

Teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi and its Implications for Peace Education

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Abstract

With the inception of a competence-based curriculum in 2015, genocide and peace education were introduced in the Rwandan education system as crosscutting issues to promote harmonious lives. This paper reports the empirical research conducted with twelve Rwandan secondary school history teachers in four provinces plus the City of Kigali to examine how the dichotomy of teaching death, namely the Genocide against the Tutsi, contributes to peace education. This 'narrative phenomenology' employed a qualitative approach based on semi-structured interviews, self-interviews, and photo-elicitation to collect the data. The study findings reveal that contents and teaching methods used to teach the Genocide, instead of dividing Rwandans, implicitly and explicitly contribute to peace education. Most teachers also use indoctrination and adopt a self-care attitude for building a better Rwanda. This strategy can inhibit critical thinking skills which is essential for promoting a peaceful society. Thus, the paper calls for a synergy between partners to continuously support teachers to take on skills to teach sensitive histories for a better Rwanda.

Keywords: Genocide – Peace education- Teaching methods- Cross-cutting issues

Introduction

When I realised that despite its positive effects, the Fourth Industrial Revolution can automatize humanity and thus to deprive people from their human values (Schwab, 2016), I remembered some advice, received from an old person about teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi. His comment was made during a conference of the Project Education for Community Cohesion organized by the former Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) in collaboration with Nottingham University on *Teaching the Genocide*. That wise person advised me to be careful so that this teaching does not lead to hatred among young generation. I kept reflecting on his concern wondering how teaching the Genocide can contribute to peace education. Later, I cross-examined some of the data I had collected between 2013 and 2016 during my PhD studies to assess how collected data can inform history teachers in teaching the Genocide without causing harm to Rwandan society. A follow-up of previous interviews was done in 2021 when the Rwanda Education Board and National Itorero Commission arranged a gathering of history teachers to support them in teaching this sensitive topic. I came up with the argument that teaching a sensitive topic such as Genocide against the Tutsi when skilfully done can lead to societal cohesion.

The study of genocide is a relatively new area in academia. In Western countries, it was introduced because of the revival of anti-Semitism and the denial of the Holocaust by considering it as a myth (Waterson, 2009). Since the 1970s, genocide studies have been organized in countries such as the United States of America, Israel, and Australia with a specific focus on the Jews and the Armenian Genocide. They aimed at valuing diversity in a pluralistic world. By

acquiring different causes of the Holocaust, it is argued, help learners identify factors that can contribute to the disintegration of democratic values. As a result, learners can obtain a contextual situation by analysing the dangers of remaining silent and indifferent while others are being oppressed.

With the inception of competence-based curriculum in 2015 in Rwanda, genocide studies and peace education became crosscutting topics to promote harmonious life and tolerance without any distinction or exclusion. This novelty was significant for a country which experienced an extermination of one of its social groups — an execution of around one million of Tutsi. This paper reports research conducted with twelve Rwandan secondary school history teachers in four provinces plus the City of Kigali to examine how the dichotomy of teaching 'death', namely the Genocide against the Tutsi, can contribute to peace education in this technological era, where technology has altered the way people relate to one another.

Before the Genocide (1962-1994), Tutsi learners were frustrated because of the way history of Rwanda was offered (IRDP, 2005). The teaching was done to please and praise the then leadership by insisting on negative aspects of *ubuhake* (clientship system), exploitation of the Hutu by the Tutsi and other topics. As the history taught this way introduced a kind of 'ethnic' divisionism within and outside the classroom, some scholars pointed out that these malpractices contributed to genocidal propaganda which also led to the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 (Gasanabo, 2014; Hilker, 2011). Thus, after the Genocide, there was a reduction of history teaching in Rwandan schools which took almost ten years. When the new curricula were developed in post-genocide period, the Genocide became one of the key topics. In addition, the notions of peace, tolerance and reconciliation were also highlighted in the new history curricula for Ordinary and Advanced levels. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to analyse how teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwandan schools can implicitly or explicitly contribute to peace education. This curiosity inspired this research because sensitive topics, when not well taught, can polarise classrooms. I realised that very few research focused on teaching Genocide in Rwanda (Bianchini, 2012; Mutanguha & Gasanabo, 2016; Mutwarasibo, 2011) without looking at any link between these two-cross cutting issues, namely genocide studies and peace education.

The following research questions guided this study: (i) What are the factors that can contribute to peace education while teaching the Genocide? (ii) How those factors contribute to peace education while teaching the Genocide? (iii) Why do those factors contribute to peace education the way they do? Thus, after a brief literature review which deals with the relevance of teaching Genocide, the link between peace education, and the compliance theory, this paper presents the research methodology. This section outlines why this study adopted a qualitative approach through a 'narrative phenomenology' to collect and analyse the data. The conclusion underlines the need for collaboration to enable teachers to teach sensitive topics without polarising the classroom.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The consulted literature elaborates on the relevance of teaching genocide. In this regard, teaching genocide should deal with the knowledge about the extermination process and oppose this tragedy and its prevention. Historical knowledge such as facts, figures, dates, maps ought to be known by the learners to be alerted about future tragedies (Kennedy, 2008). Subsequently, different generations should know the importance of remembering the victims and diverse historical accounts (Eckmann, 2010). In addition, people should 'teach against' the genocide. This teaching means that learners should be able for instance to identify manipulated information or who scorns other groups so that they could be alerted. Emerging atrocities are somehow similar (Waterson, 2009). Therefore, learners may be able to discuss how the respect of the human rights contributes to the avoidance of atrocities (Kennedy, 2008; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2012). Learners and teachers acquire not only knowledge but also can be involved in transformative actions.

The literature does not support integrating ethical issues in genocide lessons because the historical questions analysing the causes and motivations can be left out (Kinloch, 1998; Lawrence, 2012). In this regard, the argument is that "the sole aim of history teachers should be to help students become better historians and that the attempt to extract moral lessons from the study of the Holocaust is doomed to failure" (Lawrence, 2012, p.155). However, all scholars do not concur with this position. They underline the extrinsic values of teaching history which is related to societal transformation (McCully, 2012; Salmons, 2001).

There is a close link between the relevance of teaching genocide and peace education. The latter imparts values and skills into individuals so that they can manage conflict without violence when they occur (Harris, 2009). By critical peace education, positive peace is achieved by equipping people with knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes which can be used not only to identify injustice but also act towards its elimination (Kester & Cremin, 2017). To achieve this, the use of cooperative approach or participatory approaches is privileged (Wahyudin, 2018).

Since the adoption of active methods in teaching history, the curriculum was inspired by official documents such as the *Vision 2020* (National Curriculum Development Centre [NCDC], 2008; 2010; Rwanda Basic Education Board [REB], 2015). As a result, some of the learning outcomes included educating good citizens with Rwandan and universal values related to peace, social justice, respect of human rights and democracy. The 2015 Competence-Based Curriculum considers peace and values education and genocide studies as cross-cutting issues. More particularly, Genocide also remains a standalone topic in history and citizenship curriculum (REB, 2015) which is the case for this research. The new curriculum also stresses some values to achieve through this teaching such as empathy for the pain of people and take action to release it. Another objective is to become activist in civil society to curb hatred ideas and genocide ideology (REB, 2015). However, peace is not analysed as a standalone topic. Rather the new history curriculum aims at equipping learners with knowledge and skills relating to conflicts.

Different authors discussed how peace education and genocide studies are integrated in teaching and learning in Rwandan schools (Buhigiro, 2020; Rubagiza, Umutohi & Kaleeba, 2016). Some authors highlighted the fear of teaching this topic not to be accused of deniers (Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy & Longman, 2008). However, it was not investigated how the two cross-cutting issues can contribute to peace education instead of igniting divisionism.

Theoretically, this study seeks to analyse how compliance theory is associated with teaching Genocide in view of peace education. This theory has mainly been used in health education and psychology (Alexander, 2004; Kelly & Scott, 1994). Concerning health domain, one complies with medical treatments when they continue taking prescribed medicines or practices. In case the medical prescription is not respected, it can generate negative effects on patient's health. Regarding education, compliance refers to routine which does not lead to creativity. This lack of innovation is against the teacher's will and is rather dictated by the system which wants to keep the situation unchanged. Complying with the official narrative is directly linked to self-care. In health, people adopt self-care measures to remain intellectually and physically good enough. For instance, a person cannot use sugar to avoid certain diseases. On the debit side, self-care can lead to health issues. This theory will help understand which factors push history teachers to adopt or not a self-care strategy while teaching the Genocide.

Research Methodology

To conduct this study, the strategy of inquiry was based on a 'phenomenological narrative'. The concept of phenomenological narrative was first used by Motalingoane-Khau (2010) in her research because by adding narrative to phenomenology she wanted to make participants' voices heard. Phenomenology deals with people's experiences to uncover hidden meanings through interpretation. Thus, a qualitative research approach and interpretivist paradigm were used during this research to understand how selected history teachers interpret their experiences. The findings of this research are not to be generalised because the selected twelve teachers represent themselves. The respondents' categories were a combination of history teachers including a trained history teacher, a historian teaching history, teachers from rural or urban areas and teachers from well-equipped and non-equipped schools and a genocide survivor teacher. The choice of these categories aimed at getting abundant data on teaching the topic under investigation.

Due to the sensitivity of the Genocide, data were obtained through various methods such as photo elicitation and semi-structured interviews. Basically explained, photo-elicitation refers to the use of a photograph in a research interview (Harper, 2002). In this regard, 22 selected photographs described the following: relationships during ancient Rwanda, remote causes of the Genocide, instigators of the Genocide, and weapons used during the Genocide. Apart from that, other photos used included ethnographical photographs from the colonial period, the crash of President Juvenal Habyarimana's jet and hope for the future. The choice of photographs was inspired by publications on

Rwandan history (Gasabo, 2010; Nkusi, 2004) and main components of history curricula in line with the teaching of the Genocide (NCDC, 2008; 2010; REB, 2015).

The respondents were requested to select six photographs related to this teaching and explain why they selected them. The strategy allowed the respondents to evoke teaching experiences not revealed from other methods. The choice of interviews was to know the respondents' unique perspective through their own voices (Atkinson, 1998) and to avoid misinterpretation from photo elicitation. After interview transcription, open coding and thematic analysis were adopted (Cohen et al., 2017). The thematization was inspired by three main aspects of teaching. This trinity is composed of learning outcomes, contents and pedagogies. To avoid duplication, no particular focus was put on content as it is closely linked to learning outcomes and teaching methods. For ethical issues, pseudonyms were used during the whole research process. The following part is concerned with the presentation of findings of this research and their discussion.

Presentation of Results

The thematization based on trinity of teaching helped to respond to research objectives namely to identify the factors that can contribute to peace education while teaching the Genocide and how and why they can do it the way they do. As earlier stated, these factors related to trinity of teaching refer to learning outcomes, contents, teaching methods and resources. In the following subsections, this paper presents the research findings on those items.

Engaging with Stated and Enacted Learning Outcomes

Clear outcomes to be achieved in the short or long terms are key in teaching and learning. Without clear aims, teaching becomes incoherent and pointless task which does not develop learners' competences. This research revealed that socio-political, academic, and moral aims contribute in a way or another to peace education.

Regarding the socio-political learning outcomes, respondents in this research understood that they teach a topic with devastating effects in view of societal cohesion. For instance, one of them, stated that he was offering a horrendous history:

“This extermination against the Tutsi had awful effects on Rwandan society. These consequences keep affecting survivors. After the [G]enocide, forgiveness is indispensable. When I teach, I do my best to teach the [Ge]nocide for never again to avoid perpetuation of these dreadful consequences (Murezi). “

The primordial aim was to guide learners to achieve the same national goal of unity. As a result, Murezi, one teacher, did his best so that learners be united to construct a renewed country where people are closely associated. His task is to prepare them for a 'new world'. They must create a coagulant society.

Teaching the Genocide for prevention is another socio-political aim which emerged from the data. As a general rule, all respondents taught, by no matter how, preventing the Genocide for future. As evidence, one teacher, Mukakalisa stated the following:

My primordial aim is to teach the Genocide in view of preventing it. Learners should have a clear understanding of the relevance of 'never again'. After sensitizing them, they also have to advise their parents, relatives, and nearby community about the effects of divisive ideology which was generated the tragedy by teaching 'ethnicity' (Mukakalisa).

The importance of genocide prevention was grasped by the respondents who decided to become proponents of preventing learners to be involved in questionable political deeds. Rather learners were encouraged to positively act towards their society change including their respective families. When all family members do not participate in this endeavour, it leads to an incomplete work. Thus, fighting against genocide can contribute to sustainable peace. Teachers' infatuation to fight against genocide occurrence for living harmoniously is clearly stated in the 2008 and 2010 history curricula (NCDC, 2008; 2010) but not clearly stated in the current Competence-Based Curriculum (REB, 2015).

For achieving this aim as stated by two history teachers, teaching the history of the Genocide is one of the best strategies. Therefore, a learning outcome related to the fight against genocide aimed at educating learners not only to be educated to become peace makers in their home country but also to understand the danger of structural violence as a hindrance to positive peace. All learners are not aware of the quota policy which characterized the first and second republics (1962-1992) and used to exclude Tutsi from key activities. One teacher, Murezi, tells the learners his story: "It was by chance that I was born in Byumba. We should not be victim of our social or 'ethnic' group or other form of identity such as religion or region of origin. No one chose his or her identity" (Buhigiro, 2017, p. 236). By pointing out his region of origin, the history teacher referred to the quota policy which was manipulated to exclude Tutsi and people from southern Rwanda from key sectors of national life. Understanding the past structural violence can give rise to learners' conscience to become watchdog of respect of others' rights when they face similar situations.

Officially, unity and reconciliation are intertwined. However, in this study, there were distinct in four respondents' socio-political statements. For achieving this socio-political learning outcome, the previous teacher stated: "I clearly explain to them that before Europeans' arrival, unity characterised ancient Rwandans' relationship and they shared what they had as it could be observed through their culture (Buhigiro, 2017, p. 246)". For creating country where people are united and reconciled, respondents understood that individuals' role is indispensable. Despite the destructive effects of this tragedy, some coagulant customs of traditional Rwanda such as *kurahuranira umuriro* (to acquire fire from neighbours), *gutumira abaturanyi mu birori* (to invite neighbours during celebrations), were an evidence of strong community relationships. Thus, in an idealistic approach, the respondents teach learners that unity has profound historical origins. It starts in their immediate vicinity and people accept differences within their society like elsewhere.

The teacher avoided using social identities in his lesson rather such region identity-based as Byumba. This avoidance shows a kind of teacher's self-care to comply with the national policy which wants to put an end to 'ethnic' based divisionism. The teacher's preference was to respect the national policy rather than talking about social identities.

Thus, teaching genocide gives a chance to deal with the levels of peace which can be at personal, interpersonal, intergroup, global, and environmental levels.

Ethical learning outcomes were also identified as another sub-theme which can contribute to peace education. UNESCO (2012)) called ethical or moral aims human rights objectives. The latter are not clearly mentioned in the history syllabus; however, they were only recurrent in three teachers' data. Obviously, due to more than one million Tutsi killed only in three months, the three respondents understood the relevance of ethical issues so that learners understand the importance of respecting others' life. As evidence, they used an integrative educational approach by referring to religion course where killing another human being is a sin. Thus, religious beliefs and moral aims were considered as intertwined because both are about the respect of other's life.

Other ethical aims which emerged from the data include being just, sinless, a person of integrity and unselfishness. For instance, learners were invited to fight against bigotry and oppression since they can open way to injustice. The importance of creating a just and right society was emphasized by one participant. Being "sinless" by not killing was underlined by two teachers. Referring to Tutsi discrimination, Rukundo showed learners the risk of structural violence and called them to leave aside selfishness so that nobody can be victimised.

Academic learning outcomes including critical thinking skills can be a basis for peace and values education. The curriculum specifies that learners should be able to provide the definition of the term genocide and its difference from Rwandan inter-ethnic massacres of the past. The role of national and international institutions during the Genocide must be explained by the learners with the guide of teachers. The effects of the Genocide must also be understood. It was noted that the role of international community was taught in one-dimensional way. For that reason, the ties between Rwanda and France, for instance, led to the rupture of diplomatic relations and prosecution of officials on both sides was envisaged (Girinema, 2016). This lack of multi-perspectivity shows that it is a challenge to teach recent contentious histories.

Active methods as a recommended approach

Even though active methods were almost adopted by all respondents as already discussed, cases of learner-centredness, also called democratic approach, were identified. Various pedagogies which aim at enhancing critical thinking including group discussion, use of stories and field visits were used.

Attempt to learner-centredness

Creatively, three research respondents used accounts or stories to implement learner-centredness. In these cases, stories were produced in class. Educational backgrounds enabled the respondents to adopt active methods because all of them were trained history teachers. In view of enhancing critical thinking aptitudes, Rukundo divided learners into different groups to analyse stories to learn the importance of decision making. In the case of Murezi, a trained history

teacher, oral testimonies were used to help learners not only acquire some values such as reconciliation but also to enhance their substantive and syntactical knowledge and fight against the Genocide. An extract from his story runs as follows:

“As Gashayija and his family were targeted by the perpetrators, his family members were killed. It was the same fate for his Tutsi neighbour. When the tragedy occurred, he was 13 years’ old. He was not killed because he spent much time hidden in the forests. Later, there was a Hutu family which rescued him and protected him from its house. A new life was possible in 1994 when the Rwandese Patriotic Front changed the regime. One time, those executioners of his parents recognized that they were wrongdoers and demanded pardon. For the moment, Gashayija lives peacefully with them” (Buhigiro, 2017, p. 250).

After the narration, learners take few minutes to reflect on the story and write down their ideas before sharing in plenary. The story revolves around unity and reconciliation. In their discussion, young learners supported behaviour change as did Gashayija and this transformation is a key aspect of peace education. Learners wanted a country where all Rwandans benefit from national resources without discrimination. In this regard, learners can understand that positive peace refers to a situation where everyone is given equal chance to actualize his/her potentials or abilities (Shields, 2017). Using the above story serves to teach learners how both social groups work to fight against the immorality. This learner-centredness helped the participant to transmit unquestionable messages and thus fight against Genocide denial by engaging learners in a discussion on a sensitive topic.

In line with historical knowledge, the real story used by the teacher was an opportunity to think about micro-history and increase some knowledge such as sanctuaries, miserable life of the Tutsi during the tragedy and the role of rescuers. Learning from micro-history can show the learners that during hard period, they can also become champions of peace wherever they are. The short time for reflection helped learners to explore possible alternatives for debate. It is an opportunity for them to understand that reuniting involves direct interactions between individuals at the micro level. The story of Gashayija considers pardon as an ethical obligation. The story also considers forgiveness as key aspect for peaceful coexistence with next-door neighbours. Constant suspicions cannot lead to sustainable peace. Efficiency of an actual experience in view of behaviour change is undeniable. In addition, this teaching strategy gave an occasion to develop other generic competences such as communication and defending ideas, which are aspects of critical thinking required in peace education.

Other active methods which enhance critical thinking including group discussions/debates and presentations, were employed by nine respondents. To explain her motivations, Françoise believed that group discussions are easier to use and underlined that they enhance learners’ collaboration and allow them to air their views. Thus, learners are

exposed to divergent views. Françoise pointed out that certain topics are too contentious to teach by means of group discussions.

“Aline: People use to say that only Tutsi were killed in 1994. Teacher, why this assertion.

Aloys: Was the [G]enocide perpetrated against Tutsi only?

Françoise: Pay close attention! Both Hutu and Tutsi were killed but only the Tutsi were the targeted group. The Hutu were killed either due to their collaboration with the Tutsi or because they had offered them a shelter. For that reason, informed people do not consider it as double genocide” (Buhigiro, 2017, p. 284).

Considering the discussion, the respondent suspected that learners were deniers. For her, some writers view what occurred in Rwanda as a civil war between Hutu and Tutsi. In these circumstances, the history teacher preferred to use a textbook to clarify the situation. By integrating the textbook explanation and ignoring divergent opinions, the respondent’s positionality contradicts the philosophy of debates (Hess, 2009). Therefore, the illusion of learner-centredness which was an exception could bring frustration among learners therefore becoming a hindrance to peace education. In addition, learners missed an opportunity to look for evidence to support their views.

RIP¹ teacher-centred approach?

The research data underlined the prevalence of teacher-centred approach despite the recommendation of participatory approach/active methods (NCDC, 2010; REB, 2015). Teacher-centredness was found in eight out of 12 interviews. Different aspects of the Genocide such as antecedents to this phenomenon, the causes, course and effects of the Genocide were taught through teacher-centred approach. In this regard, teachers’ intention to monopolise the truth contradicts the history syllabus which advocates for active methods. It was noted that all respondents without exception used verbs which refers to teacher-centred approach. To be more specific, the following statement can again illustrate the case: “By means of the lecture method, I avoid talking about horrible events that can traumatise learners” (Buhigiro, 2017, p.276).

The respondents’ reasons for not using active methods, contrary to policy expectations, are multifarious. For instance, one historian teaching history, Mukamuhire, wants to transmit a clear educational and coherent information from an expert: “I am more equipped in terms of knowledge than learners. During my presentation, they must follow the course of events. They follow the logical sequences of the topic. Thereafter, they can find connections between various events”.

Two respondents clearly acknowledged that teacher-centred approach led to the transmission of unchallenged messages to obey the constructed official narrative. Most of these history teachers are holders of Bachelor’s degree in History with Education. Thus, they are aware of the opportunities of using active methods. They

¹ RIP: *Requiescat in pace*, Rest in Peace.

used teacher-centred approach because they are aware of Rwandan society's scars. Thus, they avoid harming learners or the society and themselves and prefer to remain safe by using the accepted official account.

Such single truth allowed the history teachers to avoid communities' histories and information from various sources. This positionality shows that the respondents do not view history as a provisional agreed upon narrative to convey. This study concurs with the reviewed literature which posits that historical knowledge can be seen "as a fixed and external body of information which teachers 'know' and generate a teacher-centred pedagogy which focuses primarily on the skills and knowledge the teacher possesses, rather than on the ways teachers interact with pupils" (Husbands, 2011, p.85). By teaching this way, teachers aim not only to promote the political goal of unity in unquestionable manner but also cover the content for national examination.

Attractive resources

Educational resources comprise different documents such as written documents, photographs, artefacts, study tours, computers, historical and documentary films, videos, resource persons and role play (Danks, 1994). In class, these resources can be supported by teaching aids including, for instance, projectors and flip charts. In this paper, the use of films, resource persons and study tours are discussed. Written documents have been analysed together with textbooks. For study tours, a visit to an affected community is taken as an example bearing in mind other key places such as genocide memorials.

Most of the respondents highlighted the relevance of using documentary and historical films. One respondent appreciated documentary films because they convey factual knowledge to learners. One of them is *Rescuers* which can be screened to show how people prevented Tutsi from extermination. Furthermore, the film, *Twese turi Abanyarwanda* (We are all Rwandans), portrays children from Nyange Secondary School who did not accept to gather according to their 'ethnic' identities. This grouping could have facilitated infiltrators to only kill Tutsi who were targeted.

By using films and internet, the respondents wanted to achieve certain aims. For instance, learners can listen, write and debate on film. Clearly, learners can enhance decision-taking skills and fight against evil to protect human rights. The literature also describes rescuers' generosity that learners can emulate for a better Rwanda (Rothbart & Cooley, 2016). They also grasp historical content knowledge. Despite this interest of using Information and Communication Technology, one participant Mukamuhire circumvented them because according to her, some vehiculate divisive ideas which do not aim at rebuilding the country. This avoidance can be based on poor skills to deal with such resources or comply with the national policy of unity and reconciliation.

It was noted that only one respondent, Rukundo, opted to visit an affected community of genocide survivors to discuss about their lived experiences. The teacher was convinced that it helps learners to know how neighbours assisted them. They are given time to reflect and report on their interaction with the affected community, realise how

past atrocities have affected Rwandan society and understand that there is a hope for the future. Thus, learners are informed through primary source on social cohesion and local history.

Discussion

The research data and consulted literature show that three main aspects of teaching, namely learning outcomes, content and teaching methods of teaching the Genocide against the Tutsi to some extent correlates with peace education. Regarding academic aims, the results of this research concur with the reviewed literature which supports that learners should be sensitised about the origins of hatred policies and identify them in different documents so that they can help to prevent them (Eckmann, 2010; Kennedy, 2008, Masabo, 2014). However, Gasanabo (2014) considers that there is no empirical evidence that teaching against the tragedy can thwart it.

For socio-political aims, the study has shown that fighting against genocide is a national plan (Republic of Rwanda, 1999). Genocide prevention is also linked with valuing others' rights. Thus, there is a close link between prevention and moral issues because their aim is to respect other human beings' life and avoid social injustice. According to one scholar, genocide education can contribute to preventing atrocities (Kennedy, 2008). Considering the respect of people's life in a post-genocide society, teachers want to attain this noble objective in a forthright manner as possible.

By not questioning the role of moral issues in genocide teaching, Rwandan teachers' position was supported by McCully (2012) which found that history can tackle ethical issues. In class, learners can discuss how the international community manifested irresponsibility by not intervening in Rwanda during the Genocide. Such opportunity can allow a discussion on ethical issues through historical lenses. It can also allow an analysis of political effects of ethical decisions (Apsel, 2004). The integration of moral issues in Genocide teaching shows that history teachers' intention is to protect the Rwandans against any evil. It is even why history teachers silenced genocidal rape which is a humiliating act and considered as a taboo in Rwandan culture.

In general, the respondents used teacher-centred approach to attain moral, socio-political and academic aims. These active methods aimed not only at to prevent further atrocities but also conform with the national policy of unity and reconciliation. This kind of indoctrination contrasts with the literature which underlines the importance of thinking "critically about attitudes of prejudice and intolerance and to challenge acts that facilitates violence" (UNESCO, 2012, p.4).

Conclusion

In a nutshell, factors related to teaching the Genocide that contribute to peace education include learning outcomes, contents and teaching methods. All respondents strived to conform with the curriculum learning outcomes and pushed learners to demonstrate a comprehension of peace culture, reconciliation and devotion to their country. Socio-political

learning outcomes are in line with the national policy of unity and reconciliation. Besides, to the planned outcomes, teachers also supplemented with their own ethical learning outcomes which they judged could contribute to genocide prevention and social cohesion. Integrating ethical learning outcomes in their teaching was a way of caring about their country. Enhancing social cohesion was a method to initiate learners to love their country. Regarding academic learning outcomes, other transferable skills such as decision-making and communication were tackled by the respondents.

The study findings reveal that contents and teaching methods used to teach the Genocide instead of dividing the Rwandan society, can implicitly and explicitly contribute to peace education. Most teachers, instead of embracing active methods, use indoctrination and adopt a self-care attitude to comply with official narrative for building a better Rwanda. Active teaching methods used by teachers enhanced learners' collaboration to some extent which could avoid 'robotising' learners. Even if the respondents attempted to adopt participatory approaches, critical thinking was not strongly implemented. A certain emphasis was put on the creation of a more just society without structural violence. However, organising some debates implies that a certain critical pedagogy was part of the teaching. Evidently, in their experiences, the respondents were obliged to navigate between the stated learning outcomes and the respect of national policies which emphasised certain accounts and laws (Republic of Rwanda, 2013), their own security and the good of their learners. Thus, multiperspectivity was not adopted as a rule to build a better future. However, that choice can lead to inhibiting critical thinking skills which are essential for enhancing learners' competencies which can be used to promote a peaceful society. There is a need for all partners in education to keep empowering teachers to be able to deal with such difficult topics with confidence and in a learner-centred approach and transform schools into a safe space for building a culture of tolerance where contradicting views can be shared. In addition, teachers and partners in education should keep on reflecting on how learners can be taught to value people and avoid being dehumanized by technology. There is a need to do further research to see how values are represented in history curricula and how they contribute to societal transformation.

Informed Consent

All study respondents were given the opportunity to give their informed consent.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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