ground (Official Gazette n° Special of 24/12/2015).'

Furthermore, the 2003 Rwandan Constitution also mandates for the establishment of the National Commission for Human Rights (Article 177), the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (Article 178) and the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (Article 179). The Constitution sets out the main elements of the society that Rwanda intends to build in the wake of the genocide, in order to flourish and avoid conflict in the future. It explicitly champions pluralistic politics which is the "voice centred" rather than "vote centred" (Musoni, 2007).

2.8 MACRO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK: TOOLS FOR CONCRETIZING PEACE VALUES, SOCIAL COHESION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA

After wide consultations by the government on national unity, Vision 2020 was developed to guide Rwanda's development from the year 2000 to 2020. Vision 2020 focuses on the establishment of a capable state, with a specific reference to building social cohesion and reducing economic inequalities.

With Vision 2020, Rwanda has made a concerted effort to come out of a traumatic historical past of violent social division, towards a peaceful, united, democratic and inclusive Rwandan identity. Vision 2020 provides an overarching development framework based on six interwoven pillars of

good governance and an efficient state, skilled human capital, a vibrant private sector, world-class physical infrastructure and modern agriculture and livestock—all geared towards national, regional and global market transformation towards middle-income nation in which its citizens are healthier and better educated (The Republic of Rwanda, 2012). The major aspirations of Vision 2020 are elaborated in Rwanda's Economic Development and the second Poverty Reduction Strategy plan, whose aim is to "[accelerate] progress to middle income status and better quality of life for all Rwandans through sustained average GDP growth of 11.5% and accelerated reduction of poverty to less than 30% of the population"(The Republic of Rwanda, 2013:11).

The achievement of the interwoven pillars of Rwanda Vision 2020 is based on recognizing the challenge of low human resource development levels, despite the significant progress that has been made in tackling illiteracy and providing universal access to basic education. Through a coordinated array of activities to realise the goals of Vision 2020 plan, section 4.2.i of Rwanda Vision 2020 addresses education directly:

> "Rwanda is committed to reaching "Universal Education for All", which is one of the most important Millennium Development Goals. However, there is clearly a need to educate and train people at all levels: primary, secondary and tertiary, with special attention paid to the quality of education" (The Republic of Rwanda, 2012).

Rwanda's Vision 2020 places a strong emphasis on investment in the education of Rwandan citizens with a goal of meeting global education targets as well as national economic development. The lack of human capital is identified, by Rwanda Vision 2020, as one of the major bottlenecks to achieving a middle-income and knowledge-based economy by the year 2020 (see section 2.2. v).

In the context of this study, Rwanda's challenge is one of achieving education for all citizens that enhances social cohesion, reduces inequalities and promotes peace building. One of the major efforts has been to design an education policy that addresses social exclusion, given Rwanda's recovery from a conflict. The Government of Rwanda has also made several international commitments that underline its determination to promote education in general and girls' education in particular. These include the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Education

for All (EFA), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The convention commits signatories to ensuring that the right of all children to education is realized and Education for All and the Sustainable Development Goals have a target of Universal Primary Completion (UPC) and gender equality (in opportunities and outcomes) by 2030.

2.9 RWANDA'S HOME GROWN INITIATIVES (HGI): TOWARDS REALIZATION OF RECOGNITION, REDISTRIBUTION, REPRESENTATION AND RECONCILIATION (THE 4RS) AMONG RWANDANS

2.9.1 An Overview of the 4Rs

The theoretical framework underpinning this study is based on Fraser's (2005) analytic framework, which focuses on a sustainable approach to peace building by placing more emphasis on social development and addressing underlying causes of conflict such political, economic and social inequalities and injustices. Education has a significant contribution to make to sustainable peace building by contributing to greater security, as well as political, economic, social and cultural 'transformations' within conflict-affected societies. Transformation in this study is considered to be the extent to which education policies, individual and institutional agency, and development programmes promote redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Rwanda's progress can be assessed based on the 4Rs framework: Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, & Smith 2015). The framework illustrates the need for addressing and redressing the "legacies of conflict" while also addressing the "drivers of conflict". In doing so, it recognizes the multiple dimensions of inequality and injustice that often underpin contemporary conflicts and the need to address the legacies of these conflicts in and through education. The framework is in line with broader and well-established peace building thinking (Galtung 1976; Lederach 1995, 1997) that highlights the need to address both negative peace (the cessation of violence) and positive peace (the underlying structural and symbolic violence that often underpins the outbreak of conflict – the drivers of conflict). This framework also combines social justice and

transitional justice thinking to develop a normative framework for the study of education and peace building.

A strong critique of this work argues that horizontal inequalities (between groups), in the case of Rwanda the socially constructed Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups are important indicators for conflict outbreak (Stewart 2005, 2010). The 4Rs framework builds on this thinking by developing a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al., 2015). The examination of Rwanda's approaches and Programmes to achieve Social Cohesion and Socio-Economic development would assist this study to draw a conclusion of how far Rwanda has gone into realizing its dream of a becoming a peaceful, economically advancing and socially cohesive modern nation.

1.9.2 Home-Grown Initiatives: Contextualizing Rwanda's Social Problems

a. **National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC): Building the New Rwandan Society**

Recognition and reconciliation are fundamental outcomes that need to be addressed in the design of successful post-conflict, institutional peace building frameworks. According to Lambourne (2004), justice and order are also important aspects of peace building in a post-conflict situation where there is a need to end violence, disarm combatants, restore the rule of law, and deal with the perpetrators of war crimes and other human rights abuses. In doing so, the legal process of reconciliation should "build bridges" between those divided during conflict in addition to recognising and addressing the harm caused during the conflict. Chapman (2007) analyses the experience of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as an example in promoting intergroup forgiveness and reconciliation focused on the participation of victims in the TRC process and their response to it.

In Rwanda, the post-war government made peace and development its highest priority and the country has met or exceeded several global development targets in the past twenty years. Reforms in the post-genocide era began with the establishment of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), which was established in 1999 under Organic Law No. 39 of

12/03/99. The authority of the NURC is derived from the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda under Article 178. The establishment of the NURC was meant to achieve the following objectives:

To prepare and co-ordinate the National programs aimed at promoting national unit and reconciliation.

Establish and promote mechanisms for restoring and strengthening the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans.

To educate, sensitize and mobilise the population in areas of national unity and reconciliation.

To carry out research, organize debates; disseminate peace, and unity and reconciliation of Rwandans.

Give advice and expert opinion on how to eradicate divisions among Rwandan citizens.

To condemn and fight against all information and publications meant to divide Rwandan citizens, and not to tolerate foreigners who spread the propaganda meant to divide Rwandans.

Make annual reports in relation to unity and reconciliation

To monitor the performance of the private sector, NGOs and all Rwandans in general on how they are to carry out unity and reconciliation programs (NURC, 2011:9).

The primary objective of NURC is to foster unity and reconciliation among Rwandans who had, for much of their history, been subject to governance characterized by human rights abuses, violence and discrimination. NURC has two main components, the civic education division and the peace building & conflict management division. The civic education arm informs Rwandans of their rights and duties as they relate to government institutions. The peacebuilding and conflict management department monitors whether various laws and policies conform to national unity and reconciliation policies. It does this by reviewing laws passed by the government, proposing reforms to existing laws, monitoring injustice and discrimination, generating reports about the extent to which government organs adhere to unity and reconciliation guidelines, and conflict mediation (NURC, 2011).

b. Abunzi: Building Harmony

Abunzi is a system of using peacebuilding committees that act as community mediators. This traditional approach was institutionalized in 2006 under Organic Law No 31/2006 of 14/08/2006 and was amended by Organic Law No 02/2010 of 09/06/2010. It was intended to resolve minor civil and criminal cases, especially those involving land disputes, and to increase social cohesion and stability. This mediation process is mandatory before filing or resorting to a case in court to help effectively and efficiently settle disputes.

There are two levels of mediating committees consisting of 12 members. The first level is at the cell level and the second functioning as an appeal at the sector level. These committees are elected by their respective cell and sector councils for five year-terms. If a person has a case, they report it to the executive secretary of the committee and an appointment is set for the parties to gather for mediation. Three mediators are selected by the disputing parties, but if one party is dissatisfied with the decision made by the *Abunzi*, they may appeal to the sector level. If they are dissatisfied with the decision at the sector level, they may appeal to the primary courts. At this point they enter the judicial system. A 2011 survey asking opinions about *Abunzi* performance resulted in largely positive responses from 77.2% of citizens included in the survey (Rwanda Governance Board, 2012).

c. Gacaca Courts: Towards Fair Justice

After the 1990-1994 civil war and genocide in 1994, Rwanda was faced with prosecuting hundreds of thousands of genocide suspects. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania, a court was set up to put on trial offenders of the genocide, during which 69 trials during its tenure were completed (Clark, 2010). But other measures were required to provide justice to additional perpetrators other than using the mainstream Rwandan legal system. This challenge was compounded by the fact that there were very few lawyers and judges left in the country and justice needed to be administered on a very limited budget. *Gacaca*, which means to meet and discuss a problem together in Kinyarwanda, was implemented as a way to work through these legal challenges.

The two general objectives of *gacaca* were to prosecute genocide suspects and to begin the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwandan society. The prosecution was carried out by 23 individuals who were selected from among the local population. These elected officials were then trained by the transitional government in general legal principles. The *gacaca* courts closed in June of 2012 and during the decade-long process the system processed as many as one million cases. In line with Fraser's analytical framework (1995, 2005) for social justice, reconciliation involves dealing with past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships for peace building and social cohesion (see also Smith et al 2011; Novelli & Smith, 2011).

d. Imidugudu: Towards Social and Individual Development

Following the genocide in 1994, the Government of Rwanda had to deal simultaneously with the reintegration of millions of returning refugees and reconciliation between groups that harboured animosity towards each other. One of the programs implemented to address these issues was *Imidugudu* – meaning "villages". It was originally conceived during the Arusha Protocol, signed before the genocide in June 1993, to create a framework for dealing with returning refugees. Under the original *Imidugudu* policy, returning refugees could not claim back their property if they had gone away more than 10 years. Instead, they would be settled in villages on land provided by the government (Rwanda Governance Board, 2012).

However, following the genocide, *Imidugudu* became an emergency relief program meant to provide housing for returning refugees as well as for those left homeless after the genocide. It evolved even further from a policy meant to target returning refugees and the homeless into a resettlement program for the entire country. By grouping people into villages, land would be available for more efficient use in agriculture. As Hilhorst and van Leeuwen (1999) indicated, when everybody is living together they share their work, their problems, and their beer. This was and still important in the constructed of social cohesion.

Under *Imidugudu*, people were encouraged through economic incentives to voluntarily settle in determined areas. This was done to avoid the problems witnessed in rural development and resettlement programs of other countries that failed because resettlement was involuntary.

*Umuganda,*or community work, was used to build the houses and infrastructure for these villages. The villages were composed of 100-200 houses on plots of land from 10-20 hectares. The overall goals of the *Imidugudu* policy are to:

- Find a long-term solution to the problems of resettling refugees after 1994.

- Make it easier for authorities to provide basic facilities and services (such as health, education, electricity and other infrastructure, among others).

- Enhance the security of the people in imidugudu.

- Settle people of different ethnic origin and background together so as to enhance peace and reconciliation (RISD 1999).

Within the 4Rs analytical framework, the *Imidugudu* policy addresses redistribution concerns of equity and non-discrimination by addressing the problems of resettling refugees and making it easier for diverse community members to access education and resources together (Rwanda Governance Board, 2012).

e. Imihigo: Acknowledging Individual and Institutional Commitment For Development

Imihigo is at the heart of local governance in Rwanda. It was originally a performance contract between the president and each district's mayor but has been expanded to include each strata of government. Each public leader and administrator makes a reciprocal contract between subordinate and supervisory entities, which also includes a codified responsibility to individual citizens. It is a participatory planning process designed to make it possible for every Rwandan to be involved in local development and to enable them to hold their leaders accountable for this progress.

Planning begins with individual households reporting to their villages, villages to cells, cells to sectors, and so on to the district level. The district development plan reflects the priorities of the central government and this contract is signed by both district leaders and the president. It is viewed as a way for Rwanda to decentralize policymaking while maintaining accountability. The contracts are made available to the public and leaders are held accountable at yearly reviews of *Imihigo* contracts where the outcomes are published (Rwanda Governance Board, 2012).

f. Itorero and Ingando: Re-kindling Nationalism and Patriotism Through Rwandan Values

The Commission of *Itorero* was created to instil consistent national values among disparate communities. It is active at the cell and sector level and it is intended to be rolled out across the country as well as the diaspora in the future. These education centres bring together various groups and educate them in positive values and norms of Rwandan society. *Itorero* also aims to promote a culture of patriotism by outlining the positive achievements of Rwanda (National Unity and Reconciliation Commission 2009).

Ingando was originally established to assist in the reintegration of ex-combatants. It was expanded to include school-age youths and eventually to other adult groups. These groups are brought together in camps for periods lasting from three weeks to two months where they discuss Rwanda's political and socioeconomic problems, history, and the rights, obligations and duties of Rwandans (ibid, 2009.

g. Umuganda: Strenghening The Sense of Communal Spirit

As part of its Vision 2020 development programme, the government implemented the *Umuganda* community service policy. It was created to help supplement the national budget spent in construction and the repair of basic infrastructure. The work needed is organized by community members and is done voluntarily. The projects completed through *Umuganda* include the construction of schools, feeder roads, road repair, terracing, and reforestation, home construction for vulnerable people, erosion control, and water canals.

The goals of this policy are to:

Supplement national resources by executing specific activities;

Instil a culture of collective effort in the population;

Resolve problems faced by the population by the use of locally available resources;

Restore the dignity of manual labour (Ministry of Local Government 2007).

Planning for *Umuganda* is done at council meetings at the cell level. It is the responsibility of local leaders as well as national leaders to mobilise the population to participate in *Umuganda* on

every last Saturday of the month. Participation in *Umuganda* is expected to be done by all able-bodied citizens. It is expected that this policy will result in a more cohesive society as all members of a community come together to complete a project that benefits the community. Reports are prepared monthly to account for the value and quantity of work done (Ministry of Local Government 2007).

Rwanda's home-grown solutions, presented here, fit into the analytical framework for social justice developed by Fraser (1995, 2005). Rwanda's home-grown solutions have been used to address issues and support different sectors for conflict transformation in terms of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation and as an analytical tool within the education sector, among other sectors peace building and social cohesion. Rutayisire, Kabano and Rubagiza (2004) argue that reconciliation is the cornerstone of social cohesion in post conflict societies. In the context of Rwanda after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, in addition to the enormous loss of lives, physical and systemic violence brought about social, psychological, economic and political destruction. In order to unite and rebuild Rwanda, reconciliation is a necessary prerequisite of peace and social cohesion.

h. **Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS II*): Towards Holistic Development**

Through **EDPRS, Rwanda** acknowledges that skills are a key driver of productivity and wage increases. As well as increasing productivity and incomes, skills development will be essential for staffing the business requirements of emerging sectors of the economy (The Republic of Rwanda, 2013). Some key sectors in need of building critical skills for economic transformation include transport, energy, mining, hospitality (including basic mastery of international languages such as English and French), IT and trade logistics, while other sectors will require the development of basic skills for massive job creation, including literacy and numeracy, skills related to trade, construction, transport, agro-processing, and light manufacturing. Improved literacy will contribute to better access to skills and information for farmers. A more informed citizenship will contribute to the demand-side of accountability for the good governance (The Republic of Rwana, 2013).

Green and Ahmed (1999) assert that rehabilitation should take place on several spheres: in the economic, social, and political where income generating activities are restored or made available, inequities are reduced or eliminated, and governance structures are rebuilt or implemented. Some of the challenges and opportunities within the macro national development framework include:

i. **Increasing agricultural production: Towards Self Reliance**

In Rwandan, agriculture accounts for more than 71.6% (2010) of the labour force, yet remains on a relatively high subsistence level with low productivity. The agricultural productivity and production have increased significantly since 2000, though there is room for tapping potentials in modernization and value addition (Rwanda Poverty Profile Report, 2013/14)..

j. **Natural barriers to trade: Realization of the Need for International Cooperation**

Rwanda is landlocked, with long distances from ocean ports, a factor that raises transportation costs for both exports and imports. The country lacks a link to regional railway networks, which means most trade is conducted by road. Poor quality of road infrastructure linking Rwanda to other countries creates high transportation costs leading to inflated prices of domestically manufactured products and raising the price of raw materials imported for manufacturing (Rwanda Poverty Profile Report, 2013/14).

k. **Human resource development: Towards Improving Rwandans' Productivity**

Since the elaboration of the Vision 2020, Rwanda has taken important strides in tackling the prevalence of malaria and in halting and reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS. The key population and health issues to be addressed remain malnutrition and the emergence of non-communicable diseases. Significant progress has been made in tackling illiteracy and ensuring universal access to basic education. The major challenges faced in human resource development are in developing technical and vocational skills that match labour market needs and continuing to develop a strong base of science, technology and innovation graduates to spearhead the move into global and regional markets (Rwanda Poverty Profile Report, 2013/14).

l. **Infrastructure development: Towards Improving Social and Utility Amenities**

Rwanda has made strong governance reforms regarding doing business; however, the major challenge remains in reducing the infrastructure-related cost of doing business especially the high cost of electricity and low level of energy production. With electricity generation at almost 100MW, a significant step up in energy investment with increased private sector participation will be required to meet the targets for increased manufacturing and industrialisation (Rwanda Poverty Profile Report, 2013/14).

m. **Vision 2020 Umurenge Program (VUP): Empowering Rwandans from Local Government Administration**

VUP builds on the existing decentralisation system, technical and financial assistance to accelerate the rate of poverty reduction in Rwanda. The VUP programme balances central guidelines for socio-economic transformation (i.e. economic growth, job creation and extreme poverty eradication) with local participatory mechanisms. The aim is to eradicate extreme poverty by 2020; which will eventually be realised based on these key objectives:

- Releasing the productive capacities of people and offering solutions adapted to their needs;

- Improving community livelihood assets (e.g. eco-systems rehabilitation) and ensuring their sustainable usage; and

- Increasing the targeting of social protection to the most vulnerable (Government of Rwanda, 2011).

Rwanda has made commendable strides since 1994. Results of the Rwanda Poverty Profile Report, 2013/14) indicate substantial progress in poverty reduction and improvement in other socio-economic and demographic indicators in the last three years. The survey shows that poverty is at 39.1% as of 2013/14, down from 44.9% as was reported in 2010/11. During the same period, extreme poverty dropped from24.1% to 16.3%. In general, the progress is commendable, but challenges remain; many Rwandans still live in poverty and many others have living

conditions which still need to be improved, especially in areas of education and gainful employment (Rwanda Poverty Profile Report, 2013/14).

2.10. RWANDA'S GENDER POLICY FRAMEWORK: RECOGNIZING RWANDANS' EQUALITY FOR SOCIAL COHESION

Other specific policies will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but the National Gender Policy requires special explication given its aims at ensuring that boys and girls have equal access to education opportunities, essential for social cohesion and long ignored in Rwandan society. The policy has the objectives of promoting girls' enrolment in science and technology, ensuring that all girls and boys remain in school until the end of the cycle and ensuring that all children reach an acceptable level of learning. The policy also aims to increase the overall literacy rates, with specific emphasis on women.

Rwanda is one of the few African countries achieving gender parity in primary education, with Net Enrolment Rates (NER) in primary schools now roughly equal for girls (95.8%) and boys (94.7 %) for boys. Nevertheless, girls lag behind boys in terms of completion rates and final examination scores. These gender disparities emerge distinctly after the third grade, as well as in upper secondary schooling and higher education. Also, there is the issue of low attendance rates of girls in technical and scientific fields at Secondary and Tertiary levels which imply that young women are not qualified in the subjects that the government has prioritised in terms of national needs. Among the 25% of children out of school, an estimated 400,000 children who are yet to enrol or have dropped out of primary school, the majority are girls. The Education for All Goal also emphasises the need not only for girls to be present in the school, but also for attention to be paid to their needs in relation to teaching and learning practices, curricula and safety in the school environment (East African Community, 2009).

Post-conflict settings affirm that peace building conducted under a feminist framework, such as in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire, can be used to achieve peace agendas in more inclusive and responsible ways. A culturally contextual gender analysis is a key tool, both for feminist theory

of peace building and the practice of implementing a gender-inclusive perspective in peace work. Using the tools of African feminists to study local conflicts, this contribution warns against "adding women" without recognizing their agency, emphasizes the need for an organized women's movement, and suggests directions for the implementation of international laws concerning women's empowerment at the local level (Hudson, 2009).

Rwanda's development vision provides a framework for creating a favourable environment for women's effective participation in the country's development process, including and rights, access to political processes, as well as education. This demonstrates a commitment towards reducing gender inequalities and the promotion of gender equality and equity in all areas. First and foremost the government of Rwanda has committed itself to a number of international and regional conventions, charters and declarations. These include adopting the Beijing Platform for Action IN 1995 and undertaking strategic actions aimed at tackling twelve identified crucial areas. It ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in November 1981;the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2000); the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948; the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol), the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, among others. Regarding gender equality, Vision 2020 aims to end the 'historical marginalization' of women and girls and stipulates that:

> "In order to achieve gender equality and equity, 'Rwanda will continuously update and adapt its laws on gender. It will support education for all, eradicate all forms of discrimination, fight against poverty and practice a positive discrimination policy in favour of women as reiterated by the Republic of Rwanda Republic of Rwanda (2013, p. 19): 'Gender will be integrated as a cross-cutting issue in all development policies and strategies" (ibid).

Based on the above international conventions and international policies, the overall goal of the National Gender Policy is to promote gender equality and equity in Rwanda through a clearly defined process for mainstreaming gender needs and concerns across all sectors of development. The policy highlights principal guidelines on integrating gender into sectoral policies and

programmes. Implementation of the policy requires joint action of different actors, decision-makers, development workers and the greater population. The national gender policy document, being multi-sectoral in nature, is not meant to be prescriptive for various institutions. Instead, it provides the overarching principles which will be integrated into their own policies, practices and programmes.

The approaches identified to be used to promote gender equality and equity, include:

- Gender mainstreaming approach which aims at integrating gender issues into the policies, programmes, activities and budgets in all sectors and at all levels;

- Affirmative action approach that aims at correcting the huge gender imbalances existing in the various development sectors;

- Institutional capacity development of different gender machinery and stakeholders in the implementation of the national gender policy;

- Involvement of men in addressing gender issues (The Republic of Rwanda, 2010).

While the policy acknowledges the achievements made in promoting gender equality in Rwanda, it underscores that the gender inequality in Rwanda is embedded in patriarchy. And as a result, women still face discrimination in community leadership, justice, health, social protection, education and business continue to experience gender-based violence. At the operational level, the main responsibility for ensuring the effective implementation of the National Gender Policy will rest with individual government departments at national and district levels. This mechanism needs to be reviewed from time to time to adopt innovative measures as necessary.

The gender focal points will:

- Monitor implementation progress of the national gender policy within their respective institutions and sectors;

- Advocate for all data within their respective sectors to be disaggregated by sex.

- Ensure that all their policies, programmes, budgets are gender responsive.

- Oversee the capacity needs in gender mainstreaming within their respective institutions (The Republic of Rwanda, 2010).

Primary data from this study reveals that principles of gender equality are being integrated into the education system as a strategy for building social cohesion;

> Girls are given the same chances as given to boys, as well as, to boys to in the learning process. They do the same exercises. There is staff in charge of girls and others in charge of boys, and they have their respective surveillance rooms. We consider all females and males as equal (NURC Official, Kigali, 2016).

2.11 CHALLENGES IN THE RWANDAN EDUCATION SYSTEM: THE INDICATIVE OF THE RWANDA'S AFTERMATH OF GENOCIDE AGAINST TUTSI AND THE HISTORY OF DIVISIONISM

This section highlights the current challenges in the Rwandan education systems, and among the issues discussed include; the quality of education, genocide ideology, availability of teachers, among others.

Given what the government of Rwanda is attempting to do to achieve sustainable peace, what are the possible challenges to achieve peace and social cohesion today? An official from REB stated that one of the challenges in the Rwandan education system is that:

> "When children are received from their homes, they come with thoughts related to genocide ideology. For example, some going to the bathrooms and writing on doors something related to genocide ideology etc. The challenge we have is that some of the Rwandans, few as they are in the community still have genocide ideology and it is hard to detect them and deal with them. And in spite of the competence-based curriculum that intended to teach learners peace values through learner-centred pedagogies, some of the teachers, again few as they are, believe that once they have prepared their scheme of work content wise, everything else is not important. However, REB continuously sensitises the teachers about peace building, much some teachers resist" (Rwanda Education Board Official, 2016).

The official went on to ascertain that, the quality of education is the most pressing challenge in Rwanda's education system, with the need for implementing the 12 YBE reforms from a holistic

approach, while addressing quality and access concurrently – to ensure an optimum balance. The achievement of quality education is based on recruitment of higher calibre teachers and continuous professional development of teachers. There is, therefore a desperate need to train and equip schools with sufficient resources which of now the gap is still very huge. An official from SNEC re-iterated that:

> "The challenge is worsened by teachers who decline or hesitate to accept appointments in rural areas which are regarded to be too remote for their own socio-economic development. Though in Rwanda teachers get the same salary, poor living conditions in the rural area make it worse since teachers in rural areas cannot get opportunities for moon lighting or getting considerable top up by parents' associations as it is in urban areas where parents are financially capable" (SNEC official 2016).

According to the Statistical Yearbook report (2015), much as Rwanda has made commendable strides in terms of increasing basic education enrolment, increasing access to all levels of education is still a challenge. There is need to target hard to reach areas in rural areas so that children of school going age can access primary education. The report goes on to state that targeting more boys and girls from rural areas is important, more so, the poorest rural and urban poor children with disabilities among others. The greatest challenge to access remains at the secondary school level.

Much as there are gains made during EDPRSI, the introduction of 9YBE and 12YBE, the current national enrolment rate of 28% will have to increase if EDPRS II is to be achieved. This implies an expansion of the system, particularly at the upper secondary level in line with the 12YBE strategy – expanding infrastructure, and increasing the number of teachers, and teaching and learning materials, all of which require significant investments. The TVET stream within the upper secondary school level will also have to be expanded significantly within the 12YBE programme, including an increase in the number of public and private TVET institutions at the post 12YBE level, in order to meet the targets set for EDPRS 2 (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2015).

The 2015 report shows that 62.2% of youth between the ages of 14-35 have either never attended school or have not yet completed primary school, 31.5% completed primary school, with a minimal 4.9% having completed post-primary, vocational, secondary, or higher education

(National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2015). These rates are significantly lower for youths living in rural areas, where 8.1% never attended school (compared to 4.7% of urban youth), 58.3% did not or have not yet completed primary school (compared to 37.2% of urban youth), 29.5% have completed primary school (compared to 41.6% of urban youth), and 2.9% have completed post-primary, secondary, or higher levels of education (compared to 14.5% of urban youth). These statistics reveal not only profound difference in education between urban and rural youth but also demonstrates that Rwanda is not where it needs to be if they hope to achieve economic success through pathways of education, consistent with Vision 2020.

2.12 CONCLUSION

In short, the Rwandan efforts to resolve the colonial divisive leadership that lead to Rwanda's lack of peace and social cohesion and finally culminating into 1994 genocide against Tutsi and its consequence are geared towards ensuring that genocide and bad leadership in should never happen again. The government of Rwanda's micro and macro measures to move the country forward are based on a national understanding that the causes of the conflict derive from an ethnically divisive ideology implemented by colonialism and resulted in social disintegration and inequality, especially the education sector being a tool for evil or good.

Rwandan government has devised different measures such as Vision 2020, the 2003 constitution (revised in 2015) as tools for conflict resolution and building sustainable peace in Rwanda and other government program components such as the Rwanda Peace Education Programme and private interventions for peace building initiatives such as Aegis Trust Institute of Research for Dialogue for Peace (IRDP). Peace building in Rwandan context is viewed as of a process of multispectral collaboration to mitigate the socio-cultural, economic, political tensions that were caused by the Rwandan conflict, especially the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. However, amidst several challenges, Rwanda has achieved significant political, social, and economic goals to prevent future atrocities by implementing peace building and social cohesion strategies in various sectors with a special focus on education.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about the methodology of the study. The chapter starts by outlining the overall research approach adopted for the two studies in the two countries, Rwanda and South Africa. It goes on to discuss the research methods and techniques employed for data collection, the selection of the research sites and participants, phases of the research, and finally gives a brief description of each of the 14 research sites.

3.2 OVERALL RESEARCH APPROACH

The research adopted a qualitative, realist method exploring the intervention from conception to implementation and effect. Adopting such as approach was aimed to facilitate the understanding of how the national political economy and policy as well as international actors and various other factors frame and shape teacher practices and student learning; how structural inequalities are understood and addressed in the discourses and practices of national and international policies and programs; how teachers in schools exercise agency in diverse peace building interventions; and diverse benchmarks/criteria/metrics for evaluation these. For the purpose of this study, "intervention" is defined as an educational input that aims to bring about change in the outlook and behavior of teachers (and/or students) so as to promote peace, social cohesion and equity. It could take the form of a policy, practice or process. For this study, three interventions were selected; the National Itorero Commission (NIC), Aegis Trust and the Institute of Peace, Research and Dialogue. These interventions are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

At the core of the framework is the idea that teacher agency and teaching is crucial to peace building. Building on Pawson's (2006) realist evaluation approach, it analyses an intervention's.

☐ Program logic and ontology which maybe explicit or implicit;

☐ The resources and mechanisms that it employs; and

☐ The outcomes (intended and unintended) in specific contexts.

Using this framework as a basis to answer the research questions, we employed the framework with several dimensions of analysis operating at two levels. The first level was the macro-context of global and national political economy. This entailed a policy analysis as well as a Relational Stakeholder Analysis.

The second dimension follows selected cases in the field, which are the actual sites of implementation, exploring the way peace-building interventions are mediated and shaped in practice. At this level we focused on issues of curriculum and textbook analysis, teacher governance recruitment and deployment, initial teacher preparation and professional development, teacher trust and accountability and teacher pedagogy.

This framework had several analytical dimensions, each of which are related to a specific research question (RQ).

3.2.1 Mapping methods onto the research questions

Table 1: Mapping methods onto the research questions

Research Question	Methods of data collection & sources
RQ1: What are the global and national policy contexts within which the education interventions are located with particular reference to teachers?	-Extensive document review; including national development plans, relevant policies, national and international peace building plans and related scientific research, education sector reforms -Interviews with government officials, planners, teacher education providers and professionals, local and international NGOs, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)
RQ2: How has the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are recruited and deployed to remote and rural post-conflict contexts?	-Extensive review of available literature and relevant documents, national policies, plans, reports, scientific research -Interviews with policymakers, NGOs, CSOs, school heads, teachers & students, interviews with principals of ITEs, student-teachers -Questionnaires distributed to students
RQ3: How, and in what ways, do the textbooks and curricula used by teachers promote peace and tolerance in Rwandan schools?	-Review of literature and scientific research, national curriculum statements, policies and plans -Text book analysis of the relevant texts -Interviews with policymakers & stakeholders, teachers, students, head teachers, principals

	-Focus group discussions (FGD) with students -Questionnaires distributed to students -Classroom & school observations
RQ4: How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are trained for peace building?	-Review of relevant literature and scientific research, documents, national policies, plans, and reports -Interviews with policymakers, school heads, teachers & students, interviews with principals of ITEs, student-teachers & PTA members -Questionnaires distributed to students -FGD with students
RQ5: How have the selected interventions managed to ensure that teachers build trust and enhance accountability to the local community?	-Review of relevant literature and scientific research, documents, national policies, plans, and reports -Interviews with policymakers, school heads, teachers & students, interviews with principals of ITEs, student-teachers & PTA members -Questionnaires distributed to students -Classroom and school observations
RQ6: What pedagogies and strategies do Rwandan teachers use in the classroom to develop peace building skills, and attitudes for reducing conflict, both between boys and between girls and boys?	-Review of scientific studies, and relevant literature, documents, national policies and plans about teachers & teaching, and education, school reports and statistics

	-Interviews with teachers, students, PTAs, head teachers, ITEs, policymakers and stakeholders, teacher professional associations, NGOs, CSOs
	-Classroom and school observations
	-FGD with students
	-Student Questionnaires

3.3 RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

The research employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches for data collection and analysis. Specifically, qualitative methods included key informant interviews with policymakers and other stakeholders in education; interviews with tutors and lecturers in Initial Teacher Education institutions (ITEs), teachers in schools, head teachers and members of Parent Teacher Committees (PTCs); focus group discussions with students in schools and student teachers in Initial Teacher Education (ITEs) institutions; classroom observations of the selected classes and subjects, and school observations. Quantitatively, the study utilized questionnaires for students both in schools and ITE student teachers, as well as questionnaires for teachers and tutors/lecturers in ITEs. All interviews, both individual and group were carried out by members of the project team, and most of them were audio recorded (with the consent of the participants), and later transcribed; the majority of them were translated from Kinyarwanda to English.

3.3.1 Interviews

Interviewing was a major technique for generating data for this research. This was a technique employed for nearly all the research questions. Interviewing can be a meaningful and useful way to generate data through talking interactively with people, asking questions and listening to them; through this a researcher can gain access to participants' accounts and articulations (Mason, 2002, p. 64). As suggested by Brymann (2008), interviews were conducted, using an

interview guide (a list of questions/topics), that gave interviewees a great deal of flexibility on how to respond.

As mentioned above, interviews were used to collect data from targeted groups of participants, and below are the different types of interviews and the target group(s) in each case.

3.3.1.a Key informant interviews

As suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2006), semi-structured interviews were conducted with specific people who had the expertise and knowledge about the research area of focus and were influential position in their organizations/institutions. They included policymakers in government, especially in the Ministry of Education, civil society organizations, NGOs and other organizations. One of the challenges encountered in interviewing these people was to coordinate with their heavy schedules, since most of them are very busy people. The team was able to overcome this through the good rapport we already have with most of these people, proximity and also by dividing the work between the team members, so that each pair only had a few people for follow-up.

Within the key informants' interview category, nine different interview schedules (IS) were developed to target each specific group of key informants and their area of focus as outlined above. The instruments were:

IS 1: Education mission and vision, IS 2: Curriculum, IS 3: Teacher Governance, IS 4: Teacher Education, IS 5: Organizations and Civil Society, IS 6: Affirming Rights in Education, IS 7: School Safety, IS 8: Decentralization, and IS 9: Values and Peace Education.

3.3.1.b Interviews in case study schools and ITEs

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with participants in case study schools and ITEs. Participants included teachers, head teachers, PTC members, as well as tutors/lecturers and principals in ITEs. Again, several Interview Schedules (IS) were developed according to each category. For the schools, these included IS: Teachers, IS: Head Teacher, IS PTC Members. For the ITE colleges, there was an IS for the Tutors/Lecturers, and IS for the Principals. The total number of people interviewed in each category is provided in Table 2 below.

3.3.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group interviewing as a technique was used for students both in the schools and ITEs. In each site 10 to12 students were randomly selected from the targeted classes, after completing the questionnaire. The group would comprise of equal numbers of female and male participants where possible. In both cases the focus group interview schedule had specific themes or topics to be explored more in depth. As May (1997) and Bryman (2008) suggest, focus group discussions were conducted with the aim of allowing   the participants discuss the topics, respond to each other's views and elicit clarifications from each other, although it was not necessary for them to reach a consensus. Beyond than the need to have the participants varied opinions, it was also important to observe the group dynamics, especially the interaction between female and male participants. The focus group discussions (FGDs) were facilitated by two members of the research team, whereby one individual facilitated the discussion, while the other took notes and made key observations on the group interactions.

In general, the FGDs were carried out smoothly; students especially were very receptive to the invitation and wanted to be part of the group—sometimes more than the intended number of participants. Some of the challenges encountered included finding available space to conduct the group interviews as most schools have limited numbers of classrooms. It was also sometimes disruptive for the classes when a FGD was held during the class time; the research team tried to minimize the disruption by holding discussions with participants during their free time. Nevertheless, group interviews were a very important source of data given that the research team was able to speak with many people in a short time.

Altogether a total number of 21 focus group discussions were carried out across the schools and ITEs visited. Of these 18 were with students, and 3 were with teachers, as it was sometimes more practical to interview teachers together.

3.3. 3. Observations

Through observation, the researcher learns about behaviors of participants and can also learn meanings attached to those behaviors if she/he interviews the participants about their actions (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Observations are also likely to tell us the side of the story that

one cannot get from an interview. In this research, observation was mostly used to collect classroom data through observing teachers during their lessons in their targeted subjects. This technique was also used to observe the school environment, especially the facilities, but also conducted to observe the participants' interactions outside the classrooms in play areas and other spaces. Two observation instruments were therefore developed, one for the classroom: *the classroom observation schedule* and another for the school: *the school observation schedule.*

The classroom observation schedule had three main sections: a) to describe the classroom resources, teaching materials and methods used, b) to describe the leaner-to-learner interactions, and c) to describe the teacher-to-learner interactions. The school observation schedule had four main sections: a) to describe the school building, b) to describe the learner-to-learner interactions, c) to describe the teacher-to-learner interactions and d) to describe the teacher-to-teacher interactions.

Although both observation schedules were structured, each schedule asked open-ended questions, and the researcher had leeway to answer in the best way they saw fit.

Below is a table showing a summary of the qualitative data collected.

Table 2: Summary of Data Collected (Qualitative)

Method	Number
Key Informant Interviews	23
Individual interviews (Head-teachers and Principals)	14
Individual interviews with Teachers	27
Individual Interviews with PTC/A Members	7
Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	21 (18 with students & 3 with teachers)
Classroom observations	22
School Observations	14
Fieldworker Observations	14

3.3.4 Questionnaires

The questionnaire was another instrument utilized to collect data for this research. The questionnaires were specifically developed only to be used for participants in schools, not for ITEs. There were two different kinds of questionnaires, a student questionnaire and a teacher questionnaire. In this case the questionnaires were meant to be self-administered, meaning that the respondents answer the questionnaire themselves (Bryman, 2008). However, in practice, the student questionnaires were completed by the students under the guidance of the researcher. This was because the questions had to be translated from English to Kinyarwanda and most learners in primary and even secondary have limited English language proficiency.

3.4 SAMPLE SIZE

The sampling procedure for the participants to complete the questionnaire was based on the following criteria:

First, for the students to be sampled they had to belong to the targeted classes: Primary 4, Primary 5, Senior 1, Senior 2, Senior 4 and Senior 5 as explained in Section 3.2 below. Secondly, depending on the number of streams, a sample of 12 students was taken from each class. The number, (12 students) was decided on the basis of what was considered as a typical Rwandan classroom at primary school level. At this level a typical classroom, would have 60 learners going by the teacher-pupil ratio (MINEDUC, 2016). The team agreed that a representative sample could be 20 percent, which makes 12 students per stream of the targeted class.

Among the teachers, a sample of six teachers per school was agreed as the sample size to complete the teacher questionnaire, starting with teachers of the targeted classrooms

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

3.5.1 Analysis of Qualitative data

Qualitative data analysis was undertaken using a grounded theory approach, where interviews were coded using predetermined categories under the themes prescribed by the 4Rs framework and the study's methodology, Pawson's (2006) realist approach. ATLAS software was employed to enter codes under the appropriate categories, select quotations, write memos, and provide relevant output for key informant interviews, students and teachers' interviews and focus group discussions. Using ATLAS permitted the cross-referencing of quotations between different interviews, as well as facilitating multi-coded data that was applicable to several categories. The final output of qualitative data was organized by relevant codes and listed in document order. Researchers were able to use the output to review and select the appropriate quotations for their use in the write-up process.

3.5.2 Analysis of Quantitative data

Quantitative data were mainly gathered through student questionnaires. Data were gathered, recorded and processed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) that generated calculated percentage and mean using descriptive statistic functions. The SPSS was chosen for its user-friendliness and format that was similar with the questionnaires.

3.6 SELECTION OF RESEARCH SITES AND PARTICIPANTS

In selecting participants and research sites for the study, a decision had to be made about the sampling procedure. Purposive sampling was therefore employed, meaning that participating classes, subject areas, categories of participants and schools were deliberately selected for their unique characteristics, experiences, location, and sometimes availability (Cooper and Schindler, 2008). For instance, the choice of class level and subject areas to focus on in this study were decided earlier in the planning of the study. These were Primary Four and Five (Primary), Senior One and Two (Lower secondary) and Senior Four and Five (Upper secondary).

The choice of these specific class levels in the case study schools was based on the following criteria: that they were transitioning classes (where students move from one general level to the next); they were not candidate classes (candidate classes are those levels preparing to do national exams, such as P6, S3, and S6), and they were a mixture of levels selected to begin the newly revised Competency-Based Curriculum and those that still carried on with the old curriculum. In addition to the levels selected, the subject areas of focus were English Language, Social Studies, History and Citizenship, and General Paper. The choice for these subject areas was based on the fact that they were likely to include topics on peace building, social cohesion, values in education and other topics relevant for the research. It followed that the students and teachers who participated in the study were from the mentioned levels and subject areas, although sometimes teachers in other subject areas participated in filing the Teacher Questionnaire.

The research sites selected were sampled from all the provinces in Rwanda including Kigali City. The aim was not to have a representative sample, but to have a feel from the different regions

of the country. Moreover, Rwanda is a very small country that can be traversed in a day, however for practical purposes; the easily accessible schools/ITEs were selected among the rural regions.

3.6.1 Research Phases

Field data collection for this research was done in three major phases between March and September 2016.

For the first phase, which ran from March to May 2016, the team engaged in an extensive document review before the field research, although this continued throughout the research. The document review included national development plans, relevant policies, education sector plans, curricular, national and international peace building plans and interventions, as well as academic literature relevant to the study. During this time interviews were also carried out with key informants who included government officials, education planners, NGOs and civil society organizations, and other relevant stakeholders.

The second phase of data collection was conducted in June 2016. This consisted of a pilot phase to pre-test the data collection instruments for case study schools and ITEs. Field data for the pilot phase was carried out in five sites, three schools and two ITEs, from the Western, Northern and Eastern provinces. After this phase of data collection, the team evaluated this activity and the instruments were revised and adjusted. Most importantly, team members were able to share experiences, and draw some lessons on how to improve field data collection.

The third phase of data collection started in July and carried through September 2016. During this time data collection with the revised instruments was carried out in selected case study schools and ITE colleges in all the provinces including Kigali City.

3.6.2 Research sites

Rwanda has five provinces including the capital, Kigali. All five areas were selected using cluster sampling after researchers' assessment of whether the schools chosen within identified clusters could represent others in terms of what they can offer. As observed above, the research sites where fieldwork was conducted were selected following the criteria of whether they were a primary school with (upper section), a secondary school with (lower and upper sections), a

Teacher Training College TTC, or a College of Education (University level). Yet, there are a number of schools and teacher training institutions across the country that meets this criterion. The research team therefore had to carefully identify the research sites, seeking to have a varied range of experiences in terms of geographical location, rural/urban setting, public or private institution, and also depending on accessibility and acceptability of the identified site. Below is a description of each of the sites visited and selected as described above:

School A

School A is government-subsided Catholic school located in the Western Province. It is a 9-Year Basic Education institution, which as explained above, means that it has primary and lower secondary education under the same management. The school has a total number of 1,545 students, 624 girls and 870 boys. There are 16 teachers for the primary level, (10 women and 6 men) and 15 teachers for secondary (5 women and 10 men). The school is headed by a female head teacher.

The school is a rural school and lacks many facilities, such as school library, science laboratories, computer lab, readily available water, or a security fence. The school buildings and classrooms however are relatively in good condition, although the office is small and not well-kept.

School B

School B is a Catholic founded school, but supported by the government and is located in the Western Province. The school is a 12-Year Basic Education institution, meaning that it has primary, lower secondary and upper secondary level under the same management. The school has 3, 441 students in total, with 2,369 students (1,144 girls and 1,225 boys) in the primary section, and 1,072 students (485 girls and 587 boys) in the secondary section. The total number of teachers is 54, with the primary section is 25 (8 male and 17 female) and for the secondary section there are 29 teachers (16 male and 13 female). The school is headed by a male head teacher who has been at the school for one year, although he has previously served as head teacher in other schools for more than 20 years.

School C

School C is a 12-Year basic education government school located in the Northern Province. It is a peri-urban school. Currently, the school has total number of 2,327 students. There is 53 teaching staff at the school, 21, male and 32 female. The school has an active Parent Teachers Association (PTA), and during one of the visits, a PTA meeting was in progress. The head teacher is male and has been at the school for more than 2 years.

The school infrastructures are not proportional to the student population. However, the school seems to be coping and utilizing the available infrastructure. Although the facilities are basic, they are clean and well maintained. A brick fence surrounds the school and has gates at strategic entry points. Although the two sections (primary and secondary) are separated by a gate, some facilities such as playgrounds and office space are shared. There are separate toilets for boys and girls, and water tanks are placed in different strategic positions around the school. Additional facilities include an eight-bedroom staff house and a special adolescent girls' room that is under construction. The on-site staff house is part of the government's incentives for teachers to offer accommodation in hard-to-recruit areas.

School D

School D is an Islamic-founded, 12-year Basic Education, government subsidized school. It is located in the Northern Province in an urban area. The school has a total number of 647 students, and there is 41 teaching staff. The school is headed by a male head teacher. Some of the school infrastructure is not in good condition, especially for the primary section, which has several rundown buildings. Nonetheless, the school is well-fenced with a brick wall around the school and has play areas for basketball, volleyball, handball, and small football matches. A library with several reference books is available but due to insufficient space, some books are kept in other offices. A computer lab with around 20 computers but no internet connectivity is also available while the existing science laboratory is ill-equipped.

School E

This is a private school located in the Northern Province, in a semi urban area. The school is primarily a boarding school with a few day scholars. The school is made up of a primary level section and a secondary level section (Ordinary Level) that only goes up to Senior 2. According to the school authorities, they have applied to REB for permission to upgrade to full O' & A' Level status but have not yet fulfilled some requirements. This school was established in 2008 and currently has a total number of 984 students. There are 30 teaching staff, 5 women and 25 men. The school head teacher is male and has headed the school for the last year, although he was previously a teacher at School E for 5 years. The owner of the school is, however, the Resident Director and lives on the school compound.

The school is well equipped compared to other schools in the vicinity; it has mostly newly built double storied structures, (with more buildings under construction), as well as a brick fence around the school. There are small well-kept gardens and educative messages on posters along the paths that cross the gardens. Some of the messages include: "*learn to say sorry", "know your rights", "when justice rules, the nation is glad", "work for your future and your country*," "*avoid abusive words*", and "*always be humble and obedient*".

The school has a computer room equipped with laptops, a small library and equally small science laboratory with limited equipment.

School F

School F is a Catholic-founded school supported by the government; it is located in Southern Province in a semi-urban area. It is a secondary school that is made up of both Ordinary level and Advanced level sections and currently has a total of 431 students; 223 are female and 208 are male. There is a total number of 28 teaching staff, 15 male and 13 female, and the head teacher is female.

The school is built within a brick wall. It has relatively large classrooms that hold approximately 50 students and has a library, playground, separate toilets for male and female student and has a clean environment.

School G

School G is a government school located in Southern Province. It is a rural school with a 12 Years Basic Education program that started in 2010. The school is made up of a nursery section, primary section, Ordinary Level and Advanced Level sections. The school currently has a total number of 2,501 students, where 325 are in Nursery, 1,875 in primary and 301 in Secondary. School G is headed by a female head teacher, who has been there since 2010, and altogether there are 59 teaching staffs, 19 male and 37 female.

The school is built within an old brick fence. The classrooms are too small to comfortably seat more than 50 students that occupy them. The school library is not in good condition; the school, however, has a large playing ground.

School H

This is a government school located in the Eastern Province in a semi-urban area. It is a 12 Years Basic Education school with a total number of 1,256 students; 693 girls and 617 boys. There 52 teaching staff, 37 of these are male and 15 are female; the head teacher school is a man who has worked at the school for over three years.

The office buildings and classrooms within the school are in a good state, although the few playgrounds available are not well maintained. The school does not have a computer lab, with only a laptop in the headmaster's office. There is a brick fence around the school, it also has a library with a few reference books, but lacks comprehensive sets of textbooks on the subjects taught in the school. There are guiding rules and regulations set for the school and agreed upon with the parents, and one of these is the policy against bullying.

School I

School I is a government 12 Years Basic Education school located in Kigali City. There are 36 teaching staff members, 15 male and 21 female. The school is headed by a female head teacher, who has been there for the last three years.

The school buildings for offices and classes are in good state, it was mentioned that the newest buildings were built by the surround community to support the 9Y and 12YBE programs. The few playgrounds available are well maintained. For safety, the school boasts of a secure brick fence all around the school premises. For hygienic purposes, the school has a number of water tanks for running water and for harvesting rain water. In addition, there are a number of separate toilets for boys and girls with local hand washing devices (*kandagirukarabe*) in strategic positions around the school. The school has a computer lab equipped with 40 laptops (donated by REB) and 10 desktops. It was however observed that there is no internet connectivity in the lab. A library with a number of reference books is also in place. As a way to instill good values within the students, the school has small wooden posters around the school with phrases such as, "*wisdom and discipline*", "*peace and love*", and "*success comes from God*". The school has rules and regulations in place, and the school values are written on one of the walls, visible for all to see.

School J

School J is a Catholic founded, government subsidized primary school with classes from P1 to P6. However, each class has four streams with over 2,200 total students and 16 teachers (7 male and 9 female). The head teacher is female and has been at the school for the last five years. The school is located in Kigali City. It has a secure fence all around the school premises, separate and adequate toilets for boys and girls as well as a number of water tanks for harvesting rainwater. In addition, the school has a special room equipped with sanitary facilities for adolescent girls.

ITE 1

ITE 1 is a government-owned Teacher Training College (TTC), located in an urban area in the Western Province. The college trains teachers to teach at primary school level. The current student population is 395 student teachers (221 female, and 174 male) and number of teaching staff is 18 (4 female and 14 male). The male college principal has been in the position for more than 12 years at this TTC. The college has boarding facilities, meaning that students live on campus.

The school buildings are relatively in good shape; there is a college library and a computer lab with a few computers, though it is not proportional to the number of students. The college also has a science laboratory which is not well-equipped.

ITE 2

ITE 2 is a college with a university status, meaning that students graduate with a university degree in Education. The college is part of a larger university established in 1993 to address the issue of lack of higher learning institutions in the surrounding region. ITE is located in the Southern Province and is a private institution run by the Seventh-Day Adventist Church.

The college was undergoing construction and does not have a complete fence. It has more than 5 large classrooms that can accommodate 100 students each in addition to other, smaller classrooms; there is also a large library with digital and Internet facilities. There are play areas for volleyball, basketball and football. The college has a small laboratory for medical students and education final year students who come there only during weekend.

ITE 3

ITE 3 is a government owned Teacher Training College (TTC) located in Eastern Province in a semi-urban area. The TTC trains teachers to teach at Primary school level, and is made up of 3 year levels of study, namely year 1, 2 & 3. The College was founded in 1998 and currently has a total number of 582student-teachers, with 257males and 325 females. There are 22 teaching staff (12 males and 10 females).

The office buildings are in good condition and are fully operational, offices are equipped with computers and there is a computer laboratory with 46 desktop computers for students to use, although there is no Internet connectivity. The ITE has an HIV/AIDS club and there are messages posted about HIV/AIDS prevention and harmonious living.

ITE 4

This is a government owned ITE with a university status, meaning the students trained here graduate with a university degree and will teach at secondary level, primarily upper secondary. The college also trains instructors for teacher training colleges and has programs for Early Childhood Education, postgraduate diploma and Master's degrees in various educational fields. The college is based in Kigali City, but serves students from all provinces. Some of the students stay on campus, but the majority of students reside off campus. ITE 4 sits on a large campus and has modern buildings, many computer labs, science laboratories and a fairly large library. The college has a total number of 4,368 students, of these 3,023 are male and 1,345 are female.

3.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the research methodology for this study. Although the study basically took a qualitative approach, some quantitative techniques such as the use of questionnaires were also employed. Other techniques of data collection included interviews, Focus Group Discussions and observations. This chapter has also explained the selection of the research sites and participants, phases of the research, and finally gave a brief description of each of the 14 research sites. Different methods of gathering date were employed in order to gain a richer and more comprehensive data, thus, better understanding the role of teachers in promotion of peace building and social cohesion in Rwanda. The chapter that ensues assesses how education policies and programmes in Rwanda deal with inequality, conflicts and espouse peace building and social cohesion.

Chapter 4. Rwanda Educational Policy Review (1994-2016): Learning from the past and forging a way forward

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 highlighted the political and historical context of Rwanda with emphasis on social disintegration and inequality that contributed to the lack of social cohesion and peace building in Rwanda within the last 5 decades. In this chapter, the crucial argument is that, in a post-conflict country such as Rwanda, education is a potent tool of transformation as regards changing mind-sets and social relations among people (UNICEF, 2016). It can serve as an avenue for teaching values and attitudes in learners, teachers and community members that promote social cohesion and reconciliation. The role of education in upholding national unity is reflected in peace education programs that are embedded in the curriculum (Durrani and Dunne, 2009), which is dependent upon education policies and other social policies. Education policy can foster social transformation by encouraging integration of peace building and equality issues into the school curriculum.

In this context, the chapter examines the extent to which education policies in Rwanda address inequality, conflicts and promote peace building and social cohesion. It highlights the perceptions of students, teachers, stakeholders and policy makers about the education policy framework with respect to equality and social cohesion. The chapter seeks to shed light on how social cohesion is integrated into the education policy and programmes of Rwanda with reference to Fraser's (2005) model of social justice, i.e., redistributions of resources and education opportunities, recognition and representation of minority/marginalized groups of people and reconciliation (how the historic and present tensions, grievances and injustices are addressed). These aspects are mutually supporting, for instance, the representation of minority/marginalised groups of people in education requires that they are recognized to have the same status as others and redistribution of resources and opportunities to enable access (Horner,Kadiwal, Sayed, Barret, Durrani,& Novelli, 2015).

The chapter provides a broad overview of key education policies in Rwanda. It also encompasses research methods used in gathering data for the chapter. The thematic areas of the chapter include decentralization and school governance policies, as well as Rwandan values in education and language of instruction policies. These are followed by contextualizing violence, school safety and social cohesion in education in addition to norms and minimum safety standards for public school infrastructure in Rwanda. The last section of this chapter covers the affirmation of rights in education policies. However, to assess and analyze the role of different policies that shaped Rwanda before 1994 and the rationale of the present Rwanda's policies after 1994 especially education policy, the researcher considered these critical questions:

i. What key issues the government of Rwanda is addressing in its education policies?

ii. Are there some substantive explanations in the government of Rwanda's education policies of why it is emphasizing peace and social cohesion in its post genocide education policies?

iii. How is the Government of Rwanda, through education policies, addressing the drivers of inequality in Rwanda before 1994 such as the quota system, regionalism, curriculum, textbooks, teacher education, teachers trust and accountability to avoid aggravating social tensions and lack of social cohesion for a socially cohesive Rwanda?

iv. Is there any explicit focus on peace building in Rwanda's education policies today?

v. What are the challenges the government of Rwanda facing in its endeavor for peace building?

4.2 CHAPTER METHODOLOGY

This chapter draws upon a review of specific education sector policies in relation to social cohesion. However, other education related policies, literature, reports and studies were examined for contextual background. It incorporates some primary data from student and teacher interviews in schools and teacher education institutions as well as perceptions of education policy makers and stakeholders.

The analysis of education policies in this chapter is influenced by Tobin, Lietz, Nugroho, Vivekanandan, & Nyamkhuu (2015), who emphasize three categories of education policies, i.e. system-level policies, resource allocation policies, or teaching and learning policies. According to Tobin et al (2015), system-level policies include assessment and policies regulating curricular and performance standards while resource allocation policies point to the ways in which resources are determined and distributed within an education system. For instance, school authorities and teachers, and instructional materials among others. Teaching and learning policies involve issues such as classroom management, differentiated teaching and support for students, professional collaboration and learning, teacher-student relationships, and programs to support students' interest in school, among others.

4.3 AN OVERVIEW OF POST 1994 RWANDA EDUCATION POLICY CHANGE: AN ATTEMPT TO REBUILD A SOCIALLY COHESIVE RWANDAN SOCIETY

This section provides an overview of Rwandan education policy which provides the background to the various policies discussed in the ensuing sections of this chapter and others. It traces the development of education policy after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Figure 1 provides the various policies that are reviewed in the subsequent sections and other chapters. The review of policies includes legislation, economic development poverty reduction strategies, programme documents, and education sector strategic plans – all of which are analysed in relation to issues of social cohesion.

Figure 1: Education Policy framework in Rwanda
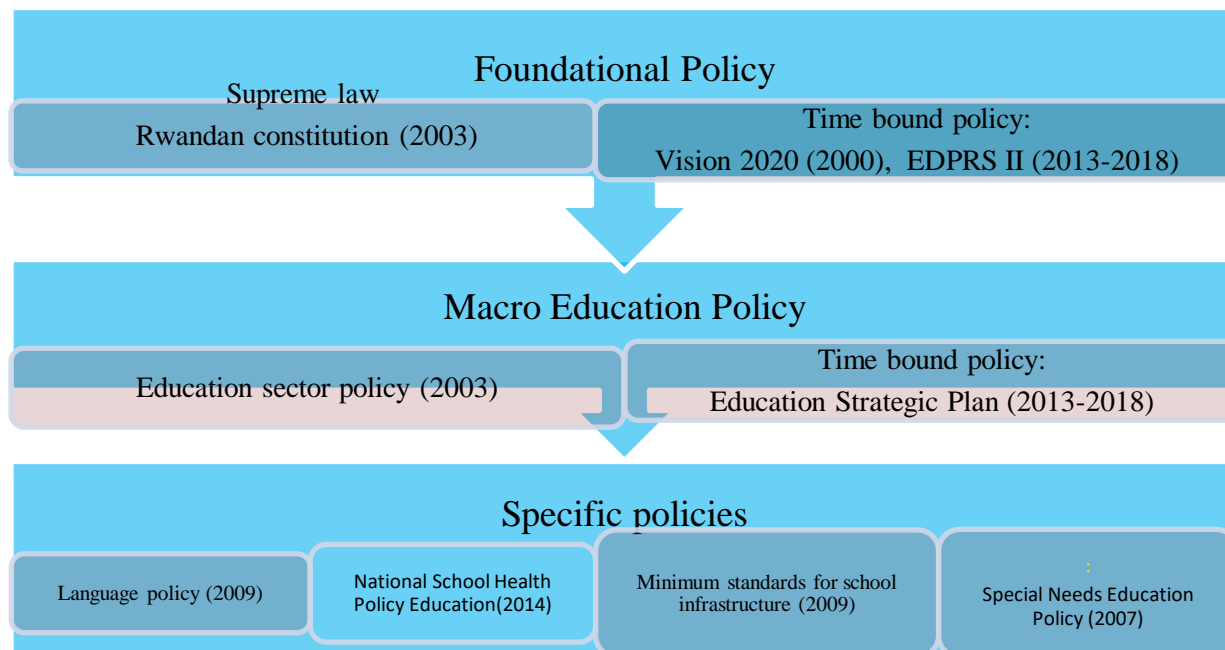
As illustrated in Figure 1, the Rwandan constitution (2003), Vision 2020 and EDPRS I &II provide the foundation for education policy in the country. The Constitution makes provisions for inclusive education, Education for All (EFA), equity in education as well as promotion of social cohesion. For instance, Article 40 of the constitution stipulates that:

"Every person has the right to education. Freedom of learning and teaching shall be guaranteed in accordance with conditions determined by law. Primary education is compulsory. It is free in public schools. The conditions for free primary education in schools subsidised by the Government are determined by an organic law. The State has the duty to take special measures to facilitate the education of disabled people" (An organic law determines the organization of Education" - Rwandan Constitution, 2003).

Table 3: List of Rwandan policies reviewed for this study

Policy focus	Year	Policy
Foundational	2003	Rwandan Constitution
Foundational	2000	Vision 2020
Foundational	2008-2012	Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy I (EDPRS I)
Foundational	2013-2018	Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy II (EDPRS II)
Macro education	2003	Education Sector Policy
Macro education	2013-2018	Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP)
Specific education (School safety)	2014	National School Health Policy Education
Specific education	2008	Girls' Education Policy
Specific education (Values)	2011	National Itorero Commission (NIC)
Specific education (Language)	1996	Bilingual Language Policy in Education
Specific education (Language)	2007	National Policy on Language Teaching in Higher Education
Specific education (Language)	2009	Language policy reform
Specific education (affirming rights)	2007	Special Needs Education Policy
Specific education (infrastructure)	2009	Minimum Norms and Standards for public school Infrastructure
Specific education (District education governance)	2012	National Decentralisation policy
Specific education (Curriculum)	2015	Revised Competence Based Curriculum (CBC)

The education sector's foundational document, based on the Constitution and EDPRS I & II, is the Education Sector Policy (ESP) (2003), which was established after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Prior to ESP 2003, an emergency sector policy focusing on rebuilding the education system was adopted in 1998. The policy emphasized promotion of national unity and reconciliation, social cohesion as well as equal access to education. Consequently, the institutionalization of ethnic affiliation was outlawed. The ethnic classification of teachers and students was stopped as a way to move away from the divisions' and discriminatory policies of the past (Ndabaga, 2004). This shift signalled that schools and universities would now be used also as a mechanism for peace building, social cohesion and reconstructing the country.

In addition to discrimination based on ethnicity before 1994, the education system in Rwanda was largely characterized by gender disparity. Women and girls were less recognised, under represented and had limited access to education (MINEDUC, 2003). Nevertheless, besides bridging of the gender gap in education, in 1996, the education system in Rwanda encouraged use of two languages, (French and English) as media of instruction in schools because there were two distinct groups of students (Anglophone and Francophone) but this turned to be one of the factors that militated against social cohesion in the sense that in schools, divisionism and discrimination based on education background (Anglophone and Francophone) emerged. This social divide was minimized by introduction of national unity and reconciliation programmes such as the national civic education programme commonly known as *Ingando* where students with different backgrounds are taught national values such as unity, patriotism and tolerance (Ndabaga, 2004).

> "After the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, there was a period of emergency and prejudice based on where one was living before genocide prevailed in the community and schools. In schools, biased Anglophone and Francophone feelings were very common and I think it somehow impacted on social cohesion. But today such issues are immaterial in Rwanda. Rwandan values help us to bring the specificity of Rwandan, the values that we believe that a Rwandan who has them is one who can't kill another Rwandan, and can die for the country" (Teacher in School F, Southern province)

In a bid to fairly redistribute education opportunities, in 2003, the government of Rwanda reviewed the education policy and established nine years of free and compulsory education whereby every sector has at least one nine years basic education school. This has led to a significant improvement in access to education in the last decade. For instance, as a result of the Nine Years Basic Education program, primary schools across the country increased by 27% from 2,093 in 2000 to 2650 by 2013 (MINEDUC, 2015). The education Policy (2003) is guided by Vision 2020 and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy II (EDPRSII) which recognize the potent role that education plays in peace building and gender equality. Rwanda's Vision 2020 emphasizes the importance of enhancing equality and equitable redistribution of education opportunities by implementing gender inclusive policies and laws and continuously revising them to be in harmony with contemporary Rwanda. Moreover, it underpins EFA, eradication of all forms of discrimination, fighting against poverty and practicing positive discrimination policy in favour of women (MINECOFIN, 2000).

Similarly, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy I (EDPRS I) reveals that parity has been attained especially in net enrolment at primary and secondary school levels (MINECOFIN, 2000). This means that Rwanda achieved Millennium Development Goal three of eliminating gender inequalities in primary education. While Vision 2020 and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies are the pillars upon which the education sector policy is built, the policy is the guiding document for the education sector in Rwanda. The Education Sector policy addresses peacebuilding and inequality in its objectives. The policy objectives include among others:

'…to contribute to promotion of a culture of peace and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy; to promote science and technology with special attention to information and communication technologies (ICT); to transform the Rwandan population into human capital for development through acquisition of development skills and   eliminate all the causes and obstacles which can lead to disparity in education be it by gender, disability, geographical or social group' (MINEDUC, 2003:17).

4.4 INCORPORATING PEACE VALUES IN RWANDAN EDUCATION POLICY AND SCHOOL CURRICULUM: AVOIDING SLIDING BACK INTO RWANDAN DEHUMANIZING TEACHING IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS

From time immemorial, promotion of cultural values among young has been the prime responsibility of parents and the society. Nonetheless, education equally plays a crucial role in promotion of human rights and values (Mahapatra, 2012). In Rwanda, education is deemed to be the foundation for lifelong learning, a knowledge-based and technology-led economy, and promoting social cohesion as well as national values (MINEDUC, 2013).

The Education Sector Policy emphasizes recreating in young people at all levels of education the values which were eroded by the advent of colonial rule and by the segregated policies of the past regimes. The education sector policy emphasizes the importance of imparting good values and skills in Rwandans, including values that promote unity, social cohesion gender equality and equity in all walks of life (MINEDUC, 2013). The key national core values to be imbedded across sectors, especially in education, include unity, patriotism, selflessness, integrity, responsibility, volunteerism, and humility (NIC, 2011). In order to develop and support the promotion of positive values among Rwandans and in particular students in schools aged 18-35 years, an implementation and coordination framework has been developed.

Additionally, the Seven-Year Government Program (2010-2017) also promotes Rwanda's cultural values through strengthening the quality of education with a goal to produce graduates who are self-reliant job creators (MINEDUC, 2013).

In line with the above account, the government representatives interviewed on policy issues pointed out that education plays an important role with respect to social cohesion by teaching all learners a sense of belonging and national identity through various activities carried out in school. They felt that it was necessary for the competence based curriculum as well as non-formal education to actively engage students in the *Ndi- umunyarwanda*("Iam a Rwandan" – i.e. one Identity-Sameness) concept. The argument put forward by Ndabaga (2004) is that identity and nationalism are not just sets of theoretical concepts but they are forces at work in any society. For many policy makers, identity and unity are the vehicles through which Rwandans can adopt national goals into their personal lives.

According to several policy makers interviewed, national identity and nationalism nurture citizens' beliefs, symbols, and sentiments about their country and themselves. This concurs with Smith (1991), who argues that national identity represents what may be called the "fundamental identity", the one that is believed to define the very essence of the individual, which the other identities may modify but slightly, and to which they are consequently considered secondary. Smith suggests a civic territorial model of national identity that emphasizes a common culture and a common civic ideology. In relation to this assertion, one of the policy makers consulted argued that:

'The mistake made by western politicians is to think that by demanding the recognition of our identity as Rwandans (*Ndi umunyarwanda*) and our national values is selfish-NO, it is because Rwandans want their identity and nationality to be respected without any socially constructed differences brought by colonialists. For us Rwandans, we naturally respect people whether foreigners or locals, and this is why we do not want anyone to overlook or minimise our identity as Rwandan and our nation. This is why one's nation is called 'mother land' and no one cannot

keep quiet if someone is socially and economically destroying your own mother' (National unity and reconciliation commission official).

Reheema (1996, p. 60) quoted by Ndabaga (2004), states that the objective of education as an instrument of intellectual liberation in Africa must therefore be to help nourish the culture, which must appreciate its values and resist invasion of many new cultures into African culture encapsulated in education practice, or at least present a different model.

While policy makers considered nationalism as one of the key values and attitudes that ought to be taught to all learners and Rwandans, teachers in the primary and secondary schools visited had a different view as depicted in the figure below:

Figure 2: Teachers' responses on the most important values and attitudes to inculcate in learners
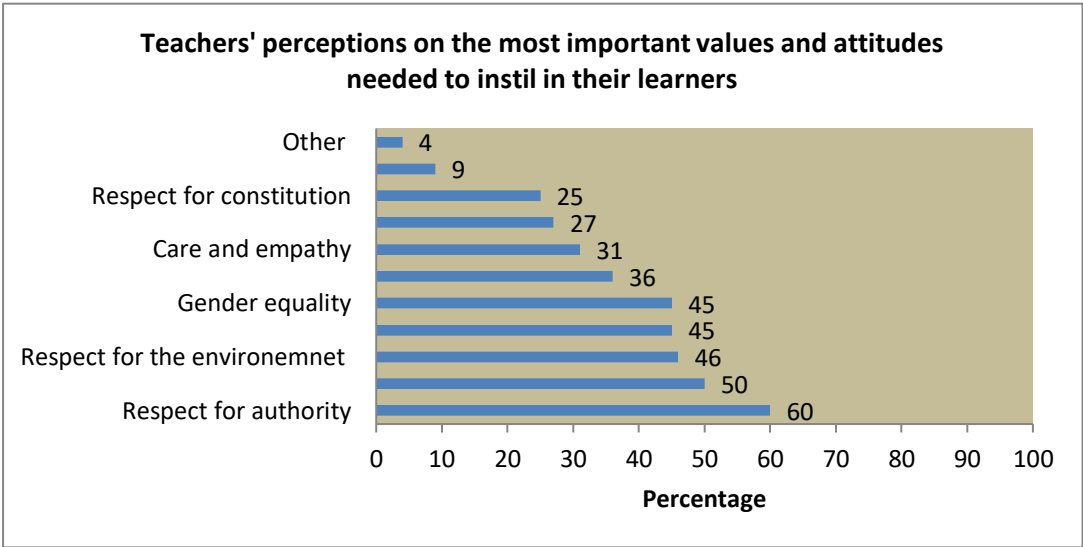
As can be seen from the figure above, teachers' views on the most important values and attitudes needed to instil in learners were dissimilar from policy makers. While policy makers emphasised nationalism, teachers considered respect for authority (60 percent), and tolerance for '*Ndi umunyarwanda*' (50 percent) as the key values that should be instilled in learners. This is in line with the values enshrined in new Rwandan Competence Based Curriculum. The Competence Based Curriculum emphasizes such values as dignity and integrity; self-reliance; national and cultural identity; peace and tolerance; justice; respect for others and for human

rights; solidarity and democracy; patriotism; hard work; and commitment and resilience. In addition, excellence, aspiration and optimism; equity and inclusiveness; learner-centeredness; openness and transparency; the importance of family; and Rwandan culture and heritage are emphasized (REB, 2015).

Although values to promote social cohesion have been included in the new competence based curriculum, at the practical level, teachers are not well equipped with pedagogical strategies of how the values can be transmitted to students.

a. **Minding Violence, School Safety and Social Cohesion in Rwandan Schools: A move to Rebuild a Peaceful Rwandan Society**

The existing social cohesion and peace building in Rwandan schools is partly attributable to existence of a non-violent and safe school environment. School health and safety is among the priorities of the Government of Rwanda and is reinforced by the National School Health Policy (2014). The policy aims at identifying and mainstreaming the key health interventions for improved school safety and health as well as facilitating the optimum development of learners by developing schools to have conducive safety and health environments for learners. The policy highlights provision of preventive and curative services that address safety and health needs of school children, provision of safe water and adequate sanitation facilities in schools, creation of a healthy, safer and hygienic environment for the school community, and promotion of equality, equity and reconciliation. The policy recommends incorporation of safety and health promotion into the school curriculum (MINEDUC, 2014).

Similarly, the Education Sector Strategic Plan (2013/14-2017/18) proposes adopting a holistic approach to School Health and Safety covering issues ranging from hygiene to school feeding (MINEDUC, 2013). The health-related objectives of the Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy II (2014) include improving the educational environment for girls by providing the necessary facilities such as dormitories and toilets.

In this regard, initiatives have been made by the government of Rwanda and stakeholders to foster peace and safety in schools. For instance, Rwanda Education Board, especially the inspectorate department, established school infrastructure benchmarks and many schools have been established based on these standards. The standards include separate and adequate sanitation facilities for boys and girls—meaning clean water, toilets, dust bins, places for biodegradable and non- biodegradable wastes, sanitation towels and washrooms for girls. Every school should have a first-aid kit or medicine cabinet for basic emergencies or accidents. Also, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, UNICEF introduced Child Friendly Schools (CFS). These are model schools which foster peace and safety by providing secure and protective learning environment for girls and boys and learners with special needs. Learners are protected from physical abuse, sexual harassment as well as physical objects in the school compound. This is accomplished through training teachers and students. CFS act in the interests of the "whole" learner and learners feel safe, secure and protected. Besides, schools both primary and secondary have clubs where students not only learn about hygiene and safety but also practically get involved in maintaining hygiene in school.

Nevertheless, the schools visited reported challenges relating to school safety and peace building in some schools. For instance, a mandatory feeding program was introduced in schools where parents or guardians are asked to make a financial contribution to cover learners' meals, but not all parents can raise the funds. This results in some students not feeding at school hence not being peaceful. 'Peace social cohesion cannot prevail in school, if some students spend the whole day without eating anything while others eat. Safety in this context implies, having enough food' (REB official).

Violence in schools occurs when a member of the school community is intimidated, bullied, abused, threatened or assaulted by another member (Steffgen and Ewen, 2007). Violence in schools can negatively impact students' learning as well as social cohesion. It can lead to reduced motivation, impaired academic functioning and, in some cases, students' exhibit behaviour problems themselves.

To this end, teachers were asked about the frequency with which different types of violent behaviour occurred in their schools during the previous month. This would be behaviors that were reported or known about by the teachers, not necessarily that the behaviors were not occurring at all. Details of their responses are shown in the table below.

Table 4: Teachers' responses on the frequency of occurrence of undesirable social behaviors (violence) in their schools in the previous one month

Undesirable social behaviour	Did not occur[1] %	Some days[2] %	Most days[3] %	Every day[4] %	Mean
Peer bullying	65	21.4	6.8	6.8	1.55
Drug or alcohol related violence	72.6	23.6	0.9	2.8	1.34
Fighting	48.6	43.9	2.8	4.7	1.64
Gang related violence	89.7	5.6	1.9	2.8	1.78
Corporal punishment	67.9	24.5	1.9	5.7	1.45
Sexual violence	90.7	4.7	1.9	2.8	1.17
Gender based violence	90.7	2.8	1.9	4.7	1.21

As can be seen from the table above, about 44 percent of the respondents reported that some days fighting occurred while over 65 percent said that behaviours such as peer bullying, drug or alcohol related violence, gang related violence, corporal punishment, sexual violence as well as gender based violence did not occur. Although sexual harassment and violence are widely reported to be among the key barriers to education especially for girls, in Rwandan schools, it appears that this gender-based violence is rare at least as far as these teachers were aware. This could be attributed to the education policy and legal frame work and programmes, which draw attention to accountability to implementation of codes of conduct, recognition,

representation and redistribution of education resources and opportunities in schools hence social cohesion and peace building.

b. Perceptions of learners on the effects of violence in Rwandan Schools

Violence can occur in any social environment including teacher education institutions where a member of the institution community (teachers, lecturers, learners or support staff) may be intimidated, abused, threatened or assaulted, their rights not recognised, or members conflicting and fail to reconcile. These circumstances make it difficult for social cohesion and peace building to prevail in the institution. In this regard, views of student teachers on occurrence and effects of violence in school where they attended their primary and secondary education were sought. Tables 8, 9 and 10 provide details of the responses.

Table 5: Learners' opinions on how often people were affected by

Item	Did not occur$_1$ %	Some days$_2$ %	Most days$_3$ %	Every day$_4$ %	Mean
Violence against teachers	74	18	4	3	1.34
Violence against students by teachers	61	28	8	3	1.53
Violence against foreigners	83.4	9.8	3.4	3.4	1.23
Violence against LGBT people	82	10	2	6	1.32
Violence against women	65	25	6	4	1.49
Violence based on race	71	23	4	2	1.37
Sexual Violence	70	22	6	2	1.40

Table 6: Learners' perceptions on the occurrence of the most common

Item	Rare[1] %	Common[2] %	Very common[3] %	Mean
Learners suffer physical harm	28	44	28	2.28
Learners become afraid of violent teachers	23.5	23.5	53	2.30
Learners become depressed	28	37	35	2.07
Learners' academic performance suffers	25	32	43	2.18
Learners have less time to learn	25	42	33	2.08
Learners drop out of school	25	30	45	2.20
Learners miss classes	29	34	37	2.08
Learners lose their ability to concentrate in class	32	30	38	2.06

Table 7: Learners' responses on how violence impact teachers

	Strongly disagree₁ %	Disagree₂ %	Agree₃ %	Strongly agree₄ %	mean
Teachers' professional status is undermined by violence	13	11	32	44	3.07
Teacher absenteeism from school increases	13	14	48	25	2.85
Teachers feel threatened by other teachers	12	23	40	25	2.78
Teachers feel threatened by learners	12	20	41	27	2.83
Teachers cannot complete the syllabus	11	18	42	29	2.89
Teachers feel demoralised	11	13	42	34	2.99
Teachers feel unsafe at school	19	11	42	28	2.79

As evidenced by the statistics above, over 60 percent of the respondents (student teachers) revealed that violence against teachers, students, foreigners, homosexual people, and women was rare in the schools where they attended primary and secondary education before joining teacher education institutions. The same applied to violence based on race and gender. Over 65 percent of the respondents affirmed that physical harm, fear, depression, poor academic performance, dropping out of school, missing classes, inability to concentrate in class as well as less time to learn were the most common effects of violence on learners. Similarly, violence can negatively impact teachers. More than 60 percent of the respondents indicated that violence may make teachers feel demoralized, feel unsafe, feel threatened, and not to

complete the syllabus. About three quarters pointed out that violence can increase teachers' absenteeism and undermine their professional status. These findings imply that violence in school could cause anxiety and disrupt the teaching and learning processes. As such, social cohesion and peace building are hampered.

c.   Perceptions of Rwandan learners' anti-violence initiatives in Rwandan Schools

Dealing with violence in school begins with the development and implementation of an effective school behaviour management policy. Behaviour management policies in school should be preventative in nature, viewed in a holistic way and related to aspects of education, such as curriculum, classroom organisation, and class size among others. Students must be aware of the inevitable consequences resulting from violence and other undesirable actions and behaviours manifested in school so that they take responsibility for their own actions. Teachers, parents and students have to take part in the development and implementation of school rules and regulation. The roles and responsibilities of various parties such as, students, parents, classroom teachers, other and specialist staff, and school executive must be recognized and clearly stipulated (Republic of Rwanda, 2012). This can promote peace and social cohesion among students and teachers.

In this effect, the opinions of learners with regard to the way to support teachers to deal with violence in schools were sought along a scale of four responses ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). As can be seen from the table below, for all the statements, the responses were generally skewed towards agree. Student teachers agreed with the idea that the Rwanda Police, MINEDUC and students have a role to play with respect to developing and implementing measures against school based violence. Similarly, they affirmed that they needed training in behaviour management and dealing with violence.

Table 8: Learners' perceptions on way to support teachers to deal with violence in schools

	Strongly disagree₁ %	Disagree₂ %	Agree₃ %	Strongly agree₄ %	Mean
The Rwandan Police Services' Safe Schools Programme should be implemented in all schools	0.7	7.5	36.3	55.5	3.50
The Ministry of Education should play a stronger role in ensuring that corporal punishment does not occur	4.2	8.3	34	53.5	3.40
Schools are not well-run; if they were better run they could tackle violence more effectively	7.6	15.3	43.1	34	3.07
The School Management Team should be more effective in implementing policies to tackle violence	4.1	4.8	38.4	52.7	3.43
Learners should be involved in decision-making at schools so they learn to be responsible for others	4.6	5.4	43.5	46.5	3.35
There should be increased security at schools	2.8	5.6	34	57.6	3.50
Schools should be able to expel violent learners	6.5	11.5	47.5	34.5	3.13
All learners should be taught African history so that they appreciate the value of other African cultures	7.5	8.2	41.8	42.5	3.23
All learners should be taught history so they understand the negative consequences of violence	2.8	6.2	37.2	53.8	3.45

Provide teachers with better behaviour management training	0.7	3.3	50.7	45.3	3.44
I wish my initial teacher training had prepared me better for dealing with violence	4.8	5.5	41.8	47.9	3.36

4.5 CURRENT EDUCATION SECTOR STRATEGIC PLAN (ESSP): TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTING THE SOCIALLY TORN APART RWANDAN SOCIETY

Reflecting on the key questions at the beginning of this chapter i.e. what key issues the government of Rwanda is addressing in its education policies? Are there some substantive explanations in the government of Rwanda's education policies as to why it is emphasizing peace and social cohesion in its post genocide education policies? The responses to these fundamental questions are embedded within the Rwanda's foundational and macro education policies where the importance of addressing inequalities and promoting social cohesion is clearly and articulately addressed. Various institutions, including the Ministry of Education, are obliged to meet certain targets in this regard and have incorporated strategies in their respective plans and programmes.

This section analyses the current education sector plan by evaluating how it addresses inequality as well as promotion of social cohesion in Rwanda. This Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) is in line with EDPRS II, covering the period 2013/14 to 2017/18. The key policy intention for ESSP (2013/14 to 2017/18) is the expansion of the Government's nine-year basic education (9YBE) to twelve years (12YBE). The plan hinges on three main goals which include expanding access to education at all levels, improving the quality of education and training, and strengthening the relevance of education and training to meet labour market demands (MINEDUC, 2013). It reflects the priorities of making pre-primary, primary, secondary (including technical and vocational education (TVET)), and higher education more accessible and more relevant to the labour market. It provides a framework for a holistic sector-wide approach to the development and delivery of education services in Rwanda (MINEDUC, 2013).

In line with the ESSP, the Rwanda Education system currently comprises of four levels: Pre-primary Education, 9/12 Years Basic Education and Post Basic Education (MINEDUC, 2015). Pre-primary Education is organized in nursery schools for a period of three years for children between the ages of 3 and 6. Pre-primary education encourages social cohesion of young children through play as well as basic skills that provide a foundation for learning at primary school. The 9/12 Years Basic Education (9/12YBE) phase is divided into three levels: Primary, lower and upper secondary. Primary level lasts for 6 years while lower and upper secondary each lasts for 3 years. 9 YBE is for 7-15 year olds and it is compulsory. However, there are two caveats describing 9YBE as a coherent phase in the system:

i.   First, there are still exams at the end of Primary six, the last year of what was primary school;

ii. Second, not all schools have a 9YBE school program. Some are, but others are still P1-P6 and effectively operate as feeder primary schools for neighbouring 9YBE schools;

iii. All children who reach the end of 9YBE have an entitlement to a further three years of education leading to 12YBE.

Post basic education is a mix of Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET), Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and non-degree awarding higher education. TVET is taught in Technical Secondary Schools (TSS), Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) and Technical Tertiary institutions (awarding Diploma and Advanced Diploma). It provides both young and unemployed people with the skills to gain productive employment. It also provides those already in employment with an opportunity to upgrade their skills, including entrepreneurs and those wishing to be self-employed. Source: MINEDUC, (2013)

The ESSP has been developed within the framework of the Rwandan education system and EDPRSII with ten outcomes, for which the three Strategic goals – access, quality and relevance of education are all crucial. Nonetheless, social cohesion does not feature in the outcomes. For instance, the first outcome and the corresponding outputs point to improving access to education, from primary level through secondary education. The Education sector strategic plan considers inclusiveness as a viable way of ensuring representation and recognition of all learners,

and hence promoting social cohesion by encouraging schools to be adequately resourced and prepared to integrate children with special educational needs. This encompasses equitable redistribution of accessible infrastructure, specific learning materials and teaching aids, as well as properly trained teachers, trainers and staff in schools and higher learning institutions. The strategies developed to achieve this outcome also touch curriculum, teacher training systems and learning and teaching material policies (MINEDUC, 2013).

The statistics in the following tables give some indication of the developments in Rwanda pertaining to gender in education in the last six years.

Table 9: Pre-primary Education Enrolment (2010-2015)

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total (Pupils)	96,934	111,875	130,403	142,471	159,291	183,658
Boys	47,034	54,378	63,161	69,418	77,872	90,135
Girls	49,900	57,497	67,242	73,053	81,419	93,523
% of Boys	48.52%	48.61%	48.44%	48.72%	48.89%	49.08%
% of Girls	51.48%	51.39%	51.56%	51.28%	51.11%	50.92%
Pupils in public schools	565	343	362	363	93,499	86,634
Boys	247	151	183	198	45,524	42,563
Girls	318	192	179	165	47,975	49,440
Pupils in Private schools	96,369	111,532	130,041	142,108	65,792	97,026
Boys	46,787	54,227	62,978	69,220	32,348	47,586
Girls	49,582	57,305	67,063	72,888	33,444	49,440

Source: MINEDUC (2015)

As evidenced by the table above, enrolment of children in kindergarten was fairly balanced between boys and girls in both public and private pre-primary schools during the period 2010-2014. This seems to suggest that representation concerns are being addressed right from the elementary level though only to a certain extent. In the same way, at primary school level, the enrolment rate of boys and girls was virtually the same throughout the period 2010 -2014. This achievement is due to the efforts by the government to promote gender parity and reduction of girls' dropout rate through initiatives such as   affirmative action. At secondary school level, the trend was similar there was no significant difference in enrolment rate between boys and girls.

Despite the gender parity in enrolment at kindergarten level, it clear that there are considerable difference in the enrolment rate between private and public schools. Private school had a relatively higher enrolment rate than public. This could be attributed to the consideration of pre-primary schools that were affiliated to public schools starting from 2014 school. It also explains why the enrolment rate is low up to 2013 as well as the decrease in the enrolment rate in private from 142,108 in 2013 to 65, 792 in 2014 and the vice versa in public schools (MINEDUC, 2014).

Table 10: Primary Education Enrolment (2010-2015)

Years	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Number of Boys	1,132,556	1,150,205	1,180,484	1,183,306	1,181,715	1,214,019
Number of Girls	1,166,770	1,190,941	1,214,190	1,218,858	1,217,724	1,236,686
Total Number of Pupils	2,299,326	2,341,146	2,394,674	2,402,164	2,399,439	2,450,705
% of Boys	49.3	49.1	49.3	49.3	49.2	49.5%
% of Girls	50.7	50.9	50.7	50.7	50.8	50.5%

Source: MINEDUC (2015)

Table 11: Secondary Education Enrolment (2010-2015)

Years	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total number of boys	209,926	235,750	255,503	268,581	266,579	256,634
Total number of girls	215,661	250,687	279,209	297,789	298,733	287,302
Total number of student	425,587	486,437	534,712	566,370	565,312	543,936
Boys (%)	49.3	48.5	47.8	47.4	47.2	47.2%
Girls (%)	50.7	51.5	52.2	52.6	52.9	52.8%

Source: MINEDUC (2015)

It should be noted that regardless of the considerable improvement in access to pre-primary, primary and secondary education, inequality is still pronounced at higher levels of education, which can have an impact on the qualified recruitment pool of education management and administration positions. In this case, males are overrepresented, where in 2011; only 31.4 percent of females were in leadership positions as compared to 68 percent of their male counterparts. The trend remained the same in 2013 (31 percent for women and 69 percent for men). The situation was critical at secondary school level, where only 17.3 percent of school head teachers were female as against 82.7 percent of males in 2011 with a slight improvement in 2013 (19.5 percent for women and 80.5 percent for men) ((MINEDUC, 2016). This implies that affirmative policies have not necessarily translated into gender equality so that women are fairly represented in education management positions. In order to have a cohesive and peace society, gender inequalities in education and other sectors have to be addressed so that women are represented and recognized at all levels. A consideration of gender parity as one of the key tenets of social cohesion requires equity based treatment to women to ensure access to and participation in different realms of a society.

4.6 RWANDA INITIATIVES FOR PEACE BUILDING IN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND SCHOOLS: AN ANTI DOTE FOR LACK OF PEACE VALUES AND SOCIAL COHESION AMONG RWANDAN SCHOOLS CAUSED BY HISTORICAL DISCRIMINATIVE TENDENCIES IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS

4.6.1 Decentralization Policy in Rwandan Schools: A move towards Rwandans' Participation in School affairs

In Rwanda, the overall goal of the National Decentralization Policy (2012) is to reinforce grassroots-based democratic governance and equitable political, economic, and social development as well as maintaining effective functional and mutually accountable linkages between central and Local Government entities (MINALOC, 2012).

Specifically, the policy aims at consolidating national unity and identity by fostering, enhancing and sustaining the spirit of reconciliation, social cohesion and common belonging as a nation; building and consolidating volunteerism, community work and self-reliance based on cultural and other values of collective responsibility, personal worth and productive involvement. It emphasizes fast-tracking and translating the regional integration agenda into politically and economically fruitful venture for Rwandans in all corners of the country, and as a strong anchor for national stability, peace and unity (MINALOC, 2012).

The decentralization policy is also conceived as a tool for empowering the populace to participate in development activities and promotion of social cohesion. With regard to enhancement of social cohesion, decentralization of education has proved to be instrumental. From interviews with education officials and teachers' representatives, it was revealed that at each administrative level (sector and district), people work together to provide education services and seek home grown solutions to the problems they encounter.

> 'After genocide it was very difficult for people to collaborate or work together and provide required education services without intrigues or ideologies of divisionism. But after 20 years now it's okay. The District Education officers work together with Sector Education officers, local leaders, parents, teachers and school leaders through parents teacher committee and Sector education council to address problems that either a school or schools in a sector or District may encounter (Rwanda Teachers Union official).

In the context of governance, the Central Government is responsible for policy formulation and national planning for education, setting standards and values, monitoring and evaluation, curriculum production and approval of educational materials. The Local Government is in charge of execution of policy, planning and follow up of education activities at district/province level and the general administration of schools (MINEDUC, 2003).

Similarly, the District is concerned with the implementation of policy and strategic plans, preparation of district plans and budgets, monitoring and evaluation of education activities and school financial reports, teacher recruitment and transfers as well as procurement of teaching and learning materials. The Sector Education Officers are required to support District Education Officers in carrying out these activities and to improve linkages between the district education office and schools (MINEDUC, 2003).

It was quite apparent from the interviews carried out that decentralization has impacted recruitment and deployment of teachers as well as remuneration, especially in private schools. Before entrenchment of decentralization policy, recruitment and deployment of teachers was centralized and the process was seen as too bureaucratic and ineffective by many education stakeholders. Today, decentralization has reduced inequalities and improved school management in the sense that every district is exclusively responsible for infrastructure development, recruitment of teachers and their remuneration. For instance, a Rwanda Governance Board official described the process as such:

> 'Before decentralization, the ministry of education was in charge of recruiting teachers, appointing them, paid them and does the inspection, which I think it is impossible. Because if for example, a teacher in Rusizi (the furthest district from the city) had a problem of payment, he/she would come to Kigali. Today, the district is responsible for everything: recruitment of teachers, appointment, payment of teachers' salaries and others. The central government is basically responsible for disbursement of funds to districts. The district monitors, inspect schools and have the prerogative to dismiss teacher and punish teachers and/or head teachers. Today a teacher who needs a transfer, or a married female teacher teaching at Nyagatare, she requests for a transfer from the Director of Education in that area, then he send it to the mayor to sign and a copy is sent the ministry of education. Teachers don't need to go to the ministry to request for

transfer. The same applies to the students. A student who wants to move to another school goes to the district and it is done there (Interview with Rwanda Governance Board official).

In line with the above account, decentralization is conceived as an avenue for social cohesion among Rwandans. Citizens at the community level meet to identify and resolve conflicts among members of the village, cell or sector. There are also councils of arbitrators at each administrative level that are responsible for settling disputes and uniting them. Furthermore, at the national level, ministry headquarters is responsible for coordinating, making policies, mobilizing resources, capacity building, and monitoring and evaluation. The challenge with decentralization of services is that at certain levels of administration especially the sector, there are insufficient personnel and these results in not effectively providing services.

4.6.2 School Funding and Governance: Balancing Government and Communal Roles in Schools

With regard to funding, the largest components of funding for schools are threefold:

i. Capitation grant: With the abolition of school fees, the government introduced a capitation grant. This is paid on a per-pupil basis direct from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) to the school and the head teacher in collaboration with PTCs have discretion over how to spend the funds, with some guidance from the district (IPAR, 2012);

ii. Teachers' salaries: Teachers' salaries are also paid directly from MINECOFIN to teachers, rather than through the school. Some schools, especially in urban areas, ask parents to contribute funds for incentive payments locally known as "*agahimbazamusyi*" to supplement teachers' salaries;

iii. Contribution of parents and development partners: Development partners play an important role in increasing the flow of funds through budget support, funding education programs and projects, and providing technical assistance where necessary (IPAR, 2012).

With respect to management of funds, head teachers make decisions and manage the funds transferred directly to the school from the capitation grant. This management role is actively supported by members of parent teacher committees who receive training on school management.

In relation to school governance, the functioning of schools in Rwanda today is based on legal and policy framework. Inherent in these national instruments is the need to recognise the central role that parents play through the school general assembly committees in the education of their children.

In this respect, the Educational Sector Policy (2003) clearly stipulates that schools are expected to have Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) to support in planning and fund raising. They are also expected to have structured school general assembly committees with a role in management activities and finance. The school general assembly committees help the school management to develop school improvement plans and maintain financial records in order to improve planning and implementation of education sector policies at the school level (MINEDUC, 2003).

Besides the education sector policy, school governance in Rwanda is also strengthened by law number 23/2012 of 15/06/2012 relating to the organisation and functioning of nursery, primary and secondary school education. According to this law, head teachers in collaboration with parents through PTAs and Parents Teacher Committees (PTCs), have the obligation of promoting gender equality, national values, social cohesion and ensuring that they are communicated to learners, parents and teachers (Republic of Rwanda, 2012). This means that parents and teachers are supposed to partake in school governance (equitable representation in governance) and this is in line with Burde (2004) who argues that parents' participation in decentralized school governance is an effective mechanism to restructure the social fabric and mend social cohesion in post conflict society.

Nonetheless, regardless of the crucial role that parents are supposed to play in school governance, in some of the schools visited especially the private ones, parent teacher associations were not active. For instance, in one school, it was found out that the head teacher and the chairperson of the parent teachers committee were the ones who made decisions. This

is due to a number of reasons which include some parents under-valuing their abilities, lacking sufficient knowledge and guidance from the school about their rights and responsibilities, reluctance of some schools to involve parents, and domineering of some of committee members together with head teachers.

In general, it can be deduced that parents are not recognised and represented in school governance and decision making, yet they play a crucial role in enhancing social cohesion of the school and community. Besides, studies have shown that effective school - community cohesion can result in optimal child learning outcomes (Fox & Olsen, 2014).

In terms of decision making, the attitude of teachers on different aspects was sought. The table below provides details of their opinions:

Table 12: Teachers' responses on focused statements about decision making

Statement	Strongly Disagree$_1$ %	Disagree$_2$ %	Agree$_3$ %	Strongly Agree$_4$ %	Mean
I can choose how to plan my lessons	3	3	30	64	3.55
There should be increased security at school	2	11	29	58	3.45
I can choose the content I teach	7	1	31	61	3.56
I can choose how to teach learners	1	37	62	0	2.61
I can choose how to manage the classroom	26	74	0	0	1.74
I can choose how to discipline learners	8	26	66	0	2.58
I can choose how to engage with parents	8	48	44	0	2.36
I can choose how to work with other teachers	1	25.5	73.5	0	2.73
I can join teacher organization I want	2	7	53	38	3.90

As evidenced by table 12, teachers largely agreed with statements such as "I can choose how to plan lessons, there should be increased security at school, I can choose the content l teach, I can join a teacher organisation I want, I can choose how to work with other teachers, I can choose how to teach, and I can choose how to discipline learners". Over 60 percent of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with these statements. These findings suggest that at school level, there is recognition and representation of teachers especially with regard to governance and decision making on curriculum delivery and taking disciplinary measures against students. However, the proportion of teachers who dissented with the above mentioned statements is quite significant. Therefore, these contradictory views imply that not all the schools surveyed recognize teachers and give them the opportunity to actively participate in school governance and decision making, hence militating against their potent role in promoting peace building and social cohesion.

4.6.3 School Governance: Enhancing Local Rwandans' Active Participation in School Governance

In Rwanda, School governance is mostly devolved to the local sector and district levels. Districts in particular are responsible for planning local school systems, something which has been crucial in the delivery of 12Year Basic Education (from primary one to high school). For instance, local leaders may decide which schools develop into 9 or 12Year Basic Education, and which ones remain purely primary (with years P1-P6). Also, the parent teacher committees work hand in hand with head teachers in managing schools, enforcing discipline as well as promotion of social cohesion and national values (IPAR, 2012).

Nevertheless, with respect to budget, schools have no role in planning and determining their budget. Similarly, the District has no control over the school budgets, they provide central government with information on the number of teachers and the number of pupils in each school in order to accurately allocate funding for salary and capitation grant distribution.

4.6.4 Governance and Gender in Rwandan Schools: Enhancing Equality and Equity in Rwandan Schools

Policies that reinforce promotion of gender equity at all levels of governance, including the education sector are seen as a crosscutting issue. Vision 2020 is the long-term guiding development framework; it emphasizes the importance of gender equity through education as a means for development. Similarly, the Education Sector Policy (2003) emphasizes measures that promote performance of women and men, boys and girls as well as affirmative action to promote the education of girls and women in secondary and higher education.

The Girls' Education Policy (2008) and the Girls' Education Strategic Plan (2009–2013) guide and promote actions aimed at eliminating gender inequalities in education and training at all levels. Specifically, the aim of the Girls' Education Strategic Plan 2008-2012 was to improve girl's enrolment, retention, completion and transition to higher levels of education. The Girls' Education Policy stresses integration of gender equity and equality issues into national, district, and community programs and elimination of gender disparities in education and training. These initiatives are reinforced by the National Gender Policy (2010), which focuses on ensuring that boys and girls have equal access to educational opportunities, promoting girls' enrolment in Science and Technology, and increasing literacy rates of women and men with an emphasis on women.

These policies seek to strengthen social cohesion and peace building by emphasizing redistribution of resources and opportunities in education as well as recognition and representation of marginalized groups of people. Consequently, there has been commendable improvement, particularly in terms of gender equity and equality in education. For instance, with respect to access to education, statistics show that for the past 6 years (2010 -2015) boys and girls were fairly represented at pre-primary, primary and secondary school levels (MINEDUC, 2016).

4.6.5 Affirming Rights and Inclusive Education in Rwandan Schools: From Human Right and Social Cohesion Perspective

There are several initiatives by the government of Rwanda to support rights in education. The Government of Rwanda has shown a strong recognition of the international human rights framework for gender equality and education in its constitution and policy frameworks by aligning its development goals and objectives with these principles. Vision 2020 emphasizes Universal Primary Education, with particular reference to reducing dropout rates for girls and improving the quality of EFA. The Vision 2020 addresses inequality in education by proposing to eradicate all forms of discrimination, promote social equity, provide EFA and reduce poverty within a Human Rights perspective (MINECOFIN, 2000).

The Education Sector Strategic Plan (2013-2017) recognizes rights in education by addressing barriers of access to education for vulnerable children, including adolescent girls, children with disabilities, children living with HIV and children from poorer backgrounds (MINEDUC, 2013). Also, the Rwandan constitution emphasizes that every Rwandan has the right to education and the State has the duty to take special measures to facilitate the education of disabled people (GoR, 2003).

Furthermore, the Special Needs Education Policy (2007) stresses establishment of education programs that promote inclusion of minorities and people with disabilities in education and allow for them to be mainstreamed in the regular classrooms with support that does not target nor set them apart. In fact, the broad goal of the Basic Education subsector is to provide a foundation for increased equitable access to EFA children. This is to be achieved through a Nine Year Basic Education program which could increase access, retention and quality in primary education, improve institutional management, and reduce disparities and inequalities. The policy priority areas as regards rights in education include provision of literacy opportunities for out-of-school children, youths and adults; seeking out and reintegrating out-of-school children into the formal education system, and offer alternative education opportunities for "hard-to-reach" children; improving the school completion rate for all with emphasis on girl learning achievements as well

as Increasing opportunities for out-of-school youth and adults to follow vocational training programs (MINEDUC, 2007b).

In a bid to foster rights in education and social cohesion, it was found that education programs that promote inclusion have been put in place to include children with disabilities, minorities (including the historically marginalised ethnic group of people called the Twa), girls in education, and other vulnerable groups. They are mainstreamed in classrooms in regular schools with support that does not exclude them from their peers. A learning program has been established to provide literacy opportunities for out-of-school children, youths, and adults so that they can to join technical and vocational training programs and acquire skills.

In the same way, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy II sets the overall purpose of the Education Sector as being to attain access to quality, equitable and effective EFA Rwandans. The key objectives of the strategy for education include facilitating access to EFA, promoting equity in education at all levels as well as positive values, critical thinking, Rwandan culture, peace, unity and reconciliation (MINECOFIN, 2008). The National Gender Policy (2003) suggests strategies for enforcing gender equality and rights in education. These include measures to improve girls' enrolment in non-traditional fields of study, particularly science and technology, as well as enhancing opportunities for boys and girls at all levels of education.

In line with inclusive education is special girls' education policy (2008). The Girls' Education Policy points to promotion of sustainable mechanisms aimed at progressive eradication of gender disparities in education and training as well as management structures. The policy emphasizes establishment of a legislative and institutional framework to initiate, coordinate, monitor and evaluate programs aimed at promoting gender equality in education and training (MINEDUC, 2008). In order to achieve these objectives, key strategies are recommended and one of them is the affirmative action that increases girls' access to and participation in secondary and higher education by lowering cut-off points for their entry into secondary and higher education. In case girls are underrepresented, 50% of the admissions into higher education can be reserved for girls or women. Institutions have the right to set annual targets for an interval of five years for enrolment into courses or programs in which they are underrepresented. Likewise, in order to

have a fair representation of women in teaching, administration and technical areas, promising women can be identified and trained at entry level or middle management (ibid.).

Special Needs Education Policy is an extra mile the government of Rwanda moved towards inclusive education. Basically, it addresses inequality relating to children with special needs such as those with disabilities or other educational needs. It focuses on giving opportunity to children with special need to access education. The objectives of the policy include ensuring conditions that allow children with special needs to enrol in, and complete school; promote quality education for learners with special educational needs by ensuring appropriate infrastructure and learning materials (MINEDUC, 2007a). The policy priority is to ensure equity within all fields and throughout all levels of education and training through specific interventions to raise performance of girls and learners with special needs, including orphans and vulnerable children, and improving provision for adult literacy skills development.

4.6.6 Peace Education, Rwandan Values and Genocide studies in Rwandan School Curriculum: An Epistemological Move towards Nurturing the Culture of seeking for Knowledge of the past and Remembering it for a Peaceful Healing Process for all Rwandan Learners

Fighting against genocide ideology and teaching national values and social cohesion is an integral part of the school curriculum. In primary schools, primary six children are introduced to learning about genocide in Social Studies. Bamusananire et al. (2006) cited in Mafeza (2013) found that students learn more about genocide in secondary schools, where they learn about issues such as "the differences between genocide from ordinary massacres and others related crimes; the causes and consequences of the genocide against the Tutsis; other genocides such as the Herero genocide, the Armenians genocide and the Holocaust" (p. 5). This why the new competence based curriculum aims at socializing teachers and learners to circumvent genocide ideologies and gender stereotypes. This is contrary to the previous regime's educational system that inculcated attitudes, values, and social relations that made identity-based violence a norm among teachers and learners (Obura, 2003).

In any society, education can play an important role for better or worse, as a means of preventing conflict or propagating it (Mafeza, 2013:2). Education is an effective approach of preventing any form of discrimination and destruction such as genocide and to strengthen national identity and social cohesion (Kambody, 2007). In Rwanda, education was used as a tool to perpetuate genocide ideology among students in school. Nonetheless, after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the discriminatory education policy was transformed into a tool to address genocide ideology and promote reconciliation, unity and social cohesion among students in schools (Mafeza, 2013). Besides the establishment of the desegregation education policy in 2003, other programmes geared towards overcoming genocide ideology in schools and community has been put in place. Programmes such as 'Never Again' have extended their tentacles in schools. This has culminated into social cohesion and unity among students hence suppression of genocide ideology.

'We have different clubs in this school but they all promote peace and unity among students. Our teachers often tell us that ideas of genocide are not tolerated in school and that they could lead us to 1994 tragedy which should never again happen. So, genocide ideology among students is not something you will find in this school. Through clubs and general meetings, we are taught the consequences of genocide ideology and how to fight it, living in harmony with others, patriotism and others (Learner in School J, Kigali City).

4.6.7 Minimum Norms and Standards for Public School Infrastructure Policy in Rwandan Schools: From Representation, Redistribution, Recognition and Reconciliation Perspective

In Rwanda, the education quality standards for schools became binding in 2008. They highlight issues of organization, teaching and learning, schools infrastructure, school equipment, curriculum, evaluation, school governance, certification and values. The table below shows the minimum quality standards for any public school in Rwanda.

Table 13: Key minimum education quality standards

> A school must have appropriate, sufficient and secure building
>
> A school must be a healthy, clean, secure and learner protecting environment
>
> A school must have a child-friendly, barrier free environment which promotes inclusive access and equal rights of every child
>
> A school must have adequate and appropriate equipment that support the level of education.

Source: MINEDUC (2009)

The education quality standards clearly define the acceptable school and give practical guidance on how to achieve them. Schools ought to have conducive physical learning environment; enough classrooms and the infrastructure especially sanitary premises must recognise the individual needs of female and male teachers, girls and boys as well as learners with disabilities (MINEDUC, 2009).

However, although they met some of the minimum national education quality standards, the school premises in most of the public schools visited (about 80 percent), had no provision for some minority learners particularly learners with disabilities as well as adolescent girls experiencing menstruation cycle. For example, they have enough gender segregated toilets and hygiene facilities, equipped adolescent girls' rooms and sports equipment and facilities among others. In fact, there was a difference between rural and urban schools in terms of infrastructure development as well as teaching and learning resources. Urban schools were relatively more equipped with resources and most of them had provision for learners with disabilities and adolescent girls experiencing menstruation cycle. These findings insinuate that there was no recognition of learners with disability and girl child specific needs in school infrastructure planning and development especially in rural areas. Similarly, it appears that teaching and learning materials are not equitably redistributed in public schools. Unfair redistribution of

resources and failure to recognise the specific needs of the girl child and learners with disability in terms of school infrastructure development undermine peace building and social cohesion.

4.6.8 Language of Instruction in Rwandan schools: An attempt to Solve A Pedagogical Dilemma

According to Corson (1993): "Education's legitimate influence on language is clear: it seeks to capitalize on the central role of language in learning, in understanding and in knowing. But, a more subtle and greater influence that education has on language is its power to promote social cohesion among learners".

In Rwanda, language policy has been more divisive than contributing to social cohesion (Samuelson and Freedman, 2010) and to a certain extent affected the quality of education. In 1996, a bilingual policy of using English and French as media of instruction was established. It aimed at bridging the Francophone-Anglophone divide and move towards a unified and reconciled nation (MINEDUC, 2007b). The policy was implemented and students at all levels of education were able to use English or French as their primary language of instruction.

Learners joining the university were expected to do academic work in both English and French (Samuelson and Freedman, 2010). This policy was instrumental in not only uniting Rwandan children but also in trying to solve some of the problems that afflicted education during that period such as lack of enough teachers and instructional materials in schools. It is believed that though different media of instruction were being used, children who came back from exile, children who survived genocide and children of perpetrators of genocide all were living together in schools, studying the same content and taking the same national examinations.

In 2009, the language policy was reformed and English was adopted as the medium of instruction at all levels of education while French continues to be taught as an optional language at all levels. The policy reform was partly due to the fact English was considered by the government to be an important vehicle for trade and socioeconomic development as well as a gateway to the global knowledge economy. Also, maintaining three languages of instruction in terms of learning materials and teacher education proved costly to the education budget (MINEDUC, 2010).

Nevertheless, Kinyarwanda remained and is still the medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school. Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction at lower primary is considered as a way to promote culture and social cohesion among children because Kinyarwanda is a symbolic aspect of the Rwandan culture in addition to helping children better understand basic literacy and numeracy concepts, ultimately improving learning outcomes and reduction of repetition rates especially at lower primary school level (Gove and Cvelich 2011):

> "Currently from nursery school to P3, the language of instruction is Kinyarwanda. Above this, it is English language up to university. Using mother tongue in the first three years of schooling is pedagogically important in that it enables children to clearly understand the concepts and internalize knowledge better than in second or third language" (REB official, Literature Department).

4.6.9   English as a medium of Instruction:

The change to English as the language of instruction in Rwanda has been necessitated by Rwanda's vision for education, business and trade, regional and international relations as information and communication technology development propels Rwanda's economy to a middle-income status by 2020. English language is seen as one of the means through which the country cannot only boost business and trade but also unite children in learning institutions.

From the perspective of peace building and social cohesion, the policy makers interviewed claimed that the shift to English as medium of instruction especially from upper primary to university has eliminated the Francophone - Anglophone social divide in schools. All learners at this level are taught in the same language and this leads to social cohesion and unity among children and teachers in schools.

Nonetheless, some teachers argued that, the abrupt shift to English as medium of instruction in schools and higher institutions of learning has not only become detrimental to the quality of education in Rwanda but also reinforce inequalities between elite and the poor in society (Assan & Walker 2012).

With respect to quality of education in particular, education officials and the teachers surveyed revealed that many teachers were inadequately prepared to use English language as a medium

of instruction and therefore face difficulties in expressing themselves in classroom especially in clearly explaining the content to learners. Consequently, effective classroom interaction between the teacher and learners is hampered because of learners' low English proficiency and teacher's inability to orally use the instructional language fluently. It was pointed out that at times, some teachers are compelled to 'code switching' when they fail to explain certain concepts in English. Though it may help learners to understand, this option however, is pedagogically inappropriate because it undermines development of academic literacy (Kyeyune, 2010).

 Besides teachers, students with French background encounter some challenging including writing of good essays and shying off to participate in classroom due to language barrier among others. Moreover, there are inequalities between the urban and rural schools in terms of accessibility to teaching learning resources. One of the education officials cited language as one of the key anticipated hindrances to the implementation of the competence-based curriculum implementation. "As long as the teacher is not conversant with language of instruction, it is hard for them to use critical thinking, problem solving, analytical thinking and innovation approaches or pedagogies required by the competence based curriculum" (EB official, Curriculum department).

In spite of this argument, as stated above, majority of teachers argued that, the government of Rwanda's decision to switch to English as a medium of instruction was motivated by both regional and international relations and business since the world is conceived as a global village today. Majority of teachers stated that English is considered the language of elite and tied to higher socio-economic status; no wonder financially capable parents take their children to private schools where speaking English is more fluent.

Timothy's argument in Tolony (2014) that Rwanda use of English a medium of instruction is discriminative and ethnic based was totally rejected by majority of respondents as purely lack of the global trends to day. Respondents argued that, what Rwandan government would do to advance her education system that has been lagging behind for so long? Rwandan could not use two languages as media of instruction because this kind of dichotomy of using multi-languages as a medium of instruction has never happened anywhere. Respondents stated that, Cameroon,

Canada and Belgium it is a question of a given regional decision within the same country to use a given language but not both. As for Rwanda, the government could not use two foreign languages a media of instruction in a small and poor country leave being linguistically and pedagogically improper (REB officials, RGB official, Teachers from schools; B, G, and H).

4.7 CONCLUSION

The policy analysis in this chapter looked at the integration of social cohesion and peace building in Rwandan education policy. The analysis revealed that irrespective of a range of progressive education policies and legal framework that underscore promotion of social cohesion and peace building, translating them into practice has not been effectively done. Inequalities, such as access to higher education, inequitable redistribution teaching force and resources, underrepresentation of teachers in governance and decision making and school infrastructure development between rural and urban areas among others have not been adequately handled. The implementation of policies and programmes such as national decentralization policy, Girls' education policy, Special needs education policy, and 9/12 Year Basic education programme has not been effective. This has in part led to the slowness in attaining sustainable peace and social cohesion

Notwithstanding redistribution of education opportunities, representation and recognition of minority/marginalized groups of people, women are still underrepresented in education leadership. Positions of authority in education are predominantly held by males. This is caused by the discrepancy in qualification whereby males with high qualification (a key requirement for entry into school leadership) are relatively more than females (MINEDUC, 2016).

The policies and mechanisms for protecting and promoting rights and values in education in Rwanda have been strongly entrenched across institutions at all levels. This has to some extent contributed to enhancement of social cohesion and peace building in schools and communities. Moreover, values such as patriotism, integrity, national unity, social cohesion, and volunteerism have been integrated in the new national competence based curriculum, but ways of how they can be effectively transmitted to learners is not clear.

Therefore, there is a need for effective implementation of government programmes and policies so that the value of teachers are more recognised and to enhance their involvement and representation in decision making and governance for them to be more proactive in the process of reconciliation and sustainable peace building and social cohesion.

Chapter 5. Teacher Governance and Deployment in Rwanda

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds on the previous one that dwelt more on educational policies in Rwanda and how they impact on peace building and social cohesion with the teacher as the main focus. This chapter analyses teacher governance with a view to finding out whether this could have had a bearing on the disharmony among Rwandans that ultimately culminated into the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Broadly speaking, teacher governance refers to the ways in which teachers are governed and managed in an education system, what structures and decision-making processes are in place for them, their formal roles and responsibilities through appropriate incentives and accountability mechanisms to improve learning and enhance equity (Watson, DiCecco, Roher, Kachuck and Wolfish, 2003).

Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2004; 2007) define governance as the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good, which includes the process of selecting those in authority, capacity of the government to manage, and respect for the state. Good governance in education requires conditions such as the existence of standards, information on performance, incentives for good performance, and, most importantly accountability. In this chapter, teacher governance is considered as an important component, with a focus on interrogating efforts to ensure teacher governance, supply and deployment post-1994.

In relation to the research questions the study utilized the four dimensions of Recognition, Redistribution, Representation and Reconciliation (4Rs), linking the work of Nancy Fraser (1995, 2005) on social justice and the peace-building and reconciliation work of Galtung (1990) and Lederach (1995, 1997) to build a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015) and find out how these are

reflected in the process of recruitment and deployment in particular and teacher governance in general. To every sub-theme, the unit of analysis was school governance and social cohesion. To explore how such factors might have had an impact on Rwandan teachers as agents of peace in their work, the researcher had to ask some fundamental questions:

i. Before 1994 genocide against Tutsi, how were teachers governed and deployed to their different schools?

ii. Did the Rwandan education system before 1994 have any explicit focus on peace initiatives either in primary, secondary or tertiary education?

iii. Were there any inequalities in teacher deployment for teachers as individuals or schools?

iv. If any, did these inequalities aggravate social tensions and lack of social cohesion among teachers and schools?

v. What is Rwanda education system doing today to address such tensions among teachers and schools?

In view of these fundamental questions, all aspects related to teacher governance were analyzed to ascertain whether their existence was in one way or another contributed to peace building and social cohesion after the 1994 genocide against Tutsis. The chapter looks at governance in terms of teacher recruitment and deployment, teacher distribution, barriers of teacher deployment, as well as the interventions in place aimed at streamlining the system with a view to promoting peace building. The teacher recruitment and deployment criteria before and after 1994 are also analyzed highlighting their impact on social cohesion.

5.2. METHODOLOGY

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected to allow triangulation of responses. The qualitative date emanated from policy text analysis and a literature review, as well as interviews of teachers from selected schools and policy makers in the four provinces and Kigali City. Data were collected through the use of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Individual interviews were also carried out with policymakers and other stakeholders in education particularly those involved in teacher recruitment; specifically those in the Teacher

Development Management (TDM) Department within the Rwanda Education Board (REB). Quantitative data stemmed from questionnaires distributed to both teachers and students.

The following research questions guided the analysis:

1. How was teacher recruitment and deployment conducted in Rwanda before the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi?
2. How is teacher recruitment and deployment conducted in Rwanda today?
3. To what extent does teacher recruitment and deployment promote peace building and social cohesion?
4. What interventions are in place to address recruitment issues to enhance peace building and social cohesion?
5. How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure peace building and social cohesion?
6. What barriers of teacher deployment do exist in Rwanda?
7. What are the current educational priorities in Rwanda?

The chapter considered adequately recruited and professionally qualified teachers a pre-condition to the provision of quality education and attempted to address the above questions using a 4Rs framework of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation as an approach to sustainable peace building and social cohesion.

5.3 TEACHER GOVERNANCE AND DEPLOYMENT IN RWANDA BEFORE 1994: A SUB-SECTOR THAT REMAINED PASSIVE

Historically, education in Rwanda was characterized by discrimination and elitism. The education system was characterized by discriminatory practices including a quota system based on ethnicity as well as regional criteria that were used to limit access to education for the ethnic Tutsi. Major regulatory changes to the sector took place in 1979 and 1981 but none of the discriminatory policies of the post-colonial era were questioned (Chretien, 1995).

After the country gained independence, administrative structures were put in place to build a non-traditional, modern, western-style education system. The "Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale" (Ministry of National Education), which was created in 1961, was entrusted with the enactment of diverse laws and reforms. The new education system was characterized by discriminatory practices including a quota system based on ethnicity as well as regional criteria that were used to limit access to education for the Tutsi ethnic minority.

Correspondingly, teacher governance in Rwanda was characterized by irregularities with the machinations of political leaders at the time. Anecdotal evidence suggests that teacher recruitment and deployment did not follow any formal structure. The recruitment and deployment of secondary school teachers was done strictly at the ministerial level with the Minister of Education in-charge of secondary and higher education having the prerogative to hire and fire at will. It is therefore, indisputably to say that these bad practices are, to a greater extent, the catalyst of the hate ideology that culminated into the 1994 genocide. For example, in respect to primary school teachers' recruitment and deployment, up on completion, newly qualified teachers were required to register with the "Inspecteur du secteur scolaire" loosely translated as the Sector Inspector of Schools who would solely determine who to be recruited and deployed, when and where.

It therefore goes without saying, that this concretized more the element of nepotism and outright discrimination, particularly ethnic based. This is more articulated in *The New Times* (April 2016) in which a 1994 genocide survivor narrated how she had been offered a teaching post in one of the secondary schools in Kigali City but was sacked a few months later and her position offered to a Hutu teacher. In the words of the survivor, she stated that in schools, students were taught that Tutsi were foreigners, cockroaches, enemies and very bad and this resulted in some Tutsi children being persecuted and even beaten. She also added that there was the ideology of hatred; the genocide ideology was present in schools (Gasanabo, 2009)

As Rutayisire (2007, p. 116) asserts, by the 1970s, entry to all government and assisted primary and secondary schools including tertiary institutions was determined by what were termed as "ethnic and regional" quotas. This practice generated in ideology of hatred whereby the Tutsi

population was segregated, stigmatized and perceived as enemy of the Rwandan Hutu political regime (Mafeza, 2013).

These quotas overrode academic considerations, facilitated by the fact that the results of primary and secondary school examinations were never published, and there were no official criteria for selection at the upper levels." Academic forms of education have been the norm in Rwanda's development focused primarily on curriculum and discrete subject content that encouraged memorization. Curriculum typically promoted and reinforced the social and economic divisions within society. "In the pre-1994 curriculum, the essentials of human emotion, attitudes, values and skills were absent, while injustices based on discrimination and conflict were imparted through formalized rote learning in history, civic education, religious and moral education and languages" (Rutayisire, 2007, p. 117).

The biased curricula and teaching methods cemented ethnic segregation within classrooms and fostered genocide ideology. This affected the teacher governance as it was left to the discretion of the political leader(s) at that time to decide about the selection and deployment in a region or school of their preference. Consequently, there was lack of transparency in recruitment and this directly impacted on peace building and social cohesion as the concerned teachers felt unsupported and considered this practice unfair. The subsequent subthemes explain the various interventions designed by the government at different periods to bring about social cohesion particularly in the recruitment and deployment process.

5.4 TEACHER GOVERNANCE AND DEPLOYMENT IN RWANDA AFTER 1994: AN ATTEMPT TO HEAL RWANDAN NEGATIVE PAST AMONG TEACHERS

The 1994 genocide had a devastating impact on education in terms of the human suffering and psychological impact on children, teachers and communities, while also dismantling the education system and its infrastructure (World Bank, 2005). This presented an immense challenge to the country in terms of reconstruction, rehabilitation and recovery at all levels of society, in particular the education system.

After the 1994 genocide, the education sector, as well as other sectors of national life, passed through an emergency situation during which the main objective was to reshape and try to restart the education system, which had broken down. The first priority was to recruit new teaching staff as it is stated throught this study during genocide against the tutsi, a large number of teachers were either killed or forced into exile. Many of those who remained or returned from genocide have left teaching either for a better job or have joined private sector (Nzabarirwa, 2010). The teaching force was one of the badly affected causalities at all levels of education system.

As far as teacher governance and deployment are concerned, the post-genocide education policy promoted national unity and reconciliation, prioritized equal access and encouraged a culture of inclusion and mutual respect. This led to a drastic shift in the way educational institutions were structured. The first major change was outlawing the institutionalization of ethnic affiliation. The ethnic classification of teachers and students was stopped as a way to move away from the diversionist and discriminatory policies of the past. This shift signalled that schools and universities would now be used also as a mechanism for peace building and reconstructing the country.

It was in this context that the 1998 Sector Policy was adopted. That policy mainly focused on how to bring a solution to the real exigency of the prevailing situation, in order to achieve a significant change in the education system after the terrible events that shattered the country in 1994 (MINEDUC, 2003). The new government continued its prioritization of education as an active agent for socio-economic development and focused on improving the quality and access to education at all levels. Accordingly, teacher recruitment and deployment was decentralized to cater for the divergent district teacher demand and supply requirements. The Ministry of Education through the Rwanda Education Board (REB) plays the role of setting policies at national level.

5.4. INTERVENTIONS IN TEACHER GOVERNANCE AND DEPLOYMENT IN RWANDA AFTER 1994: TOWARDS STRENGTHENING TEACHERS AS KEY AGENTS OF PEACE

5.4.1   Vision 2020

Vision 2020 is the nation's long-term development framework which emphasizes the importance of promoting teachers who are expected to be sufficiently trained and competent to help in the moulding of the young people to translate theoretical knowledge into employable skills. The 2020 document however notes that the quality of education has been declining largely due to low calibre of teaching staff. In the medium term, the government will embark on universal basic education programmers with the participation of parents and their associations. Further, the government will arrange for intensive teacher training programs to be carried out in each province, in order to cut down cost of transport and boarding. The training will aim at upgrading the skills of non-qualified teachers and giving new recruits quick learning (Vision 2020 GOR 2003).

The Government of Rwanda (GOR) recognizes that the achievement of Vision 2020 is greatly centred on the development of highly competent, world-class human resources, particularly in advanced technology and knowledge-intensive growth sectors. As the Government of Rwanda (GoR) is committed to provision of quality and equitable education and recognizes that teachers are the key instruments in the realization of this goal, significant investments in improving their motivation and professionalism are essential. As the world makes gains in providing quality basic education for all children, the role of teachers becomes increasingly pivotal for achieving, consolidating and sustaining progress. The report by VSO acknowledges that a major determinant of improved educational experience and outcomes is the quality of teaching, and there is much interest among policy-makers in improving teacher performance (VSO, 2003).

 In addition, the teacher is the main instrument in bringing about the desired improvements in quality learning (MINEDUC, 2007). In the same vein, Smith et al. (2011) posit that teachers play an important role in educational outcomes which have the potential to contribute directly to peace building. Teachers can influence learners' identities, model and impart values of mutual respect and tolerance, and teach the skills required for civic participation and employment. VSO report backed by desk-based and field research, suggests that teachers are to be effective as the

main deliverers of educational reform in the coming decade. This is strengthened by Chapman (2002) that the success of any teaching and learning process which influences students' academic performance depends on how effective and efficient teachers are. Further, the government of Rwanda recognizes that through the education sector, it can address challenges of poverty eradication, expand access to education without compromising quality, and place the country on the path of sustainable growth and development as well as achieving the millennium development goals and its vision 2020.

The Government has therefore, acknowledged in its education policy pronouncements that the teacher is the main instrument for bringing about desired improvements in learning, and that adequate teacher management structures, policies and strategies are key factors that determine teacher performance. This is so because in Rwanda, as in most other developing countries, education means teachers. Teachers are the key source of knowledge, skills, wisdom, appropriate orientations, inspiration and models for the students. As a consequence, the teacher is central in facilitating the processes that lead to meaningful education and students' learning outcomes are affected by teacher quality.

5.4.2   Rwanda Teacher Development and Management Policy (TDM):

Teacher development and management policy in Rwanda emphasizes that the quality and utility value of education depends on the quality and competence of teaching staff. The status of teachers has therefore become the focus of the government agenda which state that the strategy was to provide teachers trained in participatory, learner centred and gender sensitive methods for the needs of learners at the various levels. The Teacher Development and Management Policy will address the issues that would promote a steady supply of teachers to all schools in the country.

The Teachers Development and Management Policy also emphasizes the importance of teachers capable to be utilized towards achieving the following objectives:

1. Access to education for all

2. Quality education at all levels

3. Equity in education at all levels.

4. Effective and efficient education system.

5. Science and technology and ICT in education

6. Curriculum to include Culture, Peace Unity and Reconciliation (MINEDUC, 2007).

The ever-increasing enrolment at all levels of education, coupled with the above target objectives pose a great challenge to the teacher demand and supply situation. In order to achieve the above general objective, the Ministry of Education overhauled and re-aligned the nature of teacher training, development and management pattern so as to aim at:

a) Designing and implementing a quality system of teacher production, selection, evaluation, upgrading and management with well-defined responsibilities of the players in the system.

b) Upgrading the tutors' capacities in the Teacher Training Colleges to meet the challenges of the expanding primary and secondary schools enrolment.

c) Defining the roles and upgrading teacher management capacities in the central and decentralized levels.

d) Establishing and strengthening the capacity of Teachers Service Commission to contribute more to the institutionalization of the teaching profession and upgrading of the teachers image and status.

e) De-linking the National Teacher Qualification Examination from the Secondary School Leaving Examination and making it a basic education classroom teacher competency.

f) Enhancing the image and status of the teacher as a qualified, dedicated expert, and a vital engine of nation building and development.

g) Establishing a suitable database for teacher management and registration system that will enhance the management and development of teachers by focusing on strategies that alleviate their problems.

5.4.3 Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy/EDPRS2

Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy/EDPRS2 pointed out that a knowledge based-economy adopted by the Rwandan government requires highly knowledgeable and skilled workforce. Such a workforce can only be produced by a quality education system run by well qualified, motivated and competent professional teachers. It is highlighted by EDPRS 2 that the key challenge for the education sector during EDPRS2 lies in consolidating, advancing and accelerating the quality improvement measures already made. A higher caliber of new teacher recruits together with teachers who are better trained, better equipped and resourced, better supported and managed, are strategies which will address the challenge of quality improvements.

5.4.4 Education Sector Support (ESSP) 2013/14- 2017/18

The Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010–2015 aims at improving education, particularly skills development to meet labor market demand, by increasing the coverage and quality of nine-year basic education and strengthening post-basic education. The ESSP 2013/14-17/18 highlighted that teachers and trainers are the backbone of the education system, and the number, quality and motivation of these professionals has a strong influence on the overall quality of the system and the learning outcomes of students. It is envisaging further preparation and recruitment of highly skilled teachers in order to meet targeted reductions in the pupil-teacher ratio for both primary and secondary level.

The introduction of the innovative school-based mentoring program, whereby English teachers are mentoring those with lower skills in English and teaching methodology (MINEDUC, 2007). This underpins one of the sector's approaches to improving the skills of teachers. It focuses on improving both English language proficiency and teaching methodology. This combined with other targeted in-service training and professional development, and a strengthened pre-service system will help produce and build a skilled and well qualified teaching force.

The implementation of a continuous professional development system, combined with the use of a more effective teacher development and management information system, was among

strategies taken to motivate the teaching workforce and will support more efficient teacher recruitment, deployment, promotion and in-service training mechanisms. However, the current TDM policy (2007) document, did not take account of many significant broader policy initiatives (for example the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy) that have been introduced or updated since 2007. It is also dated in terms of the structures that existed in 2007, for example in teacher education, that have been changed subsequently. The TDM System Document (2011) is a management handbook for the education service, and needs to be aligned to the updated policy to reflect recent developments in the education sector.

5.6 CURRENT EDUCATION PRIORITIES IN RWANDA IN RELATION TO TDM

National policy on teacher development and management stipulates that teachers need to be committed to their own professional learning, seeking to deepen their knowledge, expand their teaching skills and adapt their teaching in order to meet the educational needs of their students (MINEDUC, 2012). Respondents from the interviews believe that the duty of an educator is to equip himself or herself with knowledge and skills to allow for further development. In that process of progressing to a brighter future brings values of peace.

Moreover, there are a growing number of government initiatives that are investing in equipping young people with knowledge and skills to collaboratively resolve and transform conflicts; transcend prejudices, suspicions and divisions; celebrate differences; challenge old mentalities and work for a united and reconciled Rwandan society (REAP, 2015). These include for example NIC, NURC and Irorero just to name a few.

Further still, a respondent from the ITE reflected on the deontology of teachers, demonstrating that the deontology of a teacher can help him or her to take care of a child from primary in all aspect including peace building. "…So if a teacher completes his/her training at the college without showing these attitudes, you are not really supposed to send him back to the field… because if we teach him about management of different behaviours in class, it tends to be peaceful… We help them form clubs and give them workshop together. You can't see peace as a value in the curriculum but holistically in practice" (Head teacher from ITE3, Eastern province).

During interview, on respondent pointed out that "when we talk about teacher education, the biggest problem that I see or what people understand education to be is all about examination and results forgetting the most important element which is the bedrock of everything – attitude, values and what you do with the knowledge that you acquire. The transition from the knowledge acquisition to the use of the knowledge acquired in the transformation is not only for your everyday life but those near you as well" (Principal of the College of Education, 2016).

Most importantly, the success of any country's education system is dependent to a great extent on the mutual trust and collaboration existing between all partners in education (Ehren and Honingh, 2012). To this end, teachers and parents are partners in the education of children hence teachers have to work well with parents and report to them on the way they dispense their duties.

One of the focus of ITE three year program consists of organizing education outreach activities, with a mobile exhibition using a storytelling methodology from people of all ages who tell of how the genocide affected them as well as stories of reconciliation since 1994. It also involves training teachers in how to deliver peace education, school workshops, youth activities, community and school debates, dialogue clubs and arts and drama workshops. In the framework of community outreach activities, the program also engages district leaders and decision makers in the community.

Among many achievements of the Rwanda Peace Education Programme (RPEP) on peace education process in Rwanda, the program has made significant direct influence on the process of designing and developing the new school curriculum. According to an official from REB, the new education curriculum aims at integrating peace education content as a cross-cutting course into all other subjects in pre-primary, primary and secondary school. The recent competence-based curriculum introduced in the Rwandan school system suggests a number of cross-cutting subjects which include peace and values education (REB, 2015).

In the curriculum, Peace and values education (PVE) is defined as education that promotes social cohesion, positive values including pluralism and personal responsibility, empathy, critical thinking and action in order to build a more peaceful society. It is understood as the process of

acquiring values and knowledge and developing attitudes, skills and behaviour to live in harmony with oneself, with others and with the natural environment. Equitably supplying schools with quality teachers is directly linked to two issues: attracting effective candidate teachers and retaining the actually existing teaching force. In Rwanda, these issues are more aggravated in rural areas as it will be discussed in details below

In spite of all these endeavours, however, equity and trust may be hampered by low status of school teachers. The study conducted by VSO (2008) suggests that the occupational status of primary school teachers is lower than secondary school teachers mainly because they are paid very little and are relatively poorly trained. This is supported by Bennel and Ntagaramba (2008) who indicated that in Rwanda , the least well qualified and inexperienced teachers tend to be assigned lower primary school classes, when quality teaching in the lower primary schooling phase is crucial for establishing a sound foundation for learning. They suggest that increasing the status and attractiveness of lower primary teaching should, therefore, be a top priority for the Ministry of Education.

In supporting this, data from the interviews also revealed that there is a significance difference between teachers of primary and secondary schools with regards to promotion and salaries. Teachers of secondary schools have all opportunities to access to a promotion as long as they have their degree. A noticeable example given by respondents is the promotion of teachers and head teacher to political appointments. In contrast, there are no promotions for the primary school teachers. This was echoed by most teachers interviewed who reported that if one wants to be promoted he or she has to study first to get a degree from university while at the same time working.

Another issue cited by respondents was the problem of disrespect to the teaching profession where teachers lamented the treatment they receive both from the community and even their students or pupils thus rendering the profession unattractive. This feeling is shared by Bennel and Ntagaramba (2008) who categorically intimated that teaching is not regarded as an attractive career option in Rwanda, especially among young people, which has, in turn, fuelled concerns that possibly the profession is not getting the right people into teaching. The poor pay and status

of teachers in Africa, both in absolute terms and in relation to other equivalent groups in the public and private sectors, fuel high levels of teacher attrition. This has certainly been the case among secondary school teachers in Rwanda during the last ten years; as it has been observed that secondary teaching is a waiting room for better job opportunities.

Surprisingly, Bennel and Ntagaramba (2008) point out that, in spite of poor pay and working conditions, this commitment appears to be surprisingly high among the teaching profession in Rwanda.

Further, Sergiovanni (2009) asserts that effective schools endeavor to create professional environments, that facilitate teachers to accomplish their tasks, participate in decisions affecting their work, have reasonable autonomy to execute their duties, share purpose, receive recognition, are treated with respect and dignity by others, work together as colleagues, and are provided with ample staff- development opportunities so as to help them develop further. This will result in teacher's creativity, persistence, and commitment to work.

Other forms of motivation exist such as monetary offers (e.g. salary, allowances, and fringe benefits) as well as non-monetary offers such as training opportunities, materials and more responsibilities according to ability. In Rwanda, most teachers are very dissatisfied about their pay. The total net basic income of the A2 primary school teacher is around RwF43 ,000 (US$63) per month, which is far below a living wage let alone the standard of living expected for a professional level civil servant.

The study conducted by Bennel and Ntagaramba (2008) revealed that in Rwanda, the net income of a diploma holder (A 2) working as a teacher is almost three times less than that of other diploma holder working as a civil servant, with the gross monthly pay of an A2 medical 'technician' employed at government hospitals being RwF138,596, for example. The study concludes that labourers in Rwanda earn RwF3, 000 per day, which is two-three times higher than the pay of a primary school teacher. This is consistent with Hernani-Limarino's (2005) findings that comparable to other professions, the base salary of a teacher is less than a living wage and many teachers take second jobs to support themselves. Teachers' poor living

conditions and their lifestyle due to poor salary provided by the government create more de-motivation in their daily performance. In addition, teachers that have a low status accorded to them by the system and community are not recognized for their work. This may be due in part to the fact that their impact is not realized immediately like other professions.

Apart from low monetary incentives, teaching loads are also very high; teachers are in class from 07:30 to 16:30 every day with usually only a one and half hour break at lunch time. Double shifting, which is the norm in the lower primary grades (P1-P3), with teachers having to teach two separate classes each day, is particularly onerous. The least qualified and experienced teachers tend to be allocated to the lower primary classes, which are the most important in terms of overall educational development and have the largest classes and double shifting. P1-3 classes are typically 50% larger than P3-6 classes. Given that parents are free to decide which school they send their children, more successful schools attract more learners, which places even more demands on teachers who are responsible for very large classes.

The workload norm in government and subsidised secondary schools is 24 teaching hours per week out of a 40-period school week. This norm is widely adhered to, but teachers in most secondary school teachers are in class for only four days a week. The non-teaching day is assigned for pedagogy and preparation, but teachers are not usually required to attend school on this day and are, therefore, effectively free to do what they want.

The main threats to teacher motivation are the proposed rapid expansion of the teaching force which could crowd out resources for improving the working and living conditions of the teachers who are currently employed, especially primary school teachers. This expansion could lead to lower real incomes and larger classes and workloads and thus further deterioration in learning outcomes as has commonly happened in many other countries in Africa during the last decade. Other additional demands on teachers could also lower motivation. These include major innovations namely new curricula, pedagogy, extra-curricular responsibilities and the introduction of English as the sole medium of instruction, the extension of double shifting for teachers in the upper primary and the introduction of subject teaching in both the upper and lower primary school phases, which will profoundly change the nature of teaching. These changes

would affect the overall workload of teachers needs to be made clear. Double shifting is unpopular among teachers because it usually leads to increased teaching loads.

5.6.1   Girinka Program

As part of efforts to reconstruct Rwanda and nurture a shared national identity, the Government of Rwanda drew on aspects of Rwandan culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programs to the country's needs and context. The result is a set of Home Grown Solutions – culturally owned practices translated into sustainable development programs. One of these Home Grown Solutions is the Girinka program which targets the distribution of cows to poor households by 2017. According to UNICEF (2011:3), the system includes parameters that require recipients to pass on the offspring of their initial cow onto others, creating a multiplier effect to maximize and passes on the benefits of the initial investment.

The incentives have been useful particularly to rural teachers who have received cows; for Rwandans, cows are useful, both economically and culturally

5.6.2   Umwalimu SACCO

In a bid to look at some ways to solve teachers' de-motivation, the government established the Mwalimu Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation (SACCO) in 2007 and provided RwF 1.2 billion for the acquisition of fixed assets and to fund other start-up costs. The aim of SACCO is to provide teachers with subsidised credit which is to be used primarily for income-generating activities. Currently, 82% of teachers are members. Minimum monthly contributions are 5% of their salary, i.e. around RwF2, 000 per month for a primary school teacher. Total collections are currently RwF68 million per month. Each member is allowed to borrow up to five times their savings. Since it received its operating licence in early 2008, SACCO has made loans to 1,400 teachers averaging RwF 300,000 per loan.

The establishment of the SACCO was the initiative from the President of the Republic of Rwanda. Both the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education were charged with the responsibility of having the idea implemented. The main concern was the economic position of teachers that

would not cater for their basic needs, the budget constraint and the wage bill limit as normally advocated by international financing institutions. Lack of sufficient financial incentives calls for a combination of benefits and inducements as supplements to low wages.

UMWALIMU SACCO was accepted by the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism as a cooperative on 21st June 2006 and given license to operate by the Central Bank (BNR) on 22nd February 2008. Services offered include but not limited to:

   i.   Mobilization of Savings from members

  ii.   Provision of credit to members

 iii.   Offering basic front office banking services

  iv.   Provide safe custody for the members' savings

   v.   Offering business training and play advisory role to members

  vi.   Perform any other activities deemed necessary and in line with interests of the cooperative members

Subsidized housing loan: In the absence of large pay increase, the provision of long-term, subsidised housing loans is likely to be the single most effective measure to improve the livelihoods of teachers, and especially primary school teachers. It is recommended, therefore, that the feasibility of establishing a housing loan scheme for teachers, possibly based on some kind of revolving fund with subsidized interest rates, should be carefully examined. . The government has also injected a lot of money in Teachers Union to make sure that teachers get loans and some of them have done very well.

5.7 TEACHER GOVERNANCE, DEPLOYMENT AND EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION POLICY IN RWANDA: AN ATTEMPT FOR FAIR TEACHER DISTRIBUTION IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS

As pointed out by Halan and Durrani (2016), the recruitment and deployment of teachers is not simply a matter of teacher quality; it is also a concern of social justice in education provision, particularly equitable distribution of teachers. Despite a surge in primary school enrolment as a result of the introduction of number of initiatives, Rwanda has not increased its teacher stock since 1999 (MINEDUC, 2015). During interview an official from REB pointed out: "The country had to suspend the recruitment of new qualified teachers due to what the Ministry of Education called budgetary constraints". The tendency was to recruit less qualified teachers, although their recruitment could compromise the quality of education in general and the education of peace in particular, as expressed by the same interviewee in the following way:"… First of all it has a quality issue… Poor recruitment means poor performance. When you recruit a poor qualified teacher, that's in contradiction against the issue of quality and also the issue of peace… …And when we recruit people who are less qualified at the expense of those who are qualified, we are creating a group of unemployed professionals…"(An official from REB, 2016).

A report from VSO (2008) reveals that twenty years after the genocide, the teacher shortage remains severe in Rwanda. The supply of newly qualified teachers is a bit limited at secondary school level, but slightly more satisfactory at primary level, even though classes remain relatively big. The two figures below illustrate the magnitude of the problem both in primary and secondary schools in Rwanda:

Table 14: Primary school 2010-2015

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Number of qualified teachers	35807	39665	38603	38233	39370
% of qualified teachers	98.5	98.4	95.6	95.2	95.6
Qualified teacher ratio	64:1	59:1	62:1	63:1	61:1

Source: MINEDUC, 2015

The figures above indicate that the number of teachers in primary increased from 35807 in 2010 to 39370 in 2014. The Primary pupil qualified teacher ratio improved from 64:1 in 2010 to 61:1 in 2014; although it continues to improve, the figure reveals that the 2014/2015 ESSP target of 55:1 was not attained in 2014, and more effort is required to meet the 2017/2018 ESSP target of 48:1.

Table 15: Secondary school 2010 to 2015

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Number of qualified teachers	8681	13206	15748	17698	18593
% of qualified teachers	60	64.4	67.5	69.3	68.6
Qualified teacher ratio	49:1	37:1	34:1	32:1	30:1

Source: MINEDUC, 2015

The number of teachers in secondary remarkably increased from 8681 in 2010 to 18593 in 2014. However, only 68.6% of secondary teachers were qualified in 2014. The remaining percentage of secondary teachers are either unqualified or they only have content and lack pedagogical preparation. Unfortunately, no information could be obtained on the number and qualifications of teachers operating in private schools.

Within this perspective, Government of Rwanda has invested heavily in improving access to and quality of primary education and secondary education and feels that there is a sharply increased demand for high-quality teachers. However, severe budget constraints put pressure on the governments to seek effective and efficient approaches to recruiting and deploying qualified primary and secondary school teachers.

The supply and demand balance relies on five indicators that measure effective recruitment into teaching: (1) admission rate, (2) enrolment rate, (3) completion rate, (4) transition rate, and (5) retention rate of newly qualified teachers (Zafeirakou, 2007). Further, Bennell and Ntagaramba(2008) explain that in Rwanda, the official staffing norm for teachers at secondary schools is based on the following formula: number of classes multiplying the number of timetabled periods per week/teacher workload norm (periods/week). This formula is taken into consideration during the teacher recruitment process.

Furthermore, for the continuing success of Rwandan education, all recruitment and deployment activities are carried out in a fair, effective, consistent and professional manner to ensure especially the fair representation of teachers in Rwanda (Gov, 2013). In other words, the operation of the procedure provides a fair, systematic and effective process for recruitment and selection which:

- Ensures the appointment of the best candidate for the post on the basis of objective criteria which include qualifications, competencies, skills, knowledge and experience
- Enables the filling of vacancies within agreed timescales in a cost- effective manner
- Eliminates discrimination
- Recognizes internal redeployment requirements.

Taking all this into consideration, the selection panel will be required to exercise the highest degree of professionalism, fairness and transparency as stipulated in the public officer ethics Acts (Government of Rwanda, 2013).

This is emphasized because the literature reports that in some cases, schools recruit candidates who do not meet the qualifications, so long as they have a degree certificate, despite having no relevant teaching subjects on their transcripts (Kipsoi and Sang, 2008). Therefore, Governments all over the world and employers should strive for equity in teacher recruitment ensuring that rural, and other hard to reach areas are staffed with qualified teachers (UNESCO, 2006).

In Rwanda, recruitment of teachers in public schools is based on a decentralized and supply-based policy. With decentralization, each of the 30 districts is now responsible for the recruitment and deployment of teachers. The Teacher Development and Management Department (TDM) of REB provides guidelines for teacher employment, including district recruitment quotas. However, there has been keen interest in the decentralization of human resource management function to District level, although recruitment process is reported to be more effective and meaningful when the schools are involved (OECD, 2005; Zafeirakou, 2007). Districts have sufficient autonomy to make the final decision to fit the involved schools using guidelines, which are agreed upon by all parties involved in the exercise.

The role of the central education office in this context is to set the general overarching standards for teachers' recruitment. Teachers typically apply for vacant positions at District level and the Ministry of Education, through REB is merely informed once recruitment decisions have been made (MINEDUC, 2010). This was supported by an official from REB who pointed out that teachers are recruited by Districts but added that sometimes REB participates in the recruitment when a district invites them for any assistance when necessary. Data from the interviews indicate that only qualified teachers are considered entitled and as the number of qualified teachers is higher than available places, the best candidates are chosen by giving them a test.

Although recruitment is done at district level, a number of ministries are directly or indirectly concerned with recruitment. A senior official at REB explained that the ministry of local government is obviously involved since Districts are located in this Ministry, the Ministry of

Education which is the parent of the Rwanda Education Board that determined the budget on which the number of teachers to be recruited is based on. The process of teacher recruitment also involves the Ministry of Labour which is concerned with the personnel of public, and the Ministry of Finance which is the key determining ministry in as far as finances are concerned. The official went on to clarify the actualization of the recruitment process, thus "with the partnership that exists between MINEDUC and MINALOC, recruitment of teachers in public schools is done by the Rwanda Association of Local Government Authorities (RALGA); an umbrella organization that brings together all the 30districts. However, all this is done following guidelines issued by REB" (REB Official, 2016).

It was also revealed that, many times, REB imposes on districts certain quotas that they cannot go beyond, considering the budget that is affordable. The budget is drawn at MINEDUC level, but approved by the cabinet based on the ceilings that must not be exceeded. Since the teachers' salary is entirely paid by central government, the budget approved at the government level is the one that is distributed to the district level, meaning that the new teachers are placed based on the available budget. From the data gathered on teachers' governance, teachers are unevenly distributed and thus school administrators have difficulties finding qualified teachers who are appropriate for rural school and who will stay on the job due to strict measures in the recruitment process, such as imposition of the ceiling that districts should not go beyond. This situation impacts negatively on the quality of education provided particularly with rural schools compared to their counterparts in urban locations.

5.8 GENDER AND TEACHER DEPLOYMENT ANALYSIS IN RWANDA: A PEDAGOGICAL AND SOCIAL COHESION CONCERN

With regards to gender balance, the 2003 constitution stipulated that women should constitute 30% of all leadership positions in the country and the 2013 National Electoral Commission (NEC) attests that 64% of Rwanda's Members of Parliament within the lower house are women, the highest percentage in the world. However, in teaching, as illustrated by the table below, during the period from 2011 to 2015 both at pre-primary level, female teachers outnumbered male

teachers, but the number of male teachers increases and the number of women teachers decreases at secondary level.

In 2015, at secondary level only 29.9% of teachers were females as compared to 70 .1% of male teachers. The low representation of female teachers at secondary level may be attributed to the low number of women at higher levels of education, which would give them the qualifications to reach higher positions in employment (MINEDUC, 2015. Strong affirmative action would be required to increase girls' and women's participation and completion of post-secondary education to increase the pool of potential applicants to the teaching profession. For example, this could include introducing gender sensitive pedagogies and teaching methods grounded in the socio-cultural context (Horner at al 2015). As Sayed and Novelli (2016) argue, the tensions between redistribution and recognition with respect to teacher governance demand multi-pronged and contextualized policy interventions. The presence of women teachers can allay parents' concerns over safety and help increase demand for girls' schooling.

Table 16: Teachers and administrative staff in pre- primary, primary and secondary education: 2011-2015.

	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Pre primary	80.0	20	80.2	19.8	81.3	18.7	80.3	19.7	79.6	20.4
Primary	51.6	48.4	52.8	47.2	53.1	46.9	53.3	46.7	53.5	46.5
Secondary	27.8	72.2	27.4	72.6	28.5	71.5	29.2	70.8	29.9	70.1

Source: MINEDUC (2015); EMIS (2016)

Asaba (2016) contends that, "Rwanda has made great progress in promoting gender equality, largely driven by strong Government commitment. Rwanda was second in the world according to the *2009 Social Watch Gender Equity Index,* with only Sweden having a higher score. Gender equality is enshrined in the constitution of Rwanda and Rwanda was the first country in the world to have more than 50% of female members of Parliament" (p.40) . However, According to NIS

(2011) "women are generally underrepresented in other government institutions schools inclusive and traditional patriarchal attitudes continue to prevail (NISR et al 2011).

These findings concur with finding in this study on engaging teachers in peace building in post conflict countries that almost 8 out of every 10 primary school teachers are female. But as you go up in the ranks of school leadership the females are far less. In fact, according to the data at the Rwanda Education Board (REB), there are about 3 female head teachers for every ten schools, positions such as director of studies, discipline masters, among others are dominated by males. Otherwise solving National social problems can be difficult in a situation whereby out of 5,386 primary teachers in Rwanda, 79.5 per cent are female (Solomon 2016, Ministry of Education Statistical Year Book 2015).

This has an impact on the general performance of the education sector in terms of empowering women and girls' education.   Gender gap remains high in public sector higher education, particularly in science and engineering, but women are taking advantage of the opportunities to study in private higher education institutions (NISR et al, 2011).

An official from REB, argued that, "in order to accelerate progress to achieve MDG targets, school programs must focus on women's economic empowerment and provide support for non-farm jobs such as teacher training engendering vocational, technical, and higher education; and fighting against gender-based negative cultural attitudes toward women employment. In order to ensure sustainability, men should be involved in all processes, making men responsible actors in reaching a gender-equal society in Rwanda. Involving men in training and skill building for gender equality will help improve understanding the universal benefits of the empowerment of women. Girls are equally as likely to attend school as boys and there is a Girls Education Policy and Implementation Plan in place."

One of the language teachers in school B Northern Province stated that, although leadership positions are available for both male and female, most times women show no interest in taking lead roles. "It is across the board including the lowest levels of leadership in schools. Take an example of the student's body; most of the prefects are boys. Although we try to encourage girls, lack of interest and absence of the minimum qualities stops them from contesting,". As for this

teacher, boys taking up most leadership posts, girls equally exhibit strong dominance in academic performance, which should have been a firm ground for them to contest for leadership posts too. Every term, when you look at the results, there is stiff competition between boys and girls. Most times girls lead and from that, I believe many would beat male students in leadership."

A teacher from school A western province pointed out that, "even when women have an opportunity to win certain positions most of the available slots only allow them to deputize the males something that creates a negative impression for women leaders". She goes on to argue that, "This is a problem in administration and also in student leadership. In the administrative positions, the man will be the dean of studies while the woman will be the deputy dean. Even when female students are given leadership posts, most of them act as assistants. The head girl in a school is always referred to as the assistant head prefect."

She further explained that "sometimes these women shun leadership positions in schools because of community perceptions derived from culture and religious beliefs. In some religions, it is categorically stipulated that women should not speak when men are speaking. It is not so different from the traditional views that would allow boys enjoy all the freedom and go to school while girls remained home doing chores." However, she suggested that "routine sensitization among all education stakeholders is needed to push for an increase in female leadership: "Sensitization campaigns should be part of workshops and it is here that more women should be encouraged to pick interest in working towards bigger posts. Appointing committees should as well ensure that there is some sort of balance. Much as there are many encumbrances towards gender parity in various sectors, stakeholders believe that both women and men are equally fitting to occupy leadership positions in school".

A head teacher from school argued that; "I think female teachers are more concerned about their family obligations than taking up demanding roles in schools. Being a head teacher or an administrator means you need to be dedicated for good service delivery. Surprisingly when it comes to early childhood education, you will realize that women have taken over all the roles since it corresponds to their nature of nurturing".

Most respondents during the interviews agree that leadership roles are still dominated by males. However, some suggest that because leadership positions require a certain degree of good academic performance, more incentives should be provided to improve female performance and completion of schools; "The most direct way is to promote girls' education and the good thing is that the number of females compared to boys is increasing as a result of several government interventions such as EFA and gender policy."

A science teacher pointed out that, "for long such cultural stereotypes have obstructed women from contesting for bigger leadership posts and probably it is the reason behind the few numbers of female administrators in schools. Traditionally, males were supposed to take the lead role in families. Such perceptions evolved to favour male dominance in certain positions and at different levels of education. Therefore, more should be provided to encourage girls to train for higher leadership posts. One of the discipline masters in school G argued that the ministry of education should establish special deployment policies to encourage gender balance at all levels in school administration. Otherwise gender disparities have deleterious effects and should be discouraged at all levels of learning environment. Right from primary level, secondary school and tertiary levels, male or female have a right to access equal opportunities to administration status.

According to the Education Sector Policy (2013-18), inequalities that exist between girls and boys become more pronounced, as the level of education gets higher. This tendency is reinforced in education management and administrative positions where there are more men than women involved in different decision making roles. This simply reflects that lack of opportunity women have to reach higher levels of education required to qualify for higher positions in employment (ESSP2013-18).

5.9 RURAL-URBAN TEACHER DISTRIBUTION IN RWANDA SCHOOLS: A PEDAGOGICAL AND SOCIAL COHESION DIVIDE

A rural school in this study, benchmarked United Nation concept of a rural area whereby, it is defined as "a space of low density, characterized by a lack of urbanization, lacking ease of access

to medical care and regional facilities (United Nations 2013). As a result of this sparse settlement, high transaction cost, and distance from populated centers, rural people inherently have a certain narrowness of choice in almost all facets of life, such as access to healthcare, employment and schooling (Monk 2007). It is worthwhile to note that rural areas are also often associated with agricultural activities and poverty (United Nations 2013)." Majority of Rwandan rural schools visited, majority of teachers are reluctant to work in rural schools (United Nations 2013).

5.9.1 Challenges of rural areas: Long distance from and to school.

Social cohesion quite often goes hand in hand with social amenities. Both learners and teachers in Rwandan society cannot comprehend social cohesion without fulfilling their needs. There is evidence that most of rural schools visited; the social amenities are quite insufficient. There is serious shortage of water that contributes to the late coming back from lunch where learners look for water to drink, some learners walk long distances to schools in the morning causing lack of concentration in class. Even a good number of teachers arrive late due to long distances from their homes on foot without proper means of transport.

5.9.2 Challenges of rural areas: Low teacher motivation and incentives.

There is evidence from the data that most of teachers would not want to go to rural schools where they are going to meet challenges in terms of the other personal considerations. For instance, rural teachers tend to have higher teaching loads but lower pay because there is no parental motivation for primes/contributions, no additional teachers are paid for by the PTA, and opportunities to earn secondary income are considerably less. They also often have to travel quite long distances to school even when they are from that district.

Although teachers represent a significant portion of the nation's workforce, they are not a homogeneous group. With respect to challenges faced by teachers in Rwanda, individuals in urban settings may believe their challenges are fundamentally different from those of teachers in rural schools. Rural teachers are often subject to social and professional isolation, risks to personal safety, and challenging living conditions. If rural schools are to recruit personnel at least

as qualified and able as those of urban areas, researchers conclude that monetary or non-monetary incentives are required.

According to one of the senior officer during the interview, there is an uneven deployment of teachers in Rwanda between rural and urban schools; rural schools are both difficult to staff and difficult to keep staff (also stated by Bennell and Ntagaramba, 2008). This is due to the unattractive working conditions at rural schools. In urban schools, parents are fairly financially capable and knowledgeable in as far as the significance of their children's education is concerned. Accordingly, they are likely to make substantial contributions towards the teachers' welfare proportionately to the parental contribution. In contrast, parental contributions in rural schools are negligible on school budgets. This is a common problem in Rwandan rural schools since teaching in Rwanda is a low-paying profession, particularly when compared to the education required to be an accredited teacher (Bennell and Ntagaramba 2008).

This situation undermines the effort of social cohesion among teachers who, moreover, have the same qualification and experience. The result is a situation where teachers in rural schools feel rejected and resort to other means to make ends meet or even resent the profession all together. And yet, unlike urban schools, in rural schools there is little opportunity for supplemental or part time employment, this often leads to high teacher attrition and absenteeism (as teachers abandon their position for better pay).

According to Bennell and Ntagaramba (2008), 40% of teachers interviewed agreed with the statement "teacher absenteeism is a problem in rural schools.

Figure 3: Percentage of respondents on means of getting to school in the morning
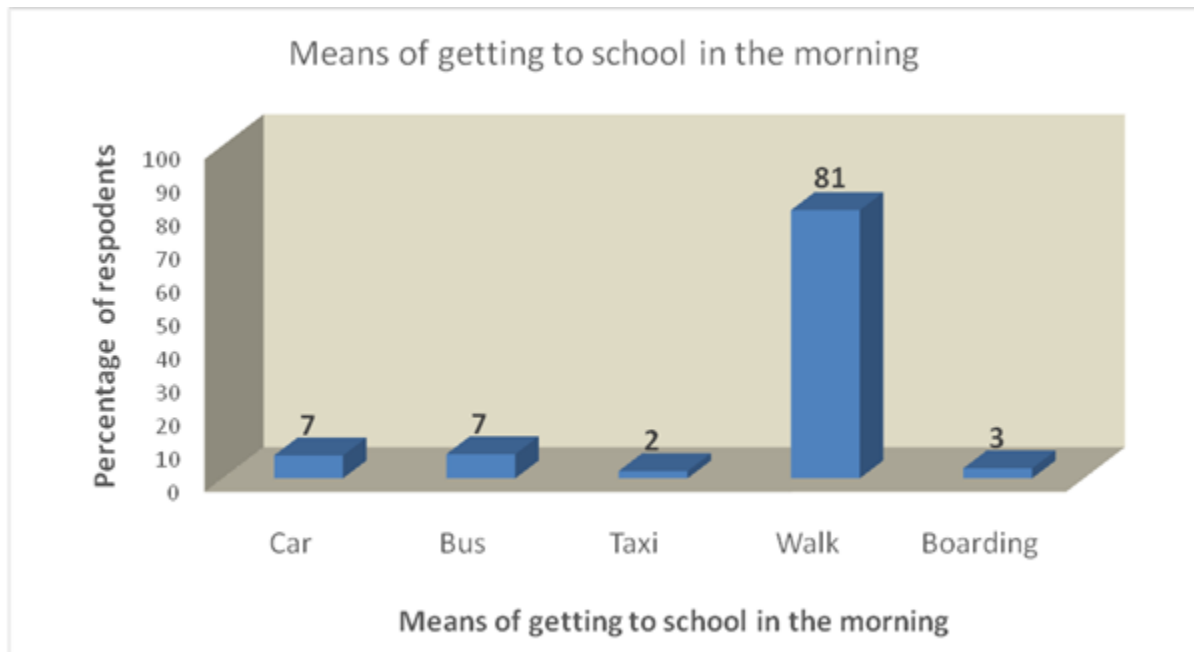
The same long distances to schools are also walked by teachers. Findings from the study conducted by Monaco (2016) reveal that in Rwanda, rural life is hard in a variety of ways, ranging from poor pay to socio-cultural isolation, and for this reason highly qualified teachers are unlikely to want to work in rural regions. As a result, rural regions, which are generally the worst-performing regions scholastically, have the lowest quality teachers.

One of the main issues affecting rural education in Rwanda, VSO report (2002) argues, is difficulties in attracting and retaining skilled teachers. A particularly qualified teacher is unlikely to want to work in a rural village for a whole host of reasons: low pay, poor access to healthcare, socio-cultural isolation, lack of leisure activities, and large class sizes, among many other complaints. Consequently the most skilled teachers work in the capital, Kigali, the wealthiest area of the country. In this way, the wealthiest become even better educated, further improving their income, health, quality of life compared to their rural peers. Meanwhile the rural learners receive the lowest quality teachers.

According to one of the senior officers during the interview, there is an uneven deployment of teachers in Rwanda between rural and urban schools; rural schools are both difficult to staff and difficult to keep staff (Bennell and Ntagaramba2008). This is due to the unattractive working conditions at rural schools. Rural teachers tend to have a higher workload with a lower average pay (Paxton and Mutesi 2012).

In urban schools where parents are financially capable, parental contributions increase and teachers are likely to be topped up proportionally to the parental contribution. In contrast, parental contributions in rural schools are negligible on school budgets.

Ingersoll (2001) describes teacher turnover as people transferring from one school to another, migrating to a different school district or state, moving from teaching into an administrative job, or leaving teaching entirely. The situation is more alarming with rural schools as majority of teachers are not even ready for posting to rural school due to divergent reasons. Explaining the discrepancy, Akyeampong and Stephens (2002); Hedges (2002); Brodie Lelliott and Davis (2002), argue that teachers are more likely to be unhappy with posting in deprived communities or rural areas hence some may decline the offer. In the same view with Hedges (2002) and Gaynor (1998), majority of young teachers in Rwanda echoed fears of rural posting and hence preferring urban schools. For example, single female teachers believe that they have better marriage chances in urban areas while married female teachers are reluctant to accept a rural posting since quite often it involves living away from their families.

This study to the greatest extent concurred with OECD report (2010) which concluded that, in Rwanda, as elsewhere, there is a gap in scholastic achievement between rural and urban populations. This issue is significant as level of education is a strong predictor of income, health, and general quality of life on the larger scale, inadequate access to quality education in rural regions can seriously hamper a rural area's growth, resulting in regionalization in a country's development. This effect, where certain areas of a country remain underdeveloped relative to the rest of the nation, stratifies society. This stratification is further encouraged through a series of self-perpetuating systems: the lack of quality education in rural areas results is one of these systems (OECD, 2010).

Going by the government of Rwanda policies in place, the government of Rwanda recognizes that the education sector and its teaching staff will play a key role in building a highly competent and world class human resource base. However, the distribution of teachers across the country with respect to key characteristics (qualification, experience and gender) remains uneven, particularly at the secondary level. Although during interviews a number of factors were highlighted as being the cause to this imbalance, the problem is largely attributed to the unattractive working and living conditions in rural schools.

The findings concur with Symeonidis (2015) study in which he states that teacher shortage in schools is a failure by the authorities to improve the social and economic status of teachers, their living and working conditions, their terms of employment and their career prospects. He therefore goes on to propose that the best means of overcoming this shortage solely lies in devising the best means and ways of overcoming any existing shortage of competent and experienced teachers, and of attracting and retaining in the teaching profession substantial numbers of fully qualified persons.

Burns and Darling-Hammond (2014) also argue that key determinants of attraction to teaching are salary and occupational reputation, while working conditions and professional development opportunities help to retain teachers in the profession. In the context of peace building and social cohesion, a teacher respondent reasoned that the fact that teachers are paid 'peanuts', there will always be laxity in teachers' commitment hence performance. "...a teacher is required to perform a lot of functions including politics yet he is not facilitated like politicians. How do you expect me to be committed just in the same way like a person driving when I can't even afford a bicycle? It's high time the government realized that an empty sac does not stand" (Teacher at School A, 2016).

School facilities are very crucial for the effectiveness of teaching and learning activities. So, through the guidance of Rwanda Education Board, local communities, administration of districts and sector, military personnel, NGOs, International organizations such as DFID, UNECEF, UNESCO, and British Council do a great job through the program known as school construction in improving school facilities. They contribute mainly in the construction schools and in equipping

them. However, the approved special girls' hygiene room at every school in most of the schools visited are available but poorly equipped; no beddings, no towels, no monthly period utensils, only few pain killers are available. So in rural schools, both teachers and learners feel somehow not equally treated with their urban school counterparts since comparatively their counterparts in urban areas to a certain level have sufficient social amenities.

Figure 4: The Picture below shows one of the Urban Schools in Rwanda

Figure 5: The Picture below shows one of the Rural Schools in Rwanda

When Teachers were asked why they prefer urban schools; what problems they might face in rural areas and what incentives they would require to teach in rural areas, a number of reasons were given including but not limited to: working in rural schools, we lose other job opportunities, some rural areas are not hygienically safe, disease, lack of decent, accommodation, lack of classroom facilities, poor school resources lack of leisure opportunities and insufficient medical facilities.

Majority of rural schools in Rwanda, through a government program called school construction a number of constructions were carried out for classrooms, computer laboratory toilets, special hygienic facilities for female learners, foot play grounds, and volleyball courts and some photocopier for hand-outs instead of writing notes on the board were contributed. Facilities like playgrounds help learners not to be stressed up rather relax and refresh their mind and to support teaching-learning activities. However, a head teacher from school H; eastern province stated that:

"There are number of good facilities the ministry of education has provided to schools ever since EFA started, but there are still very many rural schools that need special attention in terms of
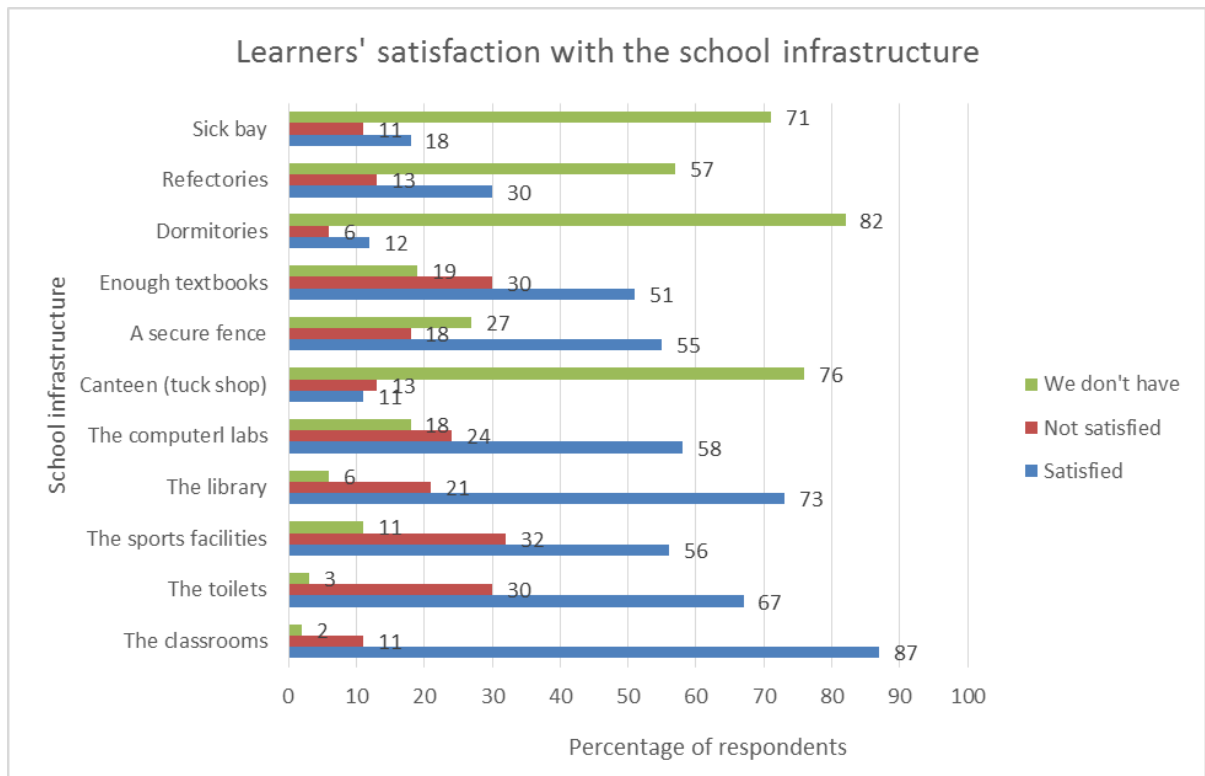
facilities and general infrastructure for example, for rural schools computer laboratories are just small rooms with very few redundant computers"Another head teacher from school B western province went on to argue that:

> "Poor facilities or lack of them interfere with teaching-learning activities. For example in my classroom when it rains we stop all activities because learners have to look for a better shelter. It is not easy to hang/display some teaching aids. The classroom has holes on the ceiling and this situation makes our learners feel not well treated like other learners from better schools. It is even difficult to talk to them about social cohesion and peace values when they are not peaceful in their school environment. According to one of the senior education officer, there is an uneven deployment of teachers in Rwanda between rural and urban schools. Rural schools are both difficult to staff and difficult to keep staff. This is due to the unattractive working conditions at rural schools".

The World Bank report (2011) indicates that, "Rwandan rural teachers work longer hours and have a higher learners-teacher ratio than their urban counterparts. The pupil: teacher ratio can be as high as 70:1 in rural districts like Kirehe, while it drops to as low as 23:1 in some schools in Kigali, the capital (Ministry of Education report 2014 in work bank report 2011).

Due to the larger ratio of learners to teachers, rural teachers are required to teach more; secondary teachers in rural districts have almost twice as many contact hours than their urban peers (World Bank 2011). During school observation, it was clear that, Rwandan Rural teachers and schools at large, as opposed to their counterparts in urban schools; they   lack access to educational materials. Majority of classrooms learners are squeezed on one desk, have traditional black board, broken floors, insufficient lighting etc." In the similar view, Powley (2013) reports that: "In such a situation of overcrowding ensures that a teacher is forced to make learners share the few resources, such as textbooks, available. There are no posters on the wall or other visual aids; the rooms are Spartan to the extreme (Powley 2013). This lack of resources is a huge factor in teacher attrition. McGowen (2007) revealed that teacher turnover is directly correlated to the quality of the school facility." See the table below:

Figure 6: Learners' satisfaction with the school infrastructure

Learners' satisfaction with the school infrastructure

School infrastructure	We don't have	Not satisfied	Satisfied
Sick bay	71	11	18
Refectories	57	13	30
Dormitories	82	6	12
Enough textbooks	19	30	51
A secure fence	27	18	55
Canteen (tuck shop)	76	13	11
The computerl labs	18	24	58
The library	6	21	73
The sports facilities	11	32	56
The toilets	3	30	67
The classrooms	2	11	87

Percentage of respondents

Primary source from the field

The big percentage in terms of not having a given item such as dormitories (82%) is due to the fact that many schools visited were day schools. While not having sickbay (71%), canteen (76%) is an indicator of inequalities among well to do schools and poor schools and hence the cause of lack of social cohesion among teachers and learners of the same country. The high satisfaction 87% of classroom is a clear demonstration of the good work done by the ministry of education, military, police, parents NGOs, diplomat co and other well wishers in school construction after the start of Education for all (EFA). (See the table 17 below).

Another teacher from school E in the Northern Province went on to argue that: "There is a good subsidized school feeding program with very small fee intended to keep learners at school and avoid late coming and truancy- which is very good. Unfortunately, all learners in rural schools are not able to pay even that small fee for food. All those who cannot pay, do not eat and when I am teaching quite a good number of them are just dozing - imagine a learner who has been at

school the whole day and has not eaten anything. Such a learner is physically present but mentally absent-the listening span is next to zero. And sometimes they are chased away for not having paid that small fee for food and this disrupts learners' attention and study span and interest in studying. A teacher gave a kinyarwanda proverb that goes that ' akarima n'akari munda' meaning that, the real satisfaction and peace is in the stomach. No teacher would feel comfortable working in such an environment."

 "The implication here is that teachers are not happy with the conditions of service and therefore expecting social cohesion with such attitude may be a futile attempt. The issue of salary was zeroed on by some respondents who reiterated that being in the teaching profession was due to lack of alternative employment opportunities. This was also supported by a teacher from one of the schools in the Eastern province thus: Teaching is a profession of people who don't have another choice. There was a time when a teacher was a model of the society and a symbol of development, but now s/ he is a symbol of the most disrespected person."

The respondent further revealed that the problem of shortage of teachers was more articulate in rural areas: "...most rural schools don't have teachers simply because majority of teachers are reluctant to work in rural schools. Some teachers are even appointed there but once they get there, they leave the place because the area is remote. See the tables below.

Table 17: What do you see as the challenges in accepting a teaching position in a rural school?

What do you see as the challenges in accepting a teaching position in a rural school?	Yes	No
There is lack of basic facilities in rural areas such as healthcare, electricity	78	22
Accepting a teaching position in rural school is a barrier to the participant's aspirations	59	41
I am not from a rural area	23	77
I do not want to teach in a rural school	33	67
I have family obligations (children, parents)	29	71
It is hard to teach rural children	39	61
Rural schools lack basic infrastructure such as classrooms, toilets	66	34
It is hard to develop co-operative relations with parents in rural areas	41	59
There are risks to personal safety in rural areas.	60	40
Transport and other costs in rural areas	73	27

Table 18: What incentives would help you accept a rural positioning or positioning in an area that experiences particular problems

What incentives would help you accept a rural positioning or positioning in an area that experiences particular problems	Yes	No
- Housing allowance or free housing	63	37
- Salary increase	85	15
- Structured career advancement / promotion opportunities	33	67
- Improved investment in school infrastructure (wifi, equipment, teaching resources)	48	52
- Incremental benefits (medical aid or insurance & pension benefits)	48	52
- Transport allowance (petrol)	46	54
- Focused mentoring and support	28	72
- Preferential posting for next teaching position	16	84
- Risks to personal safety in rural areas.	60	40
- Transport and other costs in rural areas	73	27
- A trial period agreement with an opt-out clause	8	92
- Advance communication with the principal online via a national schools database	29	71
- A competitive award based on performance after one year	36	64

Results from the table above indicate that 85% of respondents included salary among incentives that would help them to accept a rural positioning, while 63% of respondents stated that housing allowance or free housing is an incentive the participant could accept to teach in rural area. 73% of respondents concurred that transport and other costs in rural areas are an incentive the participant could accept to teache in rural area.

As a result of all these issues, VSO report (2002) argues that, it is difficult in Rwanda to attract and retain skilled teachers. A particularly qualified teacher is unlikely to work in a rural village for a whole host of reasons: low pay, poor access to healthcare, socio-cultural isolation, lack of leisure activities, and large class sizes, among many other complaints. Consequently the most skilled teachers work in the capital, Kigali, the wealthiest area of the country. In this way, the wealthiest become even better educated, further improving their income, health, quality of life compared to their rural peers. Meanwhile the rural learners receive the lowest quality teachers.

Worse still, the World Bank report (2011) indicates that, Rwanda rural teachers work longer hours and have a higher learners-teacher ratio than their urban counterparts. The pupil: teacher ratio can be as high as 70:1 in rural districts like Kirehe, while it drops to as low as 23:1 in some schools in Kigali, the capital (Ministry of Education report 2014 in work bank report 2011). Due to the larger ratio of learners to teachers, rural teachers are required to teach more; secondary teachers in rural districts have almost twice as many contact hours than their urban peers (World Bank 2011). During school observation, it was clear that: Rwandan Rural teachers and schools at large, as opposed to their counterparts in urban schools, they lack access to educational materials. Majority of classrooms learners are squeezed on one desk, have traditional black board, broken floors, insufficient lighting etc.

In the similar view, Powley (2013) reports that: In such a situation of overcrowding ensures that learners are forced to share the few resources, such as textbooks, available. There are no posters on the wall or other visual aids; the rooms are Spartan to the extreme (Powley 2013). This lack of resources is a huge factor in teacher attrition. McGowen (2007) revealed that teacher turnover is directly correlated to the quality of the school facility.

As a result of all these conditions, the report concludes that, rural schools are hard to staff. These schools are thus forced to hire unqualified teachers who may be lacking in education, experience, or both. More than 80% of teachers in the rural Kirehe and Nyaruguru districts are considered under qualified for the level at which they teach, while this figure is less than 25% in Kigali Ville, the capital district (Bennell and Ntagaramba2008, p7). There is a common saying in Rwanda that encapsulates this low morale of rural teachers: "Teaching is a waiting room for better job opportunities"). All these problems, therefore lead to large differences in scholastic achievement between rural and urban learners (ibid, 2008, p15).

The dramatic effect of poor teacher quality in rural schools, is reflected in the number of learners enrolled in secondary school: 63 rural learners are enrolled for every 100 urban learners at the start of secondary school, while 37 rural learners are enrolled for every 100 urban learners by the end of secondary (World Bank 2011). Kigali province, the most urban province, has an end-of-year examination passing rate more than 20 percentage points higher than any of the rural provinces (ibid p191). In order to better recruit teachers, financial incentives are needed for them to enter the profession. Ingersoll (2007) concurs that without increasing teacher compensation other measures are likely to fall short of the goal of attracting talented professionals into the field.

This phenomenon is explained in Rwanda in the following words by one of the head teachers "… you may find a graduate teacher being sacrificed at the expense of a less qualified teacher because the pay of a graduate teacher is actually almost 3 times that of unqualified teacher…it is quite common for districts to recruit less qualified teachers, just to feel the gaps with the quarters that are provided…" (Teacher .., School A, Eastern Province)

5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter analyzed teacher governance in the context of peace building and social cohesion. Following the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, and considering the magnitude of the killings where even teachers killed their students and students killed their teachers, parents killing other parents, the situation was so horrendous that getting to know exactly led to the genocide is only

better known by the perpetrator! There are varied reasons put across by various scholars. On the same footing this chapter looks at teacher governance and the author tries to figure out whether what happened in 1994 could have been triggered off partly or wholly by the way teacher recruitment, deployment, distribution were conducted.

The study showed that it there wan uneven representation between rural and urban area. It was argued that it is difficult in Rwanda to attract and retain skilled teachers in rural areas. This was associated with a series of reasons including low pay, poor access to healthcare, socio-cultural isolation, lack of leisure activities, and large class sizes, among many other complaints. Worse still, the World Bank report (2011) indicates that, Rwanda rural teachers work longer hours and have a higher learners-teacher ratio than their urban counterparts. During school observation, it was clear that: Rwandan Rural teachers and schools at large, as opposed to their counterparts in urban schools, they lack access to educational materials. Majority of classrooms learners are squeezed on one desk, have traditional black board, broken floors, insufficient lighting, etc. As a result of all these conditions, the study concludes that, rural schools are hard to staff. These schools are thus forced to hire unqualified teachers who may be lacking in education, experience, or both.

The chapter went on also analyses various interventions that have been enacted by the government and its agencies to make 'Never Again' a reality. A 4Rs framework of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation was employed to analyse data gathered from interviews with teachers, policy makers and development partners, and questionnaires completed by both teachers and students. In Rwanda, several policies and procedures were introduced to ensure transparency, meritocracy and inclusion in teacher recruitment and deployment. However, the emphasis on merit-based recruitment was at the forefront so that efforts towards better representation and recognition appeared to be compromised.

Chapter 6. Teacher Trust And Accountability: Towards professional responsibility and teachers as key agents of peace

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds on the previous one that looked at how teachers in Rwandan were and are governed and deployed before and after 1994 genocide against Tutsi and how this process impacted peace building and social cohesion in Rwanda not ignoring the fact that teachers are key agents of peace. The present chapter analyses teacher trust and accountability in Rwanda with a view of finding out whether this could have had a bearing on teachers' sense of responsibility, feeling accountable in their work and what it takes to trust teachers and hold them accountable.

The concern about improvement in the quality of education in recent years has raised demands for accountability from schools and particularly from teachers, where educational authorities challenge teachers to reflect upon their practices (May and Supovitz, 2010). Rwanda has embarked into the same direction wishing to meet her educational goals and set standards. In view of this, Rwanda Ministry of Education has set a number of policies that guide educational plans and practices (See Chapter 4). These policies have and still serve as guiding documents for the education sector.

Within the broader study on engaging teachers in peace building in post-conflict countries, this chapter seeks to answer the question: How have the selected interventions in Rwanda managed to ensure that teachers build trust in and enhance accountability to the local community? Themes were developed around teacher accountability and analysed one after the other. Different literatures have been reviewed in line with the 4Rs framework (Recognition, representation, redistribution and reconciliation) taking into account the Rwandan context.

Specifically, we attempted to answer this research question and analyzed teacher trust and accountability in Rwanda with a view of assessing and analyzing what it takes for teachers to be

trusted and held accountable for them to contribute to a cohesive and peaceful Rwandan society. On top of this research question and the 4Rs, the analysis was guided by the following key questions:

i. Are Rwandan teachers trusted and held accountable by their stakeholders?

ii. Is there any explicit focus by the Ministry of Education, school leadership and community for building teacher trust and accountability to enhance social cohesion among learners in Rwanda?

iii. Are teachers aware of the Ministry of Education and Schools' expectations from them?

iv. Are teachers facilitated to play their role as agents of peace to be trusted by and accountable to their clients?   If not;

v. Would this in any way affect teachers' role as agents of peace?

vi. Are there some concrete factors in Rwanda that may hinder the enhancement of teacher trust and accountability among Rwandan teachers?

vii. What is the Rwanda ministry of education and schools doing to enhance teacher trust and accountability in Rwandan schools to enhance social cohesion among learners?

viii. To what extent do teachers cooperate with:
   a) School leadership,
   b) School governing bodies
   c) Local community; to enhance teacher trust and accountability for teachers to enhance social cohesion among learners?

Across both secondary and primary data collected during this study, there are patterns which show that when Rwandan teachers carry out their work, they are held accountable by the ministry of education, school leadership and community at large in order to promote social cohesion among learners and their communities. Rwanda Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) 2013-2018 calls for teachers, school authorities and agencies to be accountable in order to fulfil educational goals.

An official from the ministry of education and head teachers from schools B, G and D argued that the accountability of teachers is at the heart of effective implementation of educational policy

initiatives in Rwanda because the real materialization of education policy intentions takes place in classrooms.

As such a teacher needs to possess all characteristics that are needed to fulfil such a mission for accountability to be effective. The ESSP (ibid) explains the goals and objectives of education in Rwanda and it gives a central place to the occupation of teachers. For the successful implementation of its major intentions, the role of the teacher is found at the core position of school educational program implementation. ESSP states that the education sector should seek for

- Improving completion and transition rates while reducing dropout and repetition in basic education;
- Ensuring that educational quality continues to grow;
- creating a skilled and motivated teaching and learning;
- Ensuring that the post-basic education (PBE) system is better tailored to meet the needs in the labour market;
- Bringing equity across all fields and at all levels of education;
- Developing education in science and technology;
- Strengthening the institutional framework and management capacity for effective delivery of education services at all levels (Mineduc, 2013).

6.2 METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to collect both quantitative and qualitative data on a sample of students, teachers, and Head teachers, parent association members from the 5 Rwandan provinces (North, South, West, East and Kigali). See chapter 3 for details.

Rwandan Teacher accountability was assessed and analysed in line with research questions, and the 4Rs linking them to the field data collected taking into account available literature in the area. Sporadic discussions are set around major themes to fit into and emphasize the main objective of the research about engaging teachers in peace building in post conflict countries through the

4Rs (Recognition, Representation, Redistribution and Reconciliation) analytical framework tool. The results are statistically presented in graphs and tables to indicate the percentage of respondents on a particular variable. Important quotations are highlighted in italic to bring to light a particular issue as identified in the fieldwork.

6.3 TEACHER TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY: TOWARDS CLARITY

From an organizational point of view, Koppell (2005) identifies five dimensions of accountability:

i.   Transparency to determine if the organization revealed the facts of its performance?
ii. Liability to examine if the organization faced consequences for its performance?
iii. Controllability to check if the organization did what the direction required?
iv. Responsibility to find out whether the organization respected the rules?
v.   Responsiveness to see if the organization fulfilled the substantive expectation?

Accountability is the obligation of an individual or organization to account for its activities, accept responsibility for them, and to disclose the results in a transparent manner. It also includes the responsibility for money or other entrusted property (Matete, 2009). In the same vein, according to Onuka (2008), accountability implies that any person who is given a job to do should be responsible or accountable for effective and efficient execution of the job.

Accountability is "a process which involves the duty both of individuals and the organisation of which they are part to render periodically accounts for tasks performed, to a body having both the power and authority to modify that performance subsequently, perhaps by use of sanction or reward" (Neave, 1987, 70). Accountability takes a step further than responsibility by requesting an organization to answer for its actions.

From the social sciences perspective, Romzek and Dubnick (1987) define accountability from a public sector perspective, where they show how public sector officials are held accountable, and emphasize the responsibility and liability aspects of the concept of accountability. Their classification sheds light on the distinction between political, legal, professional and bureaucratic

accountability, each representing a type of responsibility to a particular audience (e.g. bureaucratic accountability being defined as responsibility to those higher up in a bureaucratic hierarchy). From a school perspective, this definition seems to point to the responsibility teachers have towards the head teachers, the district, the Ministry and the country at large.

But simply put, Wagner (1989) defines accountability as "to render an account of, to explain and answer for".

Accountability in education is important to ensure quality education for all by developing learner's competence. As noted by Ndabaga E (2004) in Brown and Lauder (2006: 317), social cohesion and peace building (social justice) are found in what is taking place in education system comparable to that of Rwanda.

6.3 **Figure 7: A poster on one of the Schools Campus Reminding Teachers and the Community the Need for Accountability**

6.4 TEACHER TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN RWANDAN EDUCATION SYSTEM: ENSURING TEACHING OF PEACE VALUES AND SOCIAL COHESION IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS

The different definitions of accountability given above shed light in understanding its meaning in the context of teachers where this may mean that teachers have to take responsibility for the way they execute their duties by acknowledging being responsible of the processes and results, being answerable on one hand, to both schools authorities and other district, REB and Ministry officials and on the other hand, being answerable to students, their parents and the community at large. With regard to how Rwandan teachers can be trusted and held accountable in enhancing peace building among learners and their communities, the following questions were asked:

- Are Rwandan teachers trusted and held accountable by Rwandan education system?;
- Is there any explicit focus by the ministry of education, school leadership and local community of making sure that teachers are trusted and held accountable to enhance social cohesion among learners at different schools?;
- Are teachers aware of the ministry's expectations from them?;
- Are teachers facilitated to carry out their responsibilities smoothly at different schools? If not;
- Would this in any way affect lack of social cohesion among teachers and their way of carrying out their expected work?;
- Are there some concrete drivers such as inequality, lack of teaching materials and other forms of inequalities that would aggravate social tensions and lack of social cohesion among schools and teachers?;
- What is the Rwanda ministry of education doing to facilitate teachers in carrying out their work responsibly and in a trusted manner?;
- To what extent do teachers cooperate with: School leadership, School governance bodies and Local community to enhance trust and accountability among teachers to carry out their expected outputs and outcomes in teaching peace values and enhancing social cohesion both among learners and the Rwandan society at large through education system and its teachers as agents of peace?

6.4.1 The Rwandan government need for educational accountability

Rwanda's Economic development and poverty reduction strategy (EDPRS 1 AND 2) highlights the key objectives for improving education and by analysis they all aim at elements of demand for teachers to be trusted and accountable in their work if Rwanda is to be a socially cohesive society:

i.   Access to education for all (which has to be facilitated by school authorities);

ii. Quality education at all levels (requiring teachers to be competent and committed);

iii. Equity in education at all levels (needs teachers to support equality, equity and justice in their practices);

iv. Effective and efficient education system (calls school leaders and stakeholders to be courageous and effective managers that work collaboratively to fulfil the education system's goal);

v.   Science, technology and ICT in education (To respond to the urgent development need);

vi. Ensuring peace building, by promoting positive values, critical thinking, Rwandan culture, unity, reconciliation and peace at school.

These high level objectives crosscut Basic education (pre-primary, primary, lower secondary and adult literacy); Post-basic education (upper secondary, teacher education, TVET and higher education); Girls' education, ICT in education, Science and technology; Special needs education; Education for children affected by emergencies; School health including HIV and AIDS prevention and sports (Mineduc, 2010).

The above objectives were set to ensure that the country follows the right track to development by setting objectives that would make every Rwandan and teachers in particular, carry out their work responsibly to achieve the expected results among Rwandans and in particular the young Rwandans. However, for such ambitious objectives to bear significant impact, school leadership at all level should link leadership efforts made to students' achievement (Nichols, Berliner and Glan, 2012).

Although there is no explicit or direct focus on trust and accountability among them, these educational objectives are an attempt by the Government to engage teachers to participate in the development of the country through education, which indirectly beg them to stand for and be accountable for peace building and social cohesion through the inculcation of Rwanda-specific values and other positive values in learners as it is stated in the last objective. Teachers are taught these values through pre-service and in-service training in teacher training colleges, through teacher academic programs such as life skills, citizenship education, history (an official from the ministry of education) and other additional government private programs such as National Itorero commission (NIC), Aegis Trust, Institute of Research for Dialogue and Peace (IRDP) each plays a part in peace building as a foundation for socially cohesive Rwandan society.

6.4.2 Accountability Challenges in Rwandan Schools

A majority of Respondents, particularly in rural schools, expressed different challenges they might face in fulfilling their accountability. Among barriers cited, some are implicitly discussed within different interventions but most of them include the problem of poverty and limited resources by teachers, learners, schools and parents; the question of implementing discipline at school, the problem of teaching sensitive topics like Rwandan history during critical times; teachers' different forms of violence and its effect including sexual harassment, the particularity of rural areas and related challenges like safety, poor infrastructure, transport, etc.

There is a great likelihood for these challenges to impact directly on teachers' trust and accountability. If for instance poverty and scarcity of resources are considered, it would seem difficult for teachers and school authorities to achieve their roles specifically if they are required to perform tasks that need inexistent equipment or fund. For instance it is not easy to conceive of a situation on how an ICT teacher can successfully teach this subject without computers, electricity or internet or how a hungry teacher can use required energy and motivation to prepare adequately and teach a lesson that demand both extensive research prior to it, laboratory or teaching aids.

Another example can be that of learners who are subjected to improper disciplinary measures or disproportionate violence from teachers or school authorities: These students can lose their trust

towards the authority administering them and the effects of such behaviour may not facilitate the teacher or the school authority to accomplish subsequent objectives on the learner especially if teachers and school authorities should serve as models in transforming positively young minds towards peace building attitudes. These worries were expressed by both teachers and learners in different manners across the country during the field work.

In attempting to address these and many other challenges, efforts have been made by both the government and educational agencies including schools and communities. Nevertheless, despite the efforts made, the country still needs to continue maximizing the empowerment of those that it holds accountable at school by providing both sufficient economical and organisational supports to allow the combination of potentials and contributions from all stakeholders. This can perhaps on one hand ensure equity within and between rural and urban schools and on the other hand pave the way for quality education that will mainstream peace values.

6.4.3 Teacher Trust and Accountability Interventions in Rwanda

Many teachers engage into routine activities without critically reflecting on the extent to which they are accountable to learners. The lack of professional accountability understanding often leads teachers to exhibit unprofessional conduct in wanton disrespect and despise of parents and learners. So, educational accountability is an attempt of ensuring that education stakeholders especially the teachers act responsively in discharging their duties in order to enhance educational quality (Bandele, 2007).

Professional behaviour and conduct of public servants are governed by Law No 39/2012 of 24/12/2012 that determines the responsibilities, organization and functioning of the public service. Law N° 86/2013 of 11/09/2013 that governs public servants in Rwanda in its article 718 it stipulates that: "A public servant shall be required to personally perform duties as required, devote him/herself to his/her work all the time with integrity and impartiality, respect and honour his/her institution, preserve public property, and have a sense of responsibility and public interest".

Professional behaviour, according to Public service commission cited by Gilman (2010:23) was described as the good conduct that one exhibits when he or she has conformed to ethical

standards of his or her profession. A code of conduct is a set of rules outlining the responsibilities of or proper practices for an individual, party or organization. Other similar concepts include moral codes, ethics, honour and laws. Standards, principles, values, rules of behaviour that guide decisions, procedures and systems of an organization in a way that on one hand respects the rights of all constituents affected by its operations and on the other hand contributes to the welfare of its key stakeholders.

A Public servant should value the worth and dignity of every person, the pursuit of truth and devotion to excellence. Essential to the achievement of these standards is the freedoms to improve his/her work, welcoming every one without discrimination (Gilman 2010, P.23). The professional code of conduct according to the same author is identified through professional values, accountability, integrity, responsibility, respect, professional behaviour professional attitude, adaptability, teamwork and confidentiality.

Any civil servant, teachers inclusive, is subject to such practices. Each one is always made to answer for one's actions. Rwandan teachers therefore endeavour to fulfil their respective responsibilities to avoid negative consequences. This is according to one Head teacher of school G. This external rather than intrinsic pressure to work explains partially why teaching in Rwanda focuses mostly on passing examination and undermines sometimes the quality of learners' outcome social skills and peace values inclusive.

From general assessment across findings on the need for professional ethics, respondents seemed to confirm that Professional ethics and values are essential to ensure that all citizens' needs, teachers inclusive are catered for accurately and in timely manner so that the service delivery is, predicted and met. They also showed that for the Government institutions to meet proper service delivery, related issues and challenges must be assessed and addressed accurately in line with Government objectives of good governance, rule of law, professional ethics of public servants and effective service delivery.

Sloan (2007) observes that education is the single most important family investment and parents deserve quality education for their children. Taking education as an investment, there are inputs, processes and products. Inputs include the learners as well as the huge financial, material and

infrastructural investments committed by the state. Schools have to produce functionally relevant products to justify the investments. However, for education to be transparent and accountable in its management, these factors act as the cornerstones that would spur any country towards achieving its Vision and other related national and global conventions towards sustainable development (Schildkamp and Teddlie, 2008). In line with this argument, a teacher from school A stated that:

"The duty of any teacher is to equip learners with knowledge and skills for personal development. The respondents went on to argue that "the aspect of mentoring and guiding learners build their sense of humanity and eventually, the outcome which leads to brighter future bring with it values of peace. Unfortunately, some teachers still believe that teaching is just pumping knowledge into the learner". Furthermore, the principal of school B argued that:

> "Many teachers and parents equate education with passing examination and obtaining good national examination results forgetting the most important aspect which is the bedrock of everything – attitude, values and what the learners do with the knowledge that they acquire. Education is about setting the relationship between or the transition between knowledge acquisition and knowledge use. Knowledge acquired should lead to transformation, not only for one's everyday life but also for other people around. So, teachers must be held accountable to make sure that they strive towards achieving this noble task among learners".

This kind of education interpretation is carried forward by Eduard (2016) who interpreted the learners' failure as the teachers' failure to meet the pedagogical contract: Accountability measures, sometimes synonymous with testing, are linked not only to grade and test but to consequences for teachers that are answerable to government accountability system, for schools where job security is related to learners' achievement and for students whose promotion depend on their success to school test (Eduard, 2016). In view of this argument, a head teacher from school F stated that:

> "On top of passing academic examinations, Rwandan educational system puts emphasis on the learners' acquisition of Rwandan cultural values as the backbone of citizenship and peace education for socially cohesive Rwandan society. This is one of the reasons why the government of Rwanda through "itorero" and other government and private organizations promote the concept of "indangagaciro", that is, values, self esteem or virtues that should characterize a true peace loving Rwandan striving for self reliance

("Kwigira"). The Rwandan culture since time immemorial taught and advocated these qualities through poems, songs and other traditional practices promoting thus personal and collective dignity and honour".

The moral character of the Rwandan values that facilitates teachers' accountability seems to aspire for the moral autonomy as in Kant cited by Rwiza (2012) developing the ideal of a potentially universal community of rational individuals autonomously determining the moral principles for securing the conditions for equality and autonomy. The true self reliance "kwigira" is the ideal expected from Rwandans in contributing to personal and collective development.

However, teacher trust and accountability in Rwanda need to be thought of as teacher's freedom and autonomy to fulfil their teaching and learning duties, what W.F. Hegel (1770-1831) cited by Odhiambo (2009) calls moral personality. Here freedom is conceived not as a license to fulfil individual preferences but as the opportunity to live self-consciously and in a full rationally organized community or state with diverse requirements to be fulfilled by an individual. In the context of Rwanda, freedom is more meaningful only when shared with the community of individuals seeking to fulfil both personal and common good. It is thus strictly connected to solidarity and responsibility. In this regard therefore, we can hope that accountability will flow from personal set goals although there is still a long road to go in the acquisition of strictly personal responsibility as opposed to doing things from external pressure. Trust and accountability in Rwanda need to be understood within this particular context.

Accountability that flows from such exercise of freedom is meaningful only when shared and personal needs are met. In view of this philosophical argument, learners were asked to highlight their experiences with the way their teachers treat them and whom they consider as an ideal teacher and majority of learners stated that an ideal teacher is the teacher who:

- Teaches well and learners easily follow his/her subject;
- Does not propose sex to learners;
- Treats all learners equally;
- Does not discriminate in anyway;

- Respects learners;

- Does not harass, embarrass, despise, tease, overlook, minimise or punish learners

Beside the government's effort to hold Rwandan teachers accountable through the law and the Ministry of Education policies and procedures, while interpreting these learners' preferences, one can easily deduce that there is an indication of the existence of some teachers' misconducts that display inequalities, psychological as well as physical mistreatment to learners. This is an indication of possible negative experiences that learners go through at school as a result of teachers' mistreatment. Such complaints from learners are indicators that some teachers are not properly held accountable to honour the teachers' professional code of conduct and hence serious measures are needed from REB.

Taking it further, this may be a hint for possible future research in Rwanda to understand the experience of learners about threats to school peace building posed by unprofessional and unethical teachers and the moment is an evidence why holding teachers accountable in Rwanda by both REB and school leadership is paramount rather than just trusting teachers because they are trained from teacher colleges. Hallinger (2003) and Walters et al. (2005), believe that school leaders influence modelling aspiration and ethical practices when they lead by example.

In this study, respondents reported that, teaching by example is very important if positive results have to follow; it cannot happen if teachers do not teach with a clear purpose of influencing learners positively to transform them into peace builders and supportive of social cohesion. That is why it is imperative to accompany teachers in their journey for self-fulfilment taking into account their moral, economic and social aspirations necessary for self-realization. In this way, they are likely to make a strong impact on learners.

It also came out that much is still needed to be done for teachers to become authentically accountable to their behaviour and other set targets for the learners' success. An external cause for accountability such as the teacher code of conduct or policy documents are positive instruments but should not be considered as sufficient to motivate teachers to be accountable.

Teachers need to be helped to think for themselves in terms of nurturing their own internal source of motivation.

It was evident during this study through interviews and the assessment of teacher programs that, teachers went through training in terms of subject content and obtained pedagogical support. However, the evidence of existence of particular misbehaviours by teachers in schools, require well established system of accountability carried out both by REB and school leadership to find out the possible causes. This is why the assessment by the Public Service Commission on public expectations on professional behaviour and conduct of public servants in public institutions was published in April 2014.

The National Teacher Code of Conduct (NTCC) articulates a clear set of expectations that should govern the professional behaviour of all teachers both inside and outside the classroom, the Teacher Appraisal and Evaluation System (TAES) presents a mechanism for monitoring and evaluating teacher performance in general to facilitate continuous teacher assessment and the National Teacher Professional Standards (NTPS). They express statements of classroom competencies which all teachers are expected to demonstrate. An official from REB re-iterated some of the rights and responsibilities illustrated in the teachers' code of conduct which include but not limited to:

> "Public speech, where a teacher is prohibited from vulgar or disrespectful language, confidential information, where a teacher is prohibited to share private information about the learner except with a parent or guardian; other items in the code are about the use of alcohol and tobacco, dress code, sexual contact and romantic relationships among others. The teachers' rights proposed in the code include: Equal opportunity, right to engage in Religion and political activities which do not conflict with the professional responsibilities, contract and income, where a teacher is allowed to have external employment which does not interfere with the contractual obligations among other many rights. The code could not avoid encountering limitations in implementation due to the fact that the people who are supposed to be involved in investigating misconducts are always busy in different occupations. These include; school directors, school boards and District Education officers."

6.5 EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION IN RWANDA: EMPOWERING RWANDANS IN LOCAL SCHOOL MANAGEMENT TO MINIMIZE DIVISIONISM AMONG TEACHERS AND LEARNERS

With public service reform and decentralization currently being carried out across Rwanda, responsibilities at the District level for any educational programme, planning, implementation and monitoring is held by the Office in charge of District Education headed by District Education officer (D.E.O) then Sector Education Officer (S.E.O) (Mineduc, 2008). It is through these two officers that teachers are held accountable. D.E.O AND S.E.O are mandated to follow up and report on the implementation of any education activity. Their responsibilities include but not limited to:

i.   Implementation of strategic plans and education policy;
ii. Budget preparation;
iii. Preparation of the Five Year District Education Development Plan and the Three Year District Education Strategic Plan;
iv. Monitor and evaluate education activities;
v.   Through teachers' service commission, organizes recruitment, deployment and payment of permanent teaching staff;
vi. Providing education statistics;
vii. All these activities are carried out in collaboration with Vice Mayor in charge of Social Affairs.

For the purpose of Teacher trust and accountability, Rwanda Education Board (REB) also has different departments in charge of different teachers' activities. But the particular departments that deal with teacher accountability are especially the department of Educational Quality and Standards that deals with both national and regional inspection of schools and teachers (CPDM) and the Department of Teacher Development and Management (TDM) that in collaboration with D.E.O and S.E.O deals with teachers' salaries, recruitment, deployment and any social affairs.

6.6 PERFORMANCE CONTRACT (IMIHIGO): ENHANCING AND ENSURING TEACHERS' AND SCHOOLS' COMMITMENT TO FULFIL THEIR SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL OBLIGATION

Imihigo (performance contract) is a cultural practice in Rwanda that required an individual to commit him/herself to achieve targets within a given time through the application of some principles that require the person to overcome the challenges that may arise (GoR, 2010). "Imihigo" in Kinyarwanda or Performance contracts are contracts between the President of Rwanda and government agencies detailing what the respective institution sets itself as targets on a number of activities teaching activities inclusive, governance, and justice, economic and social indicators. The stated objective of Imihigo is to improve the results, standards or quality of execution of government programmes, thus making public agencies more effective and accountable. It is a means of planning to accelerate the progress towards economic development and poverty reduction. Imihigo has a strong focus on results which makes it an invaluable tool in the planning, accountability and monitoring and evaluation processes (GoR, 2010).

Although most teachers may have not been involved in drafting their code of conduct, today there is an increased level of participation in giving their voices towards policy creation and a genuine willingness by the government to involve all its stakeholders in matters that concern them. All civil servants, teachers inclusive, are treated the same way in matter of code of conduct. Annually performance contracts are signed between the president of Rwanda on one side and line ministries with local government institutions on the other side. These contracts are held like a debt to pay by respective institutions to objectives they have set for themselves. Performance contracts are measured against an agreed set of fulfilling responsibilities one had to carry out, governance, social and economic indicators designated as performance indicators.

These indicators represent a clear framework through which domestic accountability impact directly on citizens. All civil servants and Policy makers in Rwanda at all levels check the performance of government institutions regularly and report directly to the President during evaluation meetings that take place twice a year. Local authorities are held accountable to their set objectives, and civil servants can be demoted, questioned, dropped and if there are signs of

mismanagement, misappropriation of government funds the concerned individual may be interrogated for not reaching the performance standard set.

Imihigo framework is one of the government standards to ensure social justice to every citizen through rendering social institutions accountable to the population they are supposed to serve and this is applicable to teachers, students and school authorities. In terms of education, teachers commit themselves to accomplish curriculum objectives, government requirements and community engagement. This is related to social cohesion in the following way: although imihigo looks like an external force to accomplish one's duty, there is a relative satisfaction on the side of service seekers who benefit from this principled service delivery. Most service seekers seem to be satisfied with institutions' service delivery and this satisfaction can be counted among independent variables contributing to social cohesion.

However, majority of head teachers, teachers, lecturers and principals interviewed ascertained that performance contract process in Rwanda particularly among teachers still encounters problems such as the monitoring of agreed indicators and that of setting unrealistic targets and the proper inclusion of performance contract into the Rwanda's budgeting processes and the wider planning because of the complexity that is involved in the whole process particularly in line with lack of both financial and material support to carry out the set objectives in the teachers' daily work. Quoting Imihigo planning and evaluation criteria vi-vii, many head teachers and teachers cited the Imihigo planning and evaluation concept paper that outlines some criteria for inclusion as unrealistic for teachers and lecturers due to both insufficient funds and materials required to achieve their annual set targets. Imihigo planning and evaluation process uses criteria such as:

i.   Will the activity impact positively on the welfare of the local population?

ii.   Does it create jobs / does it reduce poverty?

iii. Is it a priority for the local population?

iv.   Is there ownership by the local population?

v.   Does it help to achieve national targets described in VISION 2020, EDPRS, and MDGs?

vi.   Is it realistic and cost-effective?

vii.   Have resources been identified for implementation?

viii.   Does the activity promote social cohesion / reduce social disturbances? (GoR, 2011)

A head teacher from school C, argued that: while teachers ought to act in an accountable way for learners to receive quality education, there is no evidence that the treatment that teachers receive in Rwanda especially primary school teachers can guaranty such outcomes. Accountability is more than obeying the laid down rules; it is currently seen as results oriented as the attention of good governance is more on outputs than on inputs. Accountability in the teaching profession is required so that the goals of attaining quality education in schools which is the expected education output can be achieved. Adequate measures and conditions should be put in place in order to hold teachers accountable. Ballard and Bates (2008) observe that it is important to hold teachers accountable for students' learning to take place. Once the teaching and learning conditions are improved teachers' attitude towards their duties improves and, invariably, quality instruction and improved learner attainment are guaranteed. Arguing in the same view, Schalock (1998) supports the view that teachers have a direct impact on how children learn, hence the necessity to be responsible for the way learners learn.

6.7 SCHOOL EVALUATION: KEEPING TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY ALIVE

According to Rwanda Education Board report (REB, 2010), the purpose of inspection in Rwandan schools is to provide an independent and external evaluation of the quality of education being provided not by school leadership but by teachers as the key individuals. However, Tatto (2016) argues that the attempt to link policy requirements and teacher accountability does not necessarily guarantee learner achievement and may sometimes undermine teachers' social, cultural and human capital by limiting or shifting resources teacher and students may need to use. Also, despite clear inspection guidelines, Tatto acknowledges the difficulty to measure accountability in terms of learner's knowledge, skills and competences.

REB Inspection focuses on both the negative and positive aspects of the school performance and learning environment. Inspectors also have a responsibility to identify and disseminate models

of good practice within a school and from one school to another. For accountability purposes, the Inspection process involves setting clear objectives for inspection which include:

   i.   school management,
   ii.   pedagogical management,
   iii. financial management,
   iv.   learning environment;
   v.   Inspection work plans and programs.

These are generally prepared and sent to districts earlier before the visits are conducted. For annual inspection visits, a month's notice is required. In relation to refining inspection tools, the following items are taken into account: Lessons Evaluation Sheets, School Inspection Form etc; analyzing the information collected from each of the schools and preparing reports which shall be submitted to REB, then send a copy to the school concerned for discussion.

Inspections are required to prepare forms depending on the purpose; Annual inspections are carried out in every school; Short/routine inspections are carried out mainly as means of monitoring specific issues or new policies, while flying visits are done due to emergency and follow-up inspections (REB, 2010).

6.8 LESSON OBSERVATIONS: ENHANCING TEACHERS' BOTH PEDAGOGICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

In view of REB report (2010), the key objective of lesson observations is to evaluate the quality of teaching and its contribution to learning particularly in the core subjects. But REB efforts and Pedagogical evaluation by inspectors is an external tool for accountability and may not necessarily reveal the degree to which teachers are accountable. However, personal evaluation or what teachers themselves consider being most important may be taken into account as part of their experience. This study could not analyze all teaching learning experiences as inspectors could do. It instead focused on those practices relevant to social cohesion and peace building aspects.

The policy requires inspectors that they should not stick to one personal preferred methodology but must identify various ways in which teaching and learning can be improved. Inspectors are expected to see well-planned lessons and should focus on the overall quality of the school's curriculum planning.

The inspector is supposed to invite the head teacher or a senior member of staff to take part in joint lesson observations. The Inspector then should take time to talk to the learners, cross-check with their books; teachers plans and activities out of class or as guided by the evaluation tool. After a joint observation, the inspector and head teacher or member of senior staff must discuss their views about the quality of teaching and learning they have observed. After the discussion, a report on the findings in regard to the teaching and learning in schools should be prepared and submitted to the Director General for discussion with REB Senior management team (REB, 2010).

6.9 RWANDAN RURAL AND URBAN SCHOOL ANALYSIS: FROM A TEACHER TRUST, ACCOUNTABILITY AND SOCIAL COHESION CONCERN

6.9.1 Introduction

One cannot talk about trusting teachers and holding them accountable without looking at the environment in which teachers work. It was therefore logical for researchers to use the following questions to guide their inquiry:

i.   Is there any explicit focus by both rural and urban school leadership and community of making sure that teachers do carry out their responsibilities professionally while building peace among learners at school?

ii.   To what extent do teachers cooperate with: School leadership, School governing bodies and Local community to enhance trust and accountability among teachers to achieve their expected outputs and outcomes in teaching peace values to **learners** at different schools?

iii.   Are teachers facilitated to carry out their responsibilities smoothly at different schools? If not; does this in any way cause lack of social of cohesion among teachers and their way of carrying out their expected work?

In an attempt to find answers to these critical questions, a number of interviews and focus groups with policy makers, head teachers, teachers, parents' and teachers' committees (PTC) were conducted in different schools of the five Rwandan provinces including Kigali. Such discussion helped the researchers to assess and evaluate how the 4Rs i.e. Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation were addressed to build a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015) and find out how Rwandan school environment may have an impact on teacher trust and accountability.

According to World Bank Report (2006), the Dakar goal framework for "Education for All expressed in the World Education forum of 2000 in Dakar has been a key guide for teachers. Teaching and learning are effectively about collaboration and working together and school head teachers and other administrators are in a key position to facilitate this. Schools that create an environment where   collaboration and sharing is encouraged can begin to change. Because of curriculum demands and time constraints, it is often a challenge for the teachers to select content which is based on: meaningful, learners' needs and interests, the environment rather than just learning facts.

The World Bank report (ibid) re-iterates that, teachers are responsible for managing and monitoring students' learning by creating, enriching, maintaining and altering instructional settings to capture and sustain the interest of their learners and to make the most effective use of time by setting norms for social interaction among learners and between learners and teachers. They thus engage both colleagues and groups of learners to ensure a disciplined learning environment, and how to organize instruction to allow the schools' goals for students to be met even in the face of temporary failure.

The above is an ideal situation which can serve to engage teachers in peace building at school but in the current state of schools in Rwanda, the explicit formal commitment to include peace building in all aspects of the curriculum is of recent efforts that led to the development of the competence based curriculum.

The environment need to be comfortable and teachers are responsible for managing seating arrangements, noise and space, order such as storing materials and learners' work. This, however, is particularly challenging in many Rwandan classrooms which are crowded due to large numbers of learners and lack of appropriate furniture. An essential part of creating conducive school environment aims at:

i. The development of a welcoming culture in the school;

ii. Respecting both individual and national values;

iii. Respecting diversity of background, ethnicity, religion, age, behavior, beliefs and attitudes;

iv. Collaboration and co-operation in planning, sharing and supporting each other

(World Bank Report (2006).

The above is relevant to social cohesion because the school environment can promote or hinder teaching, learning or the development of a sense of community. A friendly environment seems to be a favorable space for the facilitation of social cohesion among members of a community. This was partially observed at schools where learners were happy with their school.

6.9.2 Parental Involvement in Rwandan Schools: From a Teacher Trust, Accountability and Social Cohesion Perspective

The issue of parents getting involved in the learners' day-to-day discipline was quite often echoed during the interviews in this study. The main reason for school leadership to work hand in hand with parents is to have a strong follow up of teachers to see how they carry out their day to day work both in classrooms and how they cooperate with school leadership: By doing this, many head teachers claimed that:

Every Rwandan is encouraged by the government to partake in the welfare of learners and the youth in general. All Rwandans are expected to play a significant role in making sure that peace, unity and reconciliation is part of all Rwandans. As a head teacher pointed out: "We are required to put more energy or emphasize peace building values in our learners whether they are at school or home. All parents are always advised to leave neither school leadership nor teachers to do it

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alone and later alone come to hold teachers accountable without parents themselves playing their role."

National Board of Professionals (2002) argues that, in attempting to work creatively with families in the interest of learners' development, teachers come across individual learners' lives outside school and thus can use the collected information about learner's needs, for guidance and commitment the strong presence of caring and nurturing...From a different point of view, this is a difficult set of obligations to fulfill because teachers are prepared neither by training nor by role to serve as parent surrogates or social workers. The distinctive mission of teaching is to promote learning, a complex undertaking in itself. On the other hand, education's broad and humane purposes do not admit any narrow specialization. Learners' physical, emotional, and social well-being cannot be separated from their intellectual growth." Therefore, parental involvement as per Epstein (2005) "is well established as being correlated with learners' holistic achievement which parents should not just simply trust teachers to do it without getting involved as a measure of accountability.

However, teachers may have concerns about the attitudes of "familism" among which is defined as the "expressed identification with the interests and welfare of the family" (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994, p. 19)." Valenzuela and Dornbusch challenge "the dominant myth that learners' achievement is obstructed by collective orientations." Hence parents' involvement in teachers' work is widely viewed as a strong process of holding teachers accountable. In view of this, a head teacher school C, Northern Province stated that:

"Once learners learn how to build peace from school and it is backed by the parents involvement in their school life, the teachers will feel motivated to teach learners more about peace values because the teachers is aware of parents' keen interest. Teacher trust and accountability does not mean leaving all the work to the teachers but parents must play their role in the raising and teaching of the children. This combined effort makes teachers feel more accountable to the parents and would force teachers to assist learners grow into responsible citizens who understand critical societal elements such as peace, respect, unity, reconciliation, human dignity, nationalism, patriotism, social responsibility, caring for the less fortunate knowing etc that

characterize a stable and civilized nation or else we shall go back to those days where Rwandans were seeing each other as animals and foreigners in their own country."

According to the World Bank report (2011), "the recent international literature on school reform has emphasized the role that parents and the community can play in improving school quality and, ultimately, in improving learners' achievement by holding teachers accountable. The report (ibid), argues that, in many Sub-Saharan African countries, parents contribute substantially to the material needs of the schools because governments do not supply enough necessary resources."

In the effort of enhancing peace and social cohesion among Rwandan learners, parents on top of trusting teachers and holding them accountable, parents have to borrow a leaf from Noddings theory. For Noddings's (2006) definition of caring "implies a continuous search for competence." She observes, that, "Parents and teachers show caring by cooperating in learners' activities, sharing their own dreams and doubts, and providing carefully for the steady growth of the learners in their charge" (p. 24). Noddings suggests using integrated curricular themes to teach caring to learners. In the domain of "caring for self" we might consider life stages, spiritual growth, and what it means to develop an admirable character; in exploring caring for intimate others, we might include units on love, friendship, and parenting; under caring for strangers and global others, we might study war, poverty, and tolerance (p. 25).

In view of the National Board of professionals (2002), there are two broad areas of responsibility:

i.   One involves participation in collaborative efforts to improve the effectiveness of the school.

ii. Second entails engaging parents in the education of young people.

Therefore, for teachers to be trusted by parents, they should know how to engage groups of learners and parents to ensure a disciplined learning environment, and how to organize instruction to allow the schools' goals for learners to be met. Teachers are adept at setting norms for social interaction among learners and between learners and teachers. Teachers should understand how to motivate learners to learn and how to maintain their interest even in the face of temporary failure. Teachers should always find ways to work collaboratively and creatively

with parents, engaging them productively in the work of the school. A head teacher from school A, western province argued that:

> "Our teachers always share with parents the education of their children when we meet. They communicate regularly with parents and guardians, listening to their concerns and respecting their perspective, enlisting their support in fostering learning and good habits, informing them of their child's accomplishments and successes, and educating them about school programs. Kindergarten teachers, for example, can help parents understand that reading stories to their children is more important to literacy development than completing worksheets on letters."

National Board of professionals (2002) states that, "in the best of all worlds, teachers and parents are mutually reinforcing partners in the education of learners. But three circumstances complicate this partnership:

i. The interests of parents and schools sometimes diverge, requiring teachers to make difficult judgments about how best to fulfill their joint obligations to their learners and to parents;

ii. Learners vary in the degree and kind of support they receive at home for their school work." This argument agrees with one of the teachers in school H, southern province who argued that: The learners' culture, the level of their parents' education, income and aspirations influence each learner differently. So, the school administration always advises teachers to be alert to these effects and tailor their teaching and dealing with learners accordingly to enhance learners' achievement since parents have trust in teachers and they always hold them accountable for their children either failure or success. However, when faced with an unavoidable conflict, the teacher must protect the interest of the learner first since s/he is school client number one.

iii. The behavior and mind-set of schools and families can be adversarial. Some parents are distrustful of the school's values, and the schools sometimes underestimate the family's potential to contribute to their children's intellectual growth. Learners get caught in the middle, their allegiance to and affection for each party challenged by the other. A professional teacher therefore has to develop skills and understandings to avoid these

traditional pitfalls and work to foster collaborative relationships between school and family."

A good number of PTC (Parent Teacher Committee) members argued that: Rwanda's past bad experience of genocide against the Tutsi in 1994, created new challenges that is why, few as they are, there are a number of single parents, orphans, widows and many parents with inadequate income. Thus, creating home-school partnerships has become more important to strengthen teacher trust and accountability among school leadership, teachers and parents in Rwandan schools.

Majority of head teachers also ascertained that: Teachers enhance parents' trust and accountability by working hand in hand with learners, head teachers and parents and PTC especially during community work, known as "Umuganda" where everyone, including the president and ministers, in a given community throughout the country participate in national service such as cleaning streets, clearing bushes, building houses for impoverished people. Teachers together with parents get involved in many different school activities such as school construction which was initiated by the Government, taking part in school security maintenance through local defence, building and repairing teachers' houses etc. Teachers also hold seminars for local business helping them to improve their businesses since school leadership and students transact with these small businesses.

PTC members continued saying that teachers must understand and respect many different ways of being a parent and expressing concern about the education of learners. Gibson (1983, 1988) reports that "Punjabi immigrant parents in California…support their children's education by requiring that homework be done...As a result, their children have higher rates of graduation and college acceptance than other immigrant groups…at school parents become more accessible both as resources and as learners.... When students see that their parents are respected by the school, there may be less of the conflict between home and school cultures that can cause a breakdown of discipline within the family. This is an example of good outcome from the collaboration between parents and school.

Majority of head teachers reported that, for parents to trust and hold teachers accountable, school leadership always advises parents to be free to come to school to find out how their children behave or in case a learner goes home late either due to his or her own mistake or a school extra curricula activities. Because school leadership and teachers in particular, are always held accountable for learners' behavior by parents, a head teacher from school I Kigali ascertained that:

> "We have groups of parents of which each is given special duties each week to come to school, conduct assembly, talk to learners, visit classrooms, check school environment, check school facilities, interview teachers for different ideas and address different problems prevailing at school such as late coming of both teachers and learners, poor administration, reproductive health and any other social concern on both local and national level. This has reduced crushes and shifting the blames between school leadership and parents."

Parents who do not give learners enough time to study or come to school in time are usually called to meet teachers particularly class teacher and school leadership. For example, in Rwandan rural areas, learners go to fetch water before coming to school while in urban schools, they hang around with friends and so some come late. Sometimes learners come late or sometimes miss classes for 2 or 3 days. So, class teachers always seek for parental guidance through PTC. There is a government program called 'FATA UMWANA WESE NKUWAWE' meaning that; handle any child the same way you would handle your own child. A head teacher from school F stated that:

If all parents would feel that it is their responsibility to hold teachers and school leadership accountable over their children, advice teachers when need be, Rwanda would have very socially cohesive schools that embrace differences. This is even easy for Rwanda where we have one language and one culture. Every teacher can comfortably communicate to any parent.

However, another head teacher from school D northern province went on to argue that:

> "In spite of the government of Rwanda highlighting the importance of parental involvement in the learner's day to day life for better accountability, some parents today particularly in urban areas do not take this seriously. They all claim to be too busy with their daily work. There is no follow-up in their children's education."

He continued saying: "A big number of parents particularly in rural schools have very low education levels and some actually illiterate. Such parents do not make follow up of their children. Yet parents are supposed to assist school leadership to solve some problems such as contributing to the development of schools, learners' discipline at school because without this combined efforts, we cannot inculcate peace values in learners as school leaders alone and yet parents come around to hold teachers and school leadership accountable of their children's behavior, education and discipline generally-it would not be fair."

A head teacher from one of Kigali schools stated that:

> "In particular, parents from urban schools are too busy seeking for a living. There is no follow up from parents to their children at school. They pretend to trust teachers to do everything for their children and this makes accountability un balanced. On the other hand, in rural areas lack of parental guidance is due to the fact that parents are not educated. They are not interested in knowing how their children are taught. They even don't want to discuss what the teacher teaches learners or problems that school leadership faces. They claim that their work is to pay school fees and the rest is for the teachers and head teachers. Learners are quite followed up by parents who know the value of education."

During this study, learners were asked to indicate the education levels of their parents or guardians for the researchers to assess the level of parental participation in their children's learning. Looking at these percentages, it is really hard for school leadership to work effectively and profitably with such parents with very low education. It is hard for parents of that education level to comprehend educational dynamics. See the tables below:

Table 19: Mother's highest Qualification

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Primary school	128	27.2
	Secondary school certificate	136	28.9
	Diploma	41	8.7
	Bachelor Degree	22	4.7
	Postgraduate certificate	2	0.4
	Honor's Degree	2	0.4
	Master's Degree	9	1.9
	I don't know	30	6.4
	None	30	6.4
	Not applicable	63	13.4
	Total	463	98.5
Missing	System	7	1.5
Total		470	100

Primary source from the field

Table 20: Father's highest Qualification

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Primary school	87	18.5
	Secondary school certificate	131	27.9
	Diploma	40	8.5
	Bachelor Degree	18	3.8
	Postgraduate certificate	9	1.9
	Honor's Degree	1	0.2
	Master's Degree	9	1.9
	Doctoral Degree	3	0.6
	I don't know	43	9.1
	None	18	3.8
	Not applicable	103	21.9
	Total	462	98.3
Missing	System	8	1.7
Total		470	100

Primary source from the field

Both tables above indicate that majority of parents hold either a secondary school diploma or a primary school certificate. This low level of education may explain partially why some parents complain that the school does not involve them fully in all school matters.

The head teacher concluded that:

> "In this kind of scenario, it is very difficult to successfully inculcate peace values in learners when parents themselves do not know and appreciate their roles. However, to re-enforce teacher trust and accountability, the school leadership has a free telephone on which parents can call for any emergence and any information they would like to share with school leadership such as having seen a learner unsafe places during school time."

Teacher trust and accountability usually go hand in hand with parents' level of education and socio-economic status. While learners with college-educated parents usually have a network of social relationships to facilitate learners' success (a form of social capital), learners whose parents did not attend college often lack these kinds of networks. Gibson and Bejinez's (2002) examined how MEP staff "facilitated learner engagement by creating caring relationships with learners, providing them with access to institutional support, and implementing activities that build from and serve to validate students' home cultures… MEP teachers who came from migrant backgrounds and were college educated provided role models for the migrant students…" This may explain partially the relevance of having well educated parents who understand better what happens at school and thus be in a position of willing to contribute positively to the success of school.

6.9.3 Parents' and Teachers' Committee (PTC) Involvement in Rwandan Schools: From Teacher Trust, Accountability and Social Cohesion Perspective

Though considered key agents of peace, teachers cannot do so without being trusted and held accountable by parents who are the key stakeholders of education for their children, National Board of professionals (2002) states that, "teachers should take Advantage of Community collaboration to cultivate knowledge of the learners' community as a powerful resource for learning. National Board of professionals (ibid) elaborates such opportunities:

i.   Observing their communal life in action;

ii. Collecting oral histories from senior citizens;

iii. Studying the ecology of the local environment;

iv. Exploring career options on-site;

v.   Any community urban or rural, wealthy or poor can be a laboratory for learning under the guidance of an effective teacher;

vi.   Discussing with senior: citizens, parents, business people, and local organizations; and

vii.   Teachers should be engaged in assisting, enhancing and supplementing their work with learners. Teachers need not teach alone but with the community (National Board of professionals 2002).

In line with this view, one of the head teachers from school G southern province stated that:

> "Teachers must promote and cultivate knowledge about the character of the community and its effects in learners. In particular, Rwandan teachers working with school community today should always develop an appreciation of Rwandan cultural influences on the learners' aspirations and expectations, and of the effects of discrimination, injustice, genocide ideology, poverty and any form of differences that may divide Rwandans and stop them from developing."

When learners were asked to define their ideal teacher, majority of them singled out the following summarized in bit different way:

Teachers must be humane, caring and responsive to us and our problems, while they make sure that they fulfil their responsibilities of teaching.

While state authorities and local school district leadership establish broad goals, objectives and priorities for the schools, professional teachers share responsibility with colleagues and administrators for decisions about what constitutes valuable learning for students. This includes:

i.   Their participation in critically analyzing the school curriculum;

ii.   Identifying new priorities and communicating necessary changes to the school community;

iii.   Teachers' knowledge of curriculum and their learners are essential to discharging these responsibilities effectively;

iv.   But a readiness to work collaboratively on such matters and not blindly accept curricular conventions is also necessary.

Findings from majority of head teachers interviewed revealed that, in an attempt to fairly hold teachers and schools leadership accountable, schools have a close relationship and support from different private and public institutions such as vice mayors in charge of social affairs, police, military, NGOs, and school leadership. Such agencies come to schools and talk to both teachers and learners to find out how teachers are fulfilling their responsibilities as teachers of not teaching but also enhancing social cohesion and peace values building among learners.

Different influential parents, national and local leaders are usually invited to give talks to teachers and learners under themes such as Rwandan cultural values and taboos, history of Rwanda including the origin of genocide ideology. When asked the rationale of such pedagogical approaches, the head teacher from school H, eastern province re-iterated that:

'Having a close relationship with the community is crucial for teachers trust and accountability. At times, for us teachers, both parents and school leadership hold us accountable for not being open to learners in terms of teaching what happened in Rwanda in 1994. However, we have to confess that, at times teaching such ideas to lowers classes is not easy particularly to very young learners in primary. Consequently while teaching such issues we do not go in depth.

"So, the rationale of involving PTC and other speakers is that such talks help teachers' and learners to share what happened in Rwandan past, how it happened, its consequences and how to prevent it to happen again is crucial while highlighting the biased political and colonial misinterpretation of Rwandan history that presents Rwandans as different from each other and yet it was purely based on selfish and personal interest of colonialists together with their local politicians. Therefore in line with teacher and accountability, teachers and learners are given an opportunity to listen to a number of various speakers on peace building need and requirement for all Rwandans as an addition to peace values and social cohesion taught by teachers in day to day class room setting". Once PTC retains contact with teachers, teachers feel supported by the community to teach peace values and other considered sensitive topics among learners to enhance social cohesion.

A big number of the learners interviewed on how they evaluate such talks by different visitors, ascertained that;

In order to add on what they are taught by their teachers, they attend talks and speeches from visitors who help them as learners to critically assess and differentiate interpretations of peace values and social cohesion they learn from their teachers in class rooms and what they read from books.

Furthermore, in many schools visited, PTC claimed that: they quite often get involved in solving some specific problems in line with cases such as genocide ideology and discrimination tendencies that come up among learners and teachers. This parental and community involvement in school leadership in Rwanda and making sure that teachers do their work professionally, has drastically reduced many petty cases or conflicts which used to happen in schools immediately after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

A majority of schools in Rwanda are day schools particularly in rural areas. Since learners are day scholars and it is hard to control their discipline at school, school leadership always conducts meetings among teachers, school leadership and the local community through PTC and different meetings are conducted to solve given problems that may be beyond teachers' capacity.

To reduce the possible causes of some of those un desirable behaviors from learners, PTC and community members, help teachers and school leadership to organize different activities that make learners busy and redirect their bad behaviors to good behaviors rather than leaving everything to teachers. A number of such activities were cited by a head teacher from school G eastern province and these included but not limited to:

conferences, entertainment, concerts, workshops to address topics such as: security issues, peace values, unity, reconciliation, respect, human dignity, self esteem, patriotism and nationalism to help learners improve their relation among themselves, school leadership, surrounding community and the country at large to create and strengthen school ties with the community and parents in particular. Majority of head teachers ascertained that:

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A school should be seen as a home where teachers are seen as parents not as a place to correct or rehabilitate children who are spoilt and their parents failed to handle them. But it is supposed to be a combined effort amongst teachers, school leadership and the community rather than waiting to hold teachers accountable for any learners' errors.

However, a head teacher from school J Kigali complained that: "At times such endeavour faces the challenge of alcoholism among teachers and parents. This requires therefore, combined efforts between school leadership and PTC to make sure that any teacher who gets involved in such behaviour is held accountable. This creates capacity for the community to enhance effective communication between school leadership, parents and teachers. This is why; teachers themselves at school have committees that play a crucial role in promoting social cohesion by trying to promote discipline, peace values and professional growth among themselves."

Another PTC from school B western province reported that:

If there is anything wrong at school among teachers or learners, we call the concerned learner(s), teacher(s) and school leadership for discussion because we work closely.

Talking to many teachers, head teachers, learners and parents, majority of schools do not have full time counselors hired by the school to deal with learners' social problems. However, few school leadership choose a teacher to work as counselor. Such a counselor through school leadership organizes some trips and talks depending on the prevailing issues in the country, community or at school in order for the learners to be well informed particularly on issues that have something to do with peace and security in the country or in the local community. Majority of Head teachers stated that:

Teachers in charge of counselling learners, across the year and term, usually organize different events including memorial cites visits and invite different speakers from all local and national levels. This helps learners who are not exposed to any other media or have capacity to visit far away sites to continually learn from such speakers. During such speeches learners are encouraged to form clubs such as Never Again, Peace clubs, drama and music in line with

promoting peace in order for the entire school population to understand the value of peace and living in harmony in their daily lives.

Sometimes PTC members visit teachers in classrooms and see how the teaching-learning activities are conducted. After each visit, PTC interacts with teachers and shares the challenges they face in their work so that together they can find solutions. If the issue at hand is big, then the issue is referred to the PTC general assembly for discussion for solutions. Through interviews and focus groups, it was found out that PTC often holds meetings with head teachers before calling for the school general assembly of all parents. Through this kind of administrative approach by PTC, majority of head teachers ascertained that:

PTC is like an engine to the teaching-learning activities and school leadership in general. Many problems such as indiscipline among learners and teachers, teachers' and learners' truancy have been solved due to PTC school and classroom visits and interactions. We all have phones and share any new information concerning the school.

Despite the above findings however, many other challenges regarding school and parents collaboration are still pending and unresolved. Parents from school G for example reported that sometimes school authorities do not share with them accurate information regarding finance management added to the fact that some of their suggestions are not often taken into account.

This chapter discussed how trust and accountability measures are taken by the Rwandan government, the school authorities and governing bodies, the parents and the community, to ensure that peace values and social cohesion comes true at school. Most important was the collaboration between these different players. Different interventions and information from respondents helped to draw a specific snap shot of how accountability and trust are sometimes implicitly or indirectly implemented. The performance contract (imihigo), the itorero, the Rwandan values (kwigira, kwihesha agaciro...) scheme and other home-grown solutions all contributed to explain how the progress in building trust and social cohesion is taking place both in a decentralized manner and in a responsible way by each stakeholder, the government by its policies, the governing bodies by their institutions, the teacher by pedagogy and the parents by their care when they both attend the wellbeing of their children both at home and at school. The

chapter also displayed challenges that may impede the realization of social cohesion at school and these included but not limited to the question of poverty, scarce resources, learners' discipline and teachers' misconduct.

6.10 CONCLUSION

During this study, it was seen that the new curriculum requirements include the teaching of peace values across the curriculum as teachers' responsibility. This is why Rwanda education board through the department of curriculum, department of inspectorate, teachers commission, head teachers, parents' teachers committee has to hold teachers accountable for what they do with the new curriculum, teaching and learning activities at schools.

This study showed that Rwandan teachers are held accountable by Rwanda' educational system through the Ministry of Education with its wing REB under the department of inspectorate and quality to ensure quality education for all by developing learner's competence particularly with the new competence based curriculum whose rationale is to inculcate peace values among learners for a peaceful Rwanda. Beside the government of Rwanda effort to hold Rwandan teachers accountable through the law and the Ministry of Education policies and procedures, interpreting learners' preferences, one can easily deduce that there is an indication of the existence of some teachers' misconducts that display inequalities, psychological as well as physical mistreatment to learners. This description was seen as a signal of the possible negative experiences that learners go through at school perpetuated by teachers. Such complaints from learners are indicators that some teachers are not properly held accountable to honour the teachers' professional code of conduct and hence serious measures are needed from REB.

There is a need for possible future research in Rwanda to understand the experience of learners about threats to school peace building posed by unprofessional and unethical teachers and the moment is an evidence why holding teachers accountable in Rwanda by both REB and school leadership is paramount rather than just trusting teachers because they are trained from teacher colleges. Hallinger (2003) and Walters et al. (2005) believed that school leaders influence modelling aspiration and ethical practices when they lead by example.

In this study, it was shown that, teaching by example is very important if positive results have to follow; it cannot happen if teachers do not teach with a clear purpose of influencing learners positively to transform them into peace builders and supportive of social cohesion. That is why it is imperative to accompany teachers in their journey for self-fulfilment taking into account their moral, economic and social aspirations necessary for self-realization. In this way they are likely to make a strong impact on learners.

However, much is still needed to be done for teachers to become authentically accountable to their behaviour and other set targets for the learners' success. An external cause for accountability such as the teacher code of conduct or policy documents are positive instruments but should not be considered as sufficient to motivate teachers to be accountable. A mechanism needs to be thought of on how to activate an internal source of motivation.

It was shown during this study through interviews and the assessment of teacher programs that, teachers receive training in terms of subject content and pedagogical support. However, the evidence of existence of particular misbehaviours by teachers in schools, require well established system of accountability carried out both by REB and school leadership to find out the possible causes. PTC involvement in school matters was shown to benefit both the school and the learners. However, some parents who are unsatisfied challenge the school to improve towards genuine and consequent collaboration with the community where learners come from.

Chapter 7. Teachers Professional Development (CPD) In Rwanda

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter raised the concern about improvement the quality of education in Rwanda and the demand for teacher trust and accountability. In view of May and Supovitz, (2010), it is strongly argued that education authorities should help teachers reflect upon their practices if Rwanda's endeavour of striving to meet her educational goals and set standards is to be achieved. In view of this, Rwanda Ministry of Education has set a number of policies that guide educational plans and practices (See chapter 4). These policies have and still serve as guiding documents for the education sector. In line with this critical argument, this present chapter argues that, though teachers are challenged to be accountable in their profession, they still lack sufficient professional skills to carry out their responsibilities as requested. The 1994 genocide against Tutsi devastated the nation's education system, resulting in the closure of over 600 schools and the death or exile of some 3,000 teachers (Obura, 2003). Consequently, since the cessation of these hostilities, the focus of Rwanda's education policy has been twofold:

i.   The promotion of national unity and reconciliation, and;
ii.   The development of a skilled workforce.

Rwanda's turbulent history has affected its education system which, in turn, however has been the source of the reconstruction and reconciliation of the country (Hayman, 2005). Henceforth, in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the Government of Rwanda was firmly committed to expanding teachers' opportunities to develop the most promising pedagogies for their classrooms and students. The intention was to keep teachers at the cutting edge of teaching and learning by creating opportunities for ongoing professional development that are meaningful, contextually and culturally relevant.

Within the last 23 years, the government of Rwanda has had recognisable achievements in students' enrolment expansion, teacher recruitment, deployment, construction of classrooms

and sanitary facilities, as well as provision of pre-service and in-service teacher education (MINEDUC, 2009). By recognizing teachers as key agents of peace in post conflict countries and in particular Rwanda, the Government of Rwanda is aware that a well-trained teacher is key ingredient of an education which is expected to play a more central role in peace building and social cohesion in Rwanda. For this reason, the provision of teacher training is of paramount importance in ensuring that teachers are committed to good quality instructional strategies and approaches as well as the principles of teaching national values of humanity and equal respect for social cohesion, which are inevitably supposed to be displayed through teachers' classroom practices.

However, the pressure for expansion requires a re-examination of the mechanisms for the preparation and development of Rwandan teachers so that quality of education is not affected negatively. There is a concern, therefore, that, this dire need for continuing and in-service training coupled with many other changes in education systems in Rwanda such as shift to English as medium of instruction necessitate many well-trained, motivated and constantly professionally updated teachers.

This chapter, therefore, located its analysis of the specific education interventions in relation to Rwandan context, as well as the context of schools and local communities around Rwandan schools. The specific research question that guided the chapter was: How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that teachers are trained for peace building as potential agents of peace and social cohesion? With this research question in mind, this study tried to capture the interconnected dimensions of the "4Rs" among teachers in Rwandan schools:

a) *Redistribution* concerns equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for different groups in society – particularly marginalized and disadvantaged groups.

b) *Recognition* concerns respect for as well as affirmation of diversity and identities in education structures, processes, and content in terms of gender, language, politics, religion, ethnicity, culture, and ability.

c) *Representation* concerns participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of human and material resources.

d) *Reconciliation* involves dealing with past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships and trust.

The framework was used to analyze the extent to which Rwandan teachers are trained for peace building teaching as potential agents of peace and social cohesion. Therefore, there is evidence that, the role of Rwandan teachers today is fundamentally the one of:

i.   Teaching peace values among learners' starting at an early age in schools

ii. Teaching learners how to work together, promoting self respect, human dignity, eradication of any kind of discrimination amongst all Rwandan citizens from any background and levels;

iii. Teaching learners how to amicably solve all their problems which may arise among them and in the country beginning with fellow learners at school;

iv. Promoting in learners the attitude of receiving, listening and accepting everyone in the Rwandan society regardless of their background, inclination and socio-economic status (MINEDUC, 2007).

One may wonder what might be the drivers for Rwanda's effort to retrain teachers both formally and informally and why after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi the Rwandan Education system is working hard to empower Rwandan teachers' skills and pedagogies. Referring to the Rwandan context, Mafeza (2013) noted that a teacher can play a great role for better or worse, as a means of conflict prevention or encouragement. The role of teacher becomes very demanding and it is clear that teachers cannot be educated once and for all during few years of pre-service education they have. On the contrary they need continuing in-service training throughout their working life, especially in Rwanda whereby education systems changed radically after genocide with genocide related subjects incorporated in primary and secondary education curricula (Bamusananire et.al., 2006).

As pinpointed by Sayed et al. (2016), in post conflict situations, teacher professional development is considered as vital in supporting teachers in order to ensure equity, peace and social cohesion. Every Rwandan teacher needs to be aware of the necessity for peace building, peace values and hence any Rwanda teacher has to refresh his or her teaching skills for teaching all Rwandan learners what entails to be a good citizen, patriotic, as well as what it means to be a Rwandan and global citizen. Therefore, due to this central role of teachers after 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the Ministry of Education and its wing Rwanda Education Board (REB) in partnership with many international organizations are coordinating and harmonizing their efforts to provide pre- and in-service to teachers at all levels of education in a bid to contribute to social transformation (Rutayisire, 2007).

Research indicates that Continuous Professional Development (CPD) for teachers is the process by which teachers reflect upon their competencies, keep them up to date, and develop them further (Friedman et al., 2000). The world that teachers are preparing young people to enter is changing rapidly, and because the teaching skills required are evolving likewise, no initial course of teacher education can be sufficient to prepare a teacher for a career of 30 or 40 years. In addition, teachers hold one of the keys to building successful and sustainable peace in post-conflict situations around the world, both initial and continuing/in-service professional development are vital to ensuring that teachers develop the knowledge, skills and dispositions to become active agents of peace and social cohesion in classrooms, schools and communities.

Rwanda needs a structured and permanent system of continuing professional development for teachers who would not only impart knowledge to students but also will educate individual learners as an independent decision-makers and critical thinkers to become a key aspect of transformative country. The education and training of teachers should not limit to teacher's subject knowledge, but should go beyond and emphasize on knowledge on human rights, knowledge of the conflict, or knowledge of the culture of historically marginalized groups (Mafeza, 2013).

7.2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter is organized in two main sections. The first section discusses the professional development of teachers in Rwanda and gives a distinct discussion between in service and pre-service training of teachers. The second section sheds light on interventions and home grown solutions employed in training teachers to be key agents of peace and social cohesion. The 3 interventions that are discussed in this chapter include National Itorero Commission, Aegis Trust programme and Institute of Research and Dialogue Programme (IRDP).

These interventions are very important for the fact that they are focusing on the issue pertaining to peacebuilding and social cohesion in the aftermath of genocide. Their common denominator is that they help teachers understand values and attitudes underpinning peace education so that in turn, they provide learners with an understanding of the principles of and respect for freedom, human rights and tolerance, the aspects of sustainable peace in Rwanda.

This chapter explores data collected for study on researching the role of teachers in peacebuilding in post conflict contexts of Rwanda. The findings of this chapter are emanating from three types of sources. The first is an extensive review of the available literature and relevant documents (including academic research, civil society reports, news articles, and national policy reports, etc.). The second is a series of interviews conducted with key informants in different schools and teacher training colleges located in all provinces including Kigali City. Semi-structured interviews also target specific people because of their expertise and knowledge about the research area including policymakers in government, especially in the Ministry of Education, civil society organizations, NGOs and others policy makers. In addition to document analysis and interviews, the chapter discusses the findings from questionnaires distributed to teachers and students from the above-mentioned schools

Specifically, this chapter attempts to explore if Rwandan teachers understand the required professional development to enable them to execute their day to day tasks. In this way, the analysis enables exploration how teachers are benefitting from continuing professional

development in handling new curriculum related issues required to inculcate peace values among Rwandan learners who are growing up within the society which is two over decades removed from genocide that decimated the country.

Finally, this chapter discusses the findings that revolve around the interconnected dimensions of the "4Rs" among teachers in Rwandan schools, namely redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation.

7.3 TEACHER EDUCATION BEFORE 1994 IN RWANDA: THE PROLONGED COLONIAL AGENDA OF DIVIDE AND RULE IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS

Teacher education before genocide in Rwanda is the area with little surviving and detailed information. This section therefore mainly focuses on the development of teacher training in Rwanda from 1962 to 1994, after a very quick look at education during colonial period. With the arrival of the Roman Catholic missionaries, churches and schools were established throughout the country and first schools were formed in Rwanda in 1900 (Mafeza, 2013). By 1918, there were close to 12 catholic missionary schools operating in Rwanda. The schools existed primarily to serve the interests of the missionaries and the colonizers, as opposed to serving the people. During the whole colonial period before independence in 1926 the colonial administration permitted missionaries to continue to establish and operate schools across Rwanda with indirect control through contracts and subsidies (Erny, 2003).

After World War II, the UN criticized Belgium's colonial schools for being too much under religious control and for not providing access to higher education to Africans. In response, Belgium initiated some reforms regarding teacher qualifications, teaching materials, and inspections, but still remained reluctant to provide sufficient access to higher education for the colonized Rwandans (Hoben, 1989).

As Rwanda emerged from colonial rule and began making more of its own decisions around its school system thinking about teaching methods, language of instruction and enrolments systems, there were some areas to think about especially for a nation soon after independence, struggling

for development across all sectors. Unfortunately, training teacher about what to teach and how to teach was not a topic of reform in Rwandan education system during the post-independence period leading up to 1994. Teaching practices were not addressed in the reforms of the period. The constitution for the newly independent Rwanda, written in 1962, stated that Kinyarwanda was the national language, though it would be joined by French, as both were stated as official languages of Rwanda at that time (Nyirindekwe, 1999).

Along with changes to structure of the system during the post- independence period infrastructures were challenged in years leading up to 1994. Many teachers were not qualified. The education system was working through reform efforts, as the reform begun in the 1970s. The 1977-78 reform extended primary education to 8 years and was intended to ruralise and democratize education and stressed instruction in mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) and local culture (Mafeza, 2013). The reform was revisited in the early 1990s by shortening primary school to 6 years, replacing the last two years with a three-year junior secondary cycle.

A comprehensive analysis seems to indicate that, reforms during the pre-genocide period were scattered and limited in their successes. Normally, the education system is known to be inclusive in its policies and reflect the ethnic, racial and cultural diversity of each state (ibid.) But as pointed out by Rutayisire et al. (2004) and   Hilker (2010), despite the numerous educational reforms throughout this period before 1994, there were still significant inequalities based on discriminatory policies in the educational system whereby divisionism and hatred among Rwandans were reinforced. The state did not do anything to promote and provide teacher training on human rights values and principles by introducing or strengthening intercultural understanding as a part of the school curriculum for learners of all ages.

Regarding teacher professional development during the period between 1962 and 1994, the problem of teacher education has not been taken seriously while it was still posed with acuity throughout more than three decades. This means that teacher training system in Rwanda has been characterized by various structures which were successively rejected because they were inadequate in their attempt to empower teachers (Nzabarirwa, 2010). What follows discusses

primary school teachers training offered in Normal schools (Ecoles Normales in French) and secondary school teachers training offered in National University of Rwanda.

7.3.1 Teacher Training Colleges (*Ecoles Normales*): To What Extent was Peace Values and Social Cohesion Embedded in Teacher Training Colleges' Program?

Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) were created to train teachers for primary schools and were initiated by religious congregations creating the teachers' schools D3 and teachers schools D4 in 1960. Teachers with D3 have completed three years after primary school, while those with D4 have completed four years after primary school. However, these schools used the programme exactly taken from the Belgian system. These schools were mainly for males. The first teacher schools for females were created at Zaza, Byimana and Rwaza three years later from 1963 (Umutesi, 2004). Just after independence, the teacher training programme was a bit improved and Normal schools D5 and D7 were created. Again, they continued operating under the Belgian model. With the 1978 reform, general teacher boarding school D6 was created for general teaching at primary level and technical teacher schools with the aim of training teachers for technical courses at primary schools. The programme was designed by the Ministry of Education and was mainly aimed to:

- Provide students with human values adapted to national realities as opposed to colonial approaches;

- Provide students with necessary knowledge and skills allowing them to integrate and become useful to   national life;

- Provide students with skills necessary to fulfil administrative functions such as to become head teachers

But, generally, assessing the programme, it is evident that, it was mainly composed of profession courses (Psycho-pedagogy and methodology) and general courses (mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, French, English, Kinyarwanda, Geography, history, music, political education and physical education and sports and drawing). However, the programme lacked the claimed human values and was not contextualised to national realities (Umutesi, 2004).

7.3.2 The Establishment of the National University of Rwanda (NUR): An attempt to Professionalize Teachers

The National University of Rwanda (NUR) was established in 1963 and was composed of two faculties (Faculty of Medicine, faculty of Social and Economic Sciences) and a school of teacher training which unfortunately, five months later, was transformed into two faculties (Faculty of Science and Faculty of Arts). Despite the top priority of teacher education as a crucial need, the NUR behaved as if teacher training was not its concern (Nzabarirwa, 2010). The main concern was to organize the faculties on classical model and to provide the human resource necessary to the political, social and economic development.

Until 1981, teacher training was relegated at the second plan and teacher education in Rwanda was not considered as an urgent issue (Bines & Woods, 2007). Teachers as a source of knowledge and therefore the key instruments and resource for the development of various sectors of the national life were ignored. However, after 1981, the faculties of Arts and Science were assigned the mission of training secondary school teachers and in addition to academic subjects, students benefited from professional courses including general teaching methods, general pedagogy and psychology, subjects teaching methods, general teaching methods among others. Their credit hours are detailed in the table below:

Table 21: Types of courses offered for teacher training at NUR.

Year of study	Course	Hours	Credits
1	General pedagogy and psychology	45	3
2	General teaching methods	15	1
	Subject teaching methods	45	3
	Developmental psychology	45	3
3	Audio visual	30	2
	School legislation and professional ethics	30	2
	Teaching practice	90	6

Source: Nzabalirwa, 2015

It is clear from the table above that the programme did not include values and national identity related courses.

From 1987 to 1993, the NUR did not have any teacher training structure for secondary schools, while the number of children was increasing every year.

7.3.3 The National Institute of Education (NIE) from 1966 to 1981: Taking Teachers' Profession a Step Further

In 1966, the National Institute of Education (NIE) was created by the Government of Rwanda and funded by UNESCO. Since its foundation, the NIE had three major objectives that made the institute very much oriented towards the teacher training:

- Training of secondary school teachers

- In- service training of secondary teachers

- Educational research.

The structure and training programmes were organized in a way to achieve these three objectives. In addition to the academic training in the areas of Arts and Science, the students were offered a theoretical training in psychology, pedagogy and methodology completed with a ten-week teaching practice carried out in secondary schools throughout the country. This professional dimension was aimed at empowering student teachers with professional skills enabling them to teach their subjects of specialization. Unfortunately, due to a lack of financial support, this institution which would have been the pillar of renovation of secondary school system regarding the specificity of its objectives had not attained the desired results (Carney, 2011). According to Ntamakiriro (1984), due to limited means, the institution accommodated only 250 students per year and severely handicapped the activities of educational research and professional development.

In 1981, the GoR mandated the NUR- Ruhengeri campus the mission to train teachers and to focus more on applied research and lifelong learning training especially diploma and bachelors' degree levels in psycho- pedagogy and psychology. For this purpose, the campus opened the faculty of education but did not fill the gap in initial training of secondary school teachers. In a bid to address this problem at the end of September 1992, the University Council decided to create a school of Education, named "Ecole Normale Superieure". At the beginning the school was targeting to provide a three-year general and professional training to 60 students and to conduct a pedagogical training to a great number of diploma and bachelors' degree holders ready to teach in secondary schools.

In addition, the available source reveals that teachers benefitted from in-service training given in the National Centre of teacher training. The centre was created in 1985 and was affiliated to the division of teaching staff training operating within the Ministry of Education. It was mainly aimed at training secondary school teachers. Short-term seminars were organised and conducted by the centre staff, at Remera- Kigali.

During 1991 the centre started a programme with initiative to provide first year teachers of secondary schools with pedagogical courses. 283 teachers undertook the training in 1991, while 249 teachers benefitted from the planned training in 1992 and 176 the following year (Denomme,

1994). The centre also initiated a series of activities of CPD putting in place 15 centres that included 70 secondary schools, 210 mathematics teachers and 245 French teachers with secondary school certificate. It can be concluded that before 1994 genocide, despite the expanded access to education, the training of teachers was not a top priority.

7.4 INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION ANALYSIS (ITE) IN RWANDA AFTER 1994: TOWARDS AN EQUILIBRIUM FOR EMPOWERING RWANDAN TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL AND PEACE EDUCATION SKILLS

This section highlights the fundamental reforms undertaken from the end of 1994 genocide against Tutsi until now. It discusses the current policies and strategies which were put in place to empower teacher training system in order to respond to relevant education at all levels of the Rwandan educational system. In a bid to reconstruct the national unity, the government of Rwanda embarked on producing well-qualified and positively motivated human resources whose attitude towards work and environment is unquestionable. For education to play it central role in the national social change and development, it demanded a deliberately and carefully planned education in establishing an efficient system of teacher education as the basic and firm education. There was therefore a need to establish a system that would produce teachers who are effective, interactive and proactive, creative and socially acceptable and capable of producing positive educational results and values (Nzabalirwa and Nzitabakuze, 2015).

In its national Vision 2020, Rwanda resolved to develop a knowledge based and technology-led economy. Rwanda development policies are generally based on this general orientation and highlights human resource development as one of the pillars development (MINECOFIN, 2000). Under 2020 vision, the need for Rwandans to become formally well educated has been government priority. Vision 2020 aspires for Rwanda to become a modern, strong and united nation, proud of its fundamental values, politically stable and without discrimination amongst its citizens. The vision also acknowledges that human resources owned by a country are very vital and central to its development efforts. Regarding teacher education, it points out that:

"Teachers are expected to be sufficiently trained and competent to help in the moulding of the young people to translate theoretical knowledge into employable skills. The education has been declining largely because of law calibre of teaching staff. The training will aim at upgrading the skills of non-qualified teachers and giving new recruits a quick learning" (MINEDUC, 2007, p. 6)

The Rwanda's Economic development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS, 2008-2012) also stipulates that:

> "Education contribution to poverty reduction will include equal access to the most vulnerable groups in society, ensuring a reduction in regional disparities and an increase in gender parity. District will develop education plans that include local strategies for nine years education, early childhood development, technical and vocational education and training, girls' education, adult literacy and school management. And all this will be possible if we have qualified staff to implement it" (MINEDUC, 2007, p. 7)

The Teacher Service Commission (TSC), an entity within MINEDUC before 2007, was responsible for overseeing the implementation of the teacher training policy. The TSC was responsible for teacher licensing, placement, retirements and deaths. It also dealt with the issues of the demand for and supply of teachers based on local government requirements and national projections. This information will constitute the national database on teachers and will be used in managing the cost and financing of teacher development in Rwanda.

In addition, during that time, as part of the decentralization strategy, the structure of the Ministry of Education also changed. The TSC was distributed, its mandate folded into the Teacher Development and Management (TDM) department within the newly formed implementation arm of MINEDUC, called Rwanda Education Board (REB).

The Teacher Development and Management (TDM) Policy was introduced in 2007 and outlined the core priorities for how teacher training was to be done. In its introduction, the Rwandan policy on teacher development and management states:

"The teacher is the main instrument for bringing desired improvements in learning and adequate teacher management structures, policies and strategies are key factors that determine teacher performance. The Government aims at providing a management structure in the teaching sector that will enhance efficiency and control among teachers and education officers at the point where the actual learning occurs" (MINEDUC, 2007, p. 4)

Three years later, in 2010, a summit on the theme of teacher Education, Management and professionalization which was attended by MINEDUC'S top officials, District Education Officers, Heads of institutions, and different development partners, reiterated what is embedded in the TDM on institutional framework for policy implementation which states that Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) will have its role expanded to include coordination of the initial teacher training in Rwanda. KIE will also assist in the provision of expertise in the initial teacher training for primary schools. KIE will contribute to teacher training for all categories of teachers (TDM, 2010: 19).

In his letter issued in the same year, the Minister of Education emphasized and brought up to date the expansion of KIE's role to include oversight of teacher education provision for all categories of teachers at all levels including curriculum development, determination of teacher assessment criteria, certification requirements and the award of degrees, diplomas and certificates. By late 2015, a new teacher development and management policy was drafted by MINEDUC. Among the key challenges and priorities identified within this policy was mainly the limited capacity of the teacher education system to meet the expanded system proposed in the Education Sector Strategic Plan of 2003.

In the ESSP 2006 - 2010, the GoR recognized the challenges faced in the country which can be summed up as addressing the shortage of teachers, both qualitative and quantitative, at all levels and insufficiency of qualified personnel at central and provincial administration levels and improving the status of the teacher and providing incentives for the job given salary and conditions of service which do not motivate.

In 2015, education sector priorities were guided by the 2013-2018 Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) (MINEDUC, 2013). It was stipulated that maintaining a skilled and motivated teaching staff will require a training strategy that takes into account the skills needed to implement the

numerous approved policies and strategies. There is a shared sentiment that in most developing countries education means teachers (Obura, 2003).

Likewise, the success of Rwandan education would depend heavily on its teachers, and a greater focus on teacher training will therefore be required on the part of the Ministry of Education, especially if Rwanda is to maintain educational quality considering the increased numbers of students in both primary and secondary schools. The Ministry recognizes that teachers are key source of knowledge, skills, wisdom, appropriate orientations, inspirations and models for the students and this should be demonstrated over time of their career (Monteiro et al. 2012). With this perspective, TPD provides Rwandan teachers with opportunities to explore new roles and attitudes and to develop new instructional techniques in a bid to contribute to social transformation.

World Bank (2003) noted that universalizing primary school completion was entirely consistent with what was needed to build the human capital base for broad based economic and social development. However, after 1994 genocide, in education sector there were challenges of inadequacy, inefficiency, malfunctioning and low quality output of teachers both at primary and secondary education levels, and this prompted the Government to quickly shift its focus from undertaking emergency measures to re-establishing the functioning of the education system including teacher professional development (World Bank, 2003).

Scholars have highlighted the great role played by well-prepared teacher for any education system to prosper (Barrett, et al. 2007). Teacher preparation and certification was seen as the most important factor for student's learning, especially for low performing ones (Darling-Hammond, 2000 cited in Naylor and Sayed, 2014). This is the reason why the Government reaffirmed the need to support teacher training as one of its priorities (Rutayisire, 2012).

All education policy pronouncements are in agreement that improving the quality of education demands well trained teachers who will ensure a complete understanding of the overall principles of the curriculum and a detailed understanding of subject curricula according to career plans of individual teachers (Government of Rwanda, 2003).For this reason, from 2000, the Rwandan Ministry of Education has raised concerns with regard to the relevance of its teacher

education system in terms of its nature and how it is conceptualized. It was stipulated that the training of future teachers through pre-service training is crucial to producing a quality teaching workforce (MINEDUC, 2007). It is the form of training for teachers who are in the process of learning to become teachers themselves.

In the 2003 document as well as in the one of 2006 and 2010, the Ministry of Education includes teacher training and teacher motivation as one of its main missions in reconstructing the education system. An analysis of the policies indicates that pre-service teacher training is important for teachers to grasp the meaning of educational theories, teaching methodologies and educational ethics, whilst gaining social skills, knowledge and competences in different subjects. In Rwanda, the current pre-service teacher education system of Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) and Colleges of Education (COEs) came into being over the Teacher Education information.

7.5 THE RATIONALE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KIGALI INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION (KIE) -THE PRESENT UNIVERSITY OF RWANDA -COLLEGE OF EDUCATION (UR-CE): ANOTHER STEP FURTHER FOR EMPOWERING RWANDAN TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL AND PEACE EDUCATION SKILLS

The inadequacy of the teacher training system in Rwanda was aggravated by the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. As stated above, the teaching force was one of the badly affected causalities at all levels of education system. During genocide against the Tutsi, a large number of trained and experienced teachers were either killed or forced into exile. Many of those who remained or returned from exile have left teaching either for a better job or have joined private sector (Nzabarirwa, 2010). Just after 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the education sector, especially at primary and secondary school levels, was faced with the following challenges and problems:

- A severe shortage of qualified teachers;

- Dependency on the undertrained teachers who were not adequately prepared to meet the professional challenges;

- Having very limited opportunities open to teachers for upgrading and promotional upward mobility (Nzabalirwa, 2010).

Initial teacher training enables future teachers to comprehend educational theories, education philosophy, teaching methodologies and educational ethics whilst gaining social skills, knowledge and skills in different subjects with which to start a successful teaching career. It is within this background that colleges of Education were established. Currently, teachers in Rwanda are trained either in TTCs for pre- primary and primary teachers or in Colleges of Education for secondary teachers (UNESCO 2011).

Needless to say, initial teacher education programmes represent crucial education interventions for making a teacher an agent of transformative society with capacity to promote social cohesion in the post genocide Rwandan context.   Teachers teach the basics of life to very young children. Teachers are the foundation of the whole process of the socialisation for the child. A tutor from one of the TTC ascertained that: "...anyone who would like to achieve something would have to start with young people, this is why Rwandans put it that "youth is the power of a nation" (Urubyirukon'imbaragaz'Igihugu) and therefore… whatever the teacher says to a young child, the child takes it as a gospel truth. A teacher is viewed as a role model and to act accordingly..."

Teachers are considered as the second-highest determining factor in the development of individuals, after the parents. A teacher works to help the parents understand the goals of his/her own child. The role played by a teacher is paramount in their students' lives. They not only influence students' minds, but also their emotional, psychological and social life.

Teachers are expected to help learners have ability, attitude and understanding of how to develop their character while preparing them for communal life (Karsli, 2007). A school teacher has an important role in influencing the society, creating a sound foundation towards the future of society. Apart from the parents, it is a teacher who is effectively in the fore front to develop

the learners for both academic and social performance. A teacher must go beyond his/her role of teaching. The understanding of modern education requires a teacher to be effective in not just the child's intellectual development but also character development solely on the shoulders of the teacher (Woolfolk, 2007).

In Rwanda, teachers are considered as local opinion leaders, they interact with staff members, parents, district officials, professional body representatives, and other external stakeholders that may have relationships with the school (NIC, 2009). For this, initial teacher education should prepare a teacher with the following eight basic characteristics, which include but not limited to; Knowledge of material; Decision making; Critical thinking and problem-solving ability; self-understanding and self-correction; reflecting; recognizing students and knowing students learning needs; applying new finding in education; teaching and communication ability (Karsli, 2007).

It must not be forgotten that children take on role models while learning and that is why perhaps the behaviour and attitude of teachers, with whom learners spend most of their time apart from their parents, has an effect on their personality development. This is the reason why the current study paid a great attention to the initial teacher education programme since teachers are seen as key agents in peace building and promoting social cohesion.

Kigali Institute of Education (KIE), now University of Rwanda College of Education-UR-CE, was established in 1999 by the Government of Rwanda and was intended to run a pre-service teacher education programme that provides a four-year full time residential training to address the shortage of qualified teaching staff at secondary level and the shortage of managerial staff needed to run technical and vocational training institutions (MINEDUC, 1999). UR-CE train A1 (Diploma Level) for lower secondary teaching and had 4 years Bachelor's degree with Education for upper secondary level while those being prepared for teaching in TTC get B.ED or B.ED and qualify as Tutors. However, Tutors for TTCs get specific training under the department of primary education and education is taken as a major subject and students are invited to choose a subject of their interest. On the completion of a four year programme, students are awarded a degree

of Bachelor of Education (Honours) with qualified College Tutor Status. All these programs go with a twelve-week internship program during which mentors and institute lecturers supervised students who were teaching in secondary schools throughout the country. However, the time allocated to teaching internships was inadequate with only 12 weeks of school based activities.

Concerted efforts were being made to ensure that the training was of a high standard and provided rigorous preparation for subject based teaching. The pre-service teacher training programme started in 1999 at Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) with the offer of programmes leading to the award of Bachelor of Science with Education (BSc) and Bachelor of Arts and languages with Education (BA) as well as faculty of Social Sciences and Business Studies (BSoc) degrees. The formula adopted was to organise the programmes with various combinations merging two subjects plus education. The subjects taught in the various combinations are representative of the different subjects offered in the secondary schools.

The below illustrates the progress made in increasing the graduation rate in college of Education where it significantly increased from 1058 students in 2013 to 3922 students in 2017. A big number of students graduated in sciences (1262 in 2016) and small number of students graduated in social science and business studies (855 students in 2016). This shows the extent to which science related subjects are given priority when selecting candidates.

	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Sciences	363	374	355	170	1262
Arts and languages	255	138	231	190	814
Social Sciences and Business Studies	280	203	138	234	855
Primary Teacher Education	160	143	330	358	991
Total	1058	858	1054	952	3922

Source: UR-CE, 2016

However, Rutaisire (2011) reported that large numbers of qualified teachers have left teaching profession for better paying positions in the civil service, especially in district and sector offices. He stressed that turnover rates reached such a high level in 2006 and 2007 that the government was obliged to increase degree level teacher pay from around RF 50,000 to RF 113,000 in 2007, thereby opening up a very sizeable income differential with primary school teachers. Teachers at secondary schools also receive motivation bonuses, which generally range from RF 15,000 to 30,000 per month. In addition, around 12 percent of primary and 25 percent of secondary teachers at publicly funded schools also receive non-monetary benefits, most notably accommodation and health insurance (Rutayisire, 2011).

7.6 TRANSFORMING AND ESTABLISHMENT OF TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES (TTC): DEMAND AND SUPPLY EQUILIBRIUM

The current Rwandan formal educational system is characterized as 3-6-3-3-3+. The first three years of pre-primary education are followed by six years of primary education. Secondary education is divided into three years of Ordinary level, followed by three years of Advanced level. Upper secondary are streamed according to examination results and the research shows that the

science stream is the most demanding upper secondary (Obura, 2003), which requires the highest examination results. Along with education expansion, there have been some notable improvements in quality.

In Rwanda, pre- primary and primary teachers are trained in Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs). From the year 1998, the Government of Rwanda decided to professionalize teacher training colleges which were the traditional "Ecoles normales" attached to secondary schools. At the moment, there are 16 TTCs evenly distributed throughout the whole country, and all are public or government subsidized schools (Nzabarirwa, 2010). No private secondary schools offer primary teacher training and government subsidized schools originally selected by MINEDUC to become TTCs have only reluctantly taken on this responsibility. This is symptomatic of the low demand for teacher training, which results in the poor overall quality of student intake (VSO, 2012). The minimum entry requirement is a Secondary School Ordinary (O'level) certificate and students follow the programme for three years.

TTCs were established as part of the reorganization of the school system in 1998. Within this perspective the teacher policy stipulates: "To become a primary school teacher, a person must gain entry into an accredited primary teacher training college after successfully completing nine years of basic education and initially undertake a three-year program of teacher training including teaching practice" (MINEDUC, 2007, p. 10).

ESSP 2014-2018 suggests that TTCs are specialized and professional colleges, with a different curriculum to that of upper secondary schools. Currently in the TTCs there are four options, namely the option of mathematics, the option of social studies, the option of language and early childhood option. TTC students are now required to opt for one of the four specializations. Initially, TTC intake of 1,700 teachers was planned for 2007, with a total annual enrolment target of 4,973 from 2010 onwards. The annual output of TTC graduates is projected to be 2,423 between 2010 and 2019. However, total enrolment decreased from 5,275 in 2004 to 3,644 in 2008(MINEDUC, 2009).

However, students in primary teacher training stream (TTCs) could not originally choose this stream and for many students it is not their preferred option (World Bank, 2011). A study conducted by VSO (2012) indicates that among those who pass their O-Levels and qualify to enter upper secondary, TTC candidates have significantly lower marks on average than candidates in other training streams.   Often these are students who will be forced to go into primary teacher training, because their results are not high enough to get into other streams. For example, in 2008, only 36 % of TTC students had selected teacher training as the first or second choice for their upper secondary education. This illustrates the fact that most TTC candidates do not initially plan to become a teacher. The possible reason may be attributed to the fact that teachers in general, primary school teachers in particular are not motivated as results to the meagre salary they are receiving.

In order to address the shortage of qualified teachers for secondary schools, in 2007, MINEDUC established two extra affiliated Colleges of Education (CoE), in Kavumu and Rukara. The diploma qualification required two years and was accredited and moderated by the UR-CE. The policy stipulated that all colleges of Education will be affiliated to KIE and will focus on lower secondary teacher training. The Rukara CoE specialized in languages and social sciences, and the Kavumu CoE in sciences. The first intake of students took place in 2008, one year later than planned.

The table below shows that from 2011 to 2015, the percentage of qualified primary school teachers varied between   93.9 % and 98.4 %. It is also shown that the total number of teachers increased drastically from 40229 in 2011 to 42005 in 2015.

Table 23: Primary school teachers in Rwanda between 2011- 2015

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total teachers	40229	40397	40159	41192	42005
Teachers qualified	39665	38603	38233	39370	39453
% of qualified teachers	98.4%	95.6 %	95.2%	95.6 %	93.9 %
Teacher / Pupil ratio	1:58	1:59	1:60	1:58	1:58

Source: MINEDUC, 2016

Currently, organization and management of pre-service training through TTCs falls under Higher Education Council within MINEDUC, which, in turn, allocates the training through the University of Rwanda (UR) College of Education (formerly called Kigali Institute of Education or KIE). This organization of training is new. Up until 2010, training of primary teachers was handled directly by MINEDUC and the Teacher Service Commission (Habineza, 2012).

However, with the introduction of REB, this responsibility shifted to UR- CE (former KIE), which took over the responsibility for the pre-service training of all government primary and secondary school teachers in the country. The findings from interview indicated that GoR is planning to gradually phase out TTCs. It is stipulated in MINEDUC reports that all primary and O'level teacher candidates should enrol at the College of Education (CoE) and study for the same qualification, namely a Basic Education Teaching Diploma (MINEDUC, 2007).

7.7 LINKING INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING EDUCATION (ITE) WITH PEACE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COHESION IN RWANDA

The new Rwandan competence based curriculum (CBC) recommends including peace building values in all subjects whether sciences, humanities or mathematics in teaching and assessment of learners. Among many teaching methods, the new curriculum suggests learners' centeredness as a teaching method that would be fit for purpose of this CBC to achieve its main aim of

enhancing peace values and hence promote social cohesion among learners who are the future leaders of Rwanda. A lecturer from ITE 4 in Kigali stated that:

> "Across the CBC issues of peace building such as unity and reconciliation, peace building, integrity, self-esteem, trust, accountability, cultural values, equity and equality are clearly stated. The whole reason why Rwanda had to design this kind of curriculum is that Rwandans from the past had many cultural values within Rwandan society that were used to build a solid nation. So, since ITE is the mother land or alma mater of teachers, the development of such ideas must start with ITE programs."

All the initial training colleges and Universities that have faculty or school of education are equally encouraged to redesign their programs in line with this new CBC. When tutors and lecturers were asked whether they can identify and relate peace building values in ITE programs to the new curriculum, quite a large number agreed with one respondent who ascertained that:

"Topics like peace, unity, human rights, respect, human dignity, self-esteem, gender, equality, equity are found in ITE programs, though not in well elaborated manner, in some ITE programs such life skills, communication skills which are in line with the high school new curriculum because all these are aimed at promoting social cohesion and peace building"(A tutor from ITE3) .

According to UNESCO report (2004) "formal curriculum is often referred to as planned learning experiences and can include the content to be learned as prescribed by authority. While, informal curriculum is unplanned curriculum, the interactions and experiences that happen daily in our classrooms. Hidden curriculum is about attitudes and beliefs that are attached to what we learn and teach". We differentiate the curriculum in order to provide a variety of learning experiences to meet our students' different learning needs. In this way, all learners in the class can be included, participate and learn. The primary way a teacher can include all learners in his/her class lessons UNESCO report that it is by adapting:

 "The curriculum content; how the teacher presents information to the learners; how the learners practice and use the newly taught information; and how the learners show that they have learned the information. Providing meaningful and appropriate learning experiences within the

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classroom requires that teachers consider learners' similarities, differences and cultures. Teachers can get to know their students by finding out about their students' characteristics such as interests, background of experience, abilities, culture, and learning style (UNESCO report (2004)." A tutor from ITE 2 eastern province further argued that:

"We have to bear in mind that it was due to the absence of peace and unity that Rwanda and its citizens in the help of the western greedy nations that Rwandans massacred themselves like wild animals. These themes that talk about peace values in the new curriculum, discusses exact issues that Rwandan society needs right from ITE to their own local communities and linking them to the entire nation. CBC helps teachers and learners to discuss issues that are related to Rwandan entire nation but starting from the learners' local communities and see what happened in the past, why it happened how it happened and how Rwandans can find solutions to their problems by themselves (kwishakamo ibisubizo)."

The most crucial ideas echoed in the new curriculum are how issues of eradicating and avoiding genocide ideology can be inculcated among learners. An official from REB re-iterated the fact that Rwandan teachers are being trained to handle the cases of genocide ideology in a professional manner while teaching. The training is accomplished mainly by National Itorero commission (NIC) which will be discussed in details later. The new curriculum is designed in such a way that it gives chance to learners to acquire skills and knowledge through among many teaching methods, the new curriculum suggests learners' centeredness as a teaching method that would be fit for purpose of this CBC to achieve its main aim of inculcating peace values and hence promote social cohesion among learners who are the future leaders of Rwanda. So, it is mandatory for all ITE to redesign their programs to fit the new competency based curriculum. During the focus interview with tutors at ITE 2 eastern province, majority of them argued that:

"There are some subjects in ITE programs where approaching these peace value issues is clear and paramount. These are subjects like Social Studies, History, Geography, Languages because teachers of social studies study these subjects at the colleges and therefore they are able to teach learners key topics such as: children's rights, needs and responsibility, harmony and disharmony, socio-economic activities in our district, hygiene, citizenship, gender, environment, genocide, unity and reconciliation, a political ideology that promotes peace and what is good politics, and important places in our district to ensure that learners learn social cohesion by linking whatever subject a teacher teaches to the learners' not only local community, the nation at large but also beyond Rwanda".

However, against this new curriculum, few challenges were pointed out by lecturers from ITE 4 Kigali and tutors from ITE 2 southern province, and ITE 3 eastern province that:

> "Some teachers at ITE being expatriates are not conversant with Rwandan socio-political issues. There are some teachers from Uganda, Kenya, India and Burundi etc who are not well grounded in Rwandan history. So they teach learners depending on their country's background in terms of their beliefs and experiences, so their discussion Rwandan cultural values may not be the lived experiences of Rwandan learners and therefore there is no uniformity".

However, a majority of lecturers and tutors in ITE, recognized that, ITE programs work hand in hand with the new competency based curriculum department to find a way of helping teachers across different levels to comfortably address the crosscutting themes and issues of peace building in schools for example using novels such as Ngugi Wa Thiongo's "The River Between" to address issues such as political rhetoric, gender, culture, values, colonialism etc. However, some tutors argued that:

> "There are some subjects like mathematics, natural sciences which student- learners do not find easy to relate peace building issues while doing teaching practice particularly to lower classes. But tutors acknowledged their trial in doing this by giving the example of subjects like biology, where student- learners are taught about how the 9 systems of the body are interrelated, working together, thus showing how the unity in body systems can be achieved as well for social cohesion and peace building. Through the use of posters, speakers and motivational speakers, the curriculum is enriched and this gives a room to the teacher to include peace education in any lesson." One respondent from ITE2 stated that:

> 'Before addressing critical issues such as gender, peace values, justice, and genocide ideology in a lecture, we usually do it through role play and storytelling first whereby student-learners are exposed to different scenarios that manifest different kinds of; gender bias, lack of peace, injustice and genocide ideologies not only in Rwanda but also elsewhere because as agents of peace, Rwandan teachers have to inculcate peace values among Rwandan youth to take it beyond Rwanda".

During interview with the principal of ITE 3 eastern province and ITE 4 Kigali, they argued that: 'ITE lecturers and tutors, must know that, the new curriculum does not remove academic and historical facts but tries to clarify facts that mislead learners for example we teach learners the

fact that, the issues of Hutu, Twa and Tutsi were social classes that showed how Rwandans lived in the past according to their socio-economic status but they were not tribes or races or else how can one explain a society with one language and one culture to be different. Learners get engaged in open discussion to see how the past Rwandan leadership during the period of colonization never considered the issues of Twa, Hutu and Tutsi as social classes due to their interests; instead they intentionally confused them with tribes.' The principal from ITE 3 eastern province went on to argue that:

> "This wrong history interpretation went as far as making it part of the national curriculum for schools inculcating divisionism and hatred among young Rwandans which actually in the end culminated into genocide against the Tutsi starting from ITE in Butare by then the National University of Rwanda. And yet the issue of Hutu, Twa and Tutsi was just a socio-economic status-whoever had many cows was categorized as Tutsi, whoever, had no cows but depended on subsistence farming could a Hutu while the poorest of the society would be Twa-usually engaging in making clay items. So, ITE need to put right Rwandan history. Furthermore, in line with new competency based curriculum, ITE programs must highlight the fact that the goal of any subject in the curriculum is not just to teach a given content but what fruit will it bear for learners once they go out there in the large Rwandan society and to their families'.

However, in this view, a lecturer from ITE 4 Kigali argued that:

> 'When teaching some subjects I have to make arrangements and incorporate crosscutting issues in them regardless of the nature of the subject because ITE programs have not yet clearly elaborated its program enough for science teachers to comfortably and confidently know how to integrate these crosscutting themes into the subjects. It's up to the individual lecturer to see how to integrate and elaborate them for learners. For example the sensitive topic of "Genocide ideology" falls under the crosscutting theme of "Peace education" and integrating this issue into science or math is not easy for an individual teacher in his or her given lesson. When teaching these subjects such as genocide ideology and other peace values themes remain open to an individual teacher's interpretation'.

The lecturer went on to argue that:

> 'For social sciences, teachers have clear subjects to integrate peace values and genocide ideology by bench marking high school curriculum units such as in unit 2 "my friends and I" where learners try to strengthen their friendship among themselves through different activities including "weddings, travelling together, etc.", from there they can integrate the issues of peace building and harmony; Unit7 'Rights, responsibilities and needs' can also integrate issues of gender and peace. They can show the students that boys and girls

have the same rights. To link it with Peace, they can show how there is no peace when people's rights are violated; Unit3 "our district" they can integrate the issues of genocide ideology by visiting the memorial site because every district even the sector has it.'

The official from Rwanda Governance Board (RGB) re-iterated that:

'ITE and Rwandan intellectual must know that the new curriculum in a way gives a conclusion that Rwandans cannot keep on believing in such deconstructive ideologies because apart from destroying the nation, it would not do any good to Rwandans. It is very clear that history is part of Rwandans daily life. The curriculum stipulates that, If Rwandans continue to inherit bad history of hatred, divisionism and bias instead of striving to work together, the destruction of Rwandan society and killing each other will be a permanent culture. The curriculum re-iterates what resulted from the Hutu, Twa and Tutsi ideology, that is, genocide against Tutsi in 1994.'

On the other hand, a tutor from ITE 3 eastern province argued that:

'Although we might have trained teachers how to handle peace education issues in their teaching, sometimes teachers fear to teach some sensitive topics and so they need clear guidelines from their former ITE on how to approach them. For example, when we teach students at ITE the issues of ethnic groups Twa, Tutsi and Hutu were just symbols of social status which bad politicians used wrongly for their own selfish ends to divide people which resulted in genocide against Tutsi in 1994; student-learners do appreciate it. But to make fair and just analysis while teaching in primary schools is too difficult and so at times it needs an upper class where learners are a bit mature. But for primary or senior one learner, it sounds too abstract for them.'

Quite a number of tutors and student trainees in initial training colleges re-iterated that:

'Through peace education module, which we studied while at university help us to understand the importance of peace values. They claimed that they use the knowledge and skills they acquired in that module to inculcate and promote peace values among learners. But on top of this knowledge acquired from initial training, teachers quite often get seminars, meetings, talks in form of CPD from organization such as Never Again NIC, NURC, district officials, sector officials, parents etc. about peace building and how to live together.'

7.8 TEACHER CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT (CPD) IN RWANDA: AN ATTEMPT TO BUILD RWANDAN TEACHERS' CAPACITY AND PROFESSIONALISM TO ENHANCE PEACE VALUES AND SOCIAL COHESION AMONG LEARNERS

7.8.1 Introduction

In 1994 during the genocide against the Tutsi, every Rwandan teacher needs to be aware of the necessity for peace building, peace values and hence any Rwanda teacher has to refresh his or her teaching skills for teaching all Rwandan learners what entails to be a good citizen, patriotic, as well as what it means to be a Rwandan and global citizens. Therefore, teacher professional development is considered vital in supporting teachers in order to ensure equity, peace and social cohesion in the aftermath of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

According to Gagné (1987) "teachers are trained from the same colleges and universities but when they join the field of work, they do not teach in the same way. The disparity is partially caused by the inadequate in-service training workshops in the rural schools. So, when you get some teachers from the top performing schools to guide their colleagues in the rural schools through holding workshops, a school management is able to strike a balance between the two categories of schools in terms of performance. Some top performing schools in a country should always be requested to demonstrate how they teach in their schools so that the rest of the teachers can get practical experience on how to teach effectively. This can help to address the rural-urban divide in terms of performance where the situation has always been that students in urban schools always perform better than their counterparts in the rural setting (Gagné, 1987)".

Coaching, as presented by Flaherty (1999) is a way of working with people that are considered as more competent and more fulfilled, so that they are more able to contribute to their organizations. It was observed Nzabalirwa and Nzitabakuze (2015) that in Rwanda, coaching programme focuses on supporting and empowering teachers to improve their skills and competences related to peace building and social cohesion in a bid to increase their ownership of the changes initiated by the Government.

Therefore, by recognizing Rwandan teachers as key agents of peace and in particular in response to the new curriculum that intends to promote and teach learners peace values, one may ask:

1. As agents of peace, is it necessary for Rwandan Teachers to have a continuing professional development program? If so;

2. How do Rwandan teachers learn, develop and get experience in their profession in order to inculcate and promote peace values among their learners?

3. Are there any continuing professional development interventions for Rwandan Teachers in response to the new curriculum requirements that requires teaching peace values for social cohesion purposes?

In this view, Rwanda Education Board (REB) strategic plan (2013-2018) clearly stipulates that teachers in Rwanda are highly encouraged by the Ministry of Education through Rwanda Education Board (REB) to seriously get involved in CPD trainings and workshops to acquire knowledge peace building values and social cohesion required for the new curriculum. This is supposed to be organized right from the ministry level to sector level following the decentralized system in Rwanda. Today in the opposite to the past, teachers in Rwanda, are seen as very strong players in peace building which is a truism in any other society.

With this in mind, the researchers saw it right and fitting to analyze this phenomenon of CPD using the 4Rs i.e. *Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation*. The first purpose of this is to build a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015). The second purpose to analyse teachers CPD phenomenon is to explore how teachers' professional knowledge is continuously improved in order for them to handle the new challenges of the new curriculum that requires teaching peace values to Rwandan learners while minimizing any inequality among teachers. For instance, the demand for TTC graduates is low and even declining mainly because of the low pay offered to school teachers and the limited opportunities available to them to obtain public support for higher education. In 2000, primary school teachers earned about $40 a month which in 2011 has been raised to about $ 80; while secondary school teachers earned $ 96, and has been raised to $ 150 a month (Rutayisire and Gahima, 2009). Reviews of TTC training have consistently highlighted serious shortcomings in the quality and relevance of the courses offered (Livingstone,

2005). TTC graduates tend to have only minimal knowledge of and practice in the school curriculum due to the following factors:

- Only four of the 30 to 35 periods a week are devoted to teaching practice during the first two years, and six during the last year;
- School internships are limited to three or four weeks during the third year. They are largely unsupervised because of the unavailability of funding for TTC tutors to travel to participating schools. Despite this, students complain that as a result they have less time to devote to core academic subjects and that they perform less well in their A Levels;
- TTC students typically do not have direct access to current primary school textbooks on which to base their teaching practice, especially in English;
- Computers to enable students to gain enough practical experience in IT are insufficient; and
- Large classes mean that science practice is conducted in groups of over five.

Furthermore, TTC staff has little relevant teaching experience and receive limited specialized training to be teacher trainers. Only a handful has postgraduate teaching qualifications, which are now the norm for teacher trainers in most developing countries, including Rwanda. TTC principals and teachers report that most TTC graduates become primary school teachers and usually work with high pupil/teacher ratios, physically inadequate classrooms, a lack of teaching materials and furniture, and so on. The challenge in the design of teacher education will be to find the balance between setting high standards for teaching and adapting to impoverished conditions (Goss and Hunter, 2015).

There is a big concern in terms of:

- Class size, which is typically over 40 students, considered too large for high quality professional teacher training
- The insufficiently detailed TTC curriculum (according to TTC teachers);
- The use of the traditional teacher centred pedagogy using interrogatory methods, rather than learner centred participative approaches;
- The difficulty many teachers fear to teach in English, as is now required;

- The short supply of general textbooks, other learning materials and library books.

Consequently, once graduates join the field of work; they face new challenges and may need to update their knowledge. Therefore, the aim of CPD is to improve the quality of teaching among teachers, as well as familiarizing new teachers so that they can carry out effective teaching and learning. Without this CPD, teachers will be outdated, are unlikely to cope well with changes and lose their ability to work effectively and efficiently (Mafeza, 2013). CPD is crucial aspect of teacher development, particularly in post genocide Rwanda simply because the same educational system which had been used as a tool in perpetuating hatred and divisionism was transformed into a tool to promote reconciliation among Rwandan youth (Mafeza, 2013).

As for REB, CPD came as an alternative mode of teacher education in the form of school-based teacher training after concluding that the initial teacher training only was not meeting the demands of the ever-expanding secondary school system (Government of Rwanda, 2002). For this reason, the Ministry of Education commissioned Kigali Institute of Education (the present UR-CE) to start a distance learning programme in 2001. The programme aimed at upgrading unqualified secondary school teachers in both academic knowledge and teaching skills. There was then in secondary schools a big number of teachers holding a secondary school leaving certificate. The aim of the programme was to offer an opportunity for these teachers to upgrade their skills and knowledge while continuing their work in the classroom (Nzabarirwa, 2010). The worldwide challenge to train, retrain and continuously update the skills and knowledge of nation's education force is both enormous and urgent as highlighted by the president of the commonwealth of Learning:

"Apart from relying on traditional way of providing this training of retraining, government and all other parties interested in health of global education need to explore other methods of teacher education. One is the application of distance education"(KIE, 2003: 8).

Although the first intake of 500 students was in 2001, by 2009 only a total of 323 had graduated from this program. . In 2016, after 15 year of existence, UR-CE has awarded 916 Diplomas in Education as shown below

Table 24: UR-CE diploma in Education from 2012- 2016

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Graduates	275	NA	225	187	229	916

Source: URCE, 2016

Most of the time, in-service training is offered through short courses, seminars, workshops, meetings, coaching and other special training (Kent, 2005). In the workshops, teachers have opportunity to share among themselves their classroom experiences so that all the parties involved can suggest possible solutions to the prevailing challenges and provide guidance on how teachers can help learners to grasp the concepts. Most importantly, teachers especially in Rwanda, where teachers are implementing new curriculum, whose content is mediated by teachers and students to create meaning in their specific social contexts and in classrooms, there is an acute need, through workshops to reach the degree of agreement or discrepancy between textbook content and a teacher own positionality and experiences (Head teacher school J, 2016).

7.8.2 Rwandan Teachers' Experiences and Concern for CPD: From the Pedagogical and social Cohesion Perspective?

Teachers are central to education and teaching should be a highly valued profession (NPC, 2012). The school is considered as champion of change and the targeted agent at school is a teacher who is recognized as an agent who plays an important role in shaping and strengthening behaviour through education that will help children to have behaviour that is acceptable to the family and society. It is recognized that maintaining and improving educational standards and values is only possible through teachers. This section, therefore discusses findings emanating from both teachers and students in selected schools located in the four provinces and Kigali City, where respondents were asked about their needs and attitudes towards professional development programmes related to social cohesion and peace building.

Teachers should be given the opportunity to talk about their classroom experiences so that all the parties involved can suggest possible solutions to the prevailing challenges and provide

guidance on how teachers can help learners to grasp the concepts. There may be some teachers who have the theory of effective teaching but when they cannot translate it into practical application in class, theory becomes meaningless. When all categories of teachers meet, they can share a lot of information about practical ways of enhancing the quality of teaching and by the time the workshop ends, they all have a common understanding of the best practices to apply in the classroom. Then, the senior mentors and the school-based mentors can support the teachers in the implementation of the strategies adopted. Ideally, schools should relatively have the same standards such that they address the learners' needs in equal measure (Gagné, 1987). However, Gagné argues that "this can be done at different levels from national to district level whereby each school sends teachers' representatives and school-based mentors, senior mentors, head teachers, district education officers, inspectors of schools and some resourceful teachers from some top schools in the country from all the subject areas to go and share ideas with teachers from other schools and some education stakeholders. Then, when they go back to their respective schools, they can organize mini-workshops to share the techniques acquired" (Gagne, 1987). This cascading training will enable useful because a big number of teachers will be reached with minimum resources, financial and human as well.

During this study, it was quite evident that, there is really a big necessity for training Rwandan teachers to refresh the knowledge and skills that they need in their day to day work in Rwandan schools to teach learners peace values. During this study, majority of teachers expressed the need of CPD stating that:

> "An effective system of continuous professional development should be institutionalized within the MoE at both central and district levels. The MoE should, therefore, develop its own capacity to provide training as well as contract other institutions to provide training services. It is recommended that a CPD Advisor should be appointed in each district that would be responsible for developing a CPD strategy and plan for each district as well as directly facilitating district and school-level training activities, especially in teaching methods. The possibility of introducing school clusters" (Teacher from school C, 2016).

In Rwanda, systematic in-service teacher training, or CPD, is critically needed for several reasons: First, Rwanda's teacher force is relatively inexperienced: 40% of all teachers at both primary and secondary levels have less than 5 years of experience; second, the recent institution of subject

specialization at the primary level compromised quality because teachers are not properly prepared to teach their assigned subjects; third, teachers lack critical pedagogical skills, especially best practices approaches to teaching; fourth, CPD is a powerful motivator, both for personal satisfaction and for increasing professional opportunities and finally; professional development is a necessary feature of any profession. Advancing professional development improves both knowledge and practice (Rutayisire, 2012).

As Kent (2005) observes, CPD is an important factor in supporting teachers to excel in the classroom and commit to the profession, especially in countries with varied recruitment and initial training policies. However, as Rutaysire (2012) highlights, despite the widespread recognition of the need to accelerate or intensify in-service teacher training, current provision is ineffective since it is largely supply driven, with little or no reinforcement. Rutayisire (2012) adds that it would be difficult to take a sufficient number of unqualified teachers out of their jobs and relocate them to education institutes for a long period.

However, there is evidence that, few as they are, CPDs in Rwanda are usually organized for teachers both on school level, sector level, district level and national level to see how teachers can handle peace building issues in the new curriculum right from learners' homes, schools, district and national level. The whole rationale is that, school administration and the Ministry at large has a mandate to shape learners who are peace loving citizens as a special requirement for Nation building and social cohesion.

An official from REB stated that, in respect to CPD, it is one of the REB's key responsibilities through In-service training (INSET) to empower Rwandan teachers to perform their duties responsibly and professionally. INSET remains with Rwanda Education Board (REB) through its Department of Teacher Development and Management (TDM). INSET programs involve mainly school-based and off-site training programs, many of which take place during holiday periods and REB has the responsibility to design, schedule and to oversee all activities related to these programmes. However, most of these trainings are limited to pedagogical aspect and lack inclusion of the aspect of peace building

In line with David Hargreaves (1998), "CPD explores the need for better professional knowledge which transition towards a knowledge society requires. He argues that knowledge transmission in the past has failed partly because University-based researchers were not very successful in either knowledge creation or dissemination. He argues further that new knowledge transmission models are required which involves a radical reconceptualization of knowledge creation and its dissemination in education, and the consequent restructuring that is necessary to support it (David Hargreaves, 1998 p.1)".

The pace at which new knowledge is being generated and old knowledge is becoming outdated David Hargreaves ascertains, "demands that an individual should continue to learn throughout one's life. ICT can be very effective for facilitating lifelong education, both as tutor and as a tool. The teacher is increasingly becoming an important factor in the educative process". According to Sprint hall, Reiman and sprint (1999:666), "there is no such thing as a teacher-proof curriculum. They pointed to the massive failure of national curriculum projects of the1960"s with the attendant "failed ideas, unused curriculum guide, and tarnished hopes". During this study, teachers were asked to rate their reasons for undertaking CPD.

Ntagaramba and Bennel (2015) undertook a study on teacher in service training. This study was called for in order to assess how teachers are ready to teach using approaches that appropriate for promoting peace values among learners rather depending on only traditional knowledge based curriculum. Apart from REB itself, as a government agency, the education secretariat for protestant schools (BNEP) has been providing in-service training in active learner-centred pedagogy for primary school teachers at 114 out of its 550 schools since 2002.

Among the key findings were that, "around 60% of A0 (degree holders) and A1 (diploma holders) teacher respondents and 75% of A2 (senior six certificate) teachers rated the current availability of in-service training as 'very poor' or 'poor'. In overall terms, only around one-third of teachers attended at least one INSET activity during the last year. The incidence of INSET activities varies considerably across the 10 survey districts; fewer than 10% of primary school teachers in Nyanza District benefited from in-service training compared with nearly two-thirds in Kicukiro District". Ntagaramba et al, concludes that:

"An effective system of continuous professional development should be institutionalized within the Rwanda's Ministry of education (MOE) at both central and district levels. The MoE should, therefore, develop its own capacity to provide training as well as contract other institutions to provide training services. It is recommended that a CPD Advisor should be appointed in each district that would be responsible for developing a CPD strategy and plan for each district as well as directly facilitating district and school-level training activities, especially in teaching methods. The possibility of introducing school clusters for CPD should also be explored (Ntagaramba and Bennel 2015)".

Professional teachers deal with urgent human problems: matters of life, social justice, national and personal development, hope, respect, dignity, and opportunities that a society has to harness. Essential to teachers' work is the trust of the community and learners. What warrants such trust is the obligation, upheld within the community to pursue an ethic of service and to employ special knowledge and expertise in the interests of the community and learners". A teacher from school H eastern province went on to ascertain that:

> "When teachers receive training, seminars, workshops, discussions, talks and any other form of training in issues of peace building through courses such Ndumunyarwanda (Iam a Rwandan); Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge (Unity and reconciliation) they become aware and well equipped with what is required of their job of not only imparting academic knowledge into the learners but also how to impart Rwandan values such as: gusabana (get-together); Inyangamugayo (to become Rwandans with integrity) ; Gufatanya (communal help) such as umuganda (National and community work); and other Government programs such as Ingando(civil education); Itorero Ry'igihugu (National civil school); Abunzi (local judges –people of integrity); Umuganda (National service-self help); Girinka (a presidential scheme to give a cow to each poorest families as a source of socio-economic income); ubudehe (self help scheme-where neighbors help each other to solve their socio-economic problems); ubusabane (get-together' festivals); abakangurambaga (local peace and socio-economic promoters) among many others play a role in peace building and social cohesion Rwanda."

According to Galloway (2000), "by implication, teacher's characteristics, attitudes, conception of self and intellectual and interpersonal dispositions in large measure determine both the explicit and the hidden agenda of the classroom. The formal curriculum is represented by the materials, lesson plan and objectives, but the informal agenda is the atmosphere or climate in the classroom

as indicated by important teacher characteristic". This teacher character therefore, requires continuous capacity building and professional development so as to recognize that, in view of IRPD report, "young people or learners in this sense open to changes and are not ingrained with a stereotypical mentality. In order to make this aspiration a reality; there is a need to develop teachers capacity in order to give an opportunity to young people to develop critical thinking, analytical skills, and a number of other skills and abilities. IRDP (Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace) noted that young people play a vital role in conflict and in peace building.

That is why IRDP believes that through their school debate dialogue program, the following would be developed among learners:

 (1) Culture of tolerance,

 (2) Overcoming the culture of indifference and silence,

 (3) Citizens' critical and analytical thinking so that they can differentiate reality from propaganda,

(4) Emphasizing non-violent resistance,

 (5) Recognizing the importance of the role and voice of the citizen,

 (6) Promoting civilian supervision of decision-making processes, and

(7) Ensuring civil participation in the peaceful resolution of local, national, and regional conflicts.

As for majority of teachers interviewed, the seminars, meetings, talks in form of CPD from organization such as Never Again NIC, NURC, district officials, sector officials, parents etc. about peace building and how to live together are considered as part of CPD effective enough to improve their skills and knowledge in order to help learners acquire peace values and the behavior of co-existing. Initial training institution also such as University of Rwanda College of education at times get involved to provide teachers with extra knowledge and skills adequate enough to inculcate peace values among learners so as to live in harmony in Rwandan society.

During the interviews and focus group with both primary and secondary school teachers, majority of teachers expressed their wish that:

> "As agents of peace, in order for us to comfortably handle the new competency based curriculum, we must constantly be trained in social issues such as; Gender balance, causes and eradication of violence, causes and eradication of genocide ideology, causes and eradication of discriminatory tendencies across all level of banyarwanda, causes and eradication of social injustice, how to deal with learners who take drugs, alcohol, training on peace building and how to sensitize all Rwandans to work together in harmony regardless of the few either physical or social background. The lack of all these issues in the society is one of the serious causes of lack of peace among Banyarwanda and elsewhere."

There is a strong evidence for the need of training Rwandan teachers to refresh the knowledge and skills that they need in their day to day work in Rwandan schools to inculcate peace values in learners. Any Rwandan teacher therefore, has to deal with the issue of peace building, national values, unity, reconciliation that may characterize and shape Rwandan identity as one people-not based on misinterpreted and exaggerated ethnic identities.

It is not only learners who need this peace values skills but their teachers as well need to be trained in order to be able to inculcate peace values among learners. During the focus groups, teachers both from primary, secondary and tertiary education were of the common view thatbefore being teachers, they are parents first, hence they encourage their own children to build peace at home, village, district and at national and beyond. Therefore, they should do the same at our schools encouraging our students to live together, promoting coexistence at school so that students appreciate harmony and respect to ensure equitable, democratic and peaceful Rwandan society where every Rwandan is recognized as equal, receives fair treat before the law, shares from the national development, feel secure and feel respected.

They were also of the view that their role as teachers is to engage learners into activities that would help them to be collaborative with their fellow learners and all Rwandans of all walks of life in order to move towards a culture of peace not only at school but also in their everyday life.

However, during the interviews, it was revealed that some teachers look at CPD in terms of salary increment and promotion at work. Teachers from schools A western province, H eastern province and school C western province stated that:

> "CPD equips us with capacity to be able to pass on good Rwandan values to learners. But this knowledge does not contribute to our promotion as teachers and the increase of salary. It is purely for teaching purposes. So it is not motivating enough bearing in mind that Rwandan financial status is very low."

During the focus group, student trainees from ITE 4 were asked if there is any importance in such trainings and they stated that:

> "We would need training in any subject to improve the way we are teaching. But the problem is that there is no added value in terms of promotion but we feel confident when we are teaching and even training our colleagues. Since we are not well paid, after receiving any CPD training, we would suggest that, on top of increasing our knowledge and capacity in teaching learners, salary increment and promotion in our career should be considered as well because it will encourage us to seek for more training through workshops, meetings, discussion with our colleagues in order to acquire more knowledge and continue to upgrade status quo. This is what happens in our counterparts at the universities do-why not us in primary and high school teachers?"

When analyzing initial training programs in colleges, it was evident that students' trainees study the importance of clubs and other social extra curricula activities in the life of a learner. So, through these clubs and cross cutting themes in the curriculum help student trainees on how to teach learners issues of peace values and co-existence in Rwandan society. It is from this background that schools through NIC, Aegis Trust, and other agencies and commissions give some short courses, workshops, seminars, talks and training to teachers to improve their way of inculcating peace values among learners.

Majority of teachers argued that school teachers need more of such approaches of how to inculcate peace values among learners. Such trainings are crucial to us as teachers to help us understand peace values and as a result inculcate them into learners; it is all about changing the mind of the youth with regard to what happened in Rwanda Genocide against Tutsi. The purpose of the CPR, training was to create a good climate between the learner and the teacher that would give the learner a room to express his/her ideas and emotions."

A teacher from school C western province argued that:

"If I were to be trained, I would wish to receive training on how to manage conflicts among the learners because I work with them on daily basis. Though it was too short and brief, we had training with REB on how to use the new curriculum and it really helped us in teaching because we could not implement it without any training for example incorporating crosscutting issues. Furthermore, I would suggest to be trained in peace building and social cohesion especially the appropriate ways of dealing with conflicts among the students."

The same respondent added that:

"I value gaining knowledge as the most important element of my profession in line with CPD program because it is the basis for promoting peace values among learners and even to myself. Teachers need even trainings from other professionals if need be from medical areas for teachers to know how one can help a learner who has problems such as; trauma, how to approach such a learner in order to settle well with himself, herself and in Rwandan society. Two years ago, we had few teachers who attended some trainings on peace building and social cohesion, after coming from training, they trained us through school based seminars, meetings, and discussions"

He finally concluded saying that:

"We had long discussion on issues of social cohesion, peace building, Ndi Umunyarwanda program, how to fight against genocide ideology, how we can work with people with disability. This actually helped us as teachers to create peace values among learners and bring them together as banyarwanda. As a teacher of history I attended a workshop on social cohesion organized by Never Again Rwanda, and in that workshop I gained knowledge and skills in teaching and how to prevent genocide ideology among learners and Rwandan society in general" .

According to majority of teachers interviewed, there are comparatively very few trainings that teachers have had for the last five years in terms of how to handle peace values among learners. Such CPD included; the mentorship school based program which was introduced in Rwandan schools. This school based mentorship program was designed in order to provide in-service training for the teachers proved to be paramount. The school-based mentors and the senior mentors are doing a good job to guide teachers on how to improve on the quality of teaching for the benefit of the learners. A senior official from the ministry of education, however, claimed that:

"There has been a series of CPD workshops on how to approach the new competence based curriculum that emphasizes learner centred approach and peace values. Teachers have been trained and equipped with skills to work with the existing curriculum while applying methodologies and teaching aids in the new curriculum. This was carried out in order that the running of the new curriculum is not hampered. Teachers received training on a cascade model whereby 100 national teacher trainers and 3,000 district master trainers; 300 teachers in each district were trained to reach schools in all districts. On top of that, 29,000 subject school leaders for new subjects introduced in the new curriculum from all schools at the sector level were trained".

Teachers from school I Kigali, school E western province and school G stated that:

"We meet every Thursday after classes to talk about the new curriculum approaches, and it is helping us to have the same understanding, but our skills are limited as we did not have enough training learner centred methodology and peace building lessons. We need continuous trainings during holidays to fully understand these methodologies to help our colleagues on the new curriculum approaches but the time is limited for such sessions due to the fully packed timetables, and the ministry does not allocate facilitations for teachers to attend weekend sessions which remain the best option, and yet we don't have sufficient skills because the CPD trainings we get are very brief.'

Teachers went further to ascertain that:

'Only subject leaders were trained on the Competence-Based Curriculum (CBC) and they have not yet shared the skills with us. I know nothing about CBC and Iam using the old methods," said one of the teachers in a secondary school teacher in eastern province school.'

The teachers from a southern province school of Rwanda stated that: 'Only two of their teachers were trained and have taken time train other teachers to share skills about CBC'.

The table below shows the number of days teaches spent on CPD activities in the previous year.

Table 25: Number of days spent on CPD activities in previous year

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	33	29.2	33.3	33.3
	1-5 days	26	23	26.3	59.6
	6-10 days	3	2.7	3	62.6
	11-15 days	6	5.3	6.1	68.7
	more than 15 days	31	27.4	31.3	100
	Total	99	87.6	100	
Missing	System	14	12.4		
Total		113	100		

Source: Primary data, 2016

The data of the table above show that the majority of teachers in both primary and secondary schools (33.3%) reported that they have not received any training related to social cohesion and peace building in the previous year, while a considerable number of respondents indicated to have spent 1 to 5 days on CPD activities and programs related to social cohesion and peace building in the previous year. This means that most of the CPD is spent on short term courses (15.3% of respondents) or one-off seminars (42% of respondents) or interventions, school meetings (51, 4% of respondents) and discussions with colleagues (41, 8%).

7.8.3 Table 26: Teachers' Reasons for undertaking continuing Professional Development (CPD)

Statement	Yes	No
I undertake CPD to improve my pedagogical knowledge about learners with different needs	62	38
I undertake CPD to develop my knowledge about how I can teach to promote tolerance and respect	60	40
I undertake CPD to know more about teaching approaches that better address learners with different needs in classroom	84	16
I undertake CPD to know more about the new policies and approaches to promote social cohesion in schools	84	16
Other	0	100

The table above shows that 62 % of respondents reported to undertake CPD to improve their pedagogical knowledge about learners with different needs, while 84 % indicated that they undertake CPD to know more about teaching approaches that better address learners with different needs in classroom, and the same percentage of respondents revealed that they undertake CPD to know more about new policies and approaches to promote social cohesion in schools. However, 60% indicated that they undertake CPD to develop their knowledge about how they can teach to promote respect and tolerance. The data show that respondents are trained more in pedagogical knowledge that in promoting peace building and social cohesion related trainings.

In 2008, Rwanda decided to shift from French to English Language as medium of instruction across primary, secondary and tertiary levels to meet the new globalized trend both economically and socially. In view of CPD, teachers with French background seem to express their concerns about lack of English language competences and thus lack of confidence in their teaching. If this issue could not be addressed seriously through CPD, it could interpreted as a kind of inequality and lack of recognition for Anglophone teachers in Rwanda since it could easily prevent us from

conveying our thoughts and peace related values in classroom as expressed by one of the teachers from school D:

"…Basically, I am francophone. I have taught in French for 25 years. I speak that language fluently without any problem. I can express whatever I want and how I want it delivered. However, with English I experienced a lot of problems to explain some issues to my students. There are some values I cannot transmit because of language barriers…." (Teacher from school D). This issue may lead to the frustration of some teachers who feel they do not know anything simply because they lack words to express their thoughts and ideas.

As a result of this shift, it goes without saying that, there was a desperate need for training and empowering Rwandan former Francophone teachers with not only English language knowledge but also pedagogical skills to face the new challenge of using English as a medium of instruction. In view of this, an official from REB argued that, with this challenge, REB left no stone unturned to embark on a huge task of training teachers in the English language over holidays to enable them to teach in English, which becomes from then on their new language. This training was vital since language capacity plays a significant role both content delivery and learning, and if either a teacher or a learner in the language of instruction, either party ends up in a desperate state.

Therefore, incapacity of language in education can cause or mitigate conflict because of its positive and negative powers (Aniga, 2004:82). This is reason why language plays a significant role in conflict management and peace building hinges on the fact that language is part and parcel of culture, and culture in itself is a means in which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge and attitudes towards life (Taylor, 1991:91). Furthermore, Rwandan teachers needed this training in English not only because English had become a medium of instruction, but also the command of any language is a vehicle of a means of conveying thought, including peace building and social cohesion. The training in English was done country wide and decentralized at school level.

However it appears that, the in-service teacher training at the moment is less systematically organized and more demand driven, one of and with little reinforcement. Moreover, like it has been reported in the past the teachers talked to were not seen as active participants in their own professional growth. Rutayisire (2008) cited in Bennell and Ntagaramba (2008) indicated that they are never consulted on what areas they would like to receive training in. Most though would still welcome any training related to their work.

These findings concur with those of Ntagaramba and Bennel's (2015) study undertaken on teacher in service training. Among the key findings were that, around 60% of degree holders and diploma holders teacher respondents and 75% of senior six certificate teachers rated the current availability of in-service training as 'very poor' or 'poor'. This means that the provision of regular, high quality in-service training is essential in order to ensure the attainment of consistently high teaching standards. The same consideration should be taken with regards to involvement of teachers in preparation of training for their ownership. Needless to mention that the recognition of teachers is overlooked

7.9 AN ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED CPD INTERVENTIONS IN RWANDA: FROM THE PEDAGOGICAL AND SOCIAL COHESION PERSPECTIVE

7.9.1 Introduction

Horner et al, (2015) ascertain that in post conflict contexts, it is important to integrate peace building and social cohesion in the continued professional development programmes. Through CPD, teachers can acquire knowledge and skills of fostering social cohesion in their classrooms and across the curriculum. Continued professional development can also empower teachers to ably facilitate the development of peace building and social cohesion skills such as negotiation, problem solving, collaboration, and critical thinking as well as attitudes like, empathy, tolerance and compassion among students (ibid).

Francis (2002) observed that despite international interventions, including negotiations and peace agreements, demobilization and reintegration efforts; military interventions and

peacekeeping operations by the United Nations, European Union, African Union, and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), significant challenges remain in addressing effectively the issues of peace and security in this region of Africa. Tubiana (2014) cited by Nkubah (2015) demonstrated that grassroots entities in communities undergoing or emerging from violent conflict have always been sidelined, and their innovative potential undermined when they are simply regarded as beneficiaries whose only role is to receive what is offered.

Hence forth, Reich (2006) argues that home grown initiatives ought to be viewed as a comprehensive involvement of local actors in a wide range of activities that contribute to the prevention of violence and resolution of conflict. Accordingly, for peace processes to be sustainable within the community, local people have to be actively involved with limited external involvement that is context specific. Okach (2013) concurs that policies which do not take into account or reinforce indigenous knowledge ignore informal institutionalism in peace building processes and undermine local ownership. This is the reason why communities sought for home grown conflict resolution strategies to fill the gaps and meet local needs for justice, peace and reconciliation.

Apart from the trainings for English capacity and competencies, in partnership with JICA, REB introduced a teacher training system to boost secondary school teaching in science and mathematics through SMASSE (Strengthening Mathematics and Science for Secondary Education). Around 10,000 sciences and mathematics secondary teachers have been trained in the new system whereby they moved away from teacher centred methods to develop more practical, student-centred methods of teaching. The project has established a learning circle where teachers, novice and veteran, are continuously learning from each other by reviewing each other's lessons and sharing their best ideas and techniques.

This is in line with UNESCO's (2001) report that from peace building perspective, learner centred approach is not only concerned with imparting knowledge but also concerned Learning the Way of Peace with developing socializing skills, moral attitudes and learning skills of children in

parallel. The learner no longer is conceived of as a passive recipient of knowledge but as actively engaged through interaction, observation, exploration and enquiry alongside other children in constructing understanding and making sense of the world around her or him.

Furthermore, in collaboration with NGOs like Education Development Centre (EDC) and Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO), UR-CE has developed manuals in order to introduce and train tutors in the revised programmes. These manuals emphasise subject teaching methods and practices as an instrumental way of helping tutors to understand how to implement learning activities in their own primary classrooms. Following the training, teachers could reflect on their methodologies and uncover ways to improve their skills. During our interviews, peace education was perceived as   not to be merely a typical classroom subject, but an approach that results in child- friendly environment that promotes psychological adjustment. Learner centered pedagogy was also the focus of support provided by VVOB as an important strategy to prepare future effective teachers.

Building on this point of view, VVOB plans the training that is geared towards the professionalization of the teaching career in Rwanda by assisting tutors to revisit their teaching methods in order to equip students with problem solving skills. During the training, tutors were explained that they have been selected given their significant role to play in the sustained application of LCP in schools and it is imperative that they are exposed to effective application of LCP in their training in TTCs. This classroom teaching method (LCP) acknowledges student voice as central to the learning experience for every learner, and differs from many other learning methodologies. A child-friendly school is one that avoids excluding, discriminating or stereotyping on the basis of difference, respects and celebrates diversity, and provides free, compulsory education. It is welcoming of all children and mindful of their individual needs and circumstances (UNICEF, 2012).

In addition to this program, there are some interventions for CPD through both government and private organizations such as, National Itorero Commission, National Unity and Reconciliation,

Never again, AEGIS TRUST, Institute of research for Peace and Dialogue (IRPD), council of protestant churches in Rwanda (CPR) that are playing an important role in providing CPD to teachers in line with peace building teaching approach to Rwandan teachers. These organizations in their mandate deal with issues of peace building. Other interventions according to majority of schools visited include different school clubs such as: never again, peace club, anti genocide clubs, ruhuka (be peaceful or rest) aiming at promoting peace values and peace awareness among learners. Some of these clubs deal with trauma and other related social problems. But majority of teachers re-iterated lack of enough knowledge in managing these clubs and carrying out such awareness and assistance to learners.

During interviews, some teachers claimed to have got experiences from these trainings and workshops that work as a trigger of starting different clubs at schools for learners to engage in different peace building activities at schools and usually such clubs are organized by teachers who have acquired CPD trainings from these agencies. However, in all the schools visited teachers complained that Rwanda Education Board is not giving them enough training in how to teach using the learner centered approach which is mandatory for the new competency based curriculum. Through seminars and training in these methodologies, it would be possible for teachers to integrate social cohesion and peace building issues in their classroom teaching.

The few teachers who have the required methodological skills were trained by Institute of Research, Peace and Dialogue (IRPD), Aegis Trust, National Itorero (NIC), and Council of protestant churches in Rwanda. REB, which should be leading, is not doing enough of these trainings. Majority of teachers stated that:

> 'Although it is not quite regularly, CPD trainings we get through such agencies are paramount for us in order to know what and how to enhance peace values among learners. Looking at what befell Rwanda; just academic content is not enough to be given to learners without inculcating peace values in them. Above all, academic content is for human and societal development and when academic content cannot help all Rwandans to live together in a peaceful Rwanda, why should we teach such content to learners. It would be poisoning them the way it was done in the past discriminative curriculum of Rwanda in sixties up 1993 where learners were being fed with ideas of discrimination, hate and be satisfied with being a peasant in rural areas without self esteem'.

In responding to social conflicts and their consequences, various national and international agencies and NGOs recognize that peace building should be guided by the principle that those who will have to live with the consequences should have the agency to make decisions about their own future (Edomwonyi, 2003).

Looking at the rationale of the Rwandan new competency based curriculum, it is more than just content or knowledge based. Rather, knowledge should culminate into producing a holistic and well-balanced learner able to develop all Rwandans and Rwandan society in particular into a peaceful and cohesive society. This is why NIC, Aegis Trust, IRPD and other agencies and commissions come in to equip teachers with skills on social cohesion and peace building skills.

A teacher from school D Northern Province, who received trainings with British Council, happily narrated his experience with this training and what he gained from it and how he is applying it in his teaching profession:"I have received some training from the British Council on how to get online resources from the Project called Connecting Classrooms. It is a project from the British Council where schools are connected but before getting online resources, you must register your school at the British Council website. My school is registered and we used to have some resources on global issues, about partnerships and about the English language. These trainings want us to be global teachers and global citizens. When we talk about global citizens, there is a strong element of social cohesion;

The topics I used to think that they were difficult to teach using the new competency based curriculum approaches; I now find them easy to teach. When learners ask me some sensitive questions such as genocide ideology, issues of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa –about its origin and consequences, I now know how to handle them. These trainings trained me to be an agent of social cohesion. They helped me to develop a culture of self respect and respect for others and to live in harmony with others; and to know that there must be unity in diversity and so a culture of tolerance was very eminent. I use the acquired knowledge and skills to teach my learners even sharing the knowledge with my colleagues as well as outside community where I live teaching why and how to help vulnerable people, how to solve conflicts".

A good number of teachers echoed a need for more information regarding the history of Rwanda and social cohesion issues during NIC, NURC, CNLG, Aegis Trust and other agencies and commissions CPD trainings, workshops, talks, discussions etc. Majority of teachers ascertained that:

> "Many young Rwandans need to be aware of how the early Rwandans lived, what caused the differences among Rwandans and what can be done today to overcome such conflicts. Rwanda was called a land of milk and honey. But many young Rwandans do not understand the concept of "a land of milk and honey" because; there is a big gap between the Rwandans of today and the Rwandans of the past. So, such trainings, workshops, seminars etc would focus on what used to hold Rwandans together rather than what used to divide them and consequently we would be strengthening Rwandan social cohesion."

When interviewing PTC, it was found out that, majority strongly encourage teachers to attend meetings, workshops, seminars etc. to upgrade themselves in peace building skills through NIC, Aegis trust, IRPD and other agencies such as Never Again (agency fighting Genocide Never to happen Again in Rwanda and anywhere else), National commission fighting Genocide (CNLG) in order for teachers to improve their teaching skills of imparting peace and harmonious living and other Rwandan values among learners. Majority of head teachers stated that:

> "But because schools cannot afford to send all teachers to these trainings, we encourage new teachers to learn from the old teachers' experience and ask the school administration to assist them. Teachers are encouraged to use real Rwandan experiences of genocide against Tutsi while teaching for learners to know the truth, what caused the conflict, what happened and what should be done to overcome these social conflicts".

One of the PTC members stated that:

> "Schools are encouraged to organize trips to different genocide memorials for learners to see, touch and feel, this is the only way they are able to understand more the magnitude of the problems that befell Rwanda in 1994 and say NEVER AGAIN. That is why teachers sign performance contracts with the school in order at the end of the year, they are evaluated on basis of their teaching and the methods they use in class which should be not only academic based but also involving learners in peace values promotion and practices."

7.9. 2 NATIONAL ITORERO COMMISSION (NIC)

In sub-Saharan Africa, Rwanda as a unique case study offers extensive lessons in traditional mechanisms for conflict resolution. Gasanabo (2010) argues that various factors contribute to Rwanda functioning as a particular case study: the vast reach of the genocide; the failure of the international community to effectively thwart the extensive bloodshed in Rwanda and later, in responding adequately to its consequences; the cultural heritage and people's belief in pre-colonial radiations of conflict settlement; and political consensus on the importance of home grown solutions.

All the home grown solutions and any other interventions within Rwanda' both socio-economic and education system in particular are based upon Rwanda's history and culture which gives them the potential to effectively address complex challenges often encountered while trying to achieve various national development goals (RGB, 2014). A series of home grown solutions are developed and discussed in this chapter above.

But for practical reasons, three interventions will explored in this study, namely National Itorero Commission (NIC), Aegis Trust intervention and Institute of Peace, Research and Dialogue (IRPD to assess how they assist the government to address and mitigate social cohesion issues in schools. By analysing them, the purpose was to understand which CPD intervention programmes have been found useful to support teachers in their teaching peace related ideas and in which situations they might work best for teachers to support their teaching and learning practices related to social cohesion and peace building in Rwanda. From time immemorial, the training of teachers has been an issue of concern to researchers and lay members of society alike. Fafunwa (1974) argued that teacher education continues to be the key to educational development, in Rwanda and elsewhere, for without adequately trained teaching cadre; Rwanda cannot hope to achieve her educational aims.

Given the devastating legacy of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the government of Rwanda has put in place efforts and policy frameworks that are conducive to peace and reconciliation as an attempt to address the consequences of 1994 genocide against Tutsi to establish lasting

peace. The government of Rwanda had to introduce a wide range of interventions to promote reconciliation and positive group relations. Rwanda has invested heavily in civic education to reverse this wrongly portrayed history of Rwanda and decided to use the best practices of Rwandan culture as practical means of addressing the economic, social and governance problems being faced by the country (NURC, 2009). The most recent and most prominent initiative in this respect has been the "Itorerory'igihugu program" (National Itorero Commission-NIC) through which the culture of serving the country was   re-introduced in a bid to encourage patriotism, positive values, responsibility and selfless service- attributes that contribute to accelerating progress and thus promoting social cohesion, peace and reconciliation and democratic governance.

The commission was established as a leading institution in helping to change the mindset of the Rwandan people (NIC, 2011). The institution was created to function as a contribution to finding solutions to problems related to social conflicts and ethnic divisionism among Rwandans (NURC, 2009). NIC conducted many studies and held public meetings around the country with various categories of people, including teachers, asking them to say what they believed was necessary for reconciliation and what they personally needed to be able to reconcile.

Itorero has its roots before colonial period. It was a channel through which the nation could convey the messages to the people regarding national culture in different areas such as language, patriotism, social relations, sports, dance, songs and the defence of the nation.

This system was created so that young Rwandans could grow with an understanding of their culture and values. This would help them develop a positive attitude towards their behaviour, philosophy, ethics, and relationships with Rwandans. Most importantly, itorero was created to avoid discrimination and provide a voice to all Rwandans.

However, colonisation gradually suppressed itorero and in 1924, the colonial administration prohibited classic Itorero and introduced western-style schools. This situation impacted on relationships among Rwandans and discrimination and genocide ideology started spreading. As

a result, Rwandan society and cultural values were destroyed and this was the beginning of genocide whereby more than one million people died which left Rwanda with poor and disabled people as well as with many refugees.

Therefore, it was necessary for all Rwandans, to have a strong grip on the good understanding and positive changes in their mindset, critical thinking, behaviour, positive day to day working process and collaboration. Building on Rwandan values, Itorero ry'igihugu was then introduced in 2009 to contribute in solving problems related to mindset, bad behaviour, bad practices, through applying Rwandan cultural values in particular targeting young Rwandans as future citizens. As stipulated in the 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, it is necessary to draw from Rwandan history the positive values which characterized Rwandan ancestors that must be the basis for the existence and flourishing of Rwanda.

The vision of Itorero ry'Igihugu is for all Rwandans but in a special way young Rwandans to share a common mindset based on similar values with the purpose of promoting unity and patriotism. The programme seeks to mentor the Rwandan citizens to have a positive attitude and to solve problems related to mindset, bad behaviour and bad practices through applying Rwandan cultural values (NURC, 2009).

The main objective of itorero ry' igihugu is to build a Rwandan citizen characterized by values based on Rwandan culture. The chairman of the commission explained that:

> "...*The itorero programme's objective is to promote Rwandan values and cultivate leaders who strive for the development of the community…it is an institution which aims mainly at teaching all Rwandese to keep their culture through its different values such as national unity, social solidarity, patriotism, integrity, bravery and tolerance*…and this fits well mostly in schools where teachers must play their roles in instilling these positive values and attitudes among learners as Rwandan future citizens and leaders."(Chairman of itorero, 2016)

In order to achieve the objective of Itorero, the commission set the following goals in the new law in the official Gazette in March 2013:

1. To train Rwandans:

   - To understand their shared values in their coexistence, be patriotic and contribute to national development
   - To be aware of and understand national programs and how they are implemented
   - To be confident in their ability to solve problems they are faced with and to uphold their dignity
   - To be " *intore" (patriotic and nationalistic Rwandan with distinguished character)* who are worthy Rwandans of their society and catalysts for positive change
   - To acquire the culture of volunteerism through national service
   - To set targets and take pride in successful performance and achievements of Rwanda

2. To train leaders to embrace a leadership style that promotes positive values and strive to become excellent performers;
3. To train Rwandans to promote respect for positive cultural values as a basis for coexistence and national development;
4. To collaborate and consult with other public and private institutions and non-governmental organizations with similar objectives;
5. To prepare and monitor volunteerism through national service.

These trainings had a socio-economic aspect as they included community service activities and allowed for the demystification of the government. Trainees wore military uniform to make them at ease around the military, reduce any fear associated with the uniform and so they could experience life outside of their comfort zones and learn how to survive physically and mentally during difficult times. The trainings aimed to change the negative perceptions about different aspects of the government and reduce the distance some people perceived between themselves, the government and its policies. Ingando aimed to teach participants how to face certain challenges and overcome them.

Through civic education programmes the Government of Rwanda is attempting to create good citizens by exorcizing the genocide and replace historical atrocities with future visions of reconciliation and unity (Turner, 2014). When the program was established, it faced significant challenges including a lack of trust between participants and facilitators as well as low quality facilities. These issues were slowly overcome as more resources were dedicated and the objectives of the program were gradually better understood and it became properly integrated into Rwandan society (Gasanabo, 2010).

7.9.3 THE ROLE OF NIC IN BUILDING TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL CAPACITIES FOR PEACE BUILDING AND SOCIAL COHESION

Teachers, as key agents of transformative society, could not be left behind by the commission as their contribution to peace and reconciliation has been considerable in the aftermath of genocide against the Tutsi. Rutayisire (2004) noted that teachers are in good position to influence learners' identities, model and impart values of mutual respect and tolerance, and teach the skills required for civic participation and employment. To emphasize the role of teachers in peace building an official from NURC said:

> "*Teachers and leaders are key stakeholders in social and economic development of our country, we want them to use the Rwandan culture to discuss and find solutions to national problems*" (An official from NURC)

An official from NURC said that itorero for teachers was necessary since teachers are involved in training the young generation the good practices that would help in moulding and brightening their future based on Rwandan culture and values. According to him, Itorero will give teachers a platform based on national culture and values to solve problems, promote national unity, enhance discipline and fight genocide ideology in their respective schools.

It is also noted that some teachers were victims or perpetrators during 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and it is important to see them now as part of the solution when rebuilding an education system (NIC, 2011). Therefore, teachers, as key agents for peace building, need the development

of individual competencies to deliver both the skills for peace building and social cohesion. This is the reason why teacher training was considered by NIC as vital in supporting teachers to ensure equity, peace and social cohesion. NIC official stressed that teacher training is paramount to ensuring that teachers develop the knowledge, skills and dispositions to effectively mediate content from textbooks creating their meaning in specific social contexts and in classrooms.

Teachers interviewed also illustrated the potential of teacher training in developing their agency for peace building, including the development of their individual competencies to provide skills for peace and social cohesion. One teacher stated that

"Peace values and other ideas in CPD trainings we get from all these agencies such as NIC, Aegis Trust, IRPD, CNLG, NURC and other agencies and commissions are good for our professional development because they are in line with enhancing peace values among our learners. They equip us with capacity to be able to pass on good Rwandan values to learners" (Teacher from school A)

It is in this insight that by 2012, it was expected, that all existing teachers in Rwanda's primary and secondary schools had to participate in Itorero. Some teachers had been trained already in 2005 within the framework of "Ingando", in the former version of the national education camps (Sundberg, 2012).

In 2015, at least 60,000 teachers across the country were expected to attend civic education programme (Itorero) during the long school holidays. The permanent secretary at MINEDUC in interview said that the civic education was for teachers of all levels of education, from kindergarten, primary and secondary schools. Explaining the purpose of the training, the permanent secretary pointed out that the training was aimed at improving teachers' understanding of Rwandan values, helping them to impart that knowledge to students. According to the chairperson of National Itorero Commission, at least 40,000 teachers attended the first edition and 20,000 others have joined the sector over the past seven years. He explained that the first edition played a significant role in reducing cases of genocide ideology in schools. The

permanent Secretary at MINEDUC concluded saying that Itorero is so important in keeping teachers at a part with the national vision, that they need to be updated on the country's agenda.

Through Itorero, teachers are trained to change their mindset and ideology. According to Rutazibwa (1999), the genocide ideology in Rwanda took roots within the colonial era and this ideology was taught in all levels of education. In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, a similar hateful ideology persists in some parts of Rwanda. In this regards, the role of teachers was to contribute to national reconciliation by creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-violent national values and promoting the universal values of justice, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy (Bamusananire et al., 2006). The purpose of itorero programs for teachers is to equip them with a knowledge that will assist them in preventing genocide ideology both among teachers and learners. During itorero, Rwandan teachers are taught about their own shared history and vision of the future Rwanda as constructed and disseminated by the government.

The Government of Rwanda recognized that history should be taught objectively and that teachers should refrain from using racial propaganda. To put this in practice, teachers have duties to place emphasis on peace and unity in schools to ensure that students learn to coexist free from discrimination and exclusion. Therefore, training of teachers was deemed very important so that they clearly understand Rwanda's past and subsequently they encourage practices of reconciliation.

Bamusananire et al (2006) ascertains that, in 1994, Rwandan education system was completely destroyed and needed to be rebuilt and transformed. In 1998 a new orientation for education was defined and Rwanda was put on the road to a new school culture, with a new school ethos. From then on, education had to promote national unity and reconciliation, emphasizing attributes that bind all Rwandans together in order to assure that a horrifying genocide against the Tutsi should never happen again. Hence a new set of values, based on the traditional Rwandan values of ubumwe (unity), was to be taught. In this regards, the role of teachers was to contribute to national reconciliation by creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-

violent national values and promoting the universal values of justice, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy (Bamusananire et al., 2006). The purpose of *NIC, Aegis Trust, IRPD, CNLG, NURC and other agencies and commissions* programs for teachers is to equip them with a knowledge that will assist them in preventing genocide ideology.

Bamusananire (ibid) re-iterates that commissions and *agencies* facilitated Rwandans to come to terms with the past by facing history, forging a common vision for a united future, and created a forum for trust building and critical analysis of national challenges with a view to search for solutions to address them. Rwandan government is convinced that the most effective method in the prevention of future genocide and to foster common citizenship is through education and training of teachers. It is strongly believed that when learners are taught about peace, tolerance, unit and reconciliation, it reinforces their cohesion and when they are no longer divided, genocide is prevented.

7.9.4 AEGIS TRUST AS AN INTERVENTION FROM PEACE EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE

The Aegis Trust is an international organization working to prevent genocide. It undertakes activities across a wide scale. Some activities are centred on genocide remembrance and education; some around research, evidence-based policy advice and advocacy; some around helping survivors and affected communities rebuild a society resilient to the risk of repetition (Gasanabo et al., 2016).

Aegis Trust first introduced peace and values based education in 2008 and central to this education was the teaching of history to enable teachers and learners relate to and understand the historical significance of complex topics such as the genocide against the Tutsi and broader topics of genocide and reconciliation. Gasanabo et al. (2016) indicate that the Aegis Trust Peace Education program has two strands:

- Onsite Peace Education at Kigali Genocide Memorial and;
- Outreach Peace Education Program (known as Community Peace Education)

The Onsite program organizes the following activities for learners' workshops, teachers' training workshops and educational exhibition that displays experiences shared by survivors, perpetrators, and rescuers (Stevenson, 2012). The programme generally discusses Rwandan history and the genocide in global context, promotes critical thinking and problem solving, and values to support social cohesion and organises visits to graves. The programme also organises a tour guided by a member of the guide department that encompasses the permanent exhibition on Rwanda, including the 1994 genocide, and the permanent exhibition on genocide elsewhere in the world (Stevenson, 2012).

However, one of the challenges Aegis Trust program encounters is related to conflicting teachings from parents and teachers. Trainees have repeatedly highlighted the challenge for young learners dealing with conflicting information received from school were peace education is received and at home where parents may have strong views that are not in line with the values inherent in peace education. Therefore, applying what has been learned at school would be particularly challenging without parents' awareness and commitment.

For the director of Aegis Trust Rwanda, is convinced that the peace building education will create a Rwandan youth that promotes a stable and peaceful future. A majority of respondents repeatedly commented on the need for Aegis Trust to work within schools and rural communities. One of the head teachers from school G argued that quality basic education can play a very important role in healing the wounds of a society that suffered from genocide against the Tutsi.

The Aegis Trust program equips teachers with methodology and practical knowledge using proven peace education theories, relevant practice and inspiration from stories and testimonies from the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi as well as peacemakers' stories. After the training, teachers are given educational support materials that they can use to teach the peace component in class but also to drive a conversation in their communities where teaching genocide studies in Rwanda offers positive feedback although the topic of genocide proves to be a very sensitive and delicate subject, for both the teachers, learners and even parents.

The director in charge of Education, Training and Planning (Aegis Trust) explained that the Aegis Trust has developed a successful model for peace education in Rwanda, giving teachers across the country the knowledge and tools to overcome the legacy of fear and suspicion left by the genocide, to break the long-term cycle of violence and to build reconciliation, trust and cooperation for a brighter future. She continued saying that starting from a pilot programme in 2008 at the Kigali Genocide Memorial, in December 2013 Aegis Trust work in that area expanded with the launch of the Aegis-led Rwanda Peace Education Programme (RPEP) and the Genocide Research and Reconciliation Programme (GRRP).

In 2014, drawing on recommendations from a pedagogical committee set up as part of the Rwanda Peace Education Programme, Rwanda Education Board (REB) announced inclusion of peace education as a cross-cutting element in Rwanda's new national curriculum. In late 2014, it was announced that the use of audio-visual testimony clips had been approved for inclusion in the new Rwanda school curriculum and in May 2015, Aegis Trust provided teacher trainers with skills in delivery of this peace education component in the participatory, interactive methodology used in the Rwanda Peace Education Programme.

To achieve its mission, Aegis Trust developed its own peace model/framework that can be referred to when delivering peace education. This model/framework posits that sustainable peace is achieved from a combination of the following three elements: Looking back, looking into the present and looking forward, especially not only for critical thinking as well as educating values and positive attitudes, but also training for sustainable livelihoods.

Some teachers trained by Aegis Trust argued that teachers are prominent members of the society and so should be respected. This is supported by the trainers in these words: "We have had positive feedback from different parts of Rwanda about teachers using our materials to positively challenge their communities and to spark discussion on unity and reconciliation, but also stories of children who are challenging parents and educators to change behaviours for improved quality in the relations within the communities" (Trainer from Aegis Trust, 2016). Another trainer teacher from school C argued about training received from Aegis Trust as follows:

"…There was a programme here where I am the pioneer; I am the one who was trained in peace-building. The training was conducted by Rwanda Peace Education Programme (RPEP) ... it was done through REB and Aegis Trust ...I was trained 3 times by them... Even this past Wednesday I was in a competition at the Gisozi Genocide Memorial where I won the competition...To me, I don't think any topic is challenging because I know how to handle this... When students ask me questions for example about genocide and how it developed, about the clans, about ethnic issues...about the origin ...This is actually where many teachers fail ...but I was trained how to handle them…" (Teacher from school C). This provides teachers with the opportunity to handle sensitive issues associated to 1994 genocide.

The teachers trained by Aegis Trust are taught how to incorporate storytelling into their teaching. The use of audiovisual and live testimonies has proven to be an effective method to teach about life skills, including critical thinking, empathy, and personal responsibility. Trained teachers are provided with details about the ways they evaluate schools as a result of the acquired pedagogical approaches. During Aegis Trust workshops, teachers have to provide evidence that they had been a actively in the dissemination of information and ideas acquired from the workshop, and that they had gained from it personally in terms of their understanding of the genocide and their confidence to teach about it.

During the interviews, teachers acknowledged that it could be hard to talk about genocide, and noted the absence of clear, compelling and authoritative sources that they could base their teaching on; some said that curriculum materials (like the Aegis workshop) are needed throughout the school system, at all age levels. One trained teacher commented on the impact of the workshops conducted by Aegis Trust in the following words:

> "Yes, there is change because after the workshop, we taught students and they changed their behaviours. There are no longer groups of students from the same neighbourhood who use violence against all others, and no longer conflicts among students at our school…" (Teacher from school B, 2016).

The good news is that, together with its partners, Aegis Trust has worked closely with the Rwandan Ministry of Education through REB to infuse peace education into the content and methodology of the new school curriculum at all levels and in all subject areas. This new curriculum has been taught in schools countrywide since the beginning of the 2016 academic year, a major milestone for the country and an important step to create communities that are resistant to the divisions that can lead to genocide (Gasanabo, 2016). Aegis Trust is also planning to work with the University Of Rwanda College Of Education (UR-CE) to make the implementation of the new school curriculum possible through a variety of initiatives including pre-service teacher training.

7.9.5   Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP)

According to Rwamasirabo and Williams (2008), the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace's (IRDP) main objective is to contribute to the construction of peace through the establishment of neutral political space which is used to debate on issues related to peace building contribution. It is the promotion of critical thinking among youth both in schools and in villages. IRDP is implementing a project called "Healing our Community-Promoting Social Cohesion in Rwanda". IRDP aimed at addressing problems openly, exchanging opinions on conflicts arising around generation gap in understanding genocide ideology concept and meaning.

With partnership with inter-spaces programme, IRDP has made a significant and strategic contribution to the possibility of building peace in Rwanda. It has been particularly adept at identifying important issues which were controversial or taboo, which needed to be discussed in order for Rwanda to progress in the direction of peace-building, and at engaging those at elite and decision-making levels in dialogue. It has dared to open difficult themes, and has managed to inform and include the full range of actors, from the base to the high political levels.

The IRDP programme was initiated to create political space for people to talk about their concerns and peace building needs. It was stated by Rwamasirabo and Williams (2008) that for education to contribute positively to the peace building process in the aftermath of ethnic

conflict, the central role of teachers should be recognized as a crucial aspect in the process of social cohesion. As stressed by IRPD report, teachers can be a very important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values that it transmits.

Further, teachers, as key partners for the achievement of the programme objectives, play also the role of debate facilitators in their respective schools. They periodically meet to exchange, assess their work and learn from one another. During the reflective workshops organized by IRPD, teachers get an opportunity to share experience and to demonstrate the achievements and challenges walked throughout the last period. During workshops, it was also a good time to discuss on the new curriculum and to make a SWOT analysis of it and the peace education component. Participants, during the workshop organised by IRPD, commented on the importance of peace education as follows:

"Peace education promotes empathy and kindness for the vulnerable and the poor as well as disabled and refugees. People with this knowledge help and act with compassion at any time and in any circumstance" said one teacher who attended the workshop. However, to become successful, teachers need to own what they are teaching. This is expressed by an official from IRDP in this way:

"The challenge is that you can teach those values knowing them but not believing in them. In that case, you spread seeds without foundation. Learners can easily understand and can believe in it" (An official from IRDP).

Some of the achievements by IRDP beneficiaries is that students are advanced in critical thinking and research spirit, tolerance and social assistance in that learners help each other through contribution of money for those who are not able to pay their contribution to the school feeding programme to have lunch at school, and for those who don't have school materials. Additionally, the students have adopted the culture of self-resolution of conflicts between them. However, beside these achievements, there are some challenges met in the implementation of RPEP, such

as school programs that sometimes interrupt RPEP debates clubs' activities and language barriers.

One of the head teachers from school B, reported that, during the workshop organised by IRDP, educators came up with the conclusion that the new curriculum could bring positive change not only for teachers but also for learners as it puts more emphasis on practice than on theory. To respond to identified key challenges such as overpopulation of classrooms; shortage of materials; equipment and poor knowledge in peace education, participants to the workshop found out that the commitment of local administration; central government and parents are highly needed for a successful implementation of this new curriculum, especially the newly introduced component of peace education component. Therefore, in collaboration with different agencies such as IRDP we believe that in the struggle to help teachers acquire skills of teaching peace building, debate as a methodology would do much. IRDP believes that culture of debate and dialogue promote:

(1) The culture of tolerance;

(2) Overcoming the culture of indifference and silence;

(3) Citizens' critical and analytical thinking so that they can differentiate reality from propaganda;

(4) Emphasizing non-violent resistance;

(5) Recognizing the importance of the role and voice of the citizen;

(6) Promoting civilian supervision of decision-making processes;

(7) Ensuring civil participation in the peaceful resolution of local, national, and regional conflicts.

7.10 CONCLUSION

The government of Rwanda has recognized teachers' critical role in enhancing student learning conditions, particularly when they are equipped with the required competencies and adequately motivated to deliver high quality education. The government also recognizes that teachers can be a very important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values that it transmits. To do so effectively there is a need to be supported to improve the quality of teaching, as well as to be accustomed to carry out effective teaching and learning.

Teacher professional development is very important in this regard because the world is changing rapidly; therefore the discourse of pedagogy needs to adjust in order to remain meaningful and useful. The understanding of the significance of the role of the continuing professional development to the teachers' professional identities is essential at different perspectives. Teachers' training has a direct impact on teacher self-awareness, self-esteem and teachers' knowledge about teaching.

The teachers' beliefs about being more respected and recognized were an indication of changed attitudes which are essential for teachers developing identities and are somewhat a result of their professional development. CPD provision is mainly aimed at improving the education quality and has been available at all levels from the Ministry to school levels. However, most of trainings organised by REB are mainly focusing on content and pedagogical strategies and methods rather than encouraging social cohesion in the classrooms. The findings from this study revealed that peace values education is among the cross-cutting issues that were subsumed in the new Competence Based Curriculum (CBC) but most teachers have not yet been trained to handle the CBC whereby aspects related to peace building and social cohesion were incorporated in the new curriculum. It is then recommended that all teachers receive adhoc training so that they can feel comfortable to discuss with learners peace building related issues when implementing the new curriculum.

The responsibility of transferring these affective skills to teachers has therefore been shared by some non-governmental organizations (NGO's) such as Aegis Trust, IRDP and many other

interventions like NIC, NURC and Never Again. These interventions provide a useful channel to develop the skills that encourage peace building and social cohesion. However, as with many educational policies, implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation strategies of their actions are still lacking.

Although teacher professional development is an integral part of the education system, there remain challenges to overcome. Moreover, peace building and social cohesion themes need pedagogical attention in CPD programmes. Horner et al. (2015) argue that in post conflict contexts, it is important to integrate peace building and social cohesion in the continued professional development programmes.

There is need therefore for more synergy between NGOs and Ministry of Education in general and REB in particular in relation to CPD programmes. Specific CPD programmes should be organized regularly and for all teachers. CPD programmes should be closely monitored and evaluated by REB for effectiveness. CPD policies and training should provide real life strategies on how teachers can promote social cohesion in the classrooms.

All in all, in most of the teachers' interview and focus groups, teachers and student trainees in ITE 2, 2, 3, and 4 in all provinces, Kigali inclusive, asserted that teaching is a continuous work; no one can claim that s/he has finished learning. If it is a multiplication table, either a leaner or a teacher needs to practice it. If one claims that s/he knows it well today and stops revising it or getting training on it, s/he can end up forgetting it.The teachers went on to say that Peace and stability is paramount to Rwandan development and finally social cohesion. Respondents think, therefore, those teachers as agents of peace should be given constant training (CPD) on issues such as peace values, equity, negotiation skills, critical thinking skills, tolerance etc periodically if Rwanda was to achieve sustainable peace and social cohesion. This is why in the CBC such topics are included in subjects like history, social studies, political science, general papers, peace values, gender, sexuality, general skills and communication as a way of building Rwandans 'social capital'.

Chapter 8. Rwanda National School Curriculum and Text Book Analysis: A bedrock for Rwanda's ethnic, regionalism and the climax of 1994 genocide against Tutsi

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 and 7 critically argued that, though teachers are challenged to be accountable in their profession, they still lack sufficient professional skills to carry out their responsibilities as requested. There is evidence in chapter 7 that, Rwanda's dire need for continuing and in-service training coupled with many other changes in education systems in Rwanda such as shift to English as medium of instruction necessitate many well trained, motivated and constantly professionally updated teachers.

But, however well trained, resourced and professionally updated, teachers always work through a well-designed and balanced curriculum and textbooks that are fit for national purpose of holistic young people's development. Therefore, in this chapter, the critical issue at hand is that, the constant policy and curriculum changes in Rwandan education system in the last twenty-two years, has been the desperate need to shift from Rwandans dark past where the government of Rwanda through colonial and post-colonial education system and curriculum emphasized ethnic and divisive ideologies among Rwandans. This created a negative dichotomy among Rwandans causing all sorts of unfair treatments among Rwandans that eventually culminated into 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

In view of the majority of policy makers, teachers, learners interviewed majority ascertain that; the what, how and why Rwandans carried out an irrational and horrendous act of genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994 is that, Rwandan Education system, school curriculum and textbooks both colonial and post-colonial emphasized the teaching of divisionism based on colonial socially constructed ethnic affiliations and lacked explicit focus on teaching peace values in schools as a foundation for socially cohesive Rwandan society. Such divisive curricula acted as

the key drivers of social conflict in Rwanda that culminated into 1994 genocide against Tutsi. These inhuman and irrational tendencies used divisive elements such as quota system, regionalism, divisive curriculum and textbooks to aggravate social tensions, inequalities and lack of social cohesion in Rwandan society using Education and curriculum in particular as the key driver.

This study henceforth, tried to find out what can the government of Rwanda do or what is being done at the moment through Rwandan education system do to make Rwanda a better, stable and socially cohesive society after this dark history. During this study, it was evident that the Rwandan Education system today has to find out what was missing to allow all Rwandans to live peacefully and comfortably together and strive for their holistic development. This missing link to peace and social cohesion in Rwanda necessitated the designing of the competence based curriculum (CBC) being used in Rwanda today. An official from REB ascertained that the paramount goal of the new competency based curriculum, textbooks and teaching materials in Rwanda was to emphasize the teaching of peace values across all subjects regardless of the nature of the subject. It is a truism that when learners don't receive peace values at an early age, more often than not they become liability to their society. The younger generation is the pillar of socio-economic development of any society.

Larry (2009) argues that, "Teachers should always be aware of the preconceptions and background knowledge that learners typically bring to each subject and of strategies and instructional materials that can be of assistance to tease out that knowledge, link it to academic subjects and finally to the learners real environment. Learners should be helped to identify and analyze where difficulties in their social life are likely to arise and modify their practice accordingly. Henceforth, teachers' instructional repertoire allows learners to create multiple paths to the subjects they learn whereby teachers are adept at teaching learners how to pose and solve their own social problems" (*p.*). The Rwandan CBC, in this regard, incorporates in every subject some generic competences including among others 'critical thinking' which is the foundation for problem solving.

However, National Board of professionals (2002) reminds us that, competence based curriculum should not be taken in a simplistic manner. What teachers are able to see, hear and learn is colored by their prior knowledge and experience. Thus, teachers must, in their efforts work with learners, monitor them. Teachers must strive to acquire a deep understanding of their learners and their communities which shape learners' outlooks, values and orientations toward life. This report reminds us that teachers have to recognize that intelligence is culturally defined. That is, what is considered intelligent behavior is largely determined by the values and beliefs of the culture in which that behavior is being judged. A professional teacher has to recognize that learners bring to the schools a plethora of abilities and aptitudes that are valued differently by the community, the school and the family" (National Board of professionals 2002).

The analysis of Rwandan curriculum and textbooks before and after 1994 with the aim to find out the strategies that Rwandan teachers use to promote peace and tolerance while implementing the curriculum is supported by Tawil and Harley (2004) who state that: understanding the role of education in general and of curriculum in particular, in their capacity to erode or reinforce social cohesion in the context of conflict-affected societies, is relevant to efforts at peace building education in all societies. This chapter therefore seeks to highlight how peace building and social cohesion are incorporated in the curriculum and textbooks. The analysis also seeks, therefore, to find out strategies that Rwandan teachers use in implementing the curriculum to promote peace and tolerance. It gives an overview of the curriculum changes in Rwanda over 30 years and how the curriculum and textbooks contributed in the feeling of hatred, divisionism and discrimination which culminated in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

Through literature and interviews carried out and analyzed, it was quite evident that, the government of Rwanda's endeavor to incorporate peace values in the education system and other government programs is reflected in the World Bank report (2006), that stipulates that "formal education is designed to transmit more than basic skills like numeracy and literacy; it should also transmit key social and cultural values. The school curriculum and the way it is taught are expected to promote among young citizens both a sense of national solidarity and a well-informed, tolerant understanding of others. Education is a key vehicle for forming individual

attitudes about other groups, both domestically and in other countries. Education also helps shape a student's fundamental attitudes toward society".

The peace related values to incorporate in the Rwandan CBC are also drawn from Human rights as stipulated in the same report (ibid) which argues that: "the modern ideal of using the formal education system to promote tolerance and respect for diversity has its roots in the 1948 document: "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child goes further, stating that: formal education should not only be devoid of discrimination but also should seek to develop "respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, and for civilizations different from his or her own" (United Nations 1989: 29, 1c)". "Ratified by all but two member countries, the 1989 convention holds in addition that children should be educated in a "spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of the sexes and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national, and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin" (29, 1bid)". For Colletta (2002) "Peace, tolerance, and understanding have been conspicuously absent in many parts of the world. In 2000, 24 of the 40 poorest countries in the world were in the midst of armed conflict or had only recently emerged from it (United Kingdom 2000).)".

A senior official from REB explained that:"Looking at Rwanda's EDPRS2 and other national policies embedded within vision 2020, the education sector strategic planning, and the East African Community curriculum framework, it was technically mandatory for Rwanda to design a new curriculum not only fit for Rwanda's purpose but the region as beyond her boarders. Rwanda has to ensure that the Rwandan school leavers are equipped with technical and vocational skills as much as those who are proceeding to university. The new curriculum therefore necessitated a blend of academic and social skills oriented to their working environment and daily life. We need to ensure that Rwandan graduates and school leavers qualify to be competitive in the East African region and outside of the region. Rwandans want to ensure that any barriers resulting from the old curriculum that would hinder Rwandan graduates from living in harmony with each other are totally eliminated on top of skills which will ensure their competitiveness in the regional and global market." The official went on to say that:

'Within the curriculum, the content of any subject is supposed to be integrated with peace values through various activities such as drama, clubs and promoting language for social cohesion. The new CBC approach hence required strong inputs from different stake holders of education in Rwanda both local and international such as Itorero commission (NIC), national unity and reconciliation (NURC), Aegis Trust, institute for research, dialogue and peace (IRPD) to give a hand in designing and integrating peace values in the new CBC. Their participation was not only paramount on the basis of official designing of the curriculum but also through their continuous offering continuing professional development (CPD), guidance and counselling to Rwandan teachers and learners as well. Given this critical argument and assessment of the rationale and key goal of curriculum and education system in general, it is critical to find out:

i. What kind of curriculum did Rwanda use during and after colonial times and why was it changed?

ii. What was lacking in Rwandan colonial and post-colonial curricula and education system in general?

iii. What, how and why did Rwandan colonial and post-colonial curricula and education system acted the way it did?

iv. Were the Rwandan colonial and post-colonial curricula and education system inclusive or exclusive?

v. Why and what kind of curricula Rwanda is using after 1994 genocide against Tutsi?

vi. Does competence based curriculum have any impact on peace building and social cohesion?

vii. How the individual specific subject in competence does based curriculum deal with peace building?

viii. Are there any challenges with the competence based curriculum?

In view of this endeavor, the analysis of the new Rwandan competence based curriculum and textbooks in this chapter used the framework of the 4Rs i.e. Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation to build a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015) and find out how they

are being handled by Rwandan curriculum within the twenty two years which has had constant changes in education system and curriculum. So, if this critical argument is something to go by, one must ask a number of questions:

i.   What is the rationale of the new Rwandan school competence based curriculum (CBC) and textbooks?

ii. What was missing in colonial and post-colonial curricula and textbooks?

iii. Do CBC and Textbooks in any way promote or inhibit teachers' endeavors to act as agents of peace?

8.2 METHODOLOGY

The chapter is structured as follows: section one discusses the chapter methodology explaining the sources of information, with how and why certain textbooks were chosen; section two discusses the history of curriculum in Rwanda; section three gives an overview of the Rwandan curriculum before 1994; section four describes the curriculum after 1994; the knowledge based curriculum in Rwanda is discussed in section five; competence-based curriculum is the focus of section six; section seven discusses the role of textbooks in the Rwandan education in general and in peace building and social cohesion in particular; section eight is about Rwandan textbooks analysis whereby each textbook is analysed in terms of content, pedagogy, representation and structural content.

The two curricula have been chosen because the present curriculum-competence-based is being implemented in parallel with the previous curriculum, which is knowledge-based and is being phased out. The competence-based curriculum is only being implemented in P1 and P4 for Primary and S1, S4 for secondary. The rest of the classes are using the knowledge-based curriculum: P2, P3, P5 and P6 for primary and S2, S3, S5 and S6 for secondary.

The selection of subjects was not randomly done since not all the subjects taught in primary and secondary do not address the issues of social cohesion and peace building in the same way. The study selected only subjects that directly address peace building and social cohesion. Therefore, subjects like Social studies, History and Citizenship, Political education, General studies and communication skills as well as English have been selected.

The analysis is backed by the literature on how curriculum and textbooks can promote peace and social cohesion in the society starting from the classroom setting. Ideas from some key policy makers in the area of peace building and education have been incorporated to support the analysis. This analysis is built around the 4Rs such as redistribution, recognition, reconciliation and representation which constitute a framework to effectively address peace building and social cohesion issues. Thus, the curriculum and textbooks should address issues of inequalities, differences, injustices, and participation in the state governance.

The textbook analysis covered only those available at the time of the school visits because the competence-based curriculum did not have textbooks right from the implementation. Teachers were using the previous textbooks that were already in schools while the process of writing, validating and publishing the new textbooks aligning with the new curriculum was going on. Fortunately, by the end of data collection process, two new primary textbooks were out, these are 'Social and Religious Studies P4' and 'English P4'. The analysis focuses on the content of the textbook, the structure and pedagogy.

Table 27: The curriculum documents analysed by subject and levels

Subject	Level	Document analysed
Social Studies	Primary: P5 and P6	Old syllabus (Knowledge Based Curriculum-KBC)
Social and Religious Studies	Primary: P4	New syllabus (Competence Based Curriculum-CBC)
English	Primary: P5 and P6	Old Syllabus (KBC)
English	Primary: P4	New Syllabus (CBC)
History	Secondary: S1-S3	Old Syllabus (KBC)
History and Citizenship	Secondary: S1-S3	New Syllabus (CBC)
Political Education	Secondary: S2	Old Syllabus (KBC)
English	Secondary: S1-S3	Old Syllabus (KBC)
English	Secondary: S1-S3	New Syllabus (CBC)
General Studies and Communication Skills	Secondary: S4-S6	New Syllabus (CBC)

8.2.1 Rwandan Curriculum before 1994: The Cradle land for Ethnic and Social Divisions in Rwanda

As early as the 1920s, Rwandan learners were put in distinct categories of Hutu or Tutsi which largely determined their fate outside of school. At first, colonialists used divide and rule strategy by grooming the Tutsi for leadership and excluding Hutu children who mainly received education from seminaries (Njoroge and Rubagiza, 2003). This kind of education system was later to contribute to the upheavals in the late 1950s, 1963, 1973, and subsequently the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. According to an official from REB, the old curriculum included substantial coverage of the core skills, especially literacy and numeracy, math and science. The emphasis was on knowledge acquisition rather than transferable skills, such as problem solving, critical thinking essential to the appropriate attitude and essential skills for a cohesive society.

The Rwandan curriculum has undergone several changes across the years and some of these changes included educational structures, language of instruction and subjects taught. However, even after gaining independence in 1962, education in Rwanda continued to be characterized by discrimination and elitism, where curricula typically promoted and reinforced social and economic divisions within society (Ministry of Education report, 2015). Administrative structures were put in place to build a non-traditional, western-style education system. The *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale* [Ministry of National Education] was created in 1961 and was responsible for enforcing many of the laws created to maintain racial divisions in schools.   Major regulatory structural, curriculum and administrative changes to Rwandan education sector took place in 1978 and 1981 but none of the discriminatory policies of the post-colonial era was questioned. This kind of legal framework sustained social-political polarisation that planted the seeds of divisionism that later on exacerbated conflict amongst Rwandans (ibid, 2015).

At the time of independence 1962, the curriculum that was used was of colonial masters based on their philosophy of "Divide and Rule". Their mission was to train cadres who could help them in their ruling. The curriculum was basically composed of numeracy and literacy so that the cadres could be able to interpret their message to the rest of the local Rwandans without any explicit focus on peace values and social cohesion attempting to build and strengthen Rwandans social capital (Bianchini, 2009). The language of instruction was Kinyarwanda in lower primary and French in upper primary. Not all Rwandan children were recognized as having the same rights to education since joining schools depended on the socially imagined ethnic group and all these fuelled social tensions right from schools. The curriculum itself was discriminative in nature making it hard to reflect the crucial and paramount pillars of: recognition, representation, redistribution and finally reconciliation. The fundamental social capital skills and values of peace were totally ignored (REB, 2015).

In line with this discriminative education system, in 2001, 18 Sub-Saharan countries were directly or indirectly involved in war (Mills 2002) and most of them were due to internal conflicts. Of the 107 wars waged from 1992 to 2002, 93 were civil wars. Causes of civil conflict include ethnicity,

religion, entrenched poverty, social and political inequities, greed, and indignity. Young people's views of others are shaped by a range of factors including personal experiences in the home and in their communities, peer-group influence, and school experiences. Children are, first and foremost, members of families and communities from which they internalize many of their attitudes toward other groups (Colletta, 2002).

Taking an example of 1978 education reform, the subjects taught in primary were Mathematics, French, Kinyarwanda, Geography, and History, Civic education, Religion, crafts, needlework and home economics. However, in most of the subjects the content was dominated by divisionism and discrimination ideology (REB, 2015). This is what UNESCO (2007) called stereotypes in curriculum and textbooks. It is highlighted that both positive and negative stereotypes can have negative effects with regard to learning to live together. Both positive and negative stereotypes are very often used as a basis to legitimize discrimination, unfair treatments and violence. Rwandan History curriculum was stereotyping the three ethnic groups by attributing humiliating names, special characteristics such that this created stigma among Rwandans who were branded to be Tutsi. The stereotyping and stigmatising was reflected in how teachers were treating the learners as evidenced by an old teacher from school G:

"While a teacher was teaching, it was very common and supported by school leadership to use divisive examples such as 'long nose, height, foreigners within schools, cockroaches-which were all attributed to Tutsi'. It was quite common taking role-calls based on ethnic groups. Learners could be forced to respond by saying: Hutu, Tutsi. And a learner is called and responded 'Hutu 'when s/he was 'Tutsi' it would a big case to answer to the school leadership that quite often could end in dismissal" (school teacher).

The ethnic and gender based negative ideology was clearly evident and reflected in Rwandan curriculum through textbooks; for example, Icyimpaye (2013) published a list of Kinyarwanda proverbs for school use and among them, a good number of proverbs clearly reflected divisive tendencies e.g. *Ababiri bica umwe* (two people may kill one person); *ingoma idahora ni igicuma* (the regime that does not revenge is redundant/passive); *uruvuze umugore ruvuga umuhoro* (a

family that is ruled/managed by a woman ruins/get demolished). All these proverbs and sayings were used in schools to cultivate divisionism, gender bias, hatred and negative attitudes among learners at such a tender age. For over four decades, suchpedagogical revengeful lessons were constantly fed into learners instead of teaching and advocating unity, equity, equality both from ethnic and gender balance among learners.

Such a curriculum and textbooks contained elements of segregation where learners were taught that some ethnic groups particularly Tutsi were enemies to others which was the basis to all kinds of discrimination. Women were not regarded as equal participants in nation building because their roles and positions in decision making were very limited. For example, in secondary school, some combinations/sections were exclusively for girls to learn how to take care of the household while difficult options were reserved for boys especially Mathematics and sciences. The way History was being taught was not helping children to reconcile, it was rather fuelling the hatred and discrimination among Rwandan learners especially Tutsi vs Hutu. The language of instruction at that time was Kinyarwanda and this could be a sign of unity but it was not the case because Citizenship and civic education as a means of state-building was taught with divisionism.
Whatever Rwanda curriculum is offering today, it is based on the evidence that Rwanda has had very bad history of divisionism created and exacerbated by colonialists and carried on till it culminated into genocide against Tutsi in 1994. One of the head teachers argued that: "Rwanda must have its own concept of peace or social cohesion and must be located within its context. Whereas, the official went on to argue, other countries prefer Unity in diversity due to that fact that they have many totally different tribes in their countries with totally different languages and cultures, Rwanda preferred 'oneness' or 'sameness' identity (Ndi Umunyarwanda) because; how can one justify the difference among people of the same language, culture and values? Any attempt would be and it is anyway, pure false and intentional attempt to divide the society for personal or colonial interests."

In view of this argument, Rajakumar, (2006) defined the term 'curriculum' as a set of planned activities which are designed to implement a particular educational aim-set of such aims-in terms of content of what is to be taught and the knowledge, skills and attitudes which are to be

deliberately fostered, together with statements of criteria for selection of content, and choices in methods, materials and evaluation. Curriculum also refers to the means and materials with which students will interact for the purpose of achieving identified educational outcomes. To determine what will constitute those means and materials, a country must decide what it wants the curriculum to yield; in other words, what will constitute the 'educated' individual in the society?

Therefore, the things that teachers teach represent what the larger society wants children to learn. This implies that the curriculum is contextualized in order to meet the needs of the society (Edward, Ebert II, Christine, Michael and Bentley, 2013). That is to say, the curriculum should mould the children according to the society's wants, hence an agent of change. The curriculum acting as an agent of change was highlighted by a NURC official who ascertained that:

"I can say that education contributes 100% to rational transformation and it passes through education. Without passing through education, the character of the citizens that you may want, you'll never get it. Education is a key component for shaping human character (NURC official).

The contribution of the curriculum in changing the society in periods of transformation was also noted by Bantwini (2010) Knebel et al. (2008), and Umar (2006) who extend the scope of curriculum beyond the school to embrace the development of a society in general. In Rwanda, after 1994 genocide, the overarching need was national unity and reconciliation. There were many government initiatives to unite and reconcile all Rwandans through various channels. For sustainability of these programs and initiatives, the curriculum was the best channel for unity and reconciliation of Rwandan people. The government programs use school curriculum and textbooks to pass the information to the learners to ensure there is a sustainable change. In an interview, one NURC official stated the following:

"We have schools and we've been integrating the life skills of unity and reconciliation and national identity into school curriculum. Schools are our partners" (Officer, NURC). She went on

saying that unity and reconciliation is a crosscutting issue that all the Ministries have to integrate in their plans including the Ministry of Education, otherwise Rwanda cannot achieve its aim of peace building.

During this study, the consulted literature, documents, interviews with; policy makers, teachers and parents were all alike. They all evident argued that, colonial and post-colonial used knowledge-based curriculum with a lens of knowledge acquisition, forgetting the lens of efficiency and human values that lead to peace building and social cohesion for a socially cohesive society. Hence, the competence based curriculum for Rwanda today which is peace, stability, respect, holistic development and value-oriented curriculum was introduced to avoid repeating the bad history of Rwanda and as a chance to correct colonial and post-colonial political and leadership errors.

Rutayisire et al., (2004) discuss how policies of ethnic, regional and gender quotas *(iringaniza)* provided a legal framework for promoting violence and discrimination in Rwandan society. During the second republic of 1973-94, the policy of quotas was derived from Article 60 of the public education law regarding the conditions of transitioning from primary to secondary school. In this case, in order to be admitted to secondary school after primary school, several considerations would be made in addition to students' academic performance, namely regional, ethnic, and gender quotas (ibid, 2004).

Rutayisire (2007) asserts that despite the public education law, the 1970s' ethnic and regional quotas actually determined entry into all primary, secondary, and tertiary public institutions. These mandates overrode academic consideration, given that the results of primary and secondary school examinations were never published, nor were the criteria accounting for the exam results used to select students at the upper levels. "In the pre-1994 curriculum, the essentials of human emotion, attitudes, values and skills were absent, while injustices based on discrimination and conflict were imparted through formalized rote learning in history, civic education, religious and moral education and languages" (Rutayisire, 2007: 117). Virtually, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, destroyed most of the social, political, economic institutions, including the education system.

Curriculum is a key channel for the government to promote seeds of peace in individuals and in young people in particular. In case of Rwanda today, the main goal of education is reconstruction of unity which has to be reflected in school curriculum. Other forms of education like informal and non-formalare also used to reach another part of the population not in school through different programs and the most used is National Itorero (NIC) and "umuganda (community work)" every last Saturday of the month whereby people in the village meet for cleaning activity and after the activity they hold discussions on key issues affecting their community and nation.

The role of curriculum is viewed as more paramount in uniting Rwandan society which was torn apart by discrimination and segregation reflected in the past curricula since colonial and post-colonial period. Curriculum was designed and used to make some Rwandans feel inferior to others whereby ethnic differences were not respected because Rwandans were seeing themselves in lenses of ethnic groups. The current curriculum on the other hand, tries to unite Rwandan children through many programs specifically '*Ndumunyarwanda'* 'Iam a Rwandan'.

No wonder, in line with the 4Rs, CBC puts more emphasis on teaching Rwandan learners about the past so that what happened should never happen again. Young Rwandans must learn how to reconcile, recognize each other share whatever the country has (redistribution), practise fair management of Rwandan society (representation so as to live in harmony starting from the classroom to their families and communities). Encouraging all Rwandans to participate in the state governance is also very important for peace and social cohesion in Rwanda because bad governance is the major factor among others which destroyed Rwanda. Therefore, all the 4Rs would be easily traced in the Rwandan curriculum.

8.2.2 Rwandan Curriculum after 1994: From Knowledge Based (KBC) to Competence Based Curriculum (CBC)

The 1994 genocide against Tutsi destroyed the country in all sectors including finance, education, agriculture, health, etc. and special efforts were needed for reconstruction of Rwanda. As a country emerging from war and genocide, national reconciliation and peace building among Rwandans was the first priority. In April 1995, a national conference was held and came up with

the recommendation for restructuring the education system. This restructuring had to go in line with the review of curriculum. The structure of education remained 6-3-3 and different syllabi that were operational since 1994 were harmonized to cater for learners repatriating from different linguistic backgrounds- English or French. The language of instruction was made Kinyarwanda in lower primary and French or English in upper primary. The curriculum was developed taking into account the needs and aspirations of Rwandan society relating to the education of Rwandan children who will be critical, well-informed, self-reliant, patriotic, scientifically aware, competitive in the local, regional and international labour markets, cooperative and able to resolve problems peacefully (NCDC, 2003).

Majority of officials from REB, NIC, NURC, IRPD and Aegis Trust argued that, the constant redesigning of Rwandan curricula after 1994 has been in line with Rwanda's strong desire and zeal to reconstruct Rwanda by creating a socially cohesive Rwandan society devoid of any kind of discrimination and inequalities which characterized all Rwandan curricula before 1994. Building Peace in Rwanda is a phenomenon that all Rwandans need to make sure that it is happening among all Rwandans without which, we would destroy our society" (the officials went on to argue). A head teacher from school H stated that that:

"The rationale of curriculum reform was to at least integrate the new life skills of unity, peace and reconciliation into school curriculum and textbooks. Our young Rwandans today have to learn the skills and values that would strongly unite them to become equal Rwandans, not people who can see one another as a foreigner or a stumbling block to one another's development."

Since 1978 curriculum review up to 2014, the Rwandan curriculum that was being used in schools was knowledge-based curriculum. Teachers and learners had content to cover in a given period and national examinations would be set to check if the learners had mastered that content. The interest to analyse this curriculum was, therefore, due to the fact that, the implementation of the competence-based curriculum (CBC) would be in parallel with the knowledge-based one. CBC is taught in P1 and P4 in primary, S1 in secondary ordinary level, and S4 in Secondary advanced

level. The rest of the classes follow the knowledge-based curriculum being phased out. As the present study is about engaging teachers in peace building, the key subjects that were selected were Social Studies, History, English, and Political Education with the target to see how peace building and social cohesion were incorporated in the curriculum.

The reconstruction of Rwanda in a post-conflict situation had to be guided by government policies, programs and curriculum that have a holistic development approach for all Rwandans. Beside different curricula analyzed, different policy documents and government programs were consulted and among others they included: Vision 2020; Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2013-18; the Seven Year Government Policy; the Education Sector Strategic Plan (2013/14-2017/18); the Draft Curriculum Policy 2003; Curriculum and assessment policy (2014); Draft ICT in education policy (2014); and the Harmonised curriculum framework for EAC (2013). All these policies and programs align with the Ministry of Education mission which is to:

"Transform the Rwandan Citizen into skilled human capital for the socio-economic development of the country by ensuring equitable access to quality education focusing on combating illiteracy, the promotion of science and technology, critical thinking, and positive values" (MINEDUC, 2015 p. 11). This mission, however, needed specific objectives to be achieved and the same objectives had to be the backbone of the competence based curriculum. The following are Rwanda education sector objectives as stated in the competence based curriculum framework:
- Educate a free citizen who is liberated from all kinds of discrimination, including gender based discrimination, exclusion and favouritism;
- Contribute to the promotion of a culture of peace and to emphasize Rwandese and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy;
- Dispense a holistic moral, intellectual, social, physical and professional education through the promotion of individual competences and aptitudes in the service of national reconstruction and the sustainable development of the country;
- Promote science and technology with special attention to ICT;

- Develop in the Rwandese citizen an autonomy of thought, patriotic spirit, a sense of civic pride, a love of work well done and global awareness;

- Transform the Rwandese population into human capital for development through acquisition of development skills;

- Eliminate all causes and obstacles which can lead to disparity in education be it by gender, disability, geographical or social group (MINEDUC, 2015 p. 8-9).

The competence-based curriculum development was guided by the above objectives in defining competences, determining the content and incorporating crosscutting issues. It is the first curriculum to overtly put emphasis on the teaching of values. The basic/national values include values like dignity and integrity, self-reliance, national and cultural identity, peace and tolerance, justice, respect for others and for human rights, solidarity and democracy, patriotism, hard work, commitment and resilience.

Having acquired all these values, social cohesion and peace building issues would be addressed and Rwanda would have both skilled and humane citizens (MINEDUC, 2015). Inculcating these national values into children is at the same time addressing issues of redistribution and recognition through national and cultural identity as well as respect for others and human rights, reconciliation through justice, peace and tolerance and representation through patriotism, solidarity and democracy.

In a knowledge based curriculum, the most emphasis was laid on knowledge and skills and little or no emphasis being put on attitudes and values for the Science, Mathematics and Language. Smith (2010) in Averink (2013) points it out: "All areas of the curriculum should carry values that are potential to propagate implicit and explicit political messages. Especially the 'national subjects' such as language, literature, history, geography, culture and religion are subjects that often get drawn into controversy because they are tightly controlled by governments and regarded as essential tool for nation building" (p. 50-51). Averink (ibid) reiterates that these subjects are important tools to promote political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values.'

8.2.3 A Special look at Rwandan Competence-Based Curriculum: From Peace values and Social Cohesion Lens

According to Mineduc report (2015), Rwandan knowledge based Curriculum before the introduction of the Competence based curriculum focused mainly on imparting knowledge and little or no emphasis was laid on competences. It is in that spirit that the new curriculum was developed to respond to the needs of the country in terms of competent work force (MINEDUC, 2015). Learners had some limitations of integrating what they learn at school within their daily social life (REB official).

Peace and value education (PVE) in the Curriculum Framework is understood as being the process of acquiring values and knowledge and developing attitudes, skills and behaviour to live in harmony with oneself, with others and with the natural environment. PVE was incorporated in the curriculum across all subjects instead of being a stand-alone subject. In this integration, Peace and value education was made an everyday life practice and teachers are required to behave as peaceful facilitators of learning, as peace builder models for students by role modelling or teaching by example (MINEDUC, 2015). The integration of peace in all subjects was also emphasized by a REB official in these words:

> "Peace building is integrated in all subjects as a cross-cutting issue among others and making it visible in all subjects even Science and Maths. It was reported that, in Mathematics, learners can work together in groups as this will strengthen relationships and build cohesion among the learners" (Officer, REB).

The official went on to argue that:

"Competence based curriculum will give learners ability to use an appropriate combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values in order to accomplish a particular task successfully. That is, the ability to apply learning with confidence in a range of situations. Among the aims and objectives stated in CBC framework, there is a need to develop a learner who is patriotic and responsible citizen ready to play a full part in Rwandan society and beyond."

The official went on to state that:

> "In order to form this kind of a complete citizen, the CBC suggested some cross cutting themes to be integrated into all the subjects. Among the cross cutting themes, two are the most relevant to peace building. These themes are: peace and values education as well as genocide studies. The uniqueness with CBC is that peace could be taught even in Science and Maths subjects as an effort to embed peace building in our new curriculum. In whatever a teacher is teaching, s/he has to make sure that s/he inserts examples related to peace building, be it in natural and mathematical or humanities and arts subjects. Majority of REB official argued that, all Rwandan teachers must make sure that peace building themes and values are embedded in all subjects".

However, teachers from schools B, G and H, argued that : "Peace values are not clearly reflected and articulated in natural and mathematical subjects of the competence based curriculum from primary to advanced secondary levels except for social and arts subjects, yet these values are expected to be crosscutting."

Whatever different views may be held on Rwandan CBC, during this study it was very evident that, across the five Rwandan provinces in all schools visited, majority of teachers, parents and learners seem to appreciate and agree on the rationale of the Rwanda's competence based curriculum. In their view, the Rwandan school competence based curriculum (CBC) was designed to respond to Rwanda's unique social problems of long social conflicts that culminated into genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 where all the social fabrics were torn apart. A teacher from school J Kigali stated that:

> "I can't end a lesson without talking about Peace values, especially in a History and Citizenship class. To me as a Rwandan teacher, if I don't include peace values in my teaching, the lesson would be incomplete. When you want to cover from sickness you talk about it. I tell learners that we are talking about peace values because we must know the truth of what happened in Rwanda, its consequences and how to prevent it never to happen again. Usually the first thing that I tell my learners is that, no person or society is perfect, but if you wrong someone else, you should be the one to take the first step to apologize beginning with your classmates."

A teacher from school C stated that:

> "We teach learners a culture of forgiveness and a sense of citizens' equality, equity and fairness in all aspects of life whether economically or socially before the law in order for them to live in peace with each other. Unlike in the past where going to school was based

on ethnic identity and regions not on merit, today learners in Rwanda come from all walks of life and meet at school because of their performance in national examinations and study together and this is a concrete sign that Rwandans can live together peacefully. REB's approach to national examinations and school allocation is all meritocratic. No teacher marks any script seeing the names of the candidate; school allocation depends on an individual learner performance in national examinations, among public schools, there is no government school for poor or rich-it is all by merit and hence you find learners from all walks of life in the same government school."

Though Competence based curriculum has been successful in some countries, CBC pedagogies require a lot of commitment and dedication as in some countries it has failed to yield the expected results. There is a need to engage all stakeholders, including parents, to get involved and support it. Teachers are required to change their attitudes and demonstrate a change in mindset especially because learners look at the teachers as role models in the values to be taught to them through CBC. At the District level, great synergy should be fostered between the District and the department of curriculum and pedagogical materials to ensure that the curriculum is rolled out smoothly and any challenges are resolved effectively. Trainings have been organized nationwide, but teachers were complaining that very few of them (school subject leaders-SSL) were trained and in turned they were not able to share the experience with the rest who were not trained.

Although some critiques such as Larry (2009) may view competence based curriculum as a way of devaluing knowledge or doing a de-service to knowledge, what is popularly known as 'pedagogy for the poor', this is an argument that does not critically look at human and social values from a holistic development perspective. This is evidenced from colonial and post-colonial Rwandan curriculum that had no explicit focus on teaching learners peace values as a foundation for a cohesive and peace loving society. According to the Competence Based Curriculum Pack for Stakeholders (2015), the present Rwanda Education System through the new curriculum, aims at aligning every content in the curriculum to fit holistic approach of teaching learners not just purely academic content but also teaching them the culture of using their acquired knowledge to make good judgments in their future day to day life for cohesive living and making peace with every Rwandan, environment and beyond Rwandan boarders (official from REB):

Table 28: Generic Competences in the Competence Based Curriculum Pack for Stakeholders (2015)

Critical Thinking	Thinking imaginatively and evaluating ideas in a meaningful way before arriving at a conclusion.
Creativity and Innovation	Using imagination beyond knowledge provided to generate new ideas to enrich learning and respond creatively to the variety of challenges encountered in life.
Research and Problem Solving	Producing new knowledge based on research of existing information and concepts and sound judgment in developing viable solutions and explaining phenomena based on findings from information gathered or provided.
Communication	Using oral and written language to convey information, discuss, argue and debate a variety of themes in a logical and appealing manner.
Cooperation, Interpersonal management, Life skills	Demonstrating a sense of personal and social responsibility and making ethical decisions and judgments and practicing positive ethical and moral attitudes with respect to socially acceptable behaviour.

On the other hand, competence based curriculum aims at shaping the attitudes and minds of Rwandan youth to take an active and developmental responsibility for a cohesive future Rwanda. REB official went on to argue that:

"Compared to colonial and post-colonial curriculum which basically emphasized purely academic knowledge, competence based curriculum (CBC) aims to teach skills and right attitudes through; critical thinking, problem solving, creativity, citizenship, national identity, genocide studies, comprehensive sexual education, decision making and financial education. This is why during the

designing of CBC, different national institutions which deal with specific issues such as unity and reconciliation, cultural values, peace values, private non-government organizations such Aegis Trust, Institute for research dialogue and peace, environment protection etc played an important role in the elaboration of CBC, supporting in the integration of these issues in learning and teaching. CBC is informed and responds to national development policies to shape the minds of young Rwandans to work towards building a future Rwanda that is envisioned in the policies."

A head teacher from school J Kigali re-iterated that:

"It is a good break –through from the purely knowledge based curriculum that was applied in colonial and post-colonial curricula. "In colonial and post-colonial curricula, teachers practically did everything and the learners had very little participation in the teacher-learner process-no wonder Rwandan learners obeyed even killing their own mothers, sisters, brother; husbands or wife killing each other; even religious killing their fellow religious; all in the socially created ethnic differences. In CBC, the learner is the centre of interest."

Learners are expected to do most of the work and in this way stands to benefit more. As the learners take the lead in the teaching-learning process, they find it democratic and start developing accountability which is the foundation of peace building. The teacher takes up the role of a guide as learners go through the learning process". The teacher went on to state that: The new curriculum has great benefits for both teachers and learners:

"First, CBC offers teachers an opportunity to make more tangible contributions to the learning process for learners. As learners are more engaged in the learning process, teachers have more time to think about ways of improving the lessons and making them more interesting for the learners."

Second, teachers' work is made easier since they do not have to teach everything to the learners. Although they are required to cover the syllabus, learners are expected to work hard to not only master the subjects' content but also integrate it in their day to day lives as a problem-solving mechanism while under the guidance of teachers.

Third, for teachers it offers a great opportunity to learn new teaching skills and methodologies that are used to teach peace values and life skills worthy of a peaceful and patriotic Rwandan. Similarly, for learners who wish to pursue their studies within the East African region or abroad where the competence based curriculum is in place, they will enjoy a smooth transition in their studies."

In a nut shell, during this study, it was evident that, in subjects like Rwandan History, learners are made to understand the past and present happenings in their communities and use the knowledge to better their future. Social Studies would make learners learn how to live harmoniously in Rwandan society where many all Rwandans from diverse backgrounds may co-exist. Rwandan learners learn topics such as socialization, conflicts resolutions, co-operation, heroes, heroines, ethnic diversities, human rights and emergent problems in the society. Social studies are supposed to teach learners the acts of discipline, tolerance and such acts that would encourage peaceful co-existence of people in the society (Adejobi & Adesina, 2009).

8.3 SELECTED SUBJECT ANALYSIS

Although peace values are claimed to be found across all subjects, some subjects elaborate more on peace building than others. The present study selected English, History and citizenship as the most relevant subjects in relation to peace building. The analysis of these curricula will focus on the content that is directly connected to peace building. So, a critical assessment of some subjects was carried out across primary, secondary and initial teacher training colleges.

Among many themes concerning social cohesion in school text books, gender was identified as not well designed in terms of the difference between males and females. During teachers' focus groups across all levels, teachers re-iterated point that:

"There is some kind of bias in the way gender is presented in textbook illustrations. A big number of teachers stated that gender is portrayed as if it is all about helping women not a social cohesion and equity issue". People understand gender as empowering women, some even go further and put equal signs between gender and women. However, in counteracting this point, an official interviewed from REB argued that:

"Teachers must be creative in helping learners understand the differences in gender for example by giving them examples of females who are in government and in decision making levels demonstrating to them issues of both male and female equal capacity; and   on issues that deal

with environment, teachers should give examples of why and what they should do to protect the climate". Teacher from school F Southern province went argued that:

"There is a limit in the teachers' imaginative capacity of what the curriculum is saying, in other words, a teacher should not over invent or else s/he may end up making big errors in the curriculum and creates a dangerous gap between school curricula."

However, for learners from the initial training colleges interviewed ascertained that: "At least in our programs, we do courses such as psychology and sociology which help us to know the psychology of learners at all levels, their development and socialization in the society and through knowing these we are able to guide them how they can interpret and relate to the different gender in society. This is very much related to peace building since both females and males are equal before the law and God and so we cannot live the way our grandparents lived with their wives as if women were servants."

In the line with this argument, teachers were asked to give their views on the relevance of Rwandan curriculum to social cohesion. See the table below:

Table 29: Teachers' perceptions about the relevance of the general aims of Rwanda National Curriculum to social cohesion

General aims of Rwanda National Curriculum	Not relevant for social cohesion	Somehow relevant for social cohesion	Relevant for social cohesion	Very relevant for social cohesion
-Expressing the knowledge, skills and values worth learning in Rwandan schools	5	12	42	41
-Equipping learners with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for self-fulfillment and meaningful participation in the society as a citizen	2	4	42	52
-Social transformation	3	4	48	45
-Active and critical learning	4	5	22	69
-Produce learners who demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems	2	6	42	50

8.3.1 English Syllabus P4 (CBC)

The upper primary English syllabus has some units reflecting peace building. The most relevant units are discussed as follows.

"My friends and I", in which, the learners value the importance of friendship in their daily life. If learners build strong friendship among themselves, they will definitely live in peace. Another relevant unit is "Rights, responsibilities and needs", in which the learners will learn that everyone has rights and must be respected. All the language patterns, discussions, composition, debates,

etc. are centred on the context of rights and responsibilities which are the foundation for peace building. The same was argued by Yusuf andWoodham (2012) who stated that the right to life and freedom can help to maintain peace and security because if people are able to feel safe and secure in their environment then conflict is less likely to arise.

The unit of "Behaviour, rules and laws" is also linked to peace building through emphasis laid on social behaviours governed by rules and laws. The use of language is centred on this context through which behaviour change is observed. When learners develop good behaviour by observing rules and regulations set up by the community in which they live, peace will reign. Units like "Family relationships" and "Maintaining harmony in the family", typically reflect peace building principles because the country's peace should start from families and communities. Through discussions, compositions, and other language activities, learners learn how to maintain good family relationships.

8.3.2 Social and Religious Studies (CBC)
The Social and Religious Studies Syllabus was selected because it directly connects to peacebuilding and social cohesion. The teacher does not need to make efforts to link the content to peace as almost all the topics embed peace and social cohesion values.

Social cohesion and peace building aspects are reflected in this curriculum from the beginning in the competences. The following are competences directly related to peace building and social cohesion: Educate a full citizen who is liberated from all kinds of discrimination, including gender based discrimination, exclusion and favouritism; contribute to the promotion of a culture of peace and emphasize Rwandan and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy; Eliminate all causes and obstacles, which can lead to disparity in education, be it by gender, disability, and geographical or social; demonstrate respect for the cultural identity, heritage and values of themselves and others; develop responsible behaviours in addressing social challenges such as HIV/AIDS, protection of the environment, family planning, population growth, gender equity and human and children's rights; prepare themselves as productive, responsible citizens and confident lifelong learners.

8.3.3 Social and Religious Studies P4 (CBC)

Most of the topics in the Social and Religious Studies in Primary Four reflect the aspects of peace building and social cohesion. The following are some of the relevant topics selected:

One of the key competences of the subject at the end of P4 which directly relates to peace building and social cohesion is "Demonstrate awareness towards national issues such as gender, culture of saving, health and wellbeing, living in harmony with others". For this competence to be developed, some topic areas have been suggested in line with peace building and social cohesion.

"Peace Education and Human Rights" directly relates to peace building and social cohesion. It contains sub-topic like Basic human and children's rights. In this sub-topic, human rights, child abuse and sexual abuse are discussed. Peace can also be implied in the topic of "Health and Wellbeing" because a community which is prone to diseases is not peaceful. In the sub-topic "economy", can also indirectly relate to peace where people's needs have to be satisfied for peace to reign. Most of the time, people are engaged in endless conflict because resources are not enough.

The topic of "Civic Education" directly connects to peace building and social cohesion because people need to love their country. Patriotic people cannot wish their country and people to be in conflicts and wars. The sub-topic of "Demography and population" in Geography indirectly relates to peace building and social cohesion because if the population increase un proportionally with the resources, conflicts will arise. The teacher will need to associate the population increase, shortage of resources and peace because this link is not shown I the curriculum. In the topic of "History", "Traditional Rwanda" addresses some aspects of social cohesion. These are social ties like culture, beliefs, customs, norms and values.

8.3.4 Social and Religious Studies P5 (CBC)

The P5 Social and Religious Studies Syllabus has quite a number of units reflecting peace building. The most relevant topics are discussed in the following sections.

The main competence that directly relates to peace and social cohesion is to "Demonstrate awareness towards national issues such as gender, culture of saving, health and wellbeing, living in harmony with others".

In the topic of "Peace Education", the unit2 is about "Complimentarily and social cohesion in the society". It elaborates on roles and responsibilities of people in the society and how they complement one another. Social cohesion and peace related sections include: Social cohesion and conflict management, human rights; the role of family in maintaining peace and harmony; consequences of disharmony in the society. This is the foundation for social cohesion and peace building.

The topic of "Health and Wellbeing" covers unit of "Hygiene and sanitation" which can indirectly relate to "peace" because when people are frequently sick they are not productive. This is the cause of hunger and people in this condition are not secure.

The topic of "Civic Education-Civics and governance" directly connects with peace building. The learners develop leadership skills which constitute the basics for nation building. The topic of "Wealth-Economy" does not directly relate to peace and social cohesion in the curriculum as it limits itself on "Family budget" in P5. But the teacher can still imply the relationship in his/her explanations.

The topic of "Geographical-Environment" covers 'environment and climate' in our province where issues to do with peace can be implied. We all depend on the environment; if the environment is destroyed then our life is also affected. In the same topic, the sub-topic of "Population" covers some aspects of peace and social cohesion indirectly. The problem of

overpopulation is a big issue in Rwanda. The population and the production are not proportionally distributed. This imbalance will cause problems including conflicts among people who have to fight for food. The topic of "History – Colonial Rwanda" teaches some values of patriotism. All these topics directly or indirectly connect with the 4Rs whereby poor redistribution of resources can bring about conflicts.

8.3.5 Social and Religious Studies P6 (CBC)

In Primary 6 like in the previous years, the key competence relating to peace building is the same: "Demonstrate awareness towards national issues such as gender, culture of saving, health and wellbeing, living in harmony with others". Other competences can also connect with peace building, but indirectly. The topic of "Civic Education-Civics and governance" in P6 covers sections of Unity and cooperation, and Heroism.

The national programmes "Ndi Umunyarwanda and Itorero ry'Igihugu" that teaches values related to national unity are also covered in this section. The topic of "Health and Wellbeing - hygiene" does not directly relate to peace and social cohesion, but the teacher can imply the relationship through explanations and examples. There are many diseases caused by poor hygiene or malpractices. Chronic diseases will cause insecurity. Teaching learners the ways of preventing those diseases is part of peace building.

8.4 SECONDARY SCHOOL COMPETENCE-BASED CURRICULUM AND PEACE BUILDING

8.4.1 History and Citizenship Syllabus O' level (CBC)

The new syllabus of History and Citizenship is peace building oriented because most of the competences expected from the leavers reflect all aspects of peace building and social cohesion. The peace building related competences to be developed are summarized as follows: to live in harmony and tolerance with others, Rwandan values and universal values of peace, human rights, gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity, good governance, patriotism, moral responsibility and commitment to social justice (REB, 2015).

8.4.2 Senior One (CBC)

In senior one, the syllabus of History and citizenship incorporates a good number of peace building-related units such as: Genocide and its features; concept of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities and ways of preventing human rights violation, forms and principles of democracy, conflict and violence, dignity and self-reliance.

In the unit of "Genocide and its features", the learners are advised to fight against genocide and other mass crimes. This action is in line with preparing for sustainable peace. Another relevant unit is "Concept of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities and ways of preventing human rights violations". This has a lot to do with peace building in that most of all aspects of peace are incorporated.

Research has proven that peace building is a two-sided process, one being the prevention, reduction or transformation of violent conflict or war and the other being the construction and improvement of existing peaceful structures and activities (Brinkmann, 2006). "Forms and Principles of Democracy" is another unit of the History curriculum connected to peace building. The learners will discuss the principles of democracy (human rights, equality, etc.) and are encouraged to apply democratic practices for sustainable peace of the nation.

In line with peace building, the curriculum has also included a unit of "Forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence". After going through the causes and consequences of conflicts, the learners develop new insights on how to manage or resolve conflicts in schools, in families and the society at large.

The curriculum suggests some values to be taught to learners in relation to peace building such as tolerance, resistance to negative peer influence, justice, impartiality in conflict solving and rule of law. "Dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society" may not be seen as relevant to peacebuilding. In this unit, it is suggested that learners discuss how home-grown solutions contribute to self-reliance. These home-grown solutions are social values (*abunzi, girinka,*

gacaca, ubudehe, kuremera, umuganda, agaciro) that strengthen social cohesion among Rwandese. In the unit of "Concept of disability and Inclusive education", the learners develop positive attitudes towards people with disability. The rationale for this unit, is that one would not feel at ease if rejected or excluded based on any kind of disability or infirmity. Inculcating the principles of inclusion in learners is a peace building initiative.

8.4.3 Senior Two (CBC)

In senior two, the curriculum comprises some units related to peace building and the most important are: causes and course of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi; rights, duties and obligation; state and governance; interdependence and unity in diversity; and social cohesion.

In the unit of "Causes and course of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi", learners develop knowledge about genocide and adopt prevention measures or strategies for building sustainable peace especially in "Never again initiatives". In the unit of "Rights, duties and obligation", learners develop attitudes and values of citizenship; the spirit of law abiding, individual's rights and obligations towards oneself, family, society and nation. This is supported by Babbit (2008) who argues that preventing wars and massive human rights violations, and rebuilding societies in their aftermath, requires an approach that incorporates the perspectives of both human rights advocates and conflict resolution practitioners.

"State and Governance" is another unit of History curriculum that directly connects to peace building. In this unit, learners acquire citizenship and patriotic values which are needed for sustainable peace in the country. The unit of "Interdependence and unity in diversity" helps learners internalize the concepts of national identity, unity, diversity, interdependence, patriotism in relation to peace building. All these values will strengthen "Social cohesion". Patriotic values are source of recognition and reconciliation whereas 'State and Governance' reflects redistribution while 'Unity in diversity' reflects representation.

8.4.4 Senior Three (CBC)

In senior three, peace building-related topics suggested in the History curriculum include: independent Rwanda, consequences of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, democratization process, national laws in conflict transformation and factors for national independence.

The units of "Independent Rwanda and factors for national independence" are linked to peace building since they discuss political, economic and socio-cultural changes in the first and the second republic and causes, consequences of the Liberation war in Rwanda (1990-1994). From the discussions, the learners get insights into factors that hinder peace building. As for the "Consequences of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi", though it is taught in senior two, the learners need to understand their responsibility in protecting their community and society against all kinds of division and genocide ideology as a contribution to peace building.

The History curriculum includes "Democratisation process" as a peace building-related topic because peace building for a country cannot be successful without democracy. This was evidenced when studying trends that have shaped international peace building efforts, whereby Lucuta (2014) highlighted the creation of new structures of governance, enforcing democracy, and introducing market liberalisation as the main elements of sustainable peace in post-conflict societies.

"National laws in conflict transformation" is incorporated in the History curriculum to enhance peace building. The country without laws or where laws are not respected is prone to conflicts. This was evidenced in HPCR (2007-2008) research which highlighted the centrality of the rule of law in peace building.

Learners are introduced to various laws whose aim is to protect Rwandans from any kind of conflict. As stated in HPCR (id), the rule of law assistance aims to: establish immediate post-conflict stability and security; provide a mechanism for the peaceful management and settlement of conflicts.

8.5 GENERAL STUDIES AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS SYLLABUS (ADVANCED LEVEL)

The implementation of the government policies is supported by the syllabus of 'General Studies and Communication Skills'. The present syllabus does not have a specific content on its own, it is delivered through group discussions and debates with topics from other syllabus content and topics from learners' everyday life.

The syllabus for General Studies and Communication Skills is only taught in Advanced level from S4 to S6 (A'Level). This subject is much connected to peace building as many units directly develop peace education values. Those units are social cohesion; individual and society; gender and society; conflict management; leadership, governance and development; fight against cultural discrimination; genocide; democracy and good governance. The following are illustrations on how these units relate to peace building.

The unit of "Social cohesion" introduces S4 learners to different factors that influence social cohesion. Topics for discussions and presentations are drawn from that context. From these activities, learners also develop some values like developing the culture of respect for all people. Another unit that directly connects to peace building is "Gender and Society". The most important values to teach learners include: cooperation between peers and opposite sex; respect of other sex, age and disability. Research has proven that gender equality has been linked to improved economic and development and peace outcomes (World Bank, 2012; Caprioli 2000 and 2005; Hudson, 2012).

In S5, there is "Conflict management". One of the threats to peace is conflict. Families, communities and countries with conflicts cannot claim to have peace. Therefore, conflict management is a peace building initiative. In this unit, learners will acquire skills in prevention of conflicts where they live starting from the classroom and families.

The unit of "Leadership, governance and management" is the foundation for peace because many conflicts are a result of bad leadership. Any kind of discrimination is a threat to peace. This justifies the relevance of the unit of "Fight against cultural discrimination". Therefore, if children develop the values of acknowledging diversification of cultures and advocate against cultural discrimination, people will live peacefully.

The unit of "Genocide" is introduced in S6. In this unit, learners develop attitudes and values such as disassociate and speak out against evil and violent actions, and empathize with those in pain. These are really humanitarian values that peace builds on. They also discuss different ways to prevent from genocide including "Never Again initiatives" among others.

### 8.5.1 Ordinary Level English Syllabus (S1-S3)

The core competences to be developed include critical thinking and problem-solving skills and co-operation and inter personal management which are related to peace building. The learners acquire skills in finding solutions to problems and practicing positive ethical moral values as well as respect for the rights, feelings and views of others. A learner with all these values will live peacefully with others. The connection to peace building in these competences is not directly implied. Thus, the teacher is required to talk about peace when addressing the above competences.

In Senior one, the unit on "History of Rwanda" is discussed. The topics for discussion and reading materials are drawn from the content of History and Citizenship as shown in the curriculum. Through discussions and questions about the texts, the learners develop values of patriotism and citizenship, democracy, independence, good leadership which are closely connected to peace building. The unit "Anti-social behaviour" describes anti-social behaviour like drug abuse, alcohol consumption, and smoking, constituting a threat to peace in the society. When people engage in such anti-social behaviour in families, schools and communities, peace is compromised for the degree of violence becomes higher. In their discussions, learners come up with strategies to avoid those bad behaviours for the sake of sustainable peace.

In senior Two, three units can directly connect to peace building and these are: "Heroes and citizenship" through which students learn from the heroes mentioned in the texts. They strive for higher achievements like those of famous people. Leadership, citizenship and democracy are key values which directly link to peace building. Another unit that relates to peace building is "Gender". Different texts about traditional and modern gender roles in Rwanda are read and analysed. Gender-based violence is also discussed as hindering factors to sustainable peace in the society.

The syllabus of English in senior three has some units that connect to "peace building". Among those units are: "Human Rights" under which, learners discuss all the forms of violation on human rights including all categories of vulnerable people such as children, women, minority groups, people with disability. Teaching the learners how to advocate against the abuse is a great contribution to peace building as there is no peace if people's rights are violated. Another peace building-related unit is "Religion, Culture and Arts". Among the religious values to be inculcated into learners there is one related to peace building. This is "Respect other people's faith and beliefs".
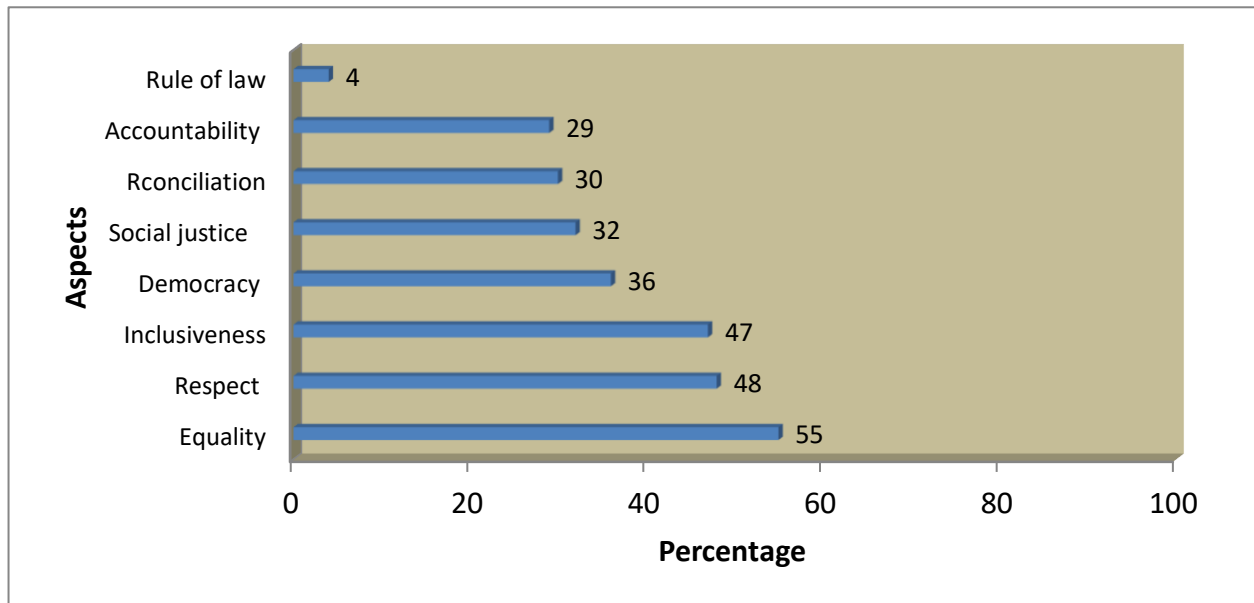
From the diagram, peace building and social cohesion topics on which teachers put more emphasis when teaching are equality, inclusiveness, respect, democracy, social justice and reconciliation. This is due to the fact that these topics are included in crosscutting issues which teachers have been briefed to incorporate in their teaching no matter what subjects they teach. These issues are crucial because they are part of the top priorities of the 'government of unity' as emerging from conflicts. A lot of efforts have been put in teaching the population 'gender equality, democracy, respect, reconciliation, etc.

The curriculum caters for students with different disabilities and therefore the selection of teaching resources should also take into consideration this category of students. Thus, (REB, 2015) suggested Audio-visual materials, Braille and other special equipment for the visually impaired students but these teaching materials are yet to be provided. The school is also advised to invite guest speakers to illustrate lessons and give students opportunities for field visits to enlarge students' knowledge, skills and attitudes. Social cohesion cannot be reached if there is

one category of the students that are excluded by the teaching resources, teaching methods and physical classroom environment.

8.6 SUGGESTED ASSESSMENT STRATEGIES IN THE RWANDAN CURRICULUM (CBC)

The knowledge-based curriculum and competence-based curriculum differ in the assessment strategies. The knowledge-based curriculum used to put emphasis on summative assessment in form of final national examination. The competence-based curriculum has changed the assessment trend whereby there will be formative assessment which will be used to determine the learners' progress towards the satisfaction of fixed performance criteria.

As for the weighting, REB (2015) curriculum framework highlighted that at the start of the roll out of the CBC, the school summative assessment grade contributes 10% of the final grade, but will be progressively increased to 50% in future as teachers gain more experience. This assessment measures four areas such as knowledge and understanding; practical skills; attitudes and values; and generic competences. With the new assessment trend, three types of summative assessment are suggested: district examinations, Learning Achievement in Rwandan Schools (LARS) and national examinations. The difference within these three types is that in district examinations learners are not graded using letters; this will be specific for national examinations where the letter grades on a report card will be used in the college-admissions processes whereas LARS will consist of assessing learners' skills at a given grade after every two years in order to evaluate and improve the quality of education before the national examination (MINEDUC, 2015).

The curriculum framework gives the guidelines on how the assessment should be conducted to simultaneously cover knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. Thus, CBC assessment trend highlighted in the framework addresses peace building and social cohesion issues as the assessment will also cover attitudes and values. When assessing knowledge, the framework has suggested some indicators to be considered such as correctness of answers, coherence of ideas,

logical reasoning; the practical skills should be assessed through indicators of accuracy, using appropriate methods, quality product, speed and efficiency, and coherence; the indicators of attitudes and values include approach to a situation, appreciation of the task given, impression of a situation, manipulation, reasoning, persistence, and tolerance.

8.7 RWANDA'S PRESCRIBED SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS ANALYSIS: A TOOL FOR CURRICULUM DELIVERY AND SOCIAL COHESION ADVANCEMENT AMONG RWANDAN LEARNERS

8.7.1 Introduction

An official from REB was very categorical in ascertaining that: one of the reasons to revise Rwandan prescribed texts books was to eradicate Rwanda's past ethnically biased text books with a lot of negative stereotypes such as portraying some Rwandans being foreigners in their own country and having animalistic features, forced the government of Rwanda to revisit her prescribed books to forge positive image of all Rwandans as the former textbooks were perpetrating divisionism and inequalities. The same scenario was found South African textbooks in some years back as highlighted by Marsden 2001; Higgs 1995; Webb (1992) who believe that "textbooks reflect the social construction of knowledge in a society, For example several studies have shown how for decades South African textbooks were entrenched with racism, sexism, stereotypes, and historical inaccuracies (Auerbach 1965; Siebörger 1992; Esterhuyse 1986; Du Preez 1983; Bundy 1993) and Alexander (1960) found history textbooks to be dull and lifeless, and lacking in critical interpretation and representation of different points of view. Palmer had similar complaints in 1967, citing "the absence of the analyses, the interpretation, the explanatory hypotheses and the conflicting points of view" (p. 141).

For Du Preez (1983); Polakow-Suransky (2002); Chernis (1990), Master symbols in textbooks determine the socio-cultural generalizations of a society to the extent that they become part of society's collective consciousness, that is, deep-rooted perspectives according to which the world is interpreted. They form the lens through which everything is seen, experienced, and evaluated (Du Preez 1983; Polakow-Suransky 2002; Chernis 1990). According to Apple (1990: 31) the scars of these master symbols in the official curriculum, as well as the hidden curricula, were deep and

firmly in place in the South African education system for 40 years. During this time, the school and the textbook acted as a "reproductive force in an unequal society" (Apple 1990: 31)".

Although lack of capacity, skills and fluency in English language as a medium of instruction prohibits Rwandan learners to strongly appreciate the message in the in the text book, there is clear evidence that given Rwanda's ugly history of ethnic divisionism and regionalism, majority of policy makers, teachers and parents do understand and appreciate the need to have prescribed text books which are well oriented to peace and social cohesion themes for Rwandan learners. The term 'textbook' has been defined differently by different authors but the common definition is that a textbook is a printed and bound artefact for each year or course of study. Textbooks contain facts and ideas around a certain subject. They are, in fact, usually specially made by a corporation to follow a set standard curriculum for a school system, or larger organization, such as a province (Encyclopedia of Education, 2008b in Goslin, 2008).

From this definition, textbooks are tools for the implementation of curriculum. The content of curriculum is detailed by the textbooks. Hence, the implementation of the curriculum is made successful by textbooks. In addition to being a tool for curriculum implementation, the textbook can also serve as an agent of change. Research conducted by Hutchinson and Torres (1994) has concluded that the good textbook, properly used, can provide an excellent vehicle for effective and long-lasting change. In Rwanda, before 1994, textbooks were used to perpetrate divisionism among Rwandans for a long time. In the same way, the textbooks should be used to change the mindset of the Rwandans for sustainability purposes; textbooks should play that role in schools.

The overall framework of schooling and schooling outcomes as for Heneveld (1994); Heneveld &Craig (1995), "can be posited as having supporting inputs which flow into schools where schooling conditions are set to produce what we want to recognize as school outcomes. Contextual factors in generating school outcomes are the political will to embark on and support a schooling system, the economic muscle to support and sustain the system, the cultural milieu and how the school system aligns itself to the global trends in education. All these help to shape the kind of outcomes we expect to see in children who pass through the system. Directly linked to schooling itself are moral, material and human resources made available to the school where

a conducive climate with the right mix of conditions are manipulated in a classroom to produce desirable outcomes.

Like Egypt did, after 1994, Rwanda had to change the content and the illustrations of prescribed school text books to change learners' mindset by integrating key elements of peace such as tolerance and education for peace to make a socially cohesive curriculum. So REB had to develop sets of materials, including textbooks, activity books focusing on everyday life situations, as well as teacher guides on interactive and participatory methodologies (REB Official 2016). Textbooks are very important if learners were to be part of their learning process. Textbooks are key channels for the government to promote seeds of peace in individuals and in young people in particular.

The main goal of education in Rwanda therefore is reconstruction of unity which has to be reflected in the curriculum and textbooks used in schools. Other forms of education like informal and non formal are also used to reach another part of the population not in school through different government programs such as National Toreros Commission (NIC) and "umuganda (community work)" every last Saturday of the month whereby people in the village meet for cleaning activity and after the activity they hold discussions on key issues affecting their community and nation. In view of this strong and critical argument for school text books, it was logical for the researcher to find ask:

i.   Did textbooks before CBC undermine, exclude or include all Rwandans?
ii.   How text books under CBC represent Rwandans and reflect Rwandans in terms of social cohesion
iii. Are CBC Text books exclusive or inclusive?
iv.   To what extent do textbooks in Rwanda promote peace building?
v.   What criteria does REB use to decide textbooks?
vi.   Who dominate textbooks writing?
vii. Who holds copyrights?
viii. Do the names of local authors appear on textbooks?

The role of textbooks has also been highlighted by Johnsen (1993) in Heyneman (2006) as being instruments of extraordinary power whereby they contain wisdom that a nation agrees to pass onto its young generation through prescribed textbook content. Besides, prescribed text books also hold a symbolic power where they constitute a window of a nation's soul. It was evident during this study that, in Rwanda these two roles have been and are being played by prescribed textbooks for the new curriculum to address the horrendous consequences of genocide against Tutsi in 1994. An official from REB, a majority of Head teachers and teachers stated that:

"REB is using the prescribed textbooks in an attempt to teach to Rwandan learners how to use the academic knowledge in the interest of creating a conducive Rwandan society for all Rwandans live in harmony. The present Rwandan prescribed text books are addressing the opposite of the old text books before 1994 which inculcated hatred, divisionism and genocide ideologies by both the education system and those who were in power."

However, as reported by Timothy et al (2015), majority of head teachers and teachers reiterated that, in spite of this noble use of prescribed text books, the schools in the more remote rural areas of Rwanda face an acute shortage of both prescribed text books and other supplementary reading materials.

i. textbook distribution is heavily dependent on the availability of funds, which affects the government's ability to conduct adequate planning, and may not effectively respond to supply and demand;

ii. the evaluation of textbook publishing bids often take a long time;

iii. teachers feel that they are insufficiently involved in the textbook selection process; and

iv. Textbooks may be damaged because of poor distribution and stock management (Timothy et al., 2015).

These factors may result in discrepancies in pupil to textbook ratios between schools and within districts. This goes to show that there is still a challenge in terms of access and high-quality

textbooks in Rwanda which are expected to be addressed in upcoming plans (Timothy et al 2015)".

8.7.2 Methodology

The methodological approach to this study centres on the analysis of eleven chapters taken from four textbooks which are used to teach two types of curricula currently followed in Rwandan schools: knowledge-based curriculum being phased out and competence-based curriculum currently implemented in some classes.

Chapters are few compared to the number of books because in Junior Secondary History, only part I was considered because the textbook has two parts, each one covering more than four chapters. The four textbooks that were chosen for analysis were Social and Religious Studies P4 (New), English Primary 4: Pupil's Daily Reader (New), New Junior Secondary History Book 1 (Old), and English in Use: Students' Book for 2.

These specific textbooks were chosen as they are among the ones recommended by REB to be used in schools. These textbooks were chosen from others because most of their topics are directly related to social cohesion and peace building based on the issues they address e.g. harmony and disharmony, equality, genocide, human rights, poverty, citizenship etc. The topics and units selected for analysis were equally chosen for the same reason. The specific chapters that were selected are shown in the table below.

Table 30: Textbooks selected for analysis

Textbook Title	Chapter/Unit Title
Primary Textbooks selected	
Social and Religious Studies P4 (New)	PartI.Unit 2: Peace, Education and Human Rights
	PartI.Unit 5: Civic Education
	PartII.Unit 3: The Ten Lord's Commandments
English Primary 4: Pupil's Daily Reader (New)	Unit 2: My Friends and I
	Unit 7: Rights, Responsibilities and Needs
	Unit 10: Climate change
Secondary textbooks selected	
New Junior Secondary History Book 1 (Secondary, Old)	PartI. History of Ancient Rwanda (4 chapters) The book has only two large parts.
English in Use, Students' Book for 2 (Secondary, Old)	Unit 3: Our History
	Unit 15: Affairs of the nation
	Unit 20: Bullies

The actual textbook analysis has four sections; section one discusses the content of the three chapters selected. The topics or units chosen are outlined and presented with a brief explanation of why they have been chosen from others. The second section looks at the textbook pedagogy in line with the objectives/aims, activities suggested to the students. In the third section, the

analysis focuses on how various demographic categories are represented in the textbook so as to detect any form of discrimination or inequalities. The fourth section capitalizes on structural content of the textbook in relation to relationships among the characters, explanations given to different events, responsibilities that are identified and those which are absent.

8.8 SELECTED BOOKS ANALYSIS: FROM PEACE BUILDING AND SOCIAL COHESION PERSPECTIVE

The implementation of the curriculum cannot be successful without textbooks. The design and choice of textbooks has to be carefully guided by the government because the information contained in the textbooks can construct or destroy the intended beneficiaries. As highlighted by Gasanabo (2006), the most noticeable fact about Rwanda's textbooks was the emphasis placed on the difference between Hutu, Tutsi and Twas from pre-colonial Rwanda to the independence. It is in this respect that the process of textbook writing by the Rwanda Education Board became handy.

On the contrary, with the new prescribed text books in Rwanda today, during the classroom observation in this study, across almost all schools visited, it was evident that, most of the reading texts that teachers use in class base themselves on the main national idea of unity and reconciliation, equity, equality, gender equity and genocide ideology. But because learners come from different families with perhaps different understanding of issues such as, gender, equality, justice, respect, telling the truth, peace building etc., each comes with his or her own interpretation from his or her own family. So, to counteract this societal confusion, teachers in schools claimed to use guided debates by teachers when learners report on such topics:

"Every learner is given a chance to say what he or she understood from the text and through the guidance of the teacher helps the class to reach at common understanding of the meaning of the main themes in Rwandan context". A teacher from school I Kigali ascertained that:

"Learners can ask a teacher: how can his or her father cook and fetch water when his or her mother is around. This shows that young people still have this mindset about: a man must sit down and be served even if there is some work to do at home. They still believe

that when a man helps his wife, he is a weak man. So, as teachers we have to engage them to face this challenge through class debates. But even then, the doubt persists in their mind and through constant debates; they would come to a common understanding. A teacher would stand among them and tries to explain to them using government programs of why women have to be assisted and encouraged to be equal to their husbands in terms of socio-economic development and to avoid any kind of discrimination."

This is why in Rwanda before the textbooks are sent out to schools, they are validated by REB to check if they align with the curriculum, do not contain any harmful information, have gender representation, are inclusive, and other criteria. The criteria for textbook evaluation are clearly stated in the bidding document that is given to the publishers for guidance include some of the following: conformity to the curriculum and syllabus subject content specifications (content coverage, learner-centred activities, harmonized structure of the units, end unit assessment with key unit competence and assessment criteria suggested in the syllabus); textbook and teacher's guide content quality (content accessible to students in all schools irrespective of different facilities, infrastructure, equipment and ICT access; accuracy, currency and relevance of textbook content; sufficiency of content; appropriateness of the content to the level of the learner; organization of subject matter; gender and special needs balance; opportunities for developing competencies; integration of crosscutting issues; contextualization; support for development of positive attitudes); design, presentation, attractiveness and ease of use of textbook; readability and comprehensibility of English language used in textbooks. (Extracted from Bidding Document for Purchase of Learning and Teaching Materials for Competence Based Curriculum-Tender Reference Number: 01/10/REB/2016-2017/IO-REB of 31/10/2016). However majority of teachers registered their complaints that:

"Though some of us Rwandan teachers do participate in text books writing, the publishing houses are very few in Rwanda and consequently text books published from outside the country cannot avoid external influence and this affects both the quality of text books which seem not well contextualized and lack of enough accessibility in schools."

But an official from REB reported that:

> 'Yes many books are published from outside of Rwanda, but it is REB evaluates them. So, when REB officials notice any error in content, concept, symbolism or choice of words such as "civil war" in 1994 instead of "genocide against Tutsi", they are immediately corrected through our error checking mechanism and approval committee. No text book can pass the tender regulations without fulfilling all the REB requirements".

In spite of that scrutiny, some school textbooks still bear the foreign names, materials and places which a Rwandan child may not understand. During an interview with teachers, one secondary school teacher said that the textbook of English used in Ordinary level is not contextualized.

8.8.1 Primary and Secondary Selected Text Books and Units - Content justification and Analysis (New text books under CBC and Old text books under KBC)

Primary School Text Books

English Primary 4: Pupil's Daily Reader (New Textbook-CBC)

The 'Pupil's Daily Reader' contains some units and topics that connect to peace and social cohesion. Some texts and grammar points include some peace related values either directly or indirectly.

Unit2 "My Friends and I" describes different ways friendship can be formed and strengthened. Some conditions have to be fulfilled to have strong friendship as highlighted in the story "The Cat and The Mouse". The story "Our friends around East Africa" shows that friendship does not limit in one's own country; it has to extend beyond the borders.

The story of "Uncle John's wedding" is another typical example of how friendship is formed and strengthened. During wedding ceremonies people come together and share food and drinks and even chat. For example, on page 45, it is stated that "in the evening everyone sat and ate the wedding cake".

Circumstances for friendship formation are not limited, "The Picnic" story is another opportunity for people to build friendships as they do everything together and support one another during the picnic. This unit "My Friends and I" has been selected because it matches with social cohesion. Friendship is a sign of social cohesion.

These stories display some values that can be inculcated in learners like patience and courage on the side of the mouse, and keeping the promise on the side of the other animals. Friendship which is an important aspect of social cohesion is the main value in this unit. Sharing, helping one another are values acquired in Uncle John's Wedding, and even in story "The picnic".

Unit 7 "Rights, Responsibilities and Needs: Children's rights in the community page107-110" In this text, different children's rights have been highlighted: right to good health, right to learn, right to information, right to live in safe environment, etc. They also highlight the people responsible for those rights to be provided. The story of "A happy Classroom" is now describing children's responsibilities for a classroom to be a happy and conducive learning environment. These responsibilities are reflected in obeying classroom rules and regulations. This unit was chosen since it directly connects with peace building and social cohesion.

Respecting human rights is the foundation of peace building because the society which does not respect human rights is always in conflicts. Building a peaceful society has to go hand in hand with respecting children's rights and meeting their needs.

However, this should not end there because in African Charter for Children's Rights, children's responsibilities have also been highlighted because they also have a role to play to make the world a better place to live. Therefore, good values like being on time, showing respect, being clean, being kind, and respecting rules will reduce crimes in the society.

Unit 10 "Climate change" discusses all forms of environment destruction and the consequences. For example, the first text "Dangers to our environment pge141-145" highlights all forms of

environment destruction such as deforestation, destroying wetlands, polluting water, etc. The continuation is "Save our environment pg147-149" with various ways to protect our environment and the role everyone should play. Among the strategies mentioned there are planting trees, filter water and air, provide firewood, collecting all rubbish, making terraces, etc. By looking at this unit, one cannot see its direct link with social cohesion and peace building.

However, one should not ignore that the consequences of environment destruction directly affect people's life. Living in peace requires a safe environment because the dangers of environment can even make people move from one place to another where the environment is conducive for a happy life. Therefore, saving our environment is part of building peace. This unit helps learners develop good values of "respect to the local environment and appreciation of its importance" as highlighted in the teacher's guide page 160. In these values, learners are made aware that every action they take has an effect on the environment and the wellbeing of themselves and people across the world.

8.8.2 Representations

The representation of gender is observed in 'Pupil's Daily Reader' textbook. In pictures, wherever there is a man, there is also a woman, girls and boys. Although the teacher's guide does not contain pictures, gender balance is reflected in the use of icons where there is a boy and a girl for the icon of 'comprehension questions".

It is very important that children see the presence of women and men in the textbook participating in different activities of nation building. At the classroom level, girls and boys are involved in classroom leadership where they support each other in solving conflicts that arise before reporting to the teacher. Children are also represented even in a big number if compared to the adults. However, in unit 10 "Climate change", the representation of children is less compared to that of adults. Even where children appear, they are victims of the dangers of the environment destruction.

Children also play a role in the environment destruction; they should equally play the role in saving the environment, making the world a better place to live. As for people with disability, only one picture of a child has been presented. Children need to know that even adults can have disability. In the three units, ten professions are represented and these professions are namely butcher, farmer, baker, doctor, teacher, librarian, driver, policeman, shopkeeper and a cleaner.

All these representations are a good indicator that the textbook addresses the issues of peace building and social cohesion. However, the names of people used in the textbook chapters do not denote peace as most of them are foreign names not Rwandan ones. This was confirmed by one teacher in the following words:

"Most of the texts we have talk about peace. But in most of them, you find names like Mary and these names are not Kinyarwanda names, not even related to Kinyarwanda. It would be better if you insert names like Nyiramahoro (peaceful one - a female name) or Munyabuhoro (peaceful one - a male name), the names related to peace and reconciliation" (Female Teacher, School C, Northern Province).

Names like Andy, Grace, Anathalie, Namanda, Emeline, etc. are common names found in the textbook; yet there are some Rwandan names that denote peace and social cohesion like Mahoro (peaceful one male or female), Uwamahoro (peaceful one male or female), Semahoro (peaceful one- male), Turikumwe (togetherness), Ntamugabumwe (two heads are better than one), Dufatanye (cooperation), etc. If children can read textbooks with Rwandan names denoting peace values, these could always be recurring in their mind. Children would even role play scenarios picking those names, this strengthening 'recognition' as they strive to protect their identity.

8.8.3 Structural Content

In the unit "My friends and I", the concept of 'friendship' caters across all the activities of the unit. It is reflected in pictures of various categories of beings human and animals. However, the way friendship is displayed in the story "The cat and the mouse" has a negative connotation.

When the cat bit off the mouse's tail, the mouse did not feel happy. This friendship started violently and this kind of friendship can leave the learners with confusion of violent friendship. The pictures showing the families highlight the role of the mothers in children's education because children are seated around their mothers and interacting. The pictures display the absence of the fathers in children's education. The role of teachers is mostly played by ladies in the pictures, yet in the Rwandan education system there are male and female teachers. This can be seen as discrimination of men in the teaching profession. It can also leave in children's mind that girls should go for teaching profession while boys go for other 'good' professions as teachers are poorly paid in Rwanda.

As for inclusive aspect, the units selected have only one case of disability, learners may believe that disability only means not being able to walk, many types of disabilities could be shown and being gender balanced as the picture used displays a disabled boy.

In the analysis, the structural content of the textbook was compared to the content described in the syllabus to find out the coverage of the syllabus content by the textbook. The following table shows to what extent the textbook covers the content of the syllabus.

Table 31: Comparison of the content of English syllabus with the textbook content

The Competence based syllabus content of English P4	The P4 textbook content
Key competences at the end of P4	**Key competences**
At the end of P4, the learner should be able to: • Listen attentively and identify the main points and some of the details from a spoken message made up of familiar words and expressions in simple sentences, • Take part in a simple conversation and debate expressing opinions and making relevant contributions,Etc.	No competences highlighted in the pupil's book. In the teacher's guide, objectives are highlighted for every lesson. Attitudes and values are described at the beginning of the unit.
Unit 1: Our school	**Unit 1: Our school**
Unit 2: My friends and I	**Unit 2: My friends and I**
Unit 3: Our district	**Unit 3: Our district**
Unit 4: Weather	**Unit 4:** Weather
Unit 5: Jobs and roles in home and community	**Unit 5:** Jobs and roles in home and community
Unit 6: Wild animals	**Unit 6:** Wild animals
Unit 7: Rights, responsibilities and needs	**Unit 7:** Rights, responsibilities and needs
Unit 8: Talking about the past	**Unit 8:** Talking about the past
Unit 9: Countries, rivers and famous architectural structures of the world	**Unit 9:** Countries, rivers and famous architectural structures of the world
Unit 10: Climate change	**Unit 10:** Climate change

Sources: REB (2015) English Syllabus P4 (CBC)

From the table above, it is clear that the textbook covers all the units in syllabus of P4 English. The pupil's daily reader is supported by the teacher's guide who has even more activities. In the unit 2 "My friends and I", the hobbies are exploited by the textbooks in the topic 'My favorite animal' whereby the pupils extend hobbies from animals to whatever else they like in their life. Hobbies can strengthen social relationships because people become friends based of what they like. Recounting the past activities is also covered in the story of Uncle John's wedding but an activity of telling his/her own past experience is also needed.

Telling stories was well done as students are given any activity of retelling the story just seen in the teacher's guide. Describing the future plans was done by underlining the verbs in the future and this is not enough. After the activity, students could be asked to tell what they are planning to do in the future. This could go with adjectives for appearance and personality.

As for the language structure activities, the textbook captures "past simple tense" through activities provided in the teacher's guide on describing past activities orally and in writing. In sounds and spelling, the syllabus has suggested activities on word families and roots of words but the textbook only focuses on common words endings in a recitation "Tick Tock"(page 48). The teacher's guide for "Pupil's daily reader" details how the content in pupil's book is delivered. The teacher's guide has more activities than the pupil's guide because there are some activities that you may consider missing in the pupil's book but present in the teacher's guide. This entails that the teachers need to be very careful and use both books. From this observation, it can be noted that the "pupil's daily reader" is not appropriate for self-study, the pupils will always need the teacher because it contains many gaps to be filled by the teacher.

From the above table 31, it is clear that units addressing peace and social cohesion are very rare. It is up to the teacher to bring in the aspect of social cohesion and peace building while explaining. This correlates with the findings from the students in the graph below about the learning areas where they learn most about living together peacefully.

8.9. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES FOR RWANDAN SCHOOLS P4 (NEW TEXTBOOK-CBC)

The part I, unit 2 covers "Basic Human and Children's Rights". In this unit, basic human rights related concepts are detailed. These human rights include among others right to life, education, food, shelter, clean water, protection, etc. The unit describes a scenario of a child called Eve whose rights were violated by her mother using her for selling alcohol and above all engaging her in prostitution. The unit highlights different ways of preventing child abuse which include passing the laws, teaching people, teaching children about their rights and abuse, etc. The unit also covers the importance of respecting children's rights in terms of outcomes. Promotion of peace was mentioned as a good result of respecting children's rights. The other key concepts discussed in this unit include "equity and equality".

When human rights are respected, there will be equity and equality among people which is a strong foundation for social cohesion. Gender based violence aligns with human rights and social cohesion for if women are discriminated the society will lose harmony and cohesion. Thus, the unit details all forms of gender-based violence and how to prevent it. This better connects with the 4Rs whereby the representation of gender is needed in all sectors of life, women should be represented in all activities. The resources should also be equally redistributed among men and women to avoid conflicts. Women also need to recognized as actors and agents of socio-economic development of the nation and this will culminate in the reconciliation.

The choice of this unit was not randomly done as it directly connects to social cohesion and peace building. It is not the sole unit to deal with issues relating to peace building and social cohesion but its emphasis and connection to social cohesion is quite evident. If we look at all sections of this unit, it is clear that the unit tackled all aspects of peace building and social cohesion aspects. Children are well grounded to build a better future free from any kind of discrimination and causes of conflicts.

Part I unit 5 "Civic Education: Civics and Governance" defines the concepts of civics and governance, it also describes the national symbols. The unit highlights acceptable behavior in the society which directly links to good Rwandan values such as being peaceful, respecting others, being honest, etc. The concept of 'harmony' was explained as well as ways of promoting it. Among these ways, the unit highlighted respecting the rights of other people, respecting other people's ideas, honesty, etc. The last section of this unit describes the concept of "leadership" by defining it and highlighting the qualities of a good leader at the district level. Among the role of the leader, it was mentioned 'promoting peace and harmony'.

Leadership and citizenship cannot be separated from "social cohesion and peace building" because a good leader as explained above is the one who is peaceful. Besides, 'Peace' is reflected in the elements of Rwanda's Coat of Arms. For example, the green ring and knot symbolizing a country united in development through hard work. In addition to Rwanda Coat of Arms, there are acceptable behavior a civic person should display and these include: being peaceful, respecting others, being responsible, being honest, etc. These behavior patterns are elaborated on p86-87.

Harmony and disharmony among the peers is also an opportunity to talk about "social cohesion and peace building". Disharmony has been defined as the state of disagreement among people which can lead to quarrels and violence and these are threats to peace. Learners discuss the causes and consequences of disharmony in order to avoid it. These causes include theft, sharing of work, hate for others, use of resources, and selfishness. As for the consequences, people may quarrel, lawlessness and lack of peace, children not attending school etc. In the textbook, a scenario was used to show disharmony among children and how it was solved.

The last unit was chosen from Part II "Christian Religion Education". The unit 3 selected discusses the 'God's Commandments' page 214-226. The unit describes the Ten Commandments using the Holy Scriptures (Exodus 20:1-17). It further explains why God gave these commandments, the categories of commandments, their importance and the consequences when these

commandments are broken. These consequences have been grouped into three categories namely spiritual consequences, moral consequences, and social consequences.

This unit was chosen based on the values that are behind respecting The Ten Commandments. These are consequences of breaking these commandments especially moral and social consequences. Breaking the commandments will result in the lack of love and peace among the people, and even making other people unhappy. Thus, respecting God's Commandments addresses peace building and social cohesion issues. The unit helps learners understand and develop humanitarian actions as well as voluntary services in the society starting from the school community.

8.9.1 Representations

The representation of female and male figures is balanced in the units selected. Both in the pictures and the text, the occurrence of male and female characters is almost equal. However, some pictures do not bring out that equality. For example, on page 19, the picture displaying 'children enjoy the right to clothing' shows only ladies enjoying that right. On the same page, the picture showing 'people collecting clean water from a tap' displays only women giving the impression that collecting water is female task. The picture on page 21 'children playing in a clean environment' only shows boys playing football leaving in the child's mind that this is a male game. As for gender-based violence, the female character was shown as the only victim of such violence both in pictures and text, for example page 38-39. The textbook is sensitive to people with disabilities because different types of disabilities have been displayed in pictures, for example a child is using Braille on page 36, and the child is playing with others in a wheel chair, children with disability hidden from others on page 25 also shows different types of disabilities.

The units selected display various occupations/professions like teachers, farmers, drivers, leaders, doctors, electrical mechanics, policeman, policewoman, judges, lawyers, soldiers. These professions are shared equally among men and women. The representations go beyond the continent and include Asians on page 19. As for the names used, they do not denote peace and

social cohesion. The few names that were used in the sampled chapters are names like Gahiji, Eve, Nyampinga, John, Peter, etc which have nothing to do with peace.

8.9.2 Structural content

Some pictures are confusing in terms of gender and the behavior displayed. For example, the picture on page 40 showing the mother being beaten and chased away, the mother is smiling and even the children seeing their mother going show happy faces. The picture on page 42 of "a man being tried in court for gender based violence" is not clear for the accused and the accuser are both men.

The units chosen balance pictures and the words, the pictures are colorful to help the learners recognize what they represent. As for the format of the text, the topic area, sub-topic areas, units and sections are highlighted with different colors and size to ease reading and comprehension.

However, some pictures have double lines-page32, and some others are not easily recognizable. In line with the competence-based curriculum, the textbook develops knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, and also addresses various crosscutting issues.

The following table clearly shows to what extent the textbook matches with the syllabus. The table compares the objectives and the contents of the syllabus to the content and objectives of the textbook:

Table 32: Comparison of Social and Religious studies syllabus with a related textbook

Syllabus: Social and Religious Studies for Rwandan	Textbook: Social and Religious Studies for Rwandan Schools. Primary Pupils' Book
Competences	Competences
The syllabus has highlighted a set of general objectives as indicated below: • Educate a full citizen who is liberated from all kinds of discrimination, including gender based discrimination, exclusion and favouritism. • Contribute to the promotion of a culture of peace and emphasize Rwandan and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy. • Development in the Rwandan citizen of an autonomy of thought, patriotic spirit, a sense of civic pride, love of work and global awareness, Etc.	No objectives are highlighted
Content : (Unit titles)	Content: (Unit titles)
Unit1. Socio economic activities in our District	Unit 1. Socio-economic activities in our district
Unit2. Basic Humana and Children's rights Human rights	Unit 2. Basic Human and Children's Rights

Unit3. Hygiene	Unit3. Hygiene
Unit4. Economy	Unit 4. Economy
Unit5. Civics and Governance	Unit 5. Civics and governance
Unit 6. Important places and public assets in our district	Unit 6. Important places and public assets in our district
Unit 7. Weather, Flora and Fauna Weather	Unit 7. Weather, Flora and Fauna
Unit 8. Population Census	Unit 8. Population census
Unit 9. Infrastructure	Unit 9. Infrasturcture
Unit10. Traditional Rwanda	Unit 10. Traditional Rwanda
PART II. RELIGIOUS STUDIES	
Unit1. Respect of God's creatures	Unit 1. Respect of God's creatures
Unit2. Vocation of Israelite People	Unit 2. Vocation of the Israelite People
Unit3. God's Commandments	Unit 3. The Ten Lord's Commandments
Unit4. The Blessed Virgin Mary	Unit 4. The Blessed Virgin Mary

PART III ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS STUDIES	PART III. ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS STUDIES Islamic Monotheism and Oneness in God
Unit 1. Islamic Faith (Al-Iman)	Unit 1. Islamic Faith
Unit2. Islamic faith and Qur'an (Al-Iman)	Unit 2. Islamic Faith and Qur'an (Al-Imani)
Unit3. Islamic Worship: Fasting-Ramadan	Unit 3. Islamic Worship: Fasting (Ramadan)
Unit4. Hadith in Islamic faith	Unit 4. Hadith in Islamic Faith
Unit5. Virtues according to the Qur'an	Unit 5. Virtues according to the Qur'an

Sources: REB (2015) Social and Religious Studies Syllabus P4 (CBC); Saka, M., Wanambule, J., and Waweru, J. (2016). Social and Religious Studies for Rwandan Schools, Primary Pupils' Book 4.

From the correspondence of the content in the syllabus and the content in the textbook, the syllabus of "Social and Religious Studies" is covered by the textbook. Both the syllabus and the textbook have many units addressing peace building and social cohesion. This correlates with the students' answers on what subjects that help them learn about living together peacefully in the following diagram:

Figure 9: Learning areas where students felt they learnt most about living together peacefully
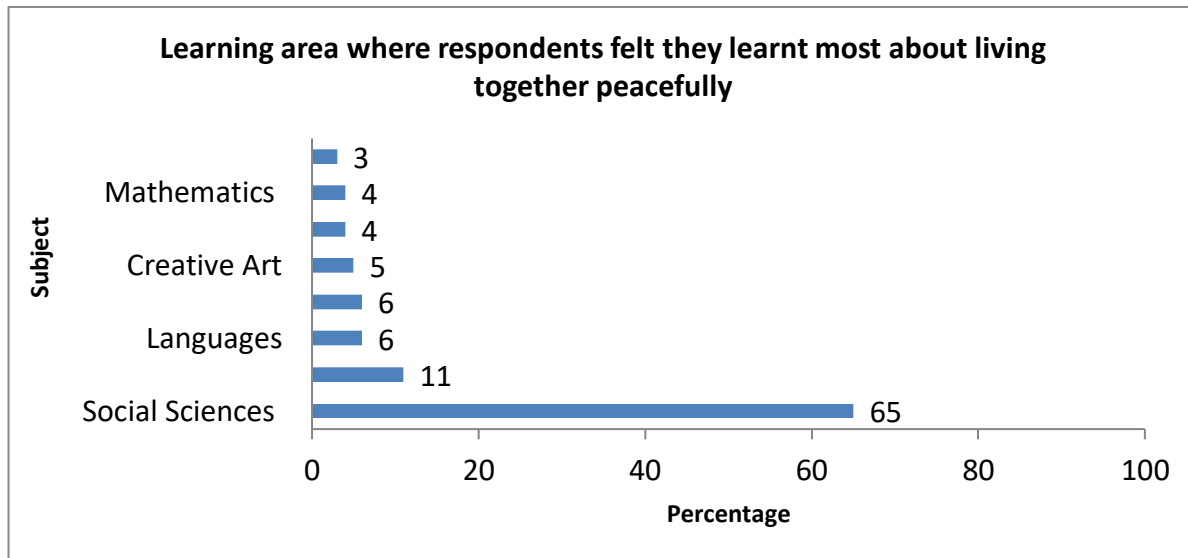
Source: Primary Data

The diagram shows that majority of student respondents (65%) appreciate social sciences (Social studies and History) to teach them more about living together peacefully. This is the evidence that peace building and social cohesion aspects are not directly addressed in other subjects than social Studies and History though these aspects are crosscutting. When reading textbooks of other subjects, very few learners can interpret the information and relate it to peace building and social cohesion.

In social and religious studies for example, the learners can directly find aspects of peace and social cohesion in units of basic human and children's rights, civic and governance, traditional Rwanda, respect of God's creatures, God's commandments, and virtues according to the Qur'an.

The same units in the syllabus are the same units developed in the textbook. The problem would be in how it is delivered because integrating crosscutting issues and inculcating values is not an easy task. In teaching peace education, the following technique has been suggested in UNESCO (2007) in the important six E's elaborated as follows:

- *Examples that are relevant to children;*

- *Explanations that facilitate the construction of meaning;*

- *Exhortation - meaning to persuade children to know, appreciate and practice the good;*

- *Environment - meaning that teachers should provide a student-friendly learning environment;*

- *Experience - meaning that conceptual or theoretical approaches are not sufficient to foster competencies in students, and they should be complemented by practical, life-oriented activities supporting the development of skills and attitudes;*

- *Enjoyment - meaning that learning about morals and values has to also be enjoyable and motivating for children* (p15).

As the last E highlights, the element of 'fun' is not highlighted in the textbook activities to help learners enjoy what they are learning. All the activities are in form of statements, there are no silent pictures to be filled by the students by naming the parts or describing the processes in a given system. There are no activities of filling the sentences with gaps by words or group of words. This activity would be appropriate for vocabulary acquisition. Some games are needed to help learners enjoy the learning and these games would not only enhance the acquisition of knowledge, skills and values but also would reflect the 4Rs as follows: in games, pupils will develop reconciliation as conflict arise, recognition is reflected because they develop self confidence, representation is also enhanced through the formation of teams and finally redistribution of play materials among the teams.

8.10 SECONDARY SCHOOLS TEXTBOOKS

8.10.1 New Junior Secondary History Book 1 (Old book -KBC)

The History textbook has two big parts: part I is about "History of Ancient Rwanda" with four chapters covering pages from 4-64. Part II is about "History of Africa" with four chapters extending from page 68 to page 143. Part I "History of Ancient Rwanda" was selected for the analysis. Part I of this textbook has four chapters namely: the sources of History of Rwanda; the

pre-history and population of Rwanda; origin, formation and expansion of Rwanda; the civilization of Ancient Rwanda.

The chapter discusses the origin, formation and expansion of Rwanda between the 14th and the 20th century. First, it discusses the structure of the Rwandan kingdom, the most important lineages, its foundation, and the two Nyoro invasions, which have been watershed events within Rwandan history. The chapter furthermore gives attention to the political and administrative organisation of the different region in relation to the central authority.

This part describes the location, importance and important kings of these tributary states, along with some information on their cultural practices such as their royal drum "Kalinga". Afterwards, the chapter turns to the expansion of the Rwandan kingdom, which it does by listing all the most important kings of Rwanda, and their accomplishments. It thus passes by the most important monarchs by focussing on their expansionist accomplishments, while also providing some biographic information such as their lineage, wife, and queen mother.

The purpose of this analysis lends itself better to the study of how Rwandan history is taught at schools. In post-conflict situation, the national history of the country itself is often contested. When analysing the role of education within peace building efforts, the way the national history is taught is thus quite essential.

Chapter four is about "Civilization of Ancient Rwanda'. The same rationale for the previous chapter, also largely goes for this one. Analysing the ways in which the national history of Rwanda is taught, has a higher added value to this research than analysing the portrayed histories of other African countries, which indeed forms the second part of the textbook. It is the Rwandan national history which was distorted by the post-colonial Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes and it is therefore most interesting to look at how the national history is being taught in post-genocide Rwanda.

When analysing issues of discrimination, it is also this chapter 4 that stands out as subject of analysis. As it deals with the civilisation of ancient Rwanda, it actually goes away from the history of the 'big men' (kings), which we have seen in the chapter 2 on the political and expansionist history of Rwanda. The issues of class, gender, ethnicity, age, and religion, can all be dealt with.

The chapter, which thus deals with the civilisation of ancient Rwanda, is one of the most substantive chapters in the book, and is composed of four subchapters: a general introduction on the concept of civilisation, and the cultural organisation, the political and military organisation, and the economic organisation of ancient Rwanda. First attention is given to Rwandan diet and clothing, both for ordinary as well as for elite Rwandans. Within the section on the cultural organisation, attention is given to the traditional religion, marriages practices and funerals.

The political organisation deals with the administrative elements such as the chief system and (very briefly), the queen mother, and it concludes with the role of the army in ancient Rwanda. The final subchapter on the economic organisation gives an overview of all sorts of economic activities ordinary Rwandans practiced. It concludes with a section on patron/ client relations.

8.10.2 Representations

The chapter forms an interesting topic of analysis, as it discusses what is known as the history of the 'big men' (kings), or in other words the political and diplomatic history of ancient Rwanda. With regards to the question of ethnicity, the text immediately addresses one of the misunderstandings in Rwandan history, namely the distinction between clans and lineages.

By arguing that Rwandans mainly felt a sense of belonging to their clan (which were multi-ethnic), and to a lesser extent to their lineage (of which several Tutsi lineages provided the kings and queens of Rwanda), the text is surely in line with the main academic works, and indeed debunks the persistent ethnic myth.

With regards to gender related issues, Rwandan history presents an interesting opportunity to also teach about important women in history, namely the importance of the queen mother. Although the queen mother is mentioned as being important to the King, it stops there, and the topic is not further discussed. The text is also silent about Ndabaga, a brave girl who went to the battlefield to redeem her father who was growing old and weak. She has been put on the list of national heroes and considered as a role model to most of Rwandan girls. A missed opportunity indeed, as it creates an image of leaders only being men whose success is measured along their military accomplishments. The chapter could also be improved by also creating a subchapter on the topic of the queen mothers in Rwandan history. The chapter is less adequate to analyse the other forms of discrimination such as age, class, religion, family status and disability.

The gender roles on the other hand, again deserve to be put to the test. The example of the queen mother again applies, as it is only mentioned, but not elaborated upon. This is also clearly in line with the gender frequency. There, we can see that although women are mentioned sometimes, female pronouns are almost never used. Indeed, women always seem to be passive instead of active entities. They are never the subject in a sentence. They appear as being married, being king mother, for example, on p 24, King Kimenyi I Musaya of Gisaka Kingdom was advised by his soothsayers to marry Robwa, sister to Ruganzu Bwimba of Nyiginya Kingdom, in order to take over this kingdom (Nyiginya).

With regards to the issue of class, the next chapter counteracts the previous chapter, which was entirely focussed on Rwanda's past rulers. The focus on the ordinary Rwandan citizens was thus a welcome development. However, the frequency counts still indicate a majority of elite references, in comparison to working class references.

Additionally, the few pages on the patron/ client relationships in Rwanda should be open to criticism. There, we can namely see how this in principle feudalistic relationship is only credited with advantages, instead of also naming negative effects of patron/ client relationships. The

working-class Rwandans are thus depicted as only being able to survive if they are under the strong control of the elites. When it comes to religion, the chapter only deals with the traditional religion in Rwanda, and seems to do so correctly, and sufficiently. Elaborate explanations with facts are given about traditional religion practices of kuraguza (spiritual divination), guterekera appeasing the living dead), and the traditional god 'Ryangombe'.

The chapter teaches learners about the civilisation in ancient Rwanda. By discussing the cultural, political and military, and economic organisation in pre-colonial Rwanda, it gives a seemingly adequate description of life during the given time frame. When it comes to issues of potential discrimination within the textbook, the issues of gender and class mainly come to mind. With regards to gender, women are vastly underrepresented in the textbook, both within section on the Rwanda royal court, as well as within the subchapters on ordinary Rwandans and their economic activities. For example, the names used in the sampled chapters, most of them are names of kings and other people who were involved in administration. The other categories of the population are not represented which indicates that only the leaders are respected. Even women and children are not highlighted as well as people with special needs, thus the chapters are not inclusive. Besides, the names used do not denote peace and social cohesion; they rather denote power and war for example Nkuba and Ndabarasa.

8.10.3 Structural Content (KBC)

The textbook contains two parts, one on the history of ancient Rwanda, and one on the history of Africa. The parts are both composed of 4 chapters each, but these chapters differ greatly in length. Especially the chapters 4 of both parts are considerably longer than the chapters 1-3. The chapters therefore also differ in the number of sub-chapters and paragraphs. All chapters do have in common that they end with a set of 5 or 6 revision questions.

In the beginning, the textbook presents the objectives and importance of History in general, it does not show the objectives of its content on which the assessment will be based. After every chapter there are revision questions but there are no objectives to measure. Some related notions/concepts are defined before for easy comprehension of the content. The content is

presented in a text format and in chapters which end in revision questions. The format of questions does not change through the textbook and the questions used are why-questions. The weakness with these chapters is that they are very long and there are no activities or tasks in between to help the student reflect on the content. The whole textbook contains 11 pictures of people and only 1 picture for a girl. These pictures are concentrated in part II about "History of Africa". The representation of Rwandan cultures in pictures is less emphasised. They show the Ethiopian money, they show Egyptian pyramids and writings. The textbook has long texts with less pictures, it has not tables and charts, thus boring.

A map of Rwanda is needed to show/visualise the different regions and kingdoms conquered in expansion of Rwanda. Assessment is more summative than formative as the questions or activities are given at the end of a long chapter. For example, part I chapter four covers pages 32-66. Reading such a text without any pictures, map, charts, tables and other activities is not appropriate. Chapters structured in this way are not interactive as they do not engage the learners with some questions in between to help learners digest what they are reading.

Chapter three focuses on "origin, formation and expansion of Rwanda". This chapter highlights clans whereby people with a common ancestor, in ancient Rwanda, claimed to belong to the same clan/group. The clan members were located all over the country. This grouping was typically a symbol of unity among Rwandans because it was not attached to any political function as stated in Bamusananire (n.d) "No single individual had the political status based upon his belonging to a particular clan only". Peace building is not directly expressed in this topic it is rather implied. It is also showing how Rwandese were living peacefully in the past which can serve a good example of how they should live today.

In chapter four, Socio-political and economic life in the pre-colonial Rwanda show the kind of relationships (ubuhake-socio economic dependence whereby the patron gave gifts to his client for some services and could withdraw the gifts at any time; ubukonde-land ownership; uburetwa-non paying labor) among Rwandan people. Though not directly tackled, social cohesion and peace building issues can be reflected in social relationships highlighted, and the traditional

school "Itorero" where boys could go and learn some Rwandan values. All those three forms of relationships did not build social cohesion as some "uburetwa" had negative connotation and widened discrimination and conflicts instead. From the explanation, "Uburetwa" consisted of "the duty for each man to work two days per week (traditionally 2 days out of 5 days of a week) for a politico-administrative leader without any compensation" (Bamusananire, n.d). As for "Ubukonde", this was all about "land ownership" whereby anybody could go and clear a piece of land from the forest without asking any authorization because the land was covered by forests. But later on when the forest was almost cleared the land was divided and delimited, land problems started arising. When someone wanted a land had to come to the land owner and they had a customary ubugererwa contract. The agreement was that the umugererwa had to give to his umukonde a royalty as a way of admission to the land (hoes and beer jugs).

However, the umugererwa did not have a total land ownership because any time umukonde needed the land for his family, he had the right to take a part of land from the possession he granted (Bamusananire, n.d). The author does not show if this had no impact on the relationships. Another social relationship aspect that reflects social cohesion highlighted is "Ubuhake".

According to Bamusananire (n.d) "Ubuhake was a link, a solidarity space between the clients of a same patron". In this relationship, the patron could give a cow/cows to the client, assist in the misfortune or problems and the client's duties were to be at disposal of his patron for various services building the fence, keep vigil, be a messenger, taking part in sorghum sowing, cultivating for some days, etc. The author does not show the disadvantages of this relationship because later on this kind of relationship was abolished by a certain king as a negative practice.

As for whether the textbook covers the syllabus, the following table brings out that coverage by comparing the objectives and the content in the syllabus and the objectives and content in the textbook for senior one.

Table 33: Comparison of History and Citizenship syllabus content and a textbook used

History and Citizenship syllabus O'level-Senior One (Competence-based syllabus)	New Junior Secondary History Book 1 (Knowledge-based)
Objectives	**Objectives**
At the end of senior one a learner will be able to: Describe the origin and expansion of Rwanda and locate Rwanda in time and space. Explain the concepts of History and Citizenship, how historical information is collected, its role and its link with other subjects. Etc.	Objectives of History in general.
Unit 1: Historical Sources.	General Introduction
Unit 2: Advantages and disadvantages of historical sources.	Part I. History of Ancient Rwanda Chapter I. The sources of History of Rwanda
Unit 3: Origin, organization and expansion of Rwandan kingdom.	Chapter 2. The pre-history and population of Rwanda
	Chapter 3. Origin, Formation and Expansion of Rwanda
Unit 4: Civilization of pre-colonial Rwanda.	Chapter 4. The civilisation of Ancient Rwanda
Unit 5: Genocide and its features.	Part II. History of Africa Chapter 1. Africa, the Cradle of Humanity
Unit 6: Evolution of mankind.	Chapter 2. The Egyptian Civilisation

Unit 7: Egyptian civilization.	Chapter 3. Other important civilisations
Unit 8: Trans-Saharan trade	Chapter 4. Africa between the 17th and 18th centuries
	The trans Saharan Trade Ancient West African empires The 19th century West African Jihads Medieval African kingdoms
Unit 9: Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Triangular trade).	
Unit 10: Concept of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities and ways of preventing human rights violations	
Unit 11: Forms and principles of democracy.	
Unit 12: Identify oneself differently in reference to Rwanda.	
Unit 13: Forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence.	
Unit 14: Dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society.	
Unit 15: Concept of disability and inclusive education.	
Unit 16. Family and Personal Values.	

Sources: Bamusananire (n.d.). New Junior Secondary History Book1 (KBC); REB (2015). History and Citizenship Syllabus O'Level (CBC)

The structural content of History and Citizenship syllabus is different from the content in the textbook. Some units in the syllabus are not covered by the textbook. These are units like Genocide and its features; Concepts of human rights, citizenship and ways of preventing human rights violation; concept of democracy; identify oneself differently in reference to Rwanda; forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence; dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society; concept of disability and inclusive education. This huge gap is due to the textbook being used matches with the knowledge-based curriculum. In the competence-based curriculum the syllabus of History was reviewed and lessons have been reshuffled as other new ones have been incorporated depending on the needs of the country. As the implementation of the new curriculum preceded the publication of related textbooks, teachers were using the ordinary textbooks to teach the new curriculum. As for that gap, one teacher of History mentioned that they were combining "New Junior Secondary History Book1" and "Political Education for Secondary Schools" because the new History and Citizenship syllabus is a combination History and Political Education. When asked if the textbooks and workbooks in his subject area engage with issues of social cohesion, the teacher explained in the following words:

"You see, the new curriculum is there but there are no books for it. We are still using the old books which actually do not correspond to the new curriculum. This is also a challenge – there is a curriculum but there are no books that go with it. We read the curriculum, and then we try to look for topics in the books that may correspond with the scheme of work. We have other books to supplement but they are not enough" (Male Teacher, School D, Northern Province).

The exercise of using different textbooks is not easy for all teachers, accessing these textbooks is one problem and integrating difficult subjects like "genocide ideology", integrating crosscutting issues as well as attitudes and values is another problem to many teachers because those who have been trained were very few.

To combine "New Junior Secondary History Book 1" and "Political Education for Secondary Schools" is not correct for some teachers. In an interview with teachers on how they teach the

new syllabus without textbooks, one teacher of History and Citizenship mentioned that it was a big challenge and said that they were using the following alternatives:

"In case of History and Citizenship, we do not have enough information on these subjects in order for us to deliver the content. It becomes a challenge to search for this information, even for the latest curriculum. We just search through internet and our fellows; we do not have a trusted source of information regarding these subjects and curriculum" (Male Teacher, School C, Northern Province). Another challenge was that all the teachers were not trained yet. Rwanda Education board trained teachers but only a small number were trained.

8.11 ENGLISH IN USE, STUDENTS' BOOK FOR 2 (KBC-OLD TEXT BOOK)

The "English in Use, Students' Book for 2" contains 24 units each one developing the four language skills: Listening, speaking, reading and writing. There are also vocabulary activities. As it was done for the other textbooks, the analysis selected three units. Unit three is about "Our History"; unit 15 has the theme "Affairs of the Nation"; and unit 20 is around "Bullies".

Unit three describes the history of East Africa. It starts from questions to discuss in small groups. Most of which are knowledge questions. For example, what are you studying in History at the moment? What do you know about these places: Manda, Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Kilwa? The unit gives a passage to read "A piece of our history". The passage describes how trading was carried out in the East African coastal cities. The Swahili people were the ones practicing trading and were moving from Africa to India, Arabia and Persia. In this trading, Swahili people could sell goods to people from Asian countries. These goods included gold, ivory, mangrove poles, tortoise shells, beads, and slaves. In returns, the Swahili traders bought cloths and glass beads from India, pottery from China and Persia. The passage is followed by questions about it and these were multiple choice questions. Before the passage, there is a map with some gaps for the students to fill in the gaps the missing names. In trading, people came to create friendships and socialize among themselves. Though not direct, the teachers could show the benefits of trading by

showing the ties between the client and the seller which are beyond money. However, conflicts may also arise in this kind of business based on interests in case no party wants to give up.

In addition to knowledge questions, the unit suggests some discussion questions to develop critical thinking. For example, look at the list of goods from the interior of Africa bought by traders: which of them are now illegal? Why? The writing activity about "Paragraph analysis: the key point and topic sentence" is too difficult for the O'level students to handle. Some questions require students to reason deeper. For example, choose the correct meaning of the sentence-a or b: When Grace arrived at the party, Murenzi had already left; a) Murenzi was at the party when Grace arrived; b) Murenzi was not at the party when Grace arrived. The students have to refer to the time line to correctly answer to the question.

The unit also gives matching activities whereby students are asked to match two parts of a sentence. In addition to writing activities, the unit also suggests some speaking activities (page 26). The activity is done in small groups, one choosing a topic and speaking for a minute on that topic. The passage highlights slaves among the goods that were sold to traders from India, Arabia and Persia. However, the authors remain silent about it in the subsequent activities and yet this is human trafficking. As far social cohesion and peace building are concerned, human trafficking is against human rights and it is a threat to peace and social cohesion.

The unit changes the context with "A letter from prison". It is all about a son who was imprisoned to have taken part in the struggle for Kenyan independence. He wrote to his mother and describing his life in jail. He concludes on a statement showing discrimination: "If you glance inside through the gates, dear mother, you cannot find a European or an Asian. Only us the children of the soil being tortured" (Webb and Grant, 2010 page 30). This passage depicts colonization which was also the origin of many social conflicts in most of African countries. It shows that black African people had no freedom in their country whereby peace was replaced by torture.

The unit 15 "Affairs of the nation" opens on a dialogue between Beatrice and Margret on elections. The dialogue highlights the concepts of democracy, human rights in relation to elections. Both students are arguing on how important are the elections one being not interested another showing the importance of participating in elections. A series of language activities are given which are composed of questions before and after the dialogue. In speaking activity, the unit discusses how to improve our town which is also in line with the topic of the unit. A letter to a newspaper also link with "Improving our town" and elections. In the unit, flag and anthem of African Union are highlighted. This unit "Affairs of the nation" was chosen for its connection with social cohesion and peace building. Citizenship, patriotism and democracy are the concern of the unit and are important in building a peaceful country. People need democracy to have peace as elections and human rights respect are shown as components of democracy in the dialogue. The absence of democracy will result into conflicts.

The unit 20 "Bullies" defines the concept of 'bullying' and all its forms. Most of the definitions had in common "abuse" which can be in form of words, violence, etc. The emphasis is put on "school bullies" whereby the authors use an extract from the "The African Child" by Camara Laye to describe how young students especially the new comers are bullied by older students at school. All the language activities turn around this theme: writing activities, reading activities (page 183), vocabulary, speaking activity (page 184).

The choice of this unit was motivated by the fact that "bullying" is one of the key factors of discrimination, disharmony, and conflicts in schools. Young students who are victims of bullying experience trauma which can even end in school dropout. As far as peace building and social cohesion issues are concerned, this can be an opportunity for teachers to talk about social cohesion among students based on that experience. Then teachers teach students how they can handle the new students peacefully in order to help them get familiar with school life.

8.11.1 Representations

From the units selected, the textbook is not gender sensitive especially in pictures. The picture of students being bullied shows only boys. It may sound as if girls are spared and yet in girls' schools such a bad habit is also found there and then feel not concerned with the good social values of handling the new comers peacefully. However, in the "Letter from prison", the significance of a mother has been highlighted. The prisoner wrote to the mother because mothers have a tender heart to hear his complaints. In the unit 3 "History of East Africa", names that are used are place names: Zanzibar, Mombasa, Kenya, Manda, Kilwa, Mogadishu, Kigali. People's names are very few compared to those of places. In this unit there is only one picture of a mother reading a letter from her son. The professions/occupations are all trading-related: traders, merchants, archaeologist, writer, freedom fighters. Countries of East Africa are not equally represented though the unit is "History of East Africa". As for the representation of people with disability, the textbook shows one picture of a person in wheel chair. Africans and Asians are represented in "The letter from prison" but in oppressor-oppressed relationships whereby Black Africans are tortured and oppressed by the Asians.

8.11.2 Structural Content

The textbook "English in Use; Students' Book for 2" has in total 24 units and each unit focuses on a specific theme. After every four units, there are checkpoint activities. These activities consist of a summative assessment of the four units.

The last page of the book gives a list of vocabulary acquired for each unit. In addition to the table of content listing the units, there is also a map of the book which gives the details of what is covered in the units. It actually highlights the focus of activities in the unit: introduction; reading; listening; language practice; increase your word power; speaking; writing; study better and fun with words.

Activities in the textbook are structured in such a way that most of all the language skills are catered for. Activities in the units are varied and alternate multiple-choice questions, fill-in the missing words, creating dialogues, completing a composition, definition, wh-questions, making

sentences, reciting poems, etc. From the beginning up to the end, the textbook does not depict the Rwandan culture. The texts and passages, pictures and examples are drawn from other contexts. Thus, the teachers have to relate what is the textbook to the Rwandan context when teaching which is too demanding on the side of the teachers.

The textbook is too wordy and does not contain many pictures/visuals to help the students understand because pictures and other visual materials are easy to understand the concepts. The language used in the textbook is difficult compared to the level of Rwandan students in ordinary level. Above all, the textbook does not match with the syllabus it is meant to follow. The table below shows the topics in senior two syllabus and the topics covered by the textbook:

Table 34: Comparison of the content of English syllabus and the content of the related textbook

Topics/sub-topics in S2 Syllabus of English	Units in English in Use: Students' Book for 2
Objectives	**Objectives**
By the end of senior three, the students should have increased their vocabulary and language patterns to communicate in spoken and written English. That is, they will: a) Will have an increased command of vocabulary and language patterns to enable them to learn and communicate in English; b) Understand English as it is spoken around them in real-life situations; c) read within and beyond the framework of the curriculum with comprehension; Etc.	No objectives are highlighted in the textbook.

1. Heroes	Unit1. Our school
- Heroes	Unit2. All about insects
- Citizenship	Unit3. Our history
2. Democracy and leadership	Unit4. Athletes
3. The media	Unit5. Poetry
- The music industry	Unit6. Made in East Africa
- Television and radio	Unit7. Trees
4. The role of Education	Unit8. The case of the ruby ring
- Education in English speaking countries	Unit9. What's the weather like?
- Educational opportunities	Unit10. A visit to Canada
5. Africa and East Africa	Unit11. Home sweet home
- East African countries	Unit12. Boyfriends and girlfriends
- Africa	Unit13. In the lab
6. The Environment	Unit14. Our tribal heritage
- Use and conservation of water	Unit15. Affairs of the nation
- Climate change	Unit16. The media
- Population and land settlement	Unit17. Focus on careers
7. Services	Unit18. On the phone
- Transport vocabulary	Unit19. Malaria
- Advantages and disadvantages of different types of transport	Unit20. Bullies
- Getting mechanical repairs done	Unit21. Special places
- Finding accommodation and food vocabulary	Unit22. Too many people
- Customer care	Unit23. Celebration!
8. Virtues and vices	Unit24. Wrongdoing
- Peer pressure/gangs, social pressure	
- Smoking	
- Alcohol and drug abuse	

9. Health	
- HIV/AIDs	
- Reproductive Health	

Sources: REB (2015). English Syllabus Senior Two (CBC); Kyeyune, R. and Temu, P. (2010). English in Use: Students' Book for 2

The context in which the textbook is written matters most since addressing the same issues but in different context becomes not easy for the learners and teachers. That sounds obvious that issues to do with Rwandan heroes, genocide ideology, National Unity and Reconciliation, Ndumunyarwanda Program and other government programs and policies related to social cohesion cannot be found in that textbook. This was evidenced by the interview with one teacher of English who said that:

"Issues of social cohesion are not directly addressed in the textbooks we are using. Besides, the English textbook we are using in O'Level "English in Use" is not contextualized because it is the context of Tanzania" (Male Teacher, School C, Northern Province). Other evidence showing that the textbook does not align with the syllabus is that the textbook was published in 2010 whereas the syllabus was established in 2011.

8.12 SOME CHALLENGES WITH RWANDAN COMPETENCE BASED CURRICULUM
INSUFFICIENT SCHOOL PRESCRIBED TEXT BOOKS: ACADEMIC QUALITY AND SOCIAL COHESION CONCERN

Majority of rural head teachers, particularly of 9 and 12 YBE interviewed seriously complained of lack of enough prescribed text books from REB and yet individual schools have no side funds to buy the required prescribed text books. They ascertained that:

"For public schools, we have almost only one funding source which is the government, at least private, subsidized schools can get other additional funding sources e.g. from their religious affiliations or churches. In public schools, we are restricted by law to make money, local leaders

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at all levels and parents argue that education in Rwanda is free in the light of Universal education. Private and government subsidized schools to a certain degree can do some businesses like opening a boutique, farming, etc.; their school committees can buy any material needed at any cost and time if it is deemed necessary but not by public schools."

Majority of teachers stated that, though they use old text books as well, they try to select texts books that can help learners relate what they learn to their life as the new competency based curriculum stipulates. For example, there are many text books which talk about HIV, while others talk about ideas in line with justice, respect, democracy, opposition to genocide ideology, leadership etc. Furthermore, teachers ascertained that:

"In some new prescribed text books, apart from lack of dealing directly with peace values and social cohesion, some books and topics therein are still out of context. For instance, the English textbook being used for O'Level that is "English in Use" is not contextualized; the context is of Tanzania. Teachers only try to incorporate issues of peace and social cohesion depending on the text or theme, but this is neither proper nor easy particularly for inexperienced teacher."During teachers' focus group, majority of teachers argued that:

"Because of lack of enough and relevant prescribed textbooks in some subjects for proper delivery of the new competence based curriculum, we search through the internet. However, this requires teachers to pay extra attention because some of these ideas from the net are not contextually fit for purpose of Rwandan situation. For example a teacher cannot trust internet sources regarding the Rwanda's history and civic issues because many writers give their personal views and interpretation. So, Rwanda Education Board (REB) should devise the means of not only giving schools enough but relevant textbooks as well to avoid personal interpretation of sensitive historical and social facts of Rwanda". As far as incorporating peace values is concerned, these teachers face double challenge of getting the content to teach because the textbooks do not provide and then integrating crosscutting issues. They therefore end up focusing on the content and forget about peace building and social cohesion issues.

8.12.1 Lack of Experiential and Local Context: A Hindrance to Social Cohesion Teaching and Appreciation

Some old books do not relate well to the learners' experiences of day to day life. They talk about things that happened long time ago without relating them to the present learner's experiences. Such text books cannot help learners to progress in conceptualizing peace values in day to day life. A good number of teachers argued that: 'Western names in some textbooks remain abstract to a Rwandan learner with no significant meaning to his or her context and these names are not Kinyarwanda names and are not even related to Kinyarwanda sociological meaning'. So there is a desperate need to review some few items in the new textbooks such as names and illustrations to meet the requirements for the present competence based curriculum that intends to promote peace among learners.

For expatriates, some text books contain too sensitive topics for them to handle. Two expatriate teachers from the western province schools stated that: "Topics such as genocide ideologies are too sensitive for us as expatriate teachers and we find them too sensitive to handle in class. At times we have to look for resource teachers who were either in Rwanda during genocide, who through local meetings, workshops, seminars and NIC training that equip them with knowledge of what happened in Rwanda, why it happened, its consequences, know Rwandan peace values and above of all the local language to teach for us such sensitive information amicably without hurting learners. Otherwise, for us expatriate teachers we may end up interpreting and teaching such sensitive topics wrongly by using wrong words or wrong examples which may sound insulting and in the end cause injuries to learners."It is true that when teaching sensitive topics like "genocide", there are concepts and terminologies that have to be avoided. For foreigners, it is not easy to find appropriate terminologies because they do not master the Rwandan culture and language.

8.12.2 English Language as a Medium of Instruction in Rwanda a Story of Two Sides

The government of Rwanda's decision to switch to English as a medium of instruction was motivated by both regional and international relations and business since the world is conceived as a global village today. Majority of teachers argued that, because English is considered the

language of elite and tied to higher socio-economic status, parents take their children to private schools where speaking Kinyarwanda in those schools is strictly prohibited and it may receive punishment. Lo Bianco (2011a); Kirkpatrick (2010) in Lo Bianco, (2013) stated that, the acquisition of English is associated with socio-economic status of people where the proficiency levels attained and the kinds of English learned are differentiated according to place of residence and socio-economic opportunity, in effect poorer rural children acquire English less well than urban and privileged children (Lo Bianco, 2011a; Kirkpatrick 2010) in (Lo Bianco, 2013). However, this sounded actually contradictory to Rwanda's endeavour to promote national identity through Ndi Umunyarwanda program (I am a Rwandan).

In spite of such well thought through arguments for the socio-economic development of all Rwandans, a few teachers like Tolon (2014) argued that, it had some negative impact on the teaching and learning quality as learners were suddenly navigating a language with which they may have never had any prior experience and teachers were required to not only learn this foreign language, but also how to effectively teach subject-specific content within that language, with minimal training and resources (Tolon, 2014).

The language of instruction policy is clear. The only challenge is the implementation whereby many factors need to be catered for. Teachers are not well prepared and textbooks are not well designed to respond to the need. In addition, regional differences come in whereby rural schools do not have the same amount and quality inputs in terms of language teaching. All these culminate into creating language based social barriers.

8.13 CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, this chapter sought to highlight how peace building and social cohesion are incorporated in the Rwandan curriculum and textbooks. The analysis was done on syllabuses of Social and Religious Studies and English in Upper Primary Education; History, Political Education, English, General Communication Skills in Secondary Education. The analysis was built around the

4Rs such as redistribution, recognition, reconciliation and representation which constitute a framework to effectively address peace building and social cohesion issues. The analysis revealed that KBC and CBC have many things in common like peace values in their content although the content in CBC is more enriched and well structured. The competence based curriculum puts emphasis on the integration of these values much more because it makes it mandatory in all subjects. The textbooks for the knowledge based curriculum do not reflect peace and social cohesion in a more elaborate way as it is done in two textbooks that have been analyzed for the competence based curriculum.

The competence-based curriculum and the two new textbooks that were analyzed reflect the 4Rs as their content has incorporated the national values in which peace building and social cohesion issues are addressed. In the content of CBC as well as related textbooks, most of all categories of people are represented in the text and pictures, the redistribution of resources and power through decentralization is also reflected, national values are integrated through crosscutting issues which enhance recognition and reconciliation.

However, teachers still need to be trained on how to incorporate peace and social cohesion values in all subjects because the way textbooks are designed does not clearly show how crosscutting issues are to be incorporated in every topic. It's up to teachers to know how to handle it which means that these issues are not addressed in the same way in all schools. Therefore, the writing of textbooks needs to cater for crosscutting issues in the language use and pictures where some names used do not reflect peace and social cohesion; the representation of gender, occupations, and institutions is also low.

Chapter 9. Rwandan Teachers' Classroom Experiences:

From a pedagogical and social cohesion perspective

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters and sections critically argued that bearing in mind Rwanda's ethnic, regional and bad politics of divisionism that dominated its history and culminated into 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the present government of Rwanda had to leave no stone unturned to come up with strong policies, teachers' training programs in terms of initial training colleges, teacher trust and accountability, teacher management, recruitment and deployment, competence based curriculum and new text books and all these are evidently   reflected in the key policy of decentralization of all government activities, to make sure that, all Rwandans are treated equally regardless of individual difference of any sort.

Before engaging into deep analysis of the rationale of embarking on peace education in Rwandan schools and the pedagogies that have to be used to deliver this critical subject for Rwanda, there are a number of critical questions to be asked:

i.   What led to the discriminative education system and pedagogies before 1994 in Rwanda and what were the drivers that prompted this inhuman education?

ii.   Did Rwanda government before 1994 have any explicit focus on Peace education and its pedagogies in her education system and if not; why did the Government omit such a fundamental, epistemological and societal aspect in education system?

iii.   What is Rwandan education system today doing to facilitate teachers to fulfill their work as key agents of peace in order to create a cohesive Rwandan Society?

iv.   How and what pedagogies is Rwandan education system advocating to use today to address issues of inequality, quota system and regionalism of the past that aggravated social tensions and lack of social cohesion in classroom before 1994?

In this study, both policy makers and teachers were of one mind. They all argued that the fundamental role of Rwandan teachers as agents of peace is to help all Rwandan learners acquire holistic knowledge and capacity to build a Nation devoid of any kind of discriminations, conflicts for a peaceful and socially cohesive Rwanda. Therefore, the study critically:

- Examined the role that education played in the lead-up to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, discussing whether and how inequalities in access to education, discriminative and socially insensitive curricula content and teaching methods contributed to the conditions for violence before and during 1994 genocide against Tutsi;
- Analyzed the pedagogies and approaches Rwanda education system has been exploring in rebuilding its education sector since 1994;
- Assessed and analyzed the fact that, despite the significant progress the government of Rwanda has made in implementation of competence based curriculum and pedagogies for learner-centeredness, pedagogies among teachers remain largely teacher-centered;
- Assessed and analyzed the fact that the government of Rwanda and its international development partners need to rigorously assess the potential impact of education policies on Rwandan historically fragile social relations and to embrace opportunities for education to play a more central role in peace building in Rwanda.

With these arguments in mind, this work located its analysis of the specific education interventions in relation to Rwandan context, as well as the context of schools and local communities around Rwandan schools. As such, the study focused on:

- The role of teachers, learners, communities and environment as potential agents of peace and social cohesion;
- The fact that, lasting and sustainable peace and the education are contingent on the workings of schools as civic institutions and teachers as agents, Abuelaish in Maria ascertained that "all politics can do is keep us out of war" but "establishing lasting peace lies in the work of education (Abuelaish 2012:2);
- The fact that; whilst it is argued that teachers are important for peace building (Smith et al. 2011; Naylor & Sayed 2014), little is known about how teachers, learners, school

environment do facilitate, mediate, and/or mitigate peace building. Rwanda, like any other post conflict and developing country, has a number of donors and agencies that sponsor her education system. So, there is a need to strengthen the evidence basis for substantive donors and government investments in education to have evidence based knowledge on how such donors' and government investments in education investments can be most effectively enhanced for sustainable peace.

- In a special way, therefore, this study borrowed a leaf from Ezati et al. (2011) to see how teachers can engage with; learners, fellow teachers, school environment and Rwandan local community at large to build peace particularly through school pedagogies.

Rwandan education system, schools and teachers in particular, before 1994 created feelings and attitudes of superiority and inferiority complexes among Rwandan learners; hence today teachers are required to positively reconstruct an identity that all young Rwandans would be proud of through education system that treats every one as equal. Therefore, the concept of social cohesion in this analysis is used interchangeably with the term 'peace', following the example of international agencies like UNICEF and education policy research centers such as FHI (FHI 360 2015: 10). Peace building is regarded as the equivalent of building or promoting social cohesion with an aim of creating national holistic development. In view this argument, Tadora (2012) defines development as not purely economic but multi-dimensional. Hence, if Rwanda is not to go back to what befell it in 1994 during the genocide against the Tutsi; Rwandan learners and young generation in general require education that is holistic encapsulating all human dimensions.

This strongly reflects Nancy Fraser's (1995, 2005) work on social justice with the peace building and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995, 1997) ie Redistribution, *Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation (4Rs)* to build a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015) to explore what sustainable peace building might look like in post-conflict countries. The framework was used to analyze the extent to which Rwandan teachers, communities and school leadership support learners to conceptualize peace values and practice them in their communities and Rwanda in

particular. Therefore, the eminent and critical analysis of this study demonstrated that the role of Rwandan teachers, communities and environment become fundamentally the one of:

- Teaching peace values among learners' starting at an early age in schools'

- Teaching learners how to work together, promoting self respect, human dignity, eradication of any kind of discrimination amongst all Rwandan citizens from any background and levels;

- Teaching learners how to amicably solve all their problems which may arise among them and in the country beginning with fellow learners at school;

- Promoting in learners the attitude of receiving, listening and accepting everyone in the Rwandan society regardless of their background, inclination and socio-economic status.

9.2 METHODOLOGY

This study was about engaging teachers in peace building in post conflict countries. It is a case study on how Rwandan teachers would inculcate peace values and social cohesion among learners. It was carried out in different schools and teacher training colleges from the five provinces of Rwandan Kigali inclusive. The key method used was a case study which sought to understand pedagogies used by Rwandan teachers in schools to develop and promote peace values and social cohesion among Rwandan learners.

Because issues of peace and social cohesion are particularly socially constructed, qualitative methodology was mostly used to analyze the data to explore Rwandan teachers' understanding of how they are able to link the new curriculum, official prescribed text books, school environment to peace building and social cohesion in schools and among learners; in particular the study tried to find out if Rwandan teachers in way get and understand the required professional development to enable them execute their day to day teaching.

Quantitative methodology was briefly explored to identify key informant's choices on a given phenomenon. But because the main aim of this study was to understand the conditions, under which Rwandan education interventions focus on teachers and education system in general to

promote peace and social cohesion, mitigate and reduce any kind of discriminations with a view to identifying measures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such program in Rwanda, qualitative methodology was given a priority in an analysis.

9.3 TEACHERS AS KEY AGENTS OF PEACE: FROM SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACE BUILDING PERSPECTIVE

As key agents of peace, Rwandan teachers need to revive and strengthen their epistemological, pedagogical and professional awareness in order to nurture peace values among learners. Moreover, Rwandan teachers given the new competence based curriculum need professional assistance to be able interpret social cohesion and peace building in Rwandan education system. From this epistemological stance, this study tried to find out how Rwandan teachers can be engaged in peace building efforts among Rwandan learners because for quite a long time Rwandans have been marginalized; economically, socially and politically through ethnic conflicts. This dark history of Rwanda therefore, is in conflict with the 4Rs i.e. *Redistribution, Recognition, Representation and Reconciliation* to build a normative approach that seeks to capture the multiple economic, cultural, political, and social dimensions of inequality in education and the ways in which these might relate to conflict and peace (Novelli et al. 2015). The 4Rs framework links Nancy Fraser's (1995, 2005) work on social justice with the peace building and reconciliation work of Galtung (1976), Lederach (1995, 1997). So, the researchers wanted explore how Rwandan teachers conceptualize issues of peace building and social cohesion in Rwanda today.

Mucyo (2014) during the African Alliance for Peace Summit, 'Peace education' was defined "as an avenue by which individuals and communities can be taught and persuaded to shun a culture of violence and conflict, and instead adopt values, attitudes and behavior of a culture of peace. These new attitudes will then see peaceful conflict resolution practiced within communities, across regions and between countries.

 Additionally, peace education brings individual learners to experience intrapersonal and interpersonal peace. Peace education should be a participatory process that aims at changing society's way of thinking and promotes the learning of peace. In line with this summit, during the

study on engaging teachers in peace building, teachers as well learners were asked to give their views on what they learnt from such a subject regarding peaceful living, how they conceive it themselves and its importance'. In the table below, respondents were asked to rank the most important values and attitudes to be instilled in learners; See the tables below:

Figure 10: Teachers' perceptions on the most important values and attitudes needed to teach learners
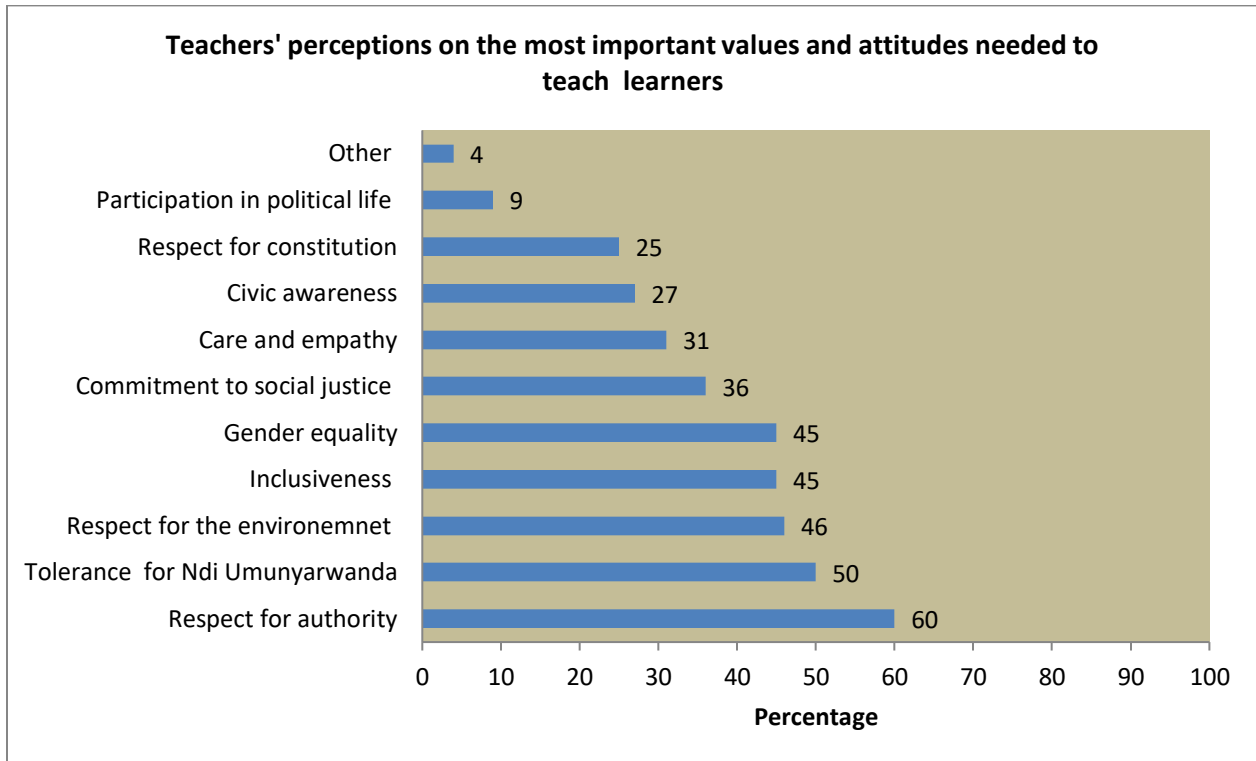
The purpose of the African Alliance for Peace Summit (ibid) was to examine how to prevent violence, wars, genocide, and xenophobia by promoting peace education and sustaining peace infrastructures, but it also enabled participants from different parts of Africa and beyond to learn about what happened in Rwanda in 1994 and how Rwandans have responded to the tremendously challenging post-genocide context. The summit left its participants with the conviction that genocide can be prevented with the development of an effective peace education system. In view of this arguement, however, a teacher from school J argued that:

> 'Many developing countries are busy designing policies for socio-economic development of their countries. Good as it may sound, on top of socio-economic development policies, developing nations Rwanda in particular, must be emphasise harmonious living as a key avenue for Rwanda to develop. A Nation cannot dream of fair and full socio-economic

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development where every citizen is respected, recognized as an important citizen with full rights without being at peace with each other. The only way of achieving this, is through education while children are still at a tender age ready to change for the best and this implies teachers themselves understanding what peace and social cohesion is all about. Harmonious living requires developing peace values among learners and all citizens and in particular to help the government Rwanda in preventing conflicts that demolished Rwandan society.'

As a contribution to the prevention of violence on the continent, participants at the summit (ibid) formulated the 'Kigali Declaration' in order to call on all African countries to invest in educating its people for peace. The summit participants reflected on the necessity of building strong and effective infrastructures for peace and promoting peace education within our communities as a way to prevent the reoccurrence of the deplorable past and to work proactively for a tangible "never again".

If we take a look at the 100 days leading up to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, it is clear that Rwanda suffered from the lack of education and other infrastructure for peace. Instead of teaching young people-the future generation, how to live together peacefully for their holistic development, they were instead heavily equipped with killing instruments – traditional arms, machetes, guns, etc. Violent meetings were organized around the country. The media broadcasted violent messages, and hatred was spread around the country. There were warning signs about a possible genocide, and youth were indoctrinated in divisive and genocide ideology. Unrest, disorder, prejudice, despair, and instability were the common characteristics of our communities (Mucyo 2014). However, a teacher from school I western province ascertained that:

Looking at the dark history of Rwanda full of divisive ideologies based on ethnicities exacerbated by the colonialists, Rwanda cannot just copy and paste the western models of leadership of liberal democracy without applying it to Rwandan context. Each country must have its own concept of peace or social cohesion model that fit its own situation and be located within its context e.g. South Africa Prefers a Rain ball Nation i.e. Unity in diversity whereas reflecting on how ethnicities were used to divide and destroy Rwandans, Rwandans themselves view one identity as the best

model for them (Indi Umunyarwanda).   Given Rwanda's divisive history, it needs to use both state led (whereby the government initiates ideas and through local government agencies and private sector drive the progression of such ideas) and state driven (whereby through local government, all Rwandans together with the government agree on what to be done for the socio-economic development of Rwanda focusing on the key issues of peace building approaches of leadership.

Making it more pragmatic, an official from National Unity and Reconciliation argued that:

> '…social cohesion in Rwanda has been made more meaning full, concretized and manifested into activities and government programs home- made solutions one of them being Gacaca was to make sure that all the perpetrators of genocide against the Tutsi – regardless of how rich or big in status one may be, had to face the victims in their locality where the crime was committed to argue out the problem, apologize if need be, take judgment if need be, receive forgiveness if need be-which was so unique to Rwanda in solving their own problems amicably; without solely relying on the western approaches and understanding of democracy. But very unique to Rwanda given her meagre resources, the provision of not only all civil servants healthy insurance scheme (RAMA) and Mituel de santé (heavily subsided medical insurance for poor and un employed Rwandans) is a step to the right social cohesion direction' (from Interview).

Majority of teachers ascertained that: The understanding and appreciation of social cohesion is very fundamental for learners. Among learners there are always small conflicts. Most of the learners always offend each other unintentionally and so there is a desperate need for Rwandan school system to train learners on how to understand that error is to human and therefore forgiveness is the only positive way forward. In counteraction to this argument, teachers from school H, G and J argued that:

Banyarwanda have a proverb which goes that: "nta zibana zidakomanye amahembe" literally meaning that, because cows always live together and usually close to each other, they cannot avoid their horns hitting each other, but that does not translate into fighting each. There are always conflicts among people and in relationships. But this does not mean killing each other and destroying property. This argument, therefore, is a concrete motivation to teachers to promote peace values among learners and it is very fundamental and mandatory for all Rwandan teachers

to be exemplary and model of peace in this noble task by embracing and teaching peace values to Rwandan learners using both learner centred pedagogies and through government of Rwanda locally based programs.

Majority of respondents viewed these programs as a key avenue to create a socially cohesive society by not only revisiting learner centered pedagogies but also the very Rwandan traditional and social fabrics that used to unite all Rwandans which later on were destroyed by colonial powers for their own selfish interests. These traditional avenues critically assess and analyze how people live together and how Rwanda puts her efforts together for common socio-economic development of all Rwandans. An official from RGB, however, stated that: "This requires a Government that recognizes all Rwandans as equal not only in front of the law, but even in fair distribution of the Country's wealth. It requires empathy and critical thinking among all Rwandans and it takes a lot of effort both from the Government and all the Rwandans. Achieving social cohesion and sustainable peace is a slow and demanding journey especially in Rwandan where the Rwandan society was torn apart for quite a long time and this why Rwanda must start with young people in schools who have the potential and are flexible to change. As for us adults, we have been adulterated so much by bad politics of divisionism and hatred that colonialist and their African successors propagated in Rwandans."

Looking at Rwandan history, there was a time when Rwanda was, in the words of Chinua Achebe 'When things fall apart the centre cannot hold', Rwanda herself was torn apart. Rwanda's peace and unity used to come from her 'strong sense of togetherness, strong traditional values, ethics, nationalism, sense of care, trust, self-esteem and believing in her own way of solving problems basing on local solutions. But when this source of unity which was her traditional strength for peace could not hold together because of colonialists and their post colonial predecessors before 1994 through politicians and religious people Rwandan centre of unity was indeed torn apart. So, social cohesion for Rwandans today is all about retrieving all what was torn apart such as health services, fairness, trust and equal rights, human dignity; self-esteem free interaction amongst all citizens. In view of this, majority of teachers and learners were alike in arguing that:

"For Rwanda to live together and make sure that our country develops constantly and fairly, there is a need for all Rwandans to interact with each other, share ideas together whether good history or bad history of what happened, why it happened and how we can together solve such problems and all these build social cohesion and living together as Rwandans peacefully. We need to be look at ourselves as Banyarwanda-not as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. This is all about the government program of 'Ndumunyarwanda'-the emphasis of being a Rwandan as an identity rather than an ethnic affiliation. In view of this philosophy, learners were asked to give their opinions on what makes a Rwandan, effective peaceful living and peace building". In of this arguement, teachers were asked to give their opinions on exactly what they think makes a Rwandan and what might affect their living together peacefully.

See the tables below:

Table 35: Learners' opinions on what best describe what it means to be a Rwandan

Statement	Yes	No
Everyone gets along well	26.2	73.8
No discrimination and violence	42.7	57.3
Respecting different people	24.3	75.7
Knowing what my leaders are doing	11.4	88.6
Working together to make the country better	66.3	33.7
Being a good citizen	30.1	69.9

Primary source from the field

Table 36: Learners' perceptions about what may affect how Rwandans live together peacefully

Statement	Yes	No
Religious intolerance	63.5	36.5
Language differences	18	82
Poverty	49.1	50.9
Unemployment	18	82
Inequality	80.4	19.6
Genocide ideology	67.8	32.2
Gender discrimination	70.7	29.3
Crime	20.8	79.2
Violence	65.6	34.4
Migration	12	88

Primary source from the field

Table 37: Learners' perceptions about what can help build a peaceful Rwandan society

Statement	Yes	No
Making an effort to build relationships with people from different backgrounds	61.5	38.5
Listening and understanding people's thoughts and ideas	60.2	39.8
Accepting people who have a different background	30.4	69.6
Learning more about people that have different backgrounds	22.8	77.2
Helping the needy	74	26
Voting for my leaders	49.2	50.8

Primary source from the field

These respondents' choices above, reflected by quite high percentages: what it means to be a Rwandan- working together scoring 66.3%; and what might affect Rwandans living together peacefully: inequality scoring 80.4%, gender discrimination scoring 70.7%, genocide ideology scoring 67.8% while violence scoring 65.6 % clearly demonstrate what is important for Rwandans today and a possible indicator of Rwandans hunger for peaceful living that they were for quite a long time denied. It is very significant for the government of Rwandan therefore, to make such Rwandans' dreams a reality. It was strongly echoed in majority of respondents that, many Rwandans are in spite of few hindrances, they are quite zealous and determined to play their role as teachers in class rooms by incorporating peace values in all subjects for young Rwandans to become professionals who will use their knowledge for the betterment of Rwanda and for the benefit of all Rwandans without any form of discrimination. This is why, for any Rwandan teacher, knowing the learners' background in line with any lesson is paramount because teachers have to deliver the content depending on the learners' local community and needs. That is why the

Government of Rwanda through its ministry of Education encourages programs such as "Ndi Umunyarwanda" which has a role in developing the spirit of patriotism, national identity and being good citizens by rejecting any kind of bad ideology such as genocide ideology.

According to UNESCO report (2004), "one of the most urgent challenges facing the world today is the growing number of persons who are excluded from meaningful participation in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their communities. Such a society is neither efficient nor safe. Education is seen as key to enhancing people's capabilities and widening their choices in order to enjoy the freedoms that make life meaningful and worthwhile. For example education has a powerful role in empowering those who suffer from social and economic devaluation. Universal education, attained by all, has a unique and fundamental impact in addressing social and economic barriers within a society and is therefore central to realizing human freedoms.

In order to address this dire need, National professional Board (2002), ascertains that, teachers should always think systematically about their practice and learn from experience. Professional teachers are supposed to be models of educated persons, exemplifying the virtues they seek to inspire in learners; curiosity, tolerance, honesty, fairness, respect for diversity and appreciation of cultural differences and the capacities that are prerequisites for holistic growth: the ability to reason and take multiple perspectives to be creative and take risks, and to adopt an experimental and problem-solving orientation". During this study, it was quite often echoed by both teachers and parents that:

"It is a truism that teaching peace values must start at early age because most of the time if not always, a child faces insecurity at school and at home. For instance sometimes parents experience conflicts, misunderstandings, fight or quarrels. It is obvious that in this kind of situation a child is not safe enough to grow as a full balanced human being with full appreciation of the values that a social human being needs to be at peace with him or herself and with the society at large."

There are strong interconnected dimensions of the "4Rs" among teachers in Rwandan schools whereby;

- Redistribution concerns equity and non-discrimination in education access, resources, and outcomes for all Rwandans reflected in policies that protect the formerly marginalized and disadvantaged groups on who they were and where they come from.

- Recognition in Rwanda today in all government policies, is very much concerned respect for all in education structures, processes, and content in terms of gender, politics, religion, ethnicity and ability not who a given Rwandan is or where s/he comes from.

- Representation in Rwanda today highly supports and promotes participation, at all levels of the education system, in governance and decision making related to the allocation, use, and distribution of Rwandan human and material resources. This clearly seen in the National Examination Council where marking national examination is confidential i.e. no teacher assesses a student at the national level knowing his/her name; school allocations after assessment is all meritocracy not who is who as it was in the previous government after 1994.

- Difficult as it might be, Reconciliation in Rwanda is one of the strongest achievements the government has ever attempted. Rwanda has laboured in dealing with its past events, injustices, and material and psychosocial effects of conflict, as well as developing relationships and trust among Rwandans.

Because teachers interact with young people on daily basis and they are the future leaders of Rwanda, they must teach and promote the culture of making peace at school or outside the school with their families from the tender age. One of the parents on the parents committee reminded us a Kinyarwanda proverb which goes that:

"Igiti kigororwa kikiri gito" literally meaning that a' tree or any other plant should be nurtured and put to the right direction when still young because that is when it is still flexible 'the way you raise a child is what he/she will become or behave in the future.   Peace building lessons are therefore good not only for learners but also for all Rwandans because they live within the society that needs peace.

To concretize this argument, teachers were asked to highlight what they give priority in their teaching. The results in the table below are a clear demonstration of what teachers think is important for Rwandan learners today. The highest score on equality -55% strongly indicates what Rwandan teachers value in their teaching and it concurs with their narrative discussion during the focus group. One of the teachers ascertained that:

'Without disrespecting our Rwandan traditional and cultural understanding and milieu, with social cohesion and other associated element of equality among Rwandans in mind, when Iam teaching, I usuallt transcend the Rwandan traditional gender based responsibilities by putting learners whether from urban, rural rich, poor, boys or girls in same groups so that none feels superior, inferior or excluded based on individual learner's background. Learners alternate in their different group activities like studying, presentations in class, debate, sweeping either the compound or classrooms, cleaning the chalk board'.

Figure 11: Teachers' responses on what aspects concerning peace building and social cohesion they prioritize when teaching
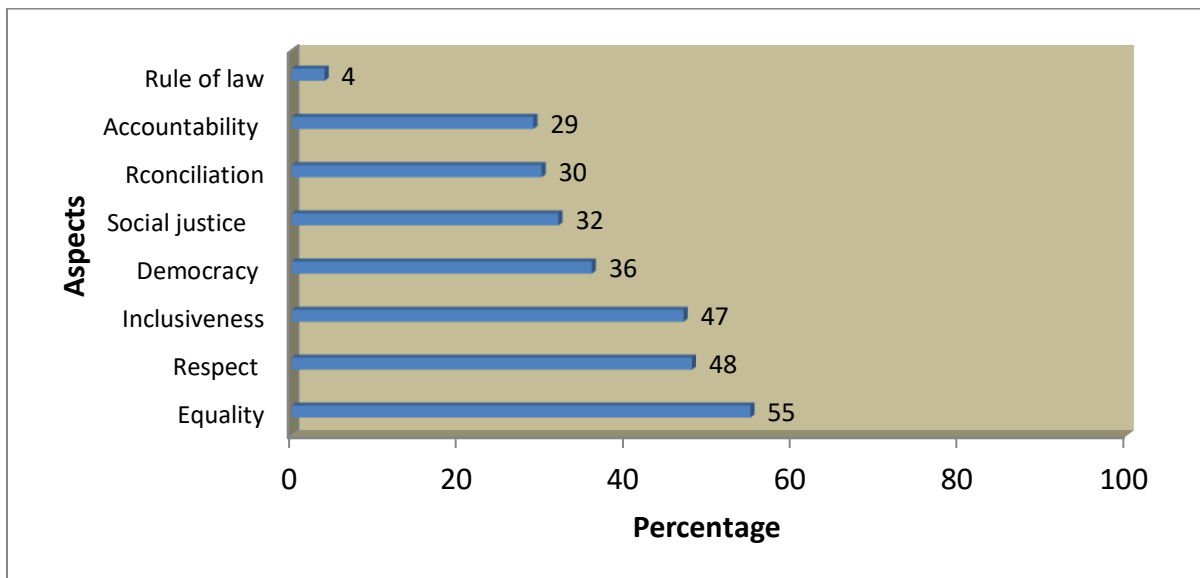
In the same view, the parent stated that:

> '…Rwandans have to be conscious of all aspects that bring peace and share them with all Rwandans. Anyone without peace gives nothing but death. If all Rwandans had peace, whatever they do wish others peace; then all Rwandans and Rwanda as a country would

have peace and would be a good society to live in. Rwanda has to teach her young generation to have the culture of peace if we were to have a great country' (Interview).

A teacher from school C Northern Province and an official from RGB put it that:

> "Social cohesion and peace values lead to a full national socio-development because once teachers can constantly teach learners peace values, the very learners who will be tomorrow Rwandan leaders, and then they will be able to avoid conflicts that affect Rwandan society because learners will have learnt it right from schools. What happened in 1994 can be resolved through harmonious living. Based on what happened in Rwanda in 1994, we need to forgive our neighbours – we don't need to revenge. To value anyone irrespective of their background whoever they are. It is a tool for peace building."

Majority of teachers interviewed emphasized the importance of all Rwandans needing each other for full participation in the running of their country if Rwanda is not to go back to its 1994 upheavals. So, social cohesion for majority of teachers is all about respect for every citizen irrespective of their religion, race, color, wealth and background. One of the teachers from school J Kigali argued that:

> "All Rwandans must be interested in what all Rwandans have in common instead of in what make us different. Given the history of Rwanda, apart from the historical ethnic differences which were exaggerated and confused by colonialists, Rwandans today are from different background and cultures but this should not be a cause of conflict."

According to a good number of teachers and learners, social cohesion and peace-building is the process of acquiring positive values and developing skills and attitudes which would enable all Rwandans to live in harmony with each other as well as the environment. One teacher in one of the Eastern province schools of Rwanda argued that:

> "Social cohesion is all about making sure that all Rwandans live in peace, have good health services and improve their living standards and avoid any kind of discriminations such as inequality and violence which destroyed Rwandan society. But this requires the willingness of all Rwandans to cooperate with each other in order to improve their society by preventing discrimination and social injustice of any sort and having fair distribution of all national wealth-few as they are in Rwanda, recognizing all Rwandans as true and equal citizens."

The main characteristic of social cohesion as per majority of Rwandan teachers is Tolerance. For Rwandan teachers, tolerance implies forgiving a neighbor when he/she has offended you, not discriminating a neighbor because of what s/he is naturally or being poor; sharing national resources equally and fairly. One cannot talk of social cohesion when there is no harmony, not living together peacefully but rather fight over national wealth. This makes it paramount for incorporating peace values into Rwandan education system for teachers to teach learners peace values when still young and spending more time with each other. In line with this argument, teachers were asked to give their views on the most relevant topic in the curriculum to teach respect and tolerance and they had this to say:

Figure 12: Teachers' perceptions on what topics are most relevant for teaching learners respect and tolerance
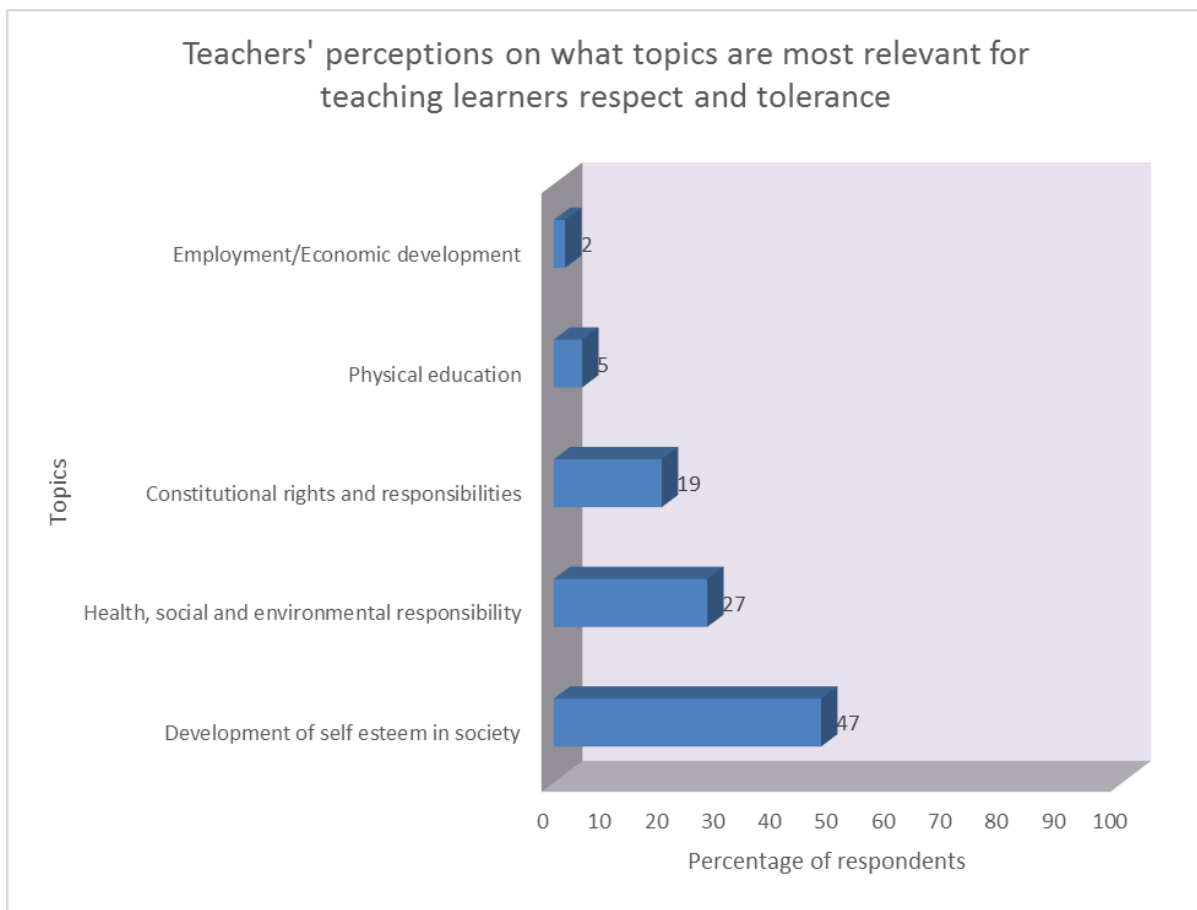
Primary source from the field

The highest priority here is given to self-esteem again which is in line with equality in the former table above. It is clear that Rwandans' hunger for equality, fair treatment and elimination of any form of discrimination whose lack resulted into ethnic divisions that lead to 1994 genocide against Tutsi. So, there is a need for more sensitization of what makes up peace and social cohesion in Rwanda. Majority of learners interviewed both through questionnaires and focus groups, understand social cohesion as:

> "Social cohesion is all about solidarity among learners and solidarity among teachers and in the end to the whole Rwanda. Otherwise how can we talk of economic development or peace when the citizens are divided? Unfairly treated? Some are treated in a special way getting all the niceties of life while others are perishing with poverty?"

According to an official from National Itorero Commission (NIC), Peace Education is a lesson about how to build and promote peace among Rwandan society in order to avoid conflicts. It is all about strengthening how all Rwandans should live together in harmony commonly known as social cohesion which is very important for any society.

9.4 PEDAGOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON RWANDAN SCHOOLS: FROM A SOCIAL COHESION PERSPECTIVE

Bearing in mind the new competency based Rwandan curriculum and its requirements of employing pedagogies that promote peace values among learners, the researcher had to ask:

i.   Do Rwandan teachers know what the government of Rwanda through the ministry of education expects of them pedagogically?

ii.   Do teachers have the knowledge and will to carry out their work i.e. are they confident and comfortable with the new required pedagogies or methodologies needed to deliver the new curriculum?

iii. If so are they facilitated to carry out this assignment?

iv.   Are there possible hindrances to fulfill their work?

Whatever is being done by Rwandan teachers in classrooms, in spite of some hindrances such as lack of capacity in terms of skills required to handle pedagogies of the new competence

curriculum, lack of teaching materials, shortage of prescribed text books, short periods; during this study, at least, there was a clear evidence and clear understanding of the rationale of the new competence based curriculum that requires strong incorporation of peace values in every subject for social cohesion.

Modern pedagogy according to Robert Gagné (1987) "has been strongly influenced by the theories of three major heavy-weights in the science of human development: Jean Piaget's cognitive theory of development, Lev Vygotsky and Jerome Bruner's social interaction and cultural theory. Piaget, Vygotsky and Bruner argue that children construct an understanding of the world around them, and then experience discrepancies between what they already know and what they discover in their environment. The social-integrationist theory states that pedagogy should be designed around the fact that learners construct the new ideas. Pedagogy is therefore a science and an art of education, specifically instructional theory whereby a teacher develops conceptual knowledge and manages the content of learning activities in pedagogical settings for learners. These theorists have laid a foundation for pedagogy where sequential development of individual mental processes—such as recognizing, recalling, analyzing, reflecting, applying, creating, understanding, and evaluating are scaffolded. In view of these theories, a mathematics teacher from school E, Northern Province sited an example in his own subject:

> 'Although it is not easy to use peace values examples in Science and Mathematics and there is no direct topic of 'peace building' and 'social cohesion' in these subjects, I try to integrate these issues by using group work because when the learners are doing activities together they develop social skills. This is how and why mathematics links to people in the society and why every citizen needs to be integrated in the society the way all items in the mathematical set needs to be integrated in order to be a full set. The discriminative previous governments used the same style in a negative way. For example a teachers teaching mathematics would tell learners that; if there were three Tutsi and you killed two, how many Tutsi are left? This was very dangerous pedagogical approach and we, teachers of today, as true agent s of peace we must change that to the peaceful direction.'

The teacher went on to argue that;

> 'Because we do understand and appreciate the rationale of the new competency based curriculum, as agents of peace, we try to devise some methodologies relevant and practical to integrate issues of peace and social cohesion during our classroom teaching through group work. For example in mathematics, when I am teaching about a set, I tell

learners that, when some items or even one item gets lost from the set, the set is no longer a 'set' and so is a nation that excludes any one of its members. From here I usually teach about social cohesion i.e. how every Rwandan needs each other in order for Rwanda to be a full nation. Like in mathematics, any time some Rwandans are discriminated from any service in Rwanda, you cannot talk of a full Rwanda.'

Learners learn as they internalize the procedures, organization, and structures encountered in social contexts as their own schemata". However, a science teacher from school F southern province argued that: 'It is not easy to conceptualize how a teacher of a science subject can use examples from peace building values or social cohesion; such examples can bring a lot of misunderstanding and confusion among learners in science. But with frequent trainings whether at school level in seminars, debates, sharing or formal trainings this challenge can be solved so as teachers to help the young generation of Rwanda to live together peace fully.'

Gagné (1987) argues that, 'learners require assistance from a teacher to integrate prior knowledge with new knowledge. Learners must also develop meta-cognition, or the ability to learn how to learn. Learning how to integrate prior knowledge and learning *how* to learn should be a part of the classroom experience and should be facilitated by the teacher. Simply put, pedagogy is defined as many different types and variations of teaching. As such, there are many different ways in which students learn and teachers teach. Some of these ways are inclusive of discovery learning, group learning, hands on learning, distance learning, and independent study.

 In the profession of teaching, instructional design is just as important as pedagogy. In fact one influences and shapes the other. Instructional Design (also called Instructional Systems Design (ISD)) is the practice of creating instructional experiences which make the acquisition of knowledge and skill more efficient, effective, and appealing. The process consists broadly of determining the current state and needs of the learner, defining the end goal of instruction, and creating some "intervention" to assist in the transition" (Robert Gagné 1987). In line with Gagne, the whole rationale for the Government of Rwanda to invest in homemade solutions and consequently engage teachers in teaching learners peace values was to restore the Rwandan peace values that characterized the traditional Rwandan society where in spite of few differences among Rwandans by then, they still lived together and defended their society not until colonial divide and rule system came invaded Rwanda like many other former colonies.

In agreement with this teacher, Engle in Farr (1986) observes that "expository teaching based on textbooks and teacher talk is done "without thinking much, because it is a "litany of anachronistic legislation, empty bureaucratic rituals, unresolved dilemmas and unintended side effects "which created a "textbook machine" which took on "a life of its own." Onosko, in seeking to explain why teachers do not pay more attention to higher level thinking skills, identifies barriers such as lack of planning time, poor student motivation, large class size, and expectations of just content coverage and as a result teachers become just:

- submissive indoctrinators

- poorly informed about pedagogy

- mindless practitioners and

- Victims of social bureaucracy (Gagne 1987).

During the classroom and in any professional interaction with learners, teachers must always treat learners equitably as stewards for the interests of learners (UNESCO Report 2004). Professional teachers should be vigilant in ensuring that all learners receive their fair share of attention, and that biases based on perceived ability differences, handicaps or disabilities, social or cultural background, language, race, religion, or gender do not distort relationships in classroom. Hence, professional teachers employ what is known about ineffectual and effective practice with diverse groups of in class, while striving to learn more about how best to accommodate those differences". Therefore, teachers' methods of delivering the curriculum and interpreting content in classroom can play a major role in helping Rwandan learners form attitudes about others and our country Rwanda in particular. Many Rwandan teachers without experience and depend on text books without pedagogical knowledge to interpret and relate knowledge to the learners' day to day life, are quite unaware of the extent of the ethnocentrism that they transmit to Rwandan learners.

 UNESCO Report (2004) reiterates that, "teachers' mission extends beyond developing the cognitive capacity of their learners. Teachers are concerned with their learners' self-concept, with their motivation, with the effects of learning on peer relationships, and with the development of

character, aspiration and civic virtues. Proficient teachers, then, are models of educated persons. Character and competence contribute equally to their educative manner. Teachers must exemplify the virtues they seek to impart to learners i.e.: curiosity, tolerance and open-mindedness; fairness and justice; appreciation for their cultural and intellectual heritages; respect for human diversity and dignity; and such intellectual capacities as careful reasoning, the ability to take multiple perspectives, to question received wisdom, to be creative, to take risks, and to adopt an experimental and problem-solving orientation".

The report goes on to argue that, "to respond effectively to individual learners differences, teachers must know their particular learners they teach. As diagnosticians of learners' interests, abilities and prior knowledge, skilful teachers learn to "read" their learners. When planning a unit on aging, for example, they will anticipate what concepts and activities certain learners may find problematic to relate to their day to day life in their society. Proficient teachers learn from learners'' experiences by engaging, watching and interacting with them. The information teachers acquire about learners in the course of classroom experiences subsequently becomes part of their general knowledge of education". For example class room discussions and debates in Rwandan schools, majority of head teachers reported that they are supplemented by organizing debates and presentations from different visitors such as members of parliament, senators, ministers, mayors and other political big shots to give talks to both learners and teachers followed by open discussions and with such activities everyone at school is involved. Head teachers further re-iterated that, open debates and discussions are very helpful because learners acquire capacity to argue and ask questions concerning key issues in Rwandan society such as causes and consequences of genocide and becomes a good and strong basis for teachers to teacher peace values in class. However, majority of teachers for P1-p 4 confessed that, they really do not go so deep in such sensitive topics because learners at this stage are still very young.

9.5 THE COMMONLY EMPLOYED PEDAGOGIES IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS: FROM PEACE VALUES AND SOCIAL COHESION PERSPECTIVE

9.5.1 An Overview of Class Room Pedagogies

A teacher should know and employ a variety of generic instructional skills such as; how to conduct Socratic dialogues and how to oversee small cooperative learning, group- learning, discussions, debates, dialogues and other forms of learner centered strategies. Although much of instruction is determined by the content to be taught, there are some commonalities about teaching methods that guide their practice. Teachers are aware of what can reasonably be covered in a 45-minute roundtable discussion, when to hold back and let learners figure out their own solutions, and what types of questions provoke the most thoughtful conversation (NBPS (2002).

Whereas, collaborative learning "is an umbrella term for a variety of educational approaches involving joint intellectual effort by learners and teachers together" (Goodsell et al., 1992), Cooperative learning, a form of collaborative learning, is an instructional technique in which learn work in groups to achieve a common goal, to which they each contribute in individually accountable ways (Stover et al., 1993). A teacher from school F eastern province, argued that: 'Psychologically, an isolated learner cannot learn effectively. This is what we call in Kinyarwanda 'ubwigunge' i.e. loneliness. The interaction itself can take different forms:

- Out-of-class study groups

- In-class discussion groups

- Project groups (in and/or out of class)

- Groups in which roles (leader, timekeeper, technician, spokesperson, and so forth) are assigned and rotated (Stover et al., 1993).

A variety of teaching and learning methods include collaborative learning which help facilitate meeting learners' needs and outcomes. Collaborative learning uses a range of teaching and learning approaches and strategies to match the needs of learners in particular learning contexts. Teachers use collaborative approach in the classroom but ask learners to work on individual tasks. According to Putnam, (1998), the focus is on involving every learner at his/her own level

even when they are in groups so that realistic and meaningful learning outcomes can be achieved. Putnam (ibid 1998) goes on to pause some questions: How can learners help one another to accomplish the task? Collaborative learning gives learners' capacity for:

- Positive interdependence;
- Individual accountability – learners take responsibility of their own work;
- Co-operative skills – learners learn ways to work together;
- Face-to-face interaction – learners and teacher work in relation to each other;
- Learners' reflection and goal setting – learners think about their work and set targets for themselves to achieve (Putnam, 1998).

9.5.2 Cooperative and Collaborative Pedagogies in Rwandan schools: Towards Forming Holistically Educated Rwandan Learners

Collaborative learning is based on the model that knowledge can be created within a population where members actively interact by sharing experiences and take on asymmetry roles. In view of this argument, a head teacher from school B stated that, collaborative learning pedagogy is very fitting for Rwanda because in Rwanda there are no schools for a given group of people. Learners in Rwandan schools come from all walks of life. Put differently, collaborative learning refers to methodologies and environments in which learners engage in a common task where each individual depends on and is accountable to each other. These include both face-to-face conversations and computer discussions (online forums, chat rooms, etc.). Methods for examining collaborative learning processes include conversation analysis and statistical discourse analysis (Gokhale 1995) ".

According to Johnson and Johnson's meta-analysis(1994), "learners in cooperative learning settings compared to those in individualistic or competitive learning settings, achieve more, reason better, gain higher self-esteem, like classmates and the learning tasks more and have more perceived social support. In cooperative learning groups are created that function in the class for a period of time. The groups revise a portion of material before writing a written test. This motivates those learners that have the fear of writing the test and to learn and reinforce what has been already learnt. This method is one of the learning strategies designed by Robert

Slavin for the purpose of review and mastery in the learning. This was basically to increase learners' skills, increase interaction and self-esteem between learners. In this technique the learners study in the class. The students after receiving the material review it and then bring 2-6 points from their study into their assigned groups. Since the tournament is based on a material there is a specific answer". In similar way, Jessica (2006) argues that: with cooperative learning, there are strong pro-social effects on interpersonal attitudes, behaviors, values, and skills through the use of collaborative learning".

In view of Bloom in Gokhale (1995) "Cooperative learning is an educational approach which aims to organize classroom activities into academic and social learning experiences and it has been described as "structuring positive interdependence. Learners are encouraged to complete tasks collectively toward academic goals. Unlike individual learning, which can be competitive in nature, learners learning cooperatively can capitalize on one another's resources and skills (asking one another for information, evaluating one another's ideas, monitoring one another's work, etc.)". In view of this, PTC members from school J Kigali ascertained that:

'Traditionally, every Munyarwanda whether young or old had to engage in activities such as farming, looking after cows, harvesting, looking after babies while their parents are digging in the gardens. And so this idea must be embraced by teachers even in today's teaching and learning in order to see the values of all Banyarwanda working together for peaceful Rwanda. Such approaches and activities used to create and enhance the sense of belonging, care, concern and communal positive attitude among all Rwandans.' A teacher from school C Northern Province stated that: 'Our learners on every last Saturday of the month do join the whole community to do community service (umuganda), they go with their teachers and participate in what the whole community is doing and they are taught the rationale of Umuganda.

This arguement above, is in line with what (Gokhale 1995) calls collaborative learning rooted in Lev Vygotsky's concept of learning called zone of proximal development. During Umuganda Rwandan leaners get involved in contributing to activities of their community around and within their schools particularly those activities that enhance peace, harmony, respect and being patriotic. Typically there are tasks learners can accomplish and tasks learners cannot accomplish.

Between these two areas is the zone of proximal development, which is a category of things that a learner can learn but with the help of guidance such as through teachers and community at large. The zone of proximal development gives guidance as to what set of skills a learner has that are in the process of maturation, in case of Rwandan learners the developing the sense of community development, care for less fortunate in the community, togetherness etc. In Vygotsky's definition of zone of proximal development, he highlighted the importance of learning through communication and interactions with others rather than just through independent work. This has made way for the ideas of group learning, one of which being collaborative learning both classrooms and Umuganda in the case of Rwanda becomes handy.

A teacher from school A western province, stated that: 'We have to remember that due to Rwandan dark and ugly historical background of ethnic discriminations and conflicts that became the bedrock for many Rwandans to live exiles all over the world for so long, a good number of young Rwandans acquired a lot of foreign cultures and values, and therefore some of our young generation in Rwandan schools today may not be quite conversant with Rwandan cultural norms. So, school teachers try to use collaborative learning over the weekend by organizing some events such as dances, poems, competition etc which are both socially and academically oriented to assist Rwandan learners to deeply internalize, appreciate and share other others' experiences for a socially cohesive Rwanda.

However, from a different line of thinking, a head teacher from school J Kigali, argued that: 'Collaborative learning requires modern equipment and technologies to make it. Items like tennis, volley ball, table tennis, TV and Musical instruments at schools etc that motivate young people merry together. But most of our Rwandan schools are poorly equipped and you find learners more often than not just busy moving around school campus and cramming/memorizing notes-popularly known as rot learning. This is not effective learning, rather frustrating learners making them robots-like beings.

A head teacher from school F eastern province on the other hand, put blame on initial teachers training colleges. She argued that: 'Collaborative learning requires strong understanding, strategies and experiences. But when you look at some of our teachers training colleges, they are

still very traditional ie they only use lecture kind of teaching. Due to big numbers they handle, lecturers rarely use all these modern pedagogies aiming at learner centeredness. Consequently our graduates lack the required skills, training, knowledge and courage of how they use learner centred strategies.'

9.6 GROUP PEDAGOGIES IN RWANDAN CLASS ROOMS: TOWARDS FORMING SOCIALLY MATURE RWANDAN LEARNERS

Group learning is very important in achieving critical thinking. According to Gokhale (1995), "individuals are able to achieve higher levels of learning and retain more information when they work in a group rather than individually, this applies to the facilitators of knowledge, the instructors, and the receivers of knowledge and the learners. For example, Indigenous communities of the Americas illustrate that group learning occurs because individual participation in learning occurs on a horizontal plane where children and adults are equal (Gokhale 1995)". According to an official from REB, the new Rwandan competency based curriculum is mainly focused on learners' centered pedagogies. Such pedagogies assist teachers to teach learners peace values from learners' experiences of day to day life. Leaner centre pedagogies, the official went on to say, would help learners develop a sense of social responsibilities, create and strengthen their self esteem, trust and self-confidence among themselves and hence learn to work together Such pedagogies increase interaction among learners (REB official 2016).   In the similar view, a teacher from school J stated that:

'The strong advantage we have in Rwanda is that, since Rwandan learners particularly in secondary schools are allocated to different schools all over the country depending on their performance in National examinations. Thereforelearners in Rwandan schools come from all over walks of life to schools new schools with their wide and different geographical and other variety of experiences from their homes. When they join different groups at school, teachers help them share and understand their various experiences on critical issues such as genocide ideology, its causes, and consequences and how serious inequalities can itself divide Rwandans (a teacher from school J).

By analysis, we have to remember that, learner centered approach is different from the ex-cathedral curriculum popularly known as knowledge based curriculum which limited the interaction between the learners and the teacher-only promoting lecture form of teaching putting the teacher at the fore front as the custodian of knowledge. Of course, learners could learn but their power and interest to share experiences amongst them would be limited. A teacher from school D western province cited group work as one of the most crucial pedagogies fit for social cohesion enhancement purpose in Rwandan society. The teacher argued that: 'I found out that, through group learning in classrooms, every learner learns from each other by sharing constructive ideas and experiences and it creates a peaceful atmosphere among learners.'

Hencem Gokhale (ibid) concludes that, "the teacher's role changes from giving information to facilitating learners' learning. Everyone succeeds when the group succeeds". For Ross and Smyth (1995) describe successful cooperative learning tasks as "intellectually demanding, creative, open-ended, and involve higher order thinking tasks. Five essential elements are identified for the successful incorporation of group learning in the classroom:

The first and most important element is Positive Interdependence;

The second element is individual and group accountability;

The third element is (face to face) promotive interaction;

The fourth element is teaching the students the required interpersonal and small group skills;

The fifth element is group- processing (Ross and Smyth (1995)".

Throughout the this study it was quite evident that by working in groups, learners develop social skills like tolerance, supporting each other and in this way Learners learn how to live together regardless of their differences in social and any other background. No wonder a teacher from school C stated that: Without disrespecting our Rwandan traditional and cultural understanding and milieu, with social cohesion and other associated element of equality among Rwandans in mind, I transcend the Rwandan traditional gender based responsibilities by putting learners

whether from urban, rural rich, poor, boys or girls in same groups so that none feels superior, inferior or excluded in based on individual learner's background. There are no specific activities based on regions, ethnicity, socio-economic background boys or girls which characterized the pedagogies before 1994 in Rwandan schools. Learners alternate in their different group activities like studying, presentations in class, debate, sweeping either the compound or classrooms, cleaning the chalk board'. An example of teaching history was cited:

> 'While teaching history, I put learners in groups to discuss how genocide was prepared and how it was executed, its consequences and sometimes I bring posters as teaching aids. I take them through how Rwandans used to live in harmony before the colonial period, how that harmony was broken during the colonial period and how the Government of national unity is trying to unite Rwandans by reverting this divisive and discriminative tendencies. This helps learners know the causes of violence; its process of execution; its consequences and finally how to avoid it. Rwanda's most powerful weapon to use for reconciliation, social cohesion and peace values among our learners is that, Rwanda has one Mother tongue –Kinyarwanda. This is a very strong value added because one's Identity is based on cultural values and behaviour which are well expressed and embedded within one's mother tongue with clear and socially constructed concepts'.

Engaging learners in group work comfortably learners to discuss and share ideas on what is happening in Rwanda today and later a teacher may facilitate them to relate their ideas to the past and conclude by relating it to the learners' real life right from their homes and their community. Rwandan teachers are able to discuss, debate and openly engage learner to talk about issues such as of gender balance in Rwanda where Rwandan women are treated equal to Rwandan men in all circles of life including politics for fair and equitable Rwanda's socio-economic development rather than putting such ideas into learners heads without critical and appreciative discussions and health debate. During this study, group work as a form of a conversation on how Rwandans lived together in the past before ethnic and genocide ideologies were planted into Rwandans, differences between men and women, forms of leadership, social relationships among Rwandans by then and economic activities of the time as pedagogical approaches was found very common among classes observed.

However, majority of teachers, lecturers and tutors claimed that, though group work is one of the fundamental methodologies for learner centre approach and is highly encouraged in the new competency based curriculum, teachers cannot avoid using demonstration or lecture form of

teaching due to a big number of learners in classrooms leave alone the fact that majority of learners in Rwanda do not understand English in which they are supposed to discuss issues during group work and it is even worse in 9-12 YBE in lower classes.

Furthermore, once a teacher puts learners of lower classes in groups, they keep on shouting and some end up fighting. Instead of a teacher concentrating on teaching, s/he ends up engaging in stopping them and solving their problems. During class room observation, the use of pictures to address issues of social cohesion and peace building by putting learners in groups was eminent in social science subjects. However, a teacher from school B western province ascertained that:

> 'Though group work is a good pedagogical approach competence based curriculum and peace values enhancement in class rooms, the desperate problem in many Rwandan schools particularly in rural and 9-12 YBE is lack of teaching aids that would assist teachers in grouping learners into small effective groups with simple and clear teaching aids such as charts, visual aids, videos etc for learners to see, listen and finally discuss among themselves guided by the teacher for deep analysis. This would be the best way to engage learners in their learning process through group discussion and debates and use of dialogues. A teacher is supposed to be more of a facilitator than a provider if the ideal of forming an independent Rwandan learner is to be achieved.'

Further to teaching material hindrances to effective teaching for a holistic learner, majority of teachers echoed the issue of insufficient time in terms of period. The new curriculum requires enough time in terms of teaching periods. But teachers use only 40 minutes for a period (one subject). A teacher from school C argued that 'this is very little time to finish the required content in the curriculum if we were to use group work fit for social cohesion enhancement.

In nutshell, Rwandan teachers are requested to carry out work which is not well facilitated and so it is quite hard for teachers to make learners participate actively in their learning processes without enough pedagogical materials, with big numbers of learners in classroom, with insufficient command of English language, very short teaching period and teachers themselves lacking sufficient knowledge of the required pedagogical approaches to execute the new competence based curriculum.

9.6 DISCUSSION AND DEBATE PEDAGOGIES: TOWARDS FORMING CRITICAL RWANDAN THINKERS

According to Jessica (2006), "research has demonstrated the pro-social outcomes when learners engage in dialogue. one ten-nation study of civic attitudes found that learners' values of participation in discussion are very important in classrooms because it stresses and fosters learners independent thoughts and minimizes the use of drill and rote learning which has been the norm in Rwanda   (Jessica (2006)".

It is not sufficient that teachers know about different modes of instruction; they must also know how to implement those strategies. Traditional distinctions between knowing and doing have obscured the fact that thought and action interpenetrate in teaching -- knowing about something and knowing how to do something are both forms of understanding central to teaching".

According the UNESCO report (2004), teachers' role is not just to reinforce the status quo rather, appreciative of the fact that there are multiple perspectives and interpretations in each discipline where professional teachers encourage learners to question prevailing canons and assumptions to help them think for themselves. These general observations apply to teaching, but with important distinctions. While teachers employ their knowledge and skill on learners, they also strive to empower learners to continue the quest for understanding, so that one day the learner may surpass the teacher.

 In this regard, teaching is the most democratic of all professions. Teachers represent the collective wisdom of our culture and insist on maintaining the integrity of the pedagogies, substance and the structures of disciplinary knowledge. In the face of pressures to portray knowledge in weak and diluted forms, they remain firm (UNESCO report 2004). In view of this strong UNESCO point of view, an official from REB referring to the same report argued that:

Rwandan new competence curriculum through its preferred class room pedagogies aims at encouraging Rwandan teachers to give knowledge and Rwandan learners to acquire knowledge through their heads, hands, and finally to their hearts in order for learners to be holistically

educated learners who are not just aware but socially empathetic to their societal needs rather than constantly remaining aliens or alienate fellow Rwandans within their own society.

 Teaching is a public activity and good that should be first and foremost not only deeply concerned with all socio-economic development of the Rwandan society but for the holistic development of all Rwandans as well. We have to remember that a teacher works daily in the gaze of his or her learners who are likely to imitate the teachers' code of conduct. No surprise, therefore that, henceforth the extended nature of learners' and teachers' lives together in schools places special obligations on the teacher's behaviour (UNESCO report 2004 and official from REB 2016).In the similar line of thinking, the World Bank report (2004) states that:

 "Learners' school experience is to the largest extent shaped by their classroom experience. It is in the classroom where political education and civic education takes place, where learners must not continuously be identified ethnically and where learners are taught how to think and if or when to question. Without an emphasis on what happens in the classroom, the report (2004) ascertains, the traditional teacher-centered pedagogy will not change. One implication, among many, is that learners will continue to lack opportunities to practice engaging in meaningful dialogue on any topic, much less a topic as politically and emotionally loaded as the genocide.'

In view of this theory, a number of classes observed, there was a clear evidence of the use of debate in teachers' teaching with proposers and opponents on topics such as genocide ideology, gender equity, poverty etc under the guidance of teachers by giving direction of the arguments from learners by giving general conclusions showing how discrimination is bad not only for Rwanda but also for any country since it harms and retards the development of the society. Learners from school B, G and J reported that:

> 'Through debates, we managed to get involved in deciding how we should be punished. For instance, when a learner has committed any offence, we decided that teachers reduce some marks from our assignments or tests due to the learner's bad conduct; call a parent or a guardian and discuss the learner's behaviour; if all these avenues fail, that is, a learner does not change, then s/he may be dismissed. It is hard and does not make any sense to dismiss a learner because the question remains; where do you expect the Rwandan society to put him or her'. This would be creating more burdens to the government and

yet teachers are part and parcel of government in term so reconstructing Rwanda into a new socially cohesive society'.

However, teachers must be aware of the fact that, good as discussion approaches may be, some learners do not like or may not function effectively in a class where much of the time is devoted to learner discussion. Some may take the point of view that they have paid to hear the expert (the teacher). For them, and for all students, it is useful to review the benefits of discussion-based formats in contrast with lectures whose purpose is to transmit information (Jordan 1984, 1985, 1995); Saville-Troike, (1978); Trueba & Delgado-Gaitan, 1985)".

> "Because learners vary in learning styles and because different settings afford differing learning opportunities, accomplished teachers should know when and how to alter the social and physical organizational structure of the learning environment. It is not enough to be a master teacher, for there are many times when lecturing form of teaching is not an effective way to teach. An outdoor experiment, a mock trial or an economic simulation, for example, may be more appropriate. Alternatively, a play let or a debate might be a more effective way to engage learners in thinking and learning. Teachers know about the breadth of options available to them, such as innovative instructional formats that involve discovery learning, conceptual mapping as ell as more traditional tried-and-true methods (BNPS 2002)".

To crown it all, however, by analyzing the responses from the majority of the respondents, it was evident that, learner centered pedagogies in Rwandan schools was deliberately through the joint effort of both local and international efforts preferred in order for Rwandan teachers to provide a safe space for all Rwandan learners and youth to explore active political discussions and engagement rather than learners embracing the vice of submission to authoritarianism, frustrate teachers and then finally the government. Without opportunities for safe and collaborative learning activities, eradicating discriminations, inequalities and divisions among Rwandans-typical of the government of Rwanda today would be a futile attempt.

As cited by Jordan (1984, 1985, 1995); National Coalition of Advocates for learners, (1988); Saville-Troike, (1978); Trueba & Delgado-Gaitan, (1985), "focused discussion is an effective way for many learners to develop their conceptual frameworks and to learn problem solving skills as they try out their own ideas on other students and the instructor. The give and take of technical discussion also sharpens critical and quantitative thinking skills. Classes in which learners must participate in discussion force them to go beyond merely plugging numbers into formulas or

memorizing terms. They must learn to explain in their own words what they are thinking and doing. Learners are more motivated to prepare for a class in which they are expected to participate actively".

This is quite crucial for Rwandan learners themselves to assess and analyze and internalize what happened to Rwandans during genocide against the Tutsi in terms of what caused genocide in Rwanda, why it happened and its consequences. Through this kind of debate and discussions guided by teachers that Rwandan learners will be able to clearly understand genocides dynamics, importance of unity, peace, development and any peace building values for holistic social cohesion in Rwanda today. We have to remember that quite often learners hear and listen to what their parents say at home. More so, from epistemological stance, learners come to school with strong and some ideas both innate and from their parents, mates and different games they played at home and general environment. It is from such innate and experiential ideas that teachers build on to cultivate into learners the culture of peace, change of attitude, integrity, honesty, the spirit of teamwork, cooperation with good behaviour. Particularly, flexible as they are, young people seem to be globally oriented to adapt their lives to aspects of the wider global culture while integrating it to their own cultural values. Majority of Rwandan learners clearly expressed and echoed great eagerness, ambitions and the zeal to make attempts to work locally, regionally and globally as an advantage for today.

9.8 BRAIN STORMING PEDAGOGY IN RWANDAN SCHOOLS: TOWARDS ENHANCING RWANDAN LEARNERS' SELF ESTEEM AND RECOGNITION

Teachers see children as more than brains; they bring to school an array of physical, psychological, emotional, and intellectual needs plus experiences that require both nurturing and prodding. This is more reasons why teachers should constantly and consistently arrange the learners' seats frequently to permit them work independently or together in large and small groups. Learners' talk is at least equal to, if not greater than teacher's talk. Guided by teachers, learners learn both the content and skills through different tasks such as going to activity centre in the classroom, joining a team to produce a project, and working independently. Scholars have

tracked this tradition to its historical roots in ancient Greece and labeled it over the centuries as "child-centered," "progressive," and "constructivist *(Larry* 2009)."

Larry (ibid 2009) goes to ascertain that*: "*Nothing makes learning come alive more than engaging learners in arts activities that encourage dialogue on issues that are important to them. Providing opportunities for learner to express themselves through the visual and performing arts enables them to learn about and develop their talents and multiple intelligences: not only verbal and mathematical intelligences but also visual, spatial, musical, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligences. Learners benefit from being encouraged to make sense of their world and their relationships through drawing and painting graphic images. Encouraging students to use their imaginations and taking time to elicit their interpretations of visual arts through open-ended questions in a classroom setting is valuable in itself. Yet these conversations also enable students to understand, as they listen to other classmates, the multitude of interpretations that are possible when viewing the same work of art" (*Larry* 2009)."

According to Burris & Welner (2005) "learners learn more when they are challenged by teachers who have high expectations for them, encourage them to identify problems, involve them in collaborative activities, and accelerate their learning). Teachers who express high expectations convey the belief that their learners have the ability to succeed in demanding activities. Such teachers avoid repetitive rote learning; instead, they involve learners in novel problem-solving activities. They ask open-ended questions requiring learners to use their judgment and form opinions. They choose activities where learners must use analytic skills, evaluate, and make connections. They expect learners to conduct research, complete their homework, and manage their time effectively (Burris & Welner 2005)". They went to ascertain that:

"Learners' self-esteem and motivation are enhanced when teachers elicit their experiences in classroom discussions and validate what they have to say. Learners become more engaged in lessons when they are brought into the initial dialogue by being asked what they know about the topic and what they want to know. If their questions are written down and used to form a guide for inquiry into the topic, students are far more likely to be interested in doing further research than if the questions simply come out of a text. The teacher also obtains a better understanding

of learners' previous knowledge about a subject—a pre-assessment, as it were—that can guide the planning of the subsequent lesson (Burris & Welner 2005). Larry (2009) argues that: "teachers draw from two traditions of teaching .The learner-centered tradition of instruction refers to classrooms where learners exercise a substantial degree of responsibility for what is taught and how it is learned.

According to Gardner, (1983), "one way in which teachers can ensure recognition of learners' contributions is to use "semantic webbing." At the beginning of learning a new topic, the teacher asks learners what they know about that topic; the simplest way to do this is to brainstorm a multitude of associations with the topic. Learners are more likely to be interested in researching a topic when they begin with their own real questions. Those real questions lead them on an ever-widening path of investigation (Gardner, (1983).'

These strong views were clearly and evidently experienced during this study. Across this study, it has been strongly argued that all Rwandan teachers through learner centered pedagogies and other professional repertoires must help Rwandan learners use their knowledge in solving Rwandan social problems peacefully without fighting or being violent. No wonder, during this study, the concept of an ideal teacher among Rwandan learners seemed to be a teacher with qualities and capacity to teach well, does not: propose female learners, cheat marks for some learners due to any relationship and treat all the learners equally.

 PTC, teachers, school leadership and learners themselves all preferred a teacher who is ready to discuss learners' problems whether social or academic amicably and professionally. Learner centered pedagogies in Rwanda today target school going children because these are the foundation of tomorrow's Rwandan society. At an early stage, whatever sticks in a young person's mind remains and they can use it in the future either profitably or destructively depending on the content given and how it is given. It was clear in the study that, Rwandan education system has provided many attempts to shape and give the right direction to its learners as tomorrow's leaders when they are still flexible and willing to learn unlike the adults who still suffer from colonial hangover and biased by bad ideologies of their past. There is a need for Rwanda education system to develop every learner's character for a better Rwandan society.

In the light of this, it was evident during this study in class room observation that a good number of Rwandan teachers often use brainstorming to introduce learners to sensitive topics or themes such as causes of conflicts in Rwanda, genocide ideology, causes of violence, ethnic identity, gender, fighting among learners and in the society, corporal punishment etc. Teachers from school A, Western province, school F Eastern and school C Northern provinces re-iterated that:

9.9 CONCLUSIONS

The key and crucial conclusions and recommendations of this study are based on National professional Board report (2002) which strong state that: "The content and examples based on the local community, Rwandan past experience, societal and socio-economic issues are pertinent and highly recommended to be used in the new competency based curriculum because that is where Rwandan learners' experience or lack of peace values embedded'. Majority of the respondents ascertained that, in one way or the other, some Rwandan learners even today still experience lack of social cohesion in their families, villages, sectors and districts and therefore teachers must use the curriculum content and pedagogies that give Rwandan learners the benefits of working together to use their knowledge in solving their day to day problems.

Too often, preconceptions about others form the basis for misunderstandings, prejudices, fears, and violence. Emphasizing social cohesion in education systems enhances the fundamental goal of good teaching and learning. That is the rationale of helping every learner to become a fully engaged and skilled individual who will use his or her talents for maximum individual and social benefit.

Across this chapter, an emphasis was laid on how and why schools and teachers in particular should work with parents, PTC and the community in particular since parents and the community at large entrust their children to teachers through schools. It is a truism that teachers' professional responsibilities focus on instructing the learners in their immediate care, while they participate as well in wider activities within the school and in partnership with parents and the community. Teaching is often portrayed as an activity that conserves valued knowledge and skills by transmitting them to succeeding generations. Teachers also have the responsibility to

question settled structures, practices, and definitions of knowledge; to invent and test new approaches; and, where necessary, to pursue change of organizational arrangements that support instruction. As agents of the public interest in a democracy, teachers through their work contribute to the dialogue about preserving and improving society, and they initiate future citizens into this ongoing public discourse (National professional Board report 2002)".

In epitome, across this study, it was clear and evident from the majority of respondents that, the old kind of curriculum of knowledge based in Rwanda that did not lay emphasis on holistic child development by nurturing peace values into Rwandan learners in schools has been very unfair to Rwandan society and no wonder such curriculum could not help Rwandan to internalize the values of peace. The curriculum as discussed in chapter eight of this general report inculcating discriminative and divisive ideologies among Rwandan learners no wonder Rwandans in 1994 left no stone unturned in killing and destroying their own people. Consequently, the government of Rwandan today argues that all teachers must employ the learner centered pedagogies to teach learners peace values across the curriculum as their responsibility. This is why Rwanda education board through the department of curriculum, department of inspectorate, teachers' commission, head teachers and parents' teachers committee all must hold teachers accountable for what they do and how they do it through teaching and learning activities at schools and in classrooms in particular.

In the midst of this endeavor, however, going by previous chapters in this report, the following remain hindrances and seem to be stumbling blocks to clearly teach peace values to Rwandan learners for holistic social cohesion achievement:

i. Very low command of English language as a medium of instruction in Rwanda among Rwandan teachers and learners;

ii. Lack of consistent, constant and well designed CPD in order for Rwandan teachers to smoothly Incorporate peace values even in natural and mathematical science subjects which sounds a bit abstract and;

iii. Lack of sufficient instructional materials and other teaching aids that facilitate learner centered pedagogies;

iv. A big number of learners in Rwanda today were born after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and hence it is somehow too hard for them to fully comprehend well what happened in Rwanda-hence more reasons to train and facilitate Rwandan teachers in learner centered pedagogies.

However, because of the great importance learner centered pedagogies in transmitting peace values across the curriculum and individual subjects, teachers are doing their best to meet the new curriculum requirements. National professional Board report (2002) reminds us that, "in a world where all the citizens have to co-exist with people different from themselves; sensitivity to diversity; ethnic; religious; linguistic difference; and disability-related issues; it is a core part of any good education system to teach learners peace values. Therefore, it is highly recommended that:

- Rwandan Teachers must be assisted to acquire relevant knowledge fit for Rwandan learners who are living with a lot of experiences and ideas coming from post war conflicts;
- Rwandan teachers hence should employ a repertoire of instructional methods and strategies that fits Rwandan learners who come to school with diverse information of conflicts on their society.
- Rwandan teachers, therefore, need to remain critical and reflective about their practice, drawing lessons from Rwandan genocide and social conflict experiences.

Chapter 10. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research explored how Rwandan teachers are framed and supported in their roles:

  i.   As agents of peace building and social cohesion;
 ii.   How they experience this support;
iii.   How their practices and attitudes are influenced by national and international educational policies and;
 iv.   The outcome for learners

The study located its analysis of the specific education interventions in relation to the global and national context, as well as the context of schools and institutions in Rwanda. The main aim of this study was to understand how the conditions under which Rwandan education interventions focused on teachers and the education system in general, can promote peace and social cohesion, mitigate and reduce any kind of discriminations with a view to identifying measures and processes that can increase the effectiveness of such program in Rwanda.

The study used both secondary and primary data. Through documentary analysis, literature was reviewed in order to build a theoretical framework on social cohesion and education policy framework in Rwanda. Selected policy documents in the post-genocide period were reviewed, including Vision 2020 (revised in 2012), Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) I (2008-2012) and EDPRS II (2013-2018), the National Gender Policy (2010), among others. The selection drew on current themes that relate to peace building, social cohesion, and education. This included interviews from policy stakeholders in Rwanda such as schools, students, and education sector NGOs, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission among others.

The specific objectives were to:

i. Critically examine the role of teachers and teaching in supporting education for peace building in Rwanda;

ii. Enhance national and global policy dialogue and understanding about teachers as agents of peace building in Rwanda;

iii. Create and communicate new knowledge to policy experts, policy makers, and civil society organisations at local, national, regional, and international levels on the effects of education peace building interventions.

The research specially focused on three key research areas:

i. The integration of education into peace building and social cohesion processes at global and country levels;

ii. The role of teachers in peace building and social cohesion; and

iii. The role of formal and non-formal peace building and social cohesion education programmes targeting Rwandan schools and teachers

The main research question was explored through the following specific questions:

i. What are the global and national policy contexts within which the education interventions in Rwanda are located with particular reference to teachers?

ii. How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that Rwandan teachers are recruited and deployed to remote and rural areas?

iii. How, and in what ways, do textbooks and curricula teachers use, promote peace and tolerance in Rwandan schools?

iv. How have the selected interventions attempted to ensure that Rwandan teachers are trained for peace building?

v. How have the selected interventions managed to ensure that Rwandan teachers build trust and enhance accountability to the local community?

vi.   What pedagogies and strategies do Rwandan teachers use in the classroom to develop peace building skills, and attitudes to reducing conflict, between students in general and between girls and boys?

A clear understanding of how Rwandan teachers receive, appreciate and understand the required professional development skills with regards to peace education and social cohesion provided by both REB and other institutions to enable teachers deal with their day to day duties has been key in answering these research questions in this study . Strong light has been shed on how teachers benefit from CDP to be able to handle the new competency based curriculum that require special pedagogies in order to inculcate peace values among learners. A broad and deep analysis with regards to textbooks used in Rwandan schools in line with the new competence based curriculum has been clearly put forward. The study by all possible means explained, assessed and analyzed the sources of information used, how and why certain textbooks were chosen in line with the Rwandan curriculum before 1994 that informed the revisit of the curriculum after 1994.

It has been clearly argued that, the historical context of the Rwandan conflicts right from 1959 culminated into the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. This is why the study critically discussed Rwanda's reconciliation efforts in post-conflict Rwanda as a measure of forging an everlasting peace for all Rwandans as well as the legal, macro-development and policy frameworks aimed at promoting social cohesion and peace building trough education system vis-à-vis social cohesion and peace education. By doing so, the study critically **examined** the relevant education policies and the extent to which they addressed existing social conflicts in Rwanda to promote peace building and social cohesion in Rwanda. It also highlighted the perceptions of different stakeholders pertaining to peace building programs that have been put in place particularly by analysing the role of teachers as agents of social cohesion in the Rwandan context and discussed how teachers' roles are framed through relevant government policies through and good governance vis-à-vis the education sector.

In especial way attention was given to educational policies and both government and nongovernmental organisation interventions to ensure that teachers are recruited and deployed in way that promotes peace building and social cohesion in Rwandan schools through

decentralized governance by strengthening teacher trust and accountability in Rwanda not only vis-as-vis the learners but the community as well. In Rwanda, such educational interventions included teachers' Continuous Professional Development programmes (CPD) organised by the Rwanda Education Board (REB) in partnership with both local and international institutions/organisations such as Aegis Trust, VVOB, NURC but to mention a few.

Initial teacher training, teachers' professional continuing development in the context of Rwanda has been seen as very critical if teachers in Rwanda were to play their significant role as agents of peace. Interventions some of which are home-grown solutions that are employed in training teachers to be key agents of peace and social cohesion promoters have been seen as very paramount in keeping teachers a breast in line with peace education in the school curriculum.

In this view, it has been clearly argued that, the Rwandan curriculum before 1994 was purely knowledge based and worse still heavily characterized by discriminatory information and divisive ideologies. Such curriculum gave a strong and fertile grounds for ethnic and socio economic divides consequently resulting into 1994 genocide. This informed the designing of the competence based curriculum in Rwanda with special emphasis on learner centred pedagogies that empowers learners to have skills, values and positive attitudes that would steer the former broken and shuttered Rwanda into a peaceful Nation again.

 All these Rwandan efforts to resolve the negative impacts of the genocide are based on the national understanding that the causes of the conflict derive from an ethnically divisive ideology implemented by colonialism and resulted in social disintegration and inequality, especially within the education sector.

The Rwandan government has made an effort to implement mechanisms in the form of Vision 2020, the 2003 constitution (revised in 2015) as a tool for conflict resolution and building sustainable peace in Rwanda and other program components, such as the Rwanda Peace Education Programme, among other public/private and civil society interventions.

Peace building in the context of this study has been viewed as a process of multispectral collaboration to mitigate the socio-cultural, economic, political tensions that were caused by the

Rwandan conflict, especially the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Amidst several challenges, Rwanda has accomplished significant political, social, and economic progress to prevent future atrocities by implementing peace building and social cohesion strategies using a multi-sectoral approach, with a focus on education.

It was very clear during this study that, irrespective of a range of progressive education policies and legal framework that underscore promotion of social cohesion and peace building, translating them into practice has not been effectively done. Inequalities, such as access to education in primary and secondary and school infrastructure development between rural and urban areas have been greatly minimized by implementation of policies and programmes such as national decentralization policy, Girls' education policy, Special needs education policy, 9/12 Year Basic education programme and EFA (EFA) policy. This has in part led to the prevailing peace and social cohesion in schools.

However, notwithstanding redistribution of education opportunities, representation and recognition of minority/marginalized groups of people, women are still underrepresented in education leadership. Positions of authority in education are predominantly held by males. This is caused by the discrepancy in qualification whereby males with high qualification (a key requirement for entry into school leadership) are relatively more than females (MINEDUC, 2016).

The policies and mechanisms for protecting and promoting rights and values in education in Rwanda have been strongly entrenched across institutions at all levels. This has greatly contributed to enhancement of social cohesion and peace building in schools and communities. Programmes such as *Ndi umunyarwanda* and *Itorero*are considered to be instrumental in propagating national values across sectors including education. Moreover, values such as patriotism, integrity, national unity, social cohesion, and volunteerism have been integrated in the new national competence based curriculum. Implementation of these programs and initiatives is partially in line with the 4R principles of redistribution, representation, recognition and reconciliation.

The government of Rwanda has recognized teachers' critical role in enhancing student learning conditions, particularly when they are equipped with the required competencies and adequately motivated to deliver high quality education. The government also recognizes that teachers can be a very important factor in mediating the curriculum and the values that it transmits. To do so effectively there is a need to be supported to improve the quality of teaching, as well as to be accustomed to carry out effective teaching and learning.

Teacher professional development is very important in this regard because the world is changing rapidly; therefore the discourse of pedagogy needs to adjust in order to remain meaningful and useful. The understanding of the significance of the role of the continuing professional development to the teachers' professional identities is essential at different perspectives. Teachers' training has a direct impact on teacher self-awareness, self-esteem and teachers' knowledge about teaching.

During this study, Rwandan teachers' beliefs about being more respected and recognized by the present educational system through REB, were an indication of changed attitudes which are essential for teachers developing identities and are somewhat a result of their professional development. CPD provision is mainly aimed at improving the education quality and has been available at all levels from the Ministry to school levels.

However, most of trainings organised by REB are mainly focusing on content rather than encouraging pedagogical strategies and methods that enhance teachers' skills of how to impart social values, peace values and finally social cohesion among learners in the classrooms environment. The findings from this study revealed that peace values education is among the cross-cutting issues that were strongly highlighted in the new Competence Based Curriculum (CBC) but most teachers feel neglected in terms of being trained to handle the CBC whereby aspects related to peace building and social cohesion were incorporated in the new curriculum.

Due to insufficient skills given by both REB and initial teacher training colleges for teachers to handle peace education, the responsibility of transferring these affective skills to teachers has therefore been shared through interventions by some non-governmental organizations (NGO's) such as Aegis Trust, IRDP and many other related government commissions such as NIC, NURC

and 'Never Again'. These interventions provide a useful channel to develop the skills that encourage peace building and social cohesion among learners.

However, a certain degree of insufficient implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation strategies of their actions are still lacking. There is need therefore for more synergy between NGOs and Ministry of Education in general and REB in particular in relation to CPD programmes. Specific CPD programmes should be organized regularly and for all teachers. CPD programmes should be closely monitored and evaluated by REB for effectiveness. CPD policies and training should provide real life strategies on how teachers can promote social cohesion in the classrooms.

In line with teachers recruitment and accountability, the study ascertained that, there is an uneven deployment of teachers in Rwanda between rural and urban schools; rural schools are both difficult to staff and difficult to keep staff. This is due to the unattractive working conditions in rural schools. Rural teachers tend to have a higher workload with a lower average pay. In urban schools, parents are fairly financially capable and knowledgeable in as far as the significance of their children's education is concerned. Accordingly, they are likely to make substantial contributions towards the teachers' welfare proportionately to the parental contribution.

In contrast, parental contributions in rural schools are negligible on school budgets. This was found to be a common problem in Rwandan rural schools since teaching in Rwanda is a low-paying profession, particularly when compared to the education required to be an accredited teacher. This situation undermines the effort of social cohesion among teachers who, moreover, have the same qualification and experience. The result is a situation where teachers in rural schools feel rejected and resort to other means to make ends meet or even resent the profession all together.

Therefore, study revealed that, Rwanda like any developing Nation, there is a gap in scholastic achievement between rural and urban areas contributing to inadequate access to quality education in rural areas and consequently hampers a rural area's growth. One of the main issues affecting rural education in Rwanda has been found to be difficulties in attracting and retaining skilled teachers. Qualified teachers, given opportunity, are hesitant to work in a rural area due to

poor access to healthcare, socio-cultural isolation, lack of leisure activities, and large class sizes, among many other complaints. Consequently the most skilled teachers work in the capital, Kigali, the wealthiest area of the country.

As a result of all these conditions, the study found out that, rural schools are hard to staff. Rural schools are thus forced to hire unqualified teachers who may be not qualified or lack experience and hence not competitive.

Through both educational policies and field interviews, it was clear that, the mission of the Rwanda's Ministry of Education is to transform the Rwandan citizen into skilled human capital for socioeconomic development of the country by ensuring equitable access to quality education focusing on combating illiteracy, promotion of science and technology, critical thinking and positive values. However, this is expected to be successful if the teacher and school administration play well their educational role.

In the same line the implementation of the Rwandan Education Sector tor Strategic Plan (ESSP) 2013-2018 calls for teachers, school authorities and agencies to be accountable in order to fulfil all Rwandan educational goals. The accountability of teachers is at the heart of effective implementation of educational policy initiatives in Rwanda because the real materialization of education policy intentions takes place at class level and this was clearly observed during this study. As such the teacher required to possess all characteristics that are needed to fulfill government policies.

The EDPRS (Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies) high level objectives for education aim at improving and increasing:

- Access to education for all (which has to be facilitated by school authorities;
- Quality education at all levels (requiring teachers to be competent and committed);
- Equity in education at all levels (needs teachers to support equality, equity and justice in their practices);

- Effective and efficient education system (calls school leaders and stakeholders to be courageous and effective managers that work in collaboration to fulfil the system's goal);

- Science and technology and ICT in education (To respond to the urgent development need);

- Ensuring peace building by promoting   at school, positive values, critical thinking, the Rwandan culture, unity, reconciliation and peace.

Teachers are even taught these objectives through pre-service and in service training in teacher training colleges, through teacher academic programs such as life skills, citizenship education, history and other additional government programs such as itorero and umuganda where government representatives invite everyone to play a part in peace building as a foundation for the development of the country.

These objectives were set by the Government of Rwanda to ensure that the country follows the right track of development using the right means. However for such ambitious objectives to bear significant impact, the study was informed that, school leadership at all level should link leadership efforts made to students' achievement. All these are government of Rwanda attempts to engage teachers to participate in the development of the country through education, to stand for and be accountable for peace-building and social cohesion through the inculcation of Rwandan specific values and other positive values into learners.

All these high level objectives should be applicable to all levels and categories of education and crosscutting issues: Basic education (pre-primary, primary, lower secondary and adult literacy); Post-basic education (upper secondary, teacher education, TVET and higher education); Girls' education, ICT in education, Science and technology; Special needs education; Education for children affected by emergencies; School health including HIV and AIDS prevention and sports.

Therefore, this study clearly established that, Rwandan teachers are held accountable by Rwanda' educational system through the ministry of education with its wing REB under the department of inspectorate and quality to ensure quality education for all by developing learner's competence particularly with the new competence based curriculum whose rationale is to

inculcate peace values among learners for a peaceful Rwanda. As noted by Ndabaga E (2004) in Brown and Lauder (2006: 317), social cohesion and peace building (social justice) including competitive economy are found in what is taking place in education system.

During this study, it was clear that all teachers must take the requirement of the new curriculum to teach peace values across the curriculum as their responsibility. This is why Rwanda education board through the department of curriculum, department of inspectorate, teachers commission, head teachers, parents' teachers committee has to hold teachers accountable for what they do with the new curriculum, teaching and learning activities at schools. Guided by ESSP 2013-2018 REB has been trying to make sure that teachers fulfill their responsibilities within the perspectives of the major plans of ESSP that aim at reducing social inequality and any form of discrimination among Rwandans for social cohesion achieving among Rwandans. In view of this argument and guided by ESSP, it was clear that both school leadership and Rwandan teachers do whatever they possibly can to:

- Improve completion and transition rates;
- reduce dropout and repetition in basic education;
- Ensure that educational quality continues to grow;
- create a skilled and motivated teaching, training and lecturing workforce;
- Ensure that the post-basic education (PBE) system is better tailored to meet the needs in the labour market; Bringing equity across all fields and at all levels of education;
- Develop education in science and technology;
- Strengthen the institutional framework and management capacity for effective delivery of education services at all levels.

Looking across the curriculum many themes re-iterate the idea of helping learners to use their knowledge in solving social problems peacefully without fighting or violence. In terms of accountability; PTC, teachers, school leadership and learners themselves all preferred a teacher who is ready to discuss learners' problems whether social or academic amicably and professionally.

The content and examples based on the local community, Rwandan past experience and local socio-economic issues are the ones highly recommended to be used in the new competency based curriculum because that is where the learners' experience or lack of peace values is embedded. In one way or the other, learners experience lack of social cohesion in their families, villages, sectors and districts and therefore teachers must use curriculum content that teaches the learners the benefits of working together to use their knowledge in solving their day to day problems.

This study, clearly argued that, the new competency based curriculum in Rwanda targets school going children because these are the foundation of Rwandan society. At an early stage, whatever sticks in a young person's mind remains and they can use it in the future either profitably or destructively depending on the content given and how it is given. In the view of this, it was clear in the study that, all Rwandan policies analyzed and Rwandan education system in particular is determined to shape and give a direction to its learners as tomorrow leaders while still young since that is the time when they are still flexible and willing to learn unlike some Rwandan adults who could be still biased and influenced by bad ideologies especially genocide ideologies. There is a need, therefore, to develop every learner's character for a better Rwanda.

In the midst of this endeavor, however, the following remain hindrances and seem stumbling blocks to clearly inculcate peace values in the learners' mind in order to achieve the teaching of learners holistically:

v. The weak English as a medium of instruction in Rwanda education system whereby strong analysis and understanding of social issues is incapacitated by both the teachers and learners weak linguistic capacity;

vi. Using examples of peace values in natural and mathematical science subjects to some teachers sounds a bit abstract and;

vii. There is a need for more coherent and consistent history of Rwanda curriculum because a big number of learners in Rwanda today were born after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and hence it is somehow too hard for them to fully comprehend well what and why it happened in Rwanda.

However, in spite of the above hindrances, because of the Rwandan teachers appreciation of the crucial importance of the new Rwandan curriculum that emphasizes competency particularly in transmitting peace values across the curriculum and individual subjects, teachers seem to be doing their best to meet the new curriculum requirements for social cohesion because social cohesion begins with an individual leaner being able not only to remember the content but also see and experience that very knowledge in her or his day to day life in the community where he or she lives daily.

In a world where all the citizens have to co-exist with people different from themselves; sensitivity to diversity; ethnic; religious; linguistic difference; and disability-related issues; it is a core part of any good education to inculcate it into learners. Too often, preconceptions about others form the basis for misunderstandings, prejudices, fears, and violence. Therefore, emphasizing social cohesion in education systems enhances the fundamental goal of good teaching and learning. That is the rationale of helping every learner to become a fully engaged and skilled individual who will use his or her talents for maximum individual and social benefit.

As a result, teachers must acquire and employ a repertoire of instructional methods and strategies, yet remain critical and reflective about their practice, drawing lessons from experience. Teachers' professional responsibilities focus on instructing the learners in their immediate care, while they participate as well in wider activities within the school and in partnership with parents and the community. Teaching is often portrayed as an activity that conserves valued knowledge and skills by transmitting them to succeeding generations.

In epitome, teachers have the responsibility to question settled structures, practices, and definitions of knowledge; to invent and test new approaches; and, where necessary, to pursue change of organizational arrangements that support instruction. As agents of the public interest in a democracy, teachers through their work contribute to the dialogue about preserving and improving society, and they initiate future citizens into this ongoing public discourse.

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