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Secondary Social Studies Curriculum in Post-Genocide Rwanda as Mediated by UNESCO and Post-Holocaust Education in Germany

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SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA AS

MEDIATED BY UNESCO AND POST-HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN GERMANY

by

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Abstract

This research examines the interaction between international governmental organizations (IGOs) and national governments around the development of secondary social studies curriculum in post-genocide contexts, with a special focus on the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) involvement with secondary social studies curriculum development in Rwanda. This research also explores the existence and development of a set of international norms and expectations regarding the development of curriculum in post-genocide contexts, a model which can be traced back to Germany following World War II, including both post-Holocaust education in Germany and Holocaust education more broadly. UNESCO, which plays a significant role in the redevelopment of the education systems in developing and post-genocide contexts, uses its international position to influence national level education policy development. Using a conceptual framework that draws on previously used approaches to policy borrowing (Leuze, Brant, Jakobi, Martens, Nagel, Rusconi, & Weyman, 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004), this research examines the macro-level interactions between international and national level policies. The mechanisms under examination here specifically include financial support, professional oversight, implementation, accountability measures, and normative beliefs. These mechanisms of institutional interaction provide space for and evidence of discussions between international and national level organizations and policy makers. This research specifically examines these five mechanisms of institutional interaction around the development of post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum in Rwanda, which is informed by post-Holocaust education in Germany, and guided, in part, by UNESCO.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This study explores the interaction between international governmental organizations (IGOs) and national governments around the development of secondary social studies curriculum in post-genocide contexts, with a special focus on the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) involvement with secondary social studies curriculum development in Rwanda. This research also explores the existence and development of a set of international norms and expectations regarding the development of curriculum in post-genocide contexts, a model which can be traced back to Germany following World War II. UNESCO, which plays a significant role in the redevelopment of the education systems in developing and post-genocide contexts, uses its international position to influence national level education policy development. Using a conceptual framework that draws on previously used approaches to policy borrowing (Leuze, Brant, Jakobi, Martens, Nagel, Rusconi, & Weyman, 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004), this research examines the macro-level interactions between international and national organizations and policies. The mechanisms under examination here specifically include financial support, professional oversight, implementation, accountability measures, and normative beliefs. These mechanisms of institutional interaction both facilitate and provide evidence of interactions between international and national level organizations. This research specifically examines these five mechanisms of institutional interaction around the development of post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum in Rwanda, which is informed by both Holocaust Education and post-Holocaust education in Germany, with influence from IGOs, including UNESCO.

Rwanda was selected as the specific area of focus because of the 1994 genocide which occurred in the country and the subsequent substantial interaction between the national

government and IGOs (King, 2013; Schweisfurth, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004). The field of Holocaust education has been positioned by previous research as a model that other post-genocide contexts have used in the development of their own education systems (Hoffman, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2006). The curriculum development process in post-genocide Rwanda is examined against post-Holocaust education in Germany, as defined by previous researchers. Additionally, Holocaust education strategies recommended in post-genocide contexts also represent a point of comparison. Although much research has been conducted on education in Rwanda following the genocide, and on how IGOs influence the development and adoption of education policy, including curriculum, no research has yet examined how UNESCO interacted with the Rwandan national government regarding secondary social studies curriculum, with a particular emphasis on the transmission of the model of Holocaust education. This research studies the international model for post-genocide education by examining UNESCO's role in perpetuating the model of Holocaust education to curriculum development in post-genocide Rwanda.

Introduction

At not quite a century old, the word "genocide" has a brief but turbulent history. Coined by Raphael Lemkin (1944) in his work *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, genocide combines the ancient Greek *genos*, meaning race or tribe with the Latin *cide*, meaning killing, to refer to any coordinated annihilation of a specific group (Luban, 2006; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum [USHMM], 2016). Following the publication of his work, Lemkin successfully campaigned the United Nations (UN) to pass the Convention on the Prevention and the Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Jones, 2006), which extended the meaning of genocide to include "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group," including the removal children from their families, prevention of new childbirths, infliction of

physical or mental harm, or murder (UN, 1948). This document also outlines international accountability and actions to prevent and punish future incidences of genocide (UN, 1948).

Despite these attempts to address and sanction genocide, nations around the world have continued to witness injustices based on racial or ethnic affiliations at the hands of national leadership, with some scholars identifying as many as 37 genocides since the Holocaust, including in Armenia, the Balkans, Bosnia, Cambodia, Namibia, Rwanda, and South Africa, among others (Lamb, 2005; Obura, 2003). Accompanying these incidents, public acknowledgement of and apology for systematic human rights violations, including genocide, are increasingly common (Andrieu, 2009; Barkan, 2000, 2003; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2006). In the period following genocide, the international community holds subsequent government leadership responsible for addressing past human rights violations (UN, 2010). IGOs, including the UN, and their member states, expect genocide perpetrators to be prosecuted under their own nation's jurisdiction (UN, 2010). If and when a nation fails to prosecute these individuals, the responsibility then falls to the International Criminal Court (UN, 2010). Perpetrators of the 1994 Rwandan genocide were the first to be found guilty of genocide in international courts since the adoption the Convention on the Crime of Genocide (USHMM, 2016), meaning that the Rwandan genocide was the first time since the Holocaust that the crime of genocide was formally used in international proceedings.

Government officials from offending nations often give public statements of acknowledgement or apology for previously committed acts of genocide (Barkan, 2000, 2003; Doosje et al., 2006; Stoett, 1995). Public acknowledgment of a nation's own wrongs are expected both by individuals and groups of victims (Andrieu, 2009), as well as by other nations and international organizations (Cole, 2007a, 2007b; Barkan, 2000). Although the genuineness or

superficiality of public apologies may remain in question, public apologies for past wrongs are considered "part of a liberal conception of state and society" (Andrieu, 2009, p. 1) and are a "significant trend in contemporary politics worldwide" (Barkan, 2000, p. xix). The frequency with which these apologies have occurred, including Canada's apology to its First Nations for assimilative practices and the United States's apology to Black Americans for historical discrimination, are indicative that public apologies have become normalized and represent an institutionalized expectation (Andrieu, 2009; Doosje et al., 2006).

A nation's education system has the potential to further a nation's public restitution and may serve as a primary vehicle to demonstrate a nation's ability to recognize, recover from, and prevent future genocidal acts (Barkan, 2000; Cole, 2007; Doosje et al., 2006; Crocker, 1999; King, 2013; Waller, 2016; Weldon, 2009). Just as post-genocide public apologies represent expectations on individual and international levels, so too may post-genocide education (Cole, 2007; Doosje et al., 2006; Van Nieuwenhuyse, & Wils, 2012). Education policy and curriculum are not neutral, as they are the product of negotiations between numerous stakeholders, from both within and outside the nation and its education system (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Walker-Keleher, 2006 Westheimer & Kahne, 1998). Revised or rewritten education policy may represent symbolic "visions for a new society and for signaling a clear break with the past" (Weldon, 2009, p. 177). It may also contribute to national healing and to the prevention of future outbreaks of violence (Waller, 2016). Changes to history and social studies curriculum may demonstrate a nation's commitment to reconciliation (Cole, 2007a). However, this is not to say that every curriculum revision has only positive results.

The ubiquitous presence of the Holocaust across Germany, Europe, and the world's collective human memory, and the relative frequency with which genocide has occurred since the

beginning of the twentieth century, have contributed to a standardized approach to post-genocide education, which often looks to the field of Holocaust education for guidance (Cole, 2007; Fracapane & Haß, 2014; Schweisfurth, 2006; Stoett, 1995). Social studies courses are considered the primary location where students' learn of their nation's history, and as such, social studies curriculum often carries the primary responsibility of guiding classroom instruction of a nation's wrongs against its own people (Cole, 2007; Levstick & Tyson, 2008; Obura, 2003; Parker, 2008; Thornton, 2008; Van Nieuwenhuyse, & Wils, 2012). Additionally, a nation's youth are often described as the future citizenry who may enact positive change, and the education system is one location where this call for action may be delivered (Westheimer & Kahne, 1998).

In addition to being used as a means of restitution, education, especially in post-genocide settings, is often considered a cure for the social, political, and economic issues that may have contributed to the genocide, as well as a means to reunite the national community after the genocide has ended (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2006; UNESCO, 2003). Immediately following incidents of state-inflicted genocide, which are often accompanied by some form of war, and where national governance is missing or incomplete, IGOs, such as the UN, may step in to provide a stable government (Freedman, Cokalo, Abazovic, Leebaw, Ajdukovic, Djipa, & Weinstein, 2004). Accompanying such governance support, IGOs may also arrange temporary education by providing buildings or instructors, as well as guidelines for content, including curriculum (Freedman, Cokalo et al., 2004; Freedman, Kambanda, Samuelson, Mugisha, Mukashema, Mukama, Mutabaruka, Weinsten, & Longman, 2004; Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy, & Longman, 2008; Pingel, 2010; Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012). Education systems are also used to provide stability and develop community (Smith, 2009). In post-genocide Rwanda, numerous international organizations, including the World Bank, United Nations International

Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and UNESCO contributed to rebuilding the national infrastructure, including schools (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004).

The importance of education is not limited to areas affected by conflict or genocide. The widespread belief that education contributes to social equality, encourages civic engagement, promotes economic development, and solves any variety of individual or societal concerns is representative of a solutionist approach that characterizes much education policy (Elias, Parker, Kash, Weissberg, & O'Brien, 2008; Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Meyer & Jepperson, 2002; Wiseman & Baker, 2005; Wiseman, Damaschke-Deitrick, Bruce, Davidson, & Taylor, 2016). This perception that education has the ability to solve virtually any problem has been dubbed "education as a panacea" by previous research (Wiseman et al., 2016). The wide acceptance of the UN's (1948) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for which the Holocaust was cited as a key contributing factor, has coincided with the spread of mass education and the belief in education as a panacea, and provides one example of how IGOs have influenced education systems at the national level, with many nations placing the provision of education at the forefront of their development agendas, often regardless of their contextual needs (Chabbott, 2003).

The declaration of education as a human right increased international focus on first, access to education, and subsequently, education quality (Chabbott, 2003; Baker, 2014). Educating a nation's populace is often considered a means to improve that nation's economic, social, and political standings (Elias et al., 2008; Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Meyer & Jepperson, 2002; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). Nations around the world set providing access to education opportunities for their entire school-age population as a primary goal, as measured and monitored through such mechanisms as the UN's Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals, providing another indication of the interaction between IGOs and national education policies (Smith & Vaux,

2003). The belief that education spurs social change may be considered through the development of the belief in education as a human right, and subsequently, education as a panacea. Education may be perceived as a vehicle of social change, and, with curriculum to guide the content and methods, may influence national discourse to reflect international influence or changing values (Baker, 2014). Systems of education have been used on both sides of genocidal events, including as a means to indoctrinate a nation's young people, as in both Germany and Rwanda, or as sites of mass killings, as in Rwanda (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Hilker, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004). However, despite these exploitations, education, and by extension curriculum, is still considered a means to develop national unity, especially in post-genocide contexts (Buckley & Zistel, 2009).

The concepts of education as a panacea and education for social change are significant for this research because both represent globally held norms that influence curriculum development, adoption, and content at the international and national levels (Wiseman et al., 2016). The growth of mass education has contributed to higher school enrollment numbers, and while the quality of that education has been debated, more students have been exposed to national beliefs conveyed through the education system. As such, the elevation of education to a human right has increased education opportunities for school-age children around the world, and as a result of a more educated populace, the expectations regarding the potential of education systems to drive social change have grown.

Problem Statement

Although genocide occurs under context-specific conditions, there are international scripts and expectations which nations must acknowledge or adhere to during recovery and rebuilding efforts, especially regarding systems of education and curriculum. However, the appropriateness

of these scripts for each context varies. Despite much international focus on the prevention of genocide, it has occurred with significant frequency over the 20th and 21st centuries (Lamb, 2005; Obura, 2003). As such, an increasing number of nations must confront and present their violent histories to their youth populations. In part because of the prevalence of genocide in global history, a set of expectations regarding how national governments and systems of education should respond has developed. This template can be traced back to education and curriculum reform in Germany following the end of World War II and the Holocaust, which is also when—and why—UNESCO came into existence (Droit, 2005). Many post-genocide contexts, including Rwanda, look to this template and to international experts, such as UNESCO, when reforming their own education systems and policy, regardless of whether or not such an approach is appropriate for their context. The post-genocide approach to education in Rwanda has been criticized for adhering to international scripts in word but not necessarily in action (King, 2013). Rwanda provides an opportunity to examine the interactions between international organizations, national governments, and global expectations surrounding post-genocide education reform, looking specifically at UNESCO's involvement with secondary social studies curriculum development.

Significance of the Problem

The research has significance both in the realm of academia and to policy makers and practitioners. First, although numerous nations have had to recover from genocide over the last 100 years (Lamb, 2005), there have been few comparative studies examining recovery and rebuilding efforts across countries. While this study does not propose a direct comparison between education redevelopment in Rwanda and Germany, it does explore how the template created by post-Holocaust education in Germany is used in other contexts, which, in this case, is Rwanda. Additionally, there is no model for how to examine interactions between nations and international

organizations regarding post-genocide education policy or curriculum development. Through an examination of the mechanisms of institutional interaction, this research addresses the lack of comparative studies by examining how the legacy of Holocaust education is transmitted through UNESCO to post-genocide education policy development. It may inform future research studies, as well as provide an example of how multiple levels interact to form national education policy in post-genocide contexts.

Beyond furthering the production of knowledge, this research presents the mechanisms of institutional interaction as a sociological neo-institutionalism and policy borrowing framework to analyze both past and future redevelopment of education systems in post-genocide settings. For policy makers at both the national and international levels, the mechanisms of institutional interaction are locations where international and national policy makers can directly and indirectly interact. Knowing that these phenomena exist can guide policy makers to push for or resist agendas in these areas. This research builds on previous research in post-genocide education development in Rwanda to provides examples of ways a national government can adopt a script in policy while not necessarily conveying that same script to the school level, which can increase policy makers awareness of paying lip service, or legitimacy seeking. For practitioners, this research describes gaps between national policy and curriculum, which in Rwanda has resulted in critiques of the education system which may be traced back to lack of information in the curriculum.

As previously outlined, despite the identification and adoption of numerous genocide prevention strategies, such events continue to occur with surprising frequency (Lamb, 2005; Obura, 2003). As such, it is important to examine the content and development of international and national education policies regarding such events. While pre-conflict education systems have been examined across a variety of contexts, post-conflict education in relation to reconciliation or

the process of history curriculum revision in post-conflict settings has not been extensively explored (Cole, 2007; Weldon, 2009). Although much research has been conducted on the various elements under examination here, including post-conflict and post-genocide education, Holocaust education, and the interaction between IGOs and national governments around education policy, no research has yet examined UNESCO's role in the development of post-genocide curriculum in Rwanda with a special acknowledgement of the transmission of the model established in post-Holocaust Germany.

Currently, there is no formal or widely accepted evaluation for the model of national reconciliation or history education reform in post-conflict or post-genocide contexts. As such, researchers and practitioners note the need for an assessment "to gauge the effect of different stages of history education revision in raising levels of belief in intrastate communities that...give evidence of a new commitment by the state and the major groups within the state not to repeat the violent acts of the past" (Cole, 2007, p. 14). Although this research does not propose a systematic evaluation method, it does examine post-genocide history education reform in Rwanda as mediated by an international organization, UNESCO, and the international model of post-Holocaust education, which could then be used to inform the development of a post-genocide education evaluation. The mechanisms of institutional interaction also provide a foundational framework indicating the assessable areas of post-conflict education policy.

As noted by Freedman et al., (2008) findings from this research may inform education policy development and history curriculum in future societies recovering from conflict. Although this research deals with post-conflict and post-genocide contexts, the findings may by applicable to non-conflict settings because of the focus on unity and peace building (UNESCO, 2003). Information from this study may further inform the development of inclusive and diverse education

approaches in countries not affected by conflict (UNESCO, 2003). This research has the opportunity to contribute significantly to academics, policy makers, and practitioners and furthers research in the academic fields of comparative and international education, Holocaust education, international education policy, and post-genocide education.

Research Questions

There are numerous external influences on education policy and curriculum development and adoption, especially in post-genocide contexts (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Because of the tenuous nature of post-genocide contexts, these nations often look externally for guidance and support in rebuilding governmental, economic, social, and educational institutions (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Previous research has indicated the direct involvement of UNESCO in the redevelopment of Rwandan system of education following 1994 genocide (King, 2013; Hilker, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2006), and there are many ways that UNESCO was involved beyond directly sponsored programs. The multilateral processes and interactions between international organizations, national governments and ubiquitous global scripts, lead to the overarching research question:

RQ1: *How did UNESCO contribute to secondary social studies education in post-genocide Rwanda?*

Subsequently, the following question proposed to examine the influence of the model of post-genocide education as established by post-Holocaust Germany:

RQ2: *How did UNESCO facilitate the transmission of the model of Germany's post-Holocaust education to post-genocide Rwanda?*

These research questions rely on two major assumptions: (1) that UNESCO contributed to post-genocide education development in Rwanda and (2) that there is a model of post-Holocaust

education created by Germany and transmitted by UNESCO. Previous research provides evidence of both of these points, and therefore this research explores these interactions and their outcomes, using policy documents as primary evidence. This research examines how the Rwandan national government, including the Ministry of Education, worked with UNESCO to develop the initial post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum, with a specific focus on the influence of the international model established by post-Holocaust education in Germany.

Comparative and International Context

What qualifies as comparative and international education (CIE) research has been a topic of debate since the field began, and therefore it is important to situate any research within the larger history of CIE. Many understandings of CIE have been put forth, and the research presented here aligns with a variety of these understandings, further solidifying its appropriateness in the field. While this research does fit within a comparative and international context, it draws its strength, as does the field of CIE, from its flexibility and inclusion of interdisciplinary theories and methods, including education, sociology, political science, development, and genocide studies.

Ragin (1989) stated that comparative sciences should examine multilevel phenomenon existing simultaneously at systemic and individual levels. Bray and Thomas (1995) argue that most research in the field of CIE "requires multilevel comparative analysis in order to achieve a full and balanced understanding" (p. 488). Arnove (2013) echoes this approach to CIE, outlining the need for multiple layers of study including the "interplay between the global and the local" and "macro- and micro-level forces shaping education systems around the world" (p. 3). The examination of secondary social studies curriculum presented here spans the macro-to-meso levels, as it examines the interactions between international organizations and global scripts to national level policy development. However, this study does not examine the micro-level practices of individual schools

or teachers, and such a study would necessitate a different research question and approach. The policies and curriculum examined exist on the national level, as an historical moment in national policy, and were intended to guide classroom methods and contents at the local level. Although the actual implementation of such curriculum varies across local contexts, the discrepancies between policy and practice are beyond the scope of this research.

According to Epstein's (1994) distinction of the comparative and international in comparative and international education, the comparative component of the field focuses on "explaining why educational systems and processes vary and how education relates to wider social factors and forces", while international education focuses "more directly on descriptive information about nations and societies and their education systems and structures" (p. 918). Wiseman and Matherly (2009) similarly position CIE to represent the theoretical and practical sides of the field. The research outlined here meets these two qualifications: it is comparative in that it is examining education policy development in relation to an international organization and international trends and expectations, and it is international through its focus on the specific policy development process in post-genocide Rwanda as mediated by international actors and forces.

In his typification of CIE research, Arnove (2013) outlines three dimensions: scientific, pragmatic, and global. The research presented here is situated in each of these categories. First, the scientific dimension refers specifically to theory building, which contributes to explanations of education phenomenon (Arnove, 2013). This research highlights the interaction between a national government (Rwanda) and international organization (UNESCO) while considering previous history and trends in a related field of education (post-Holocaust education in Germany). CIE is considered pragmatic in its attempts to learn from external contexts for the sake of future improvements, contributing to a culture of lending and borrowing among international policy

makers (Arnove, 2013). The focus of this research includes this pragmatic component, as it examines how education policy related to secondary social studies curriculum is transferred from Holocaust education to post-genocide Rwanda. Although the research does not claim to be transferable to other contexts, it may be used to inform education policy development in other post-genocide contexts. The final dimension of Arnove's (2013) dimensions of CIE is global, which has become increasingly important because of globalization. However, Arnove (2013) further defines global as relating to international understandings and peace, which also align with this research. One common premise of post-genocide education is that it will serve as a healing and uniting factor to assist in the recovery of a nation's trauma, thus promoting peace.

Bloemraad (2013) characterizes comparative research as a conscious decision about what to compare. For this research, it is not national education systems that are compared, rather the development of post-genocide Rwanda is examined against the international script or model of post-Holocaust education in Germany, as perpetuated by UNESCO. Although Germany and Rwanda share a history of genocide, there are many contextual variations that render impractical an explicit, side-by-side, point-for-point analysis of post-genocide education development. Therefore, the focal point of comparison is not the post-genocidal contexts of Germany and Rwanda, but rather how the development of secondary social studies curriculum in post-genocide Rwanda relates to the international script established by post-Holocaust education in Germany.

Key Factors

Prior to examining the existing research literature, it is necessary to identify and define key factors and relevant terms. While the primary areas of research consist of post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum in Rwanda and UNESCO's involvement in disseminating the model of post-Holocaust education in Germany, there are other key factors that contribute to an

understanding of the research questions and areas of focus. These key factors are briefly defined through relevant research literature.

Genocide. Lemkin (1944) pushed for the adoption of the word genocide at the UN in the years following World War II. Subsequently, the definition of the word genocide expanded from the coordinated annihilation of a specific group, to the UN's definition, first outlined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Jones, 2006). The UN's definition of genocide includes "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group," including the removal of children from their families, prevention of new childbirths, infliction of physical or mental harm, or murder (UN, 1948). As noted by Tawil and Harley (2004), the terms conflict or ethnic conflict do not sufficiently categorize the events of the genocides in Rwanda and Germany. Referring to the underlying issues as identity-based, rather than ethnically-based prevents the blurring of the complex political, economic, and social issues at play in each context (Tawil & Harley, 2004). Therefore, genocide is an identity-based offense in these examples.

As Keet, Zinn, and Porteus (2009) have pointed out, "A cursory glance at the myriad of conflict barometers available to us depicts a world where conflict and its aftermath have become commonplace" (p. 109). They are not the first or only researchers to note the prevalence of conflict, specifically genocide, in contemporary eras, and researchers have argued that genocide has occurred in societies from around the world throughout human history (Harff, 2003; Jones, 2006). Some scholars argue that it is national sovereignty that permits genocide to happen with such frequency (Stoett, 1995). National responsibility for citizens can then be twisted to justify national authority to commit mass human rights violations (Stoett, 1995).

International governmental organizations (IGOs). An IGO is any organization whose members are primarily national governments (Shanks, Jacobson, & Kaplan, 1996). IGOs are traditionally established through a formal treaty and consist of regular meetings, rules, a staff, and headquarters (Shanks et al., 1996). The power of IGOs, including UNESCO, to influence government and policy has increased since World War II (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). Boli, Loya, and Loftin (1999) consider data related to the expansion of IGOs from 1960-1988, finding an increase in national membership to IGOs across world regions. Shanks et al., (1996) had similar findings, however they found that IGO birth, growth, and extinction came in waves. While national membership and IGOs increased for all of the world's regions, the most substantial growth happened in African nations (Boli et al., 1999). Boli et al.'s (1999) findings suggest that IGO membership is an expected way for nations to demonstrate their participation in the larger global community. Additionally, they claim that significant global issues affecting more than one single nation are compelling factors for the significant growth in IGOs, with the Rwandan genocide falling clearly into this purview (Boli et al., 1999). When economic, social, or political issues cross national boundaries, IGOs become increasingly important (Boli et al., 1999). These organizations have been found to rarely communicate with local stakeholders as they develop education policies for post-conflict nations, which is evidenced by the gaps between Rwanda's post-genocide education policy and classroom practices (Longman, Pham, & Weinstein, 2004).

Curriculum. One object of study for this research is the curriculum, consisting of formally adopted education policies regarding instruction (Porter & Smithson, 2001; Voogt & Roblin, 2012). Studies focused on curriculum do not examine what students learn in the short or long term, rather they examine the ideas individuals and institutions think students should know or learn (Pingel, 2006). The curriculum provides insight into how groups of people have engaged in power

struggles over the representation and retelling of history (Saltman, 2009). Curriculum documents provide insight to philosophical and theoretical approaches to education by reviewing the rationale, aims and objectives, and content of what should be included within each subject area (Van den Akker, 2010).

Curriculum development is not purely top down; it is not uniform across one context or many contexts, and it is not neutral (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Walker-Keleher, 2006; Westheimer & Kahne, 1998). Curriculum comes out of conflicts and compromises between dominant political, cultural, economic, and social groups (Foster & Crawford, 2006). These competing forces often strive to develop a collective national memory in the process of achieving national cultural, economic, and social goals (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Freedman et al., (2008) note that history education and developing a national and civic identity are closely linked, leading to a vested interest by government and policy makers to develop and adopt social studies curriculum which meets the needs for a national or civic identity. In order to understand the rationale behind curriculum content, it must be contextualized, including details of the development process (Foster & Crawford, 2006). For instances of post-conflict or post-genocide curriculum development, it is necessary to acknowledge that education policy is one component of larger social, economic, and political reconstruction efforts (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Intended curriculum. Although there are numerous levels of curriculum at work within and beyond the classroom, the intended curriculum, consisting of formally adopted policies regarding instruction, are examined in this study. The intended curriculum includes the "standards, frameworks, or guidelines that outline the curriculum teachers are expected to deliver" (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2). The intended or official curriculum, as it is referred to in some research, may also include policy documents, syllabi, and mandated textbooks or other materials (Tawil &

Harley, 2004). Because the intended curriculum is generally developed, approved, and adopted by a national education ministry, it carries substantial authority (Cole, 2007a), and may serve as a reflection of a society's values (Tawil & Harley, 2004). This aspect of education has been described as "*'desired'* knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Tawil & Harley, 2004, p. 17, emphasis in original), which highlights the agency of curriculum developers in determining which content is most desirable. As a result, the intended curriculum is a product of bargaining, negotiating, and reaching consensus by powerful stakeholders (Tawil & Harley, 2004; UNESCO, 2003).

Curriculum refers to printed words which guide classroom instruction as well as teachers' interpretations and plans regarding how to deliver such information to the classroom. Young (in Foster & Crawford, 2006) distinguishes between curriculum as a fact, rather than curriculum as a practice, a distinction echoed in the research presented here. Curriculum as fact represents an "uncontested and uncontroversial given, a historically located response to particular socio-economic conditions" (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p. 3). Additionally, it provides "public and documentary evidence of the continuing struggle over aspirations and purposes of schooling" (Goodson, 1977, p. 12, in Foster & Crawford, 2006). One purpose of studying the intended curriculum is not to identify what happens at the classroom level, but to explore the presentation of scripts at particular moments of a nation's history.

Secondary social studies curriculum. Although each nation may define social studies differently, most countries include history at some point in their schooling (Levstick & Tyson, 2008), making it a commonly mandated subject worldwide (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils (2012) describe history education as having four functions: (1) development of historical consciousness, (2) cultural training, (3) identity building, and (4) social resiliency training (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012, p. 161), purposes especially relevant in post-

conflict contexts. Because social studies courses, specifically history courses, are generally the means through which a nation's future citizenry are taught about their country's past (Ahonen, 2001; Cole, 2007; Torney-Purta et al., 2001), these courses are the main focus of this research. Education contributes to nation building by delivering a shared official narrative of past events (Stover & Weinstein, 2004). Therefore, history education is not neutral and is rather imbued with a variety of values and meaning to instruct and develop students into future citizens through the promotion of a shared culture and national identity (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Thornton, 2008; Walker-Keleher, 2006; Westheimer, & Kahne, 1998).

History curriculum represents the stories a nation chooses to tell about itself and its role in the world, as conveyed by dominant groups (Foster & Crawford, 2006). History curriculum is where "official" narratives about a nation's past are written (Cole, 2007a). It serves as the "keeper...of ideas, values, and knowledge" (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p. 1). History curriculum serves as a vehicle for "stor[ing], transmit[ing], and disseminat[ing] narratives that define conceptions of nationhood and national culture" (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p. 5). It is through these courses that students confront their country's historical injustices. The extremely violent and potentially traumatic nature of many stories involving conflict and genocide means that such graphic content may be more suitable for a mature audience and students in the latter part of their compulsory academic careers (Cole, 2007a). As such, the policies under examination pertain to secondary social studies courses, focusing specifically on the high school years.

Post-conflict education. Just as education has been used as a tool to indoctrinate a nation's youth, as was the case in both Germany and Rwanda, so too has it been used as a tool to foster peace, democracy, and respect for others (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004). However, despite the prevalence of conflict around the world, education as a positive tool for societal construction

is often not realized until after an outbreak of violence (Buckland, 2006). Because schools reflect the values and power relations of the societies in which they operate, issues related to the negative use of an education system may not be revealed to the international community until after violence has occurred (Buckland, 2006). As such, in these post-conflict areas, the approaches to education often promote peace and democracy, both in the immediate short-term and longer-term recovery efforts. Post-genocide education often falls under the category of post-conflict education (Davies, 2004). Both of these categories, however, are recognized as simplifications, as each situation has its own unique context (Davies, 2004).

Holocaust education. Although not included in the German curriculum for several decades following the end of World War II, the enormity of the Holocaust has permeated education systems around the world, resulting in a focused study related to the development of curriculum methods and content relating to the Holocaust (Dierkes, 2007; Macgilchrist & Christophe, 2011; Ngo, 2014; Steveick & Michaels, 2013). The field of Holocaust education developed as various nations looked to include information about the extermination of over six million Jews, Roma, and other groups deemed inferior by Nazi Germany during World War II (Steveick & Michaels, 2013). Not only did the development of Holocaust education occur at the national level, but numerous international organizations, including UNESCO, have included Holocaust education in their policies (Macgilchrist & Christophe, 2011).

Holocaust education goes beyond teaching the historical facts related to the Holocaust (Macgilchrist & Christophe, 2011). It includes social justice and critical thinking to develop students' abilities to confront the past and take responsibility for the prevention of such events in the future (Dierkes, 2007; Macgilchrist & Christophe, 2011; Pingel, 2006). It often focuses more on developing moral character and serving as a tool for remembrance (Pingel, 2006; Van

Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012). Holocaust education is often tasked with the prevention of future instances of mass violence (Bokova, 2014). Holocaust education carries with it the legacy of those who perished and survived to preserve all individuals' rights, respect, and dignity (Bokova, 2014). While Holocaust education informs this study, it is specifically the development of Holocaust education in Germany that serves as a comparative pillar.

   Other education approaches. The frequency with which conflict has occurred around the world since the expansion of mass education, has contributed, in part, to the growth of post-conflict and post-genocide education (Keet, Zinn, & Porteus, 2009). Within this larger category are numerous specific approaches, including "Education for Democracy, Democracy Education, Civic Education, Citizenship Education, Political Education, Peace Education, International Education, Global Education, World Education, Moral Education, Environmental Education, Development Education, Multicultural Education and Anti-Racism Education." (Keet, Zinn, & Porteus, 2009, p. 109). And while this list is not exhaustive, it does represent many of the most commonly referenced approaches (Keet, Zinn, & Porteus, 2009). While there are nuances in each of these approaches, they maintain recovering from and preventing future conflicts as central to their pedagogies (Keet, Zinn, & Porteus, 2009).

   Social justice education. Although there are numerous descriptors to identify education strategies used in the prevention of and recovery from conflict or genocide, there are commonalities across approaches, which could widely be categorized under social justice education. The term social justice is used across the field of education, however a comprehensive definition adopted by policy makers, researchers, and practitioners alike does not exist (North, 2006). Although most education research around the field of social justice is focused in the U.S., however, as North (2006) acknowledges, the realm of education is under the "multidirectional

influence of cultures in an increasingly global context" (p. 508). Social justice education serves as a broader concept under which more specific approaches, including multicultural education and global education, often fall (Levstick & Tyson, 2008).

Social justice education can broadly be described as education that works toward the "full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs" (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007). The incorporation of the process and goal, the content and methods, are hallmarks of a social justice approach to education and curriculum, where the ultimate goal is the development of self-determinant—"able to develop their full capacities," and interdependent—"capable of interacting democratically with others" students (Adams et al., 2007, p. 1). Regarding content, social justice curriculum should reveal the various –isms, or types of discrimination apparent in the world, including racism, classism, and sexism. Additionally, the content should be culturally integrative, including multicultural, intercultural, and cross-cultural perspectives that are embedded throughout, not just supplemented at various times during the school year (Banks & Banks, 2009). The methods used in social justice curriculum should be democratic, participatory, and inclusive, working to develop students' abilities to critically analyze texts and experiences (Banks & Banks, 2009)**.**

Theoretical Framework

Sociological neo-institutionalism is the broad theoretical framework selected for this research. Providing insight into international scripts, national legitimacy seeking, and decoupling as policy moves toward implementation, a sociological neo-institutional approach is often used to examine institutional educational interactions between the international and national levels (Meyer, 2008; Wiseman, Astiz, & Baker, 2014). One example of an international script is the belief in education as a panacea (Wiseman et al., 2016), which is especially relevant in post-genocide

contexts where education is seen as a tool to aid in the recovery from and prevention of future incidences of mass violence (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2006; UNESCO, 2003). Sociological neo-institutionalism provides a rationale for examining how national policy makers use international scripts related to Holocaust education and education as a panacea to improve their international reputation.

Policy borrowing provides a more specific framework to examine how international and national level actors interact to develop national education policy, with curriculum representing one such policy. Combining Phillips and Ochs's (2003, 2004) multi-stage approach to policy borrowing, which outlines national and international pre-conditions for policy borrowing, with Lueze et al.'s (2008) two-level game provides a framework for examining international organizations' tools to influence national policy, which include providing support in the form of financial and human resources, setting and controlling the international discourse, and coordinating programs and activities. These approaches to policy borrowing complement one another to create mechanisms for institutional interactions, a framework for examining interactions between the national and international levels related to educational policy borrowing in post-genocide Rwanda.

Conclusion

Despite wide acknowledgement and expectation by national governments, international organizations, and institutions to use education as a positive tool in the recovery from and prevention of future genocidal events (Obura, 2003), and despite echoed refrains of "Never again" following each genocidal atrocity (Cox, 2017), such events have occurred with astonishing frequency over the past century (Lamb, 2005). Post-genocide contexts in particular look to their own education systems to build community, provide stability, contribute to the nation's rebuilding,

and develop lasting peace (Obura, 2003; Rohrs, 1989; Smith, 2009). The curriculum guides what should be taught in schools, and may therefore directly influence future citizenry, with the subject area of social studies bearing the majority of the responsibility for teaching about a nation's history (Ahonen, 2001; Cole, 2007a, 2007b; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). The curriculum represents the formal script put forth by the national ministry of education, which may reveal the influence of various hierarchical power dynamics, including internal interests or external organizations, such as UNESCO (Foster & Crawford, 2006). The process of curriculum development also highlights guiding international scripts or models, especially the field of Holocaust education, for post-genocide contexts (Hoffman, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2006). This research explores the intersections of post-genocide Rwanda's national government and ministry of education with the international model of post-genocide education established, in part, by post-Holocaust education in Germany and perpetuated by international organizations, including UNESCO.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The following chapter presents historical and contextual background for the key factors in this research in order to justify a comparison of post-Holocaust education development in Germany with post-genocide education in Rwanda, especially as mediated by UNESCO. The major historical similarities between Germany and Rwanda are outlined in Table 1. In addition to the historical and educational context, a review of the empirical literature related to post-conflict education and organizational involvement in post-conflict education is also included. Because of the numerous key factors and scope of the research, what follows is a brief outline of the chapter.

Historical background. In the first section the relevant histories of Germany and Rwanda are outlined. These historical reviews do not intend to be all encompassing, but rather provide enough background to contextually situate education policy development. Following the general political and cultural histories of each country, is an outline of the post-genocide redevelopment of the education systems in each contexts. This section reviews post-genocide education and curriculum research in Germany and Rwanda. After this historical background, the nations are examined for similarities and differences, which are summarized in Table 1. Although the national contexts of Germany and Rwanda are different on many accounts, there are common themes characterizing the time leading up to the genocide, particularly around the use of education as a tool to incite hatred and violence.

After reviewing the historical and educational development in each country, UNESCO's creation, development, and changing relationship with post-conflict education is outlined. This section provides relevant background information to justify a comparison of post-Holocaust curriculum development in Germany with post-genocide curriculum development in Rwanda. Relevant information related to UNESCO's development and involvement with post-conflict education is also included.

Education context. The following section, Education Context, describes the general education policy decision-making process in Germany following World War II and now. The education structures and decision-making process in Rwanda is also outlined. Both descriptions include a specific focus on stakeholders and levels of centralization and decentralization. An outline of each nation's compulsory education structure is also included.

Literature review. Following the historical and education contexts is a review of empirical literature, with a focus on post-conflict secondary social studies curriculum. Research literature

revealed the various phases of education and the timeline for curriculum development following the outbreak of violent conflict. Specific attention is given to the variety of education approaches used in post-conflict settings, including social justice education, human rights education, civic education, Holocaust education, peace education, and transitional justice. Although they may go by different names and emphasize varying elements of pedagogical methods or content, these approaches share a common foundation or purpose, including the creation of a shared history to promote social cohesion, the encouragement of social redevelopment, and the promotion of education as a solution to a nation's social and political challenges.

Because UNESCO is central to this research, there is also a section dedicated to examining research conducted on international organizations' involvement in post-conflict education development. Although research about IGOs is favored, those pertaining to nongovernmental organizations are also reviewed. Included is a review of the methodologies used to examine post-conflict curriculum, ranging from policy analysis at the international and national levels, to textbook analysis at the national level, to examinations of the perceptions and practices of classroom teachers and students.

Theoretical framework. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the theoretical framework used to situate and explain the phenomenon under examination. For the purposes of this research, a sociological neo-institutional approach provides the perspective to examine interactions between international and national levels in the development of post-genocide curriculum in Rwanda. Sociological neo-institutionalism is characterized by the perpetuation of international models which nations may adopt in attempts at seeking international legitimacy, but which may separate from their original intent as they progress from the international discourse to local implementation (Meyer, 2008; Wiseman et al., 2014). Education as a panacea, or as a solution

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to any and all of a society's ills (Wiseman et al., 2016), is one such script which appears across the research literature and in post-conflict education policy from the international and national levels. Policy borrowing theory, specifically the mechanisms of institutional interaction, provides an explanation for the national and international preconditions which facilitate the spread of policies worldwide and an explanation of the tools which international organizations employ when interacting with national governments for policy development (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003).

Historical Background

In order to study UNESCO's influence on curriculum development in post-genocide Rwanda, it is necessary to gain an understanding of both the national and organizational contexts (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Gerring, 2004; Yin, 2003). Understanding a nation's historical background is necessary to understanding the curriculum development processes and content (Haddad & Demsky, 1995; Tawil & Harley, 2004). Additionally, understanding the role of UNESCO in Germany and Rwanda in the years following the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide are essential to gain insight into its role in the curriculum development processes.

Although there are numerous post-genocide contexts which could be the focus of this proposed research, Rwanda is the primary nation under study, with a significant acknowledgement of the influence of Holocaust education. The German Nazi-regime's systematic extermination of more than six million Jews, Roma, and other groups based on their perceived inferiority (USHMM, 2016) is widely acknowledged as the most widespread human rights violation of the Late Modern Era (Fracapane & Haß, 2014; Schweisfurth, 2006). Almost a half century later, an estimated 500,000 to one million Tutsis and some Hutus, were murdered over the course of twelve weeks in Rwanda at death rates significantly higher than in Nazi death camps (Cox, 2017; Jones, 2006).

Despite contextual differences, including historical influences, political ideology, development level, and economic factors, such as reliance on international aid before and after the genocide, both Germany and Rwanda were faced with recovering and re-unifying following the mass extermination of groups of their own people, with schools playing an important role in this process in both countries.

What follows is a brief overview of German and Rwandan history leading up to and immediately following each instance of genocide, with a particular focus on the role of each country's system of education. Numerous other texts have provided more detailed and nuanced examinations of issues contributing to genocide, therefore the review that follows does not claim to be completely inclusive, rather it provides an outline of factors to contextually situate the development of education policy, particularly secondary social studies curriculum, in the post-genocide era. In addition to understanding the national contexts, it is also necessary to understand UNESCO's organizational context, including its creation, development, and involvement in post-conflict education development, in order to understand its role in post-genocide systems of education. Therefore an outline of this information is also included, with a particular focus on UNESCO's work in education following the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide.

Germany. The conclusion and outcome of World War I and the Treaty of Versailles created a volatile political climate across Europe, but in Germany in particular, as Germany's physical territory was significantly reduced (including the loss of German East Africa--what is now Rwanda--to the League of Nations, and eventually Belgium). Germany was forced to pay substantial reparations, which drastically increased inflation and lowered the value of the German Mark. Post-World War I Germany was characterized by social and economic unrest, which contributed to an increased tendency toward nationalism, as many Germans wanted to return

Germany to its former greatness as a world military and economic power (Cox, 2017). Additionally, in the period following World War I, a worldwide economic depression occurred, further exacerbating the effects of the war on the German economic system (Cox, 2017). The Weimar Republic, the German government from the end of World War I in 1918 to the beginning of Nazi Germany in 1933, lacked full support from German citizens. This environment encouraged a growth in right-wing groups, leading eventually to the rise of Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist German Workers', or Nazi, Party, which, despite Hitler's lifelong detestation of Jews, focused on restoring Germany's economic and political greatness, rather than anti-Semitism (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017).

The Nazi Party gained political strength during the early 1930s, gathering more votes than the Communist and centrist parties in the 1932 elections (Cox, 2017). In an attempt to prevent revolution, the German president offered Hitler the chancellorship--a position different from the presidency in the German political system--in 1933 as a way to unite the people and control the Nazi Party (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). However, after Hitler and the Nazi Party came into power, they quickly worked to eliminate or suppress all political competition (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). Following the president's death in 1934, Hitler combined the offices of president and chancellor and named himself "*Fuhrer*", or leader (Cox, 2017). Once complete political control was obtained, Hitler and the Nazi Party began targeting Germany's Jewish population (Cox, 2017).

Nazi Germany did not have the monopoly on antisemitism, as it existed for thousands of years before the Holocaust (Cox, 2017, Valentino, 2013). Anti-Jewish sentiment came into existence with the advent and growth of Christianity during the first century CE and continued throughout the Middle Ages, through the early modern period and the nineteenth century (Cox,

2017). Anti-Jewish violence often occurred during times of social, political, or economic unrest, as Jews would be blamed for any problems by people from both the upper and lower economic classes (Cox, 2017). In Germany during the Weimar Republic, less than one percent of the total population was Jewish, however, a higher percentage of German Jews were bankers, stockbrokers, small business owners, lawyers, and doctors, which contributed to the common, and Nazi-exploited, perception that many Jews were wealthy and dominated the German economy (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017).

Starting in 1933 with a boycott of Jewish-owned businesses, the Nazi Party began to legally persecute German Jews (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). The Nazi Party used propaganda to label Jews as non-human, "parasitic, viruses, or loathsome creatures from the animal and insect world (rats, cockroaches)" (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990, p. 339) and blamed them for all problems in German society (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990, Valentino, 2013). During this time, the Nazi party directly influenced the German public education system by removing teachers with contradictory views and creating textbooks written from a Nazi-perspective (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990). In the aftermath of World War II, the German education system was blamed for not encouraging independent thinking, instead teaching students to blindly accept authority (Hein & Selden, 2000).

Nazi youth movements, including Hitler Youth for boys and The League of German Girls, further assimilated German young people into the Nazi way of thought (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990). Future actions forced Jews and other targeted groups out of government jobs, including in education and law; banned marriage between Jews and non-Jews; and led to the events of *Kristallnacht* on November 9-10, 1938, where Nazi party members and ordinary German citizens vandalized or destroyed Jewish-owned businesses and synagogues across Germany (Chalk &

Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). *Kristallnacht* marked the beginning of the deportation of Jews to ghettos and concentration camps (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017).

Within a year, by 1939, more than half of Germany's Jewish population emigrated. However, the start of World War II, and the German Reich's invasion of Austria, Poland, and eventually the Soviet Union, greatly increased the Jewish population under German rule, which therefore increased the Jewish population targeted for extermination by Hitler and the Nazi Party (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Midlarsky, 2005). Until 1941, the methods of genocide used against European Jews and other targeted minorities, including Russians, Poles, Roma, homosexuals, and Germans with physical or mental disabilities, consisted of forced removal to uninhabitable and overcrowded ghettos, mass murders by *Einsatzgruppen*, and medical sterilization (Cox, 2017; Midlarsky, 2005). The first camps designed for the sole purpose of mass extermination, including Auschwitz-Birkenau, Chelmno, and Treblinka, began operating in December of 1941 (Cox, 2017; Midlarsky, 2005). Between 1942 and 1944, approximately half of the five million Jewish victims of the Holocaust were murdered (Cox, 2017).

Hitler and his followers were able to take advantage of a moment of economic and political weakness in Germany's history and assume power unexpectedly (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). The Nazi Party used the education system to indoctrinate German youth and spread their beliefs (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990). Although antisemitism existed long before the Nazi Party came into power on the eve of World War II, and Hitler and his Nazi leadership were able to exploit perceptions of Jews as monopolizing the German business spheres (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017; Valentino, 2013). Propaganda portrayed the Nazi Party as the means to return Germany to its pre-World War I economic, social, and political heights and targeted Jews and other groups by scapegoating and dehumanizing them in the process (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017).

The combination of these things, and many more, contributed to the advent of World War II and the Holocaust across Europe.

   Post-Holocaust education. The Holocaust has generated more academic work than any other genocide (Jones, 2006; Totten, 2012). However, despite the academic attention paid to the events leading up to and following the Holocaust (Jones, 2006), and the international community's focus on the importance of teaching about the Holocaust in formal education settings (Bindenagel, 2006), the process of teaching about the Holocaust in Germany was not direct or clearly defined. Additionally, because the division between East and West Germany persisted following World War II until 1990, the way each half of the country addressed both World War II and the Holocaust greatly varied (Buruma, 1994). The primary focus of this review is how education was handled in the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, because it was under democratic rule, unlike East Germany, which was under communist rule.

   At the end of World War II, the education infrastructure in Germany was severely lacking, with as much as 90% of school buildings destroyed in some areas (Rohrs, 1989). In the time immediately following the end of World War II, the occupying countries were responsible for developing and delivering education in Germany (Rohrs, 1989). One of the Allied Control Council's first decree, Directive No. 54 in 1947, was on good citizenship and respect and understanding for other nations (Rohrs, 1989). However, even prior to this official policy, denazification of all teaching materials was a primary focus (Rohrs, 1989). As the education system moved forward, all involved parties sought to develop lasting peace (Rohrs, 1989). Although a focus on using the education system to develop a democratic German state was agreed upon, it was also acknowledged that such a task would need "at least the space of a generation to become effective" (Rohrs, 1989, p. 153).

It was not until the late 1970s that the Holocaust became an acceptable and prevalent social topic in Germany (Rensmann, 2005), in part due to the high profile trials of Nazi perpetrators and an increased focus on the Holocaust in art and media (Totten, 2012). The 1960 trial of Adolf Eichmann, who oversaw the deportation of three million Jews to death camps in Poland and the U.S. television series *The Holocaust* in the late 1970s renewed public focus on the events of the Holocaust, both in Germany and around the world (Totten, 2012). Prior to this, discussions of the Holocaust were considered a taboo topic in Germany (Rensmann, 2005).

The German people have worked to come to terms with their past, as evidenced through the evolution of history curriculum addressing World War II and the Holocaust (Ahonen, 2001). Germany's response to its past has been divided into three stages: (1) from the war's end to the mid-1960s, when "willful amnesia" of the events of World War II and the Holocaust characterized the majority of Germany's population; (2) from the mid-1960s to the 1990s, when German history came to the forefront of both academic research and popular culture; and (3) beginning in the 1990s through now, during which individual's own suffering and infliction of suffering on others are publicly reckoned with through literature, history, and art (Jones, 2006, p. 346). This timeline spans more than a generation, which means that different cycles of German citizens were taught about the Holocaust through a variety of approaches (Rohrs, 1989).

Pingel (2006) offers a similar, but more detailed, framework for understanding the evolution of the education system's approach to World War II and the Holocaust. In the immediate post-war period, the Holocaust was studied with the occupation, persecution, and war. During this time, the curriculum was mostly set by the Allies (Pingel, 2006). Textbooks were not readily available, but one that did exist, *Wege der Volker,* or Way of the People, condemned the persecution of Jews and discussed bystander's responsibility, although these topics were not

required by the formal curriculum (Pingel, 2006). During the decades that followed, including the 1950s and early-1960s, extermination of the Jews was covered in a few sentences, with the Third Reich referred to as a small group of people who led the entire nation astray (Pingel, 2006). During this time, the Holocaust was referred to as a component of warfare (Pingel, 2006). One challenge was that many former soldiers and collaborators were serving as teachers and in roles of education leadership (Pingel, 2006). During the mid-1960s to the 1970s, instruction about World War II again shifted, with full responsibility for Nazi horrors given solely to Hitler (Pingel, 2006). Victims' perspectives began to be included in the formal education discourse (Pingel, 2006). As with previous eras, critical thinking or analysis were not included as pedagogical approaches (Pingel, 2006).

The German Conference of Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs stated that education must not glorify or trivialize the events associated with World War II and the Holocaust, which led to further changes in the 1980s (Pingel, 2006). The Holocaust became a stand-alone topic in the 1980s, with an increased prevalence and amount of content about the Jewish persecution (Pingel, 2006). Responsibility was shifted away from Hitler, and encouraging critical thinking became a topic of debate (Pingel, 2006). The education system underwent additional revisions following the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990, giving teachers more freedom to implement the content, which has often resulted in additional coverage that is more meaningful by going beyond the prescribed curriculum (Pingel, 2006). Spurred in part by the reunification of East and West Germany into one German nation, the discourse shifted to an "internationalist narrative" supporting their position in the European Union (Hein & Selden, 2000). A recent examination of German social studies education reveals that it has progressed to the point where it prioritizes critical thinking by encouraging students to consider challenging topics, such

as the responsibility of bystanders or the importance of resistance (Buruma, 1994). However one ongoing challenge is whether or not students who are generations removed from World War II and the Holocaust will be able to identify with the topic (Pingel, 2006). As more time and generations pass, it will become increasingly more difficult to maintain the topic's relevance to students for whom the Holocaust is several generations removed (Pingel, 2006).

Because Germany's recovery from World War II was public, with significant involvement from the international community, post-Holocaust education in Germany is often considered the model for post-genocide education, with the field of Holocaust Education developing from this process (Dierkes, 2007; Hoffman, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2006). Although Germany may not have implemented the most immediate or measurably effective changes to their education system, they did create a reference framework for future post-genocide contexts (Rensmann, 2005; Schweisfurth, 2006). The idea of education for peace was central to the redevelopment of the education system in Germany following World War II (Rohrs, 1989). Because Germany's attempts at reconciliation with its neighbors and targeted groups abroad are considered as mostly successful by international scholars and practitioners, they have served as a foundation for policy discussions about reconciliation elsewhere in the world (Dierkes, 2007). Specifically, teaching materials have been cited as a key contributor (Dierkes, 2007). Holocaust education in Germany contributes to the development of a globally accepted and legitimized script which other nations, including Rwanda, look to as the model for how to address genocide in their own contexts (Dierkes, 2007; Ngo, 2014; Schweisfurth, 2006).

Rwanda. The term genocide has only been used once to describe events since the UN passed the Genocide Convention in 1948, and that was for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (Waller, 2016). The factors contributing to the Rwandan genocide are still being explored, and various

parties involved have placed the blame on a variety of different components. The review provided below does not claim to be the definitive history of Rwanda, but instead provides an overview of how the genocide is frequently portrayed in literature and by the Rwandan government. The narrative most commonly put forth by the Rwandan government may not represent the objective, unquestionable truth, but rather the perception they would like their citizens and the larger world community to take (Hilker, 2011).

Although socially flexible distinctions between the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa groups existed long before Belgian rule began, the Belgians exacerbated and institutionalized these differences in 1926 by asking Rwandans to identify their ethnic affiliation in a census and on identity cards (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). Both Belgian authorities and Catholic Church officials kept detailed records of Rwandans' noses and skull sizes, and other physical attributes artificially assigned to each ethnic group (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014; Melvern, 2006). These pseudo-scientific classifications were similar to Hitler's theory of a "master race" which contributed to the Holocaust (Moghalu, 2005).

Tensions grew between the Tutsis and other groups, as the Tutsi minority were often perceived as having more financial resources and governmental leadership positions (Cox, 2017; Straus, 2013). Additionally, colonists implemented strict rules forbidding intermarriage and segregating the groups in religious, educational, or governmental settings (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). The education system included instruction about the colonizers' stereotyped differences between Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Hilker, 2011; Hodgkin, 2006). Although the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa existed throughout Rwanda's history, colonialism infused these differences with hierarchy, creating tensions between the groups (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013).

After Rwanda's independence from Belgium in 1962, Hutu persecution of Tutsis continued, and measures were taken to limit Tutsis' opportunities for education and employment (Moghalu, 2005). Conflicts broke out in the 1950s and 1960s as Hutus, with support from Belgium, took arms against Tutsis (Cox, 2017; Straus, 2013). Some scholars cite the mass killings and forced emigration of Tutsis at this time as Rwanda's first genocide (Moghalu, 2005). Rwanda's first president reinforced discriminatory practices toward Tutsis (Straus, 2013). In 1973, Juvenal Habyarimana led a coup and became Rwanda's new leader (Melvern, 2006). Under Habyarimana's leadership, all opposing political parties were banned, creating a one party state in Rwanda (Melvern, 2006; Moghalu, 2005). Although the violence committed against Tutsis was all but eliminated under Habyarimana, he continued to reinforce the divisions between Hutus and Tutsis by implementing strict quotas for Tutsi participation in education and government service (Keller, 2014; Melvern, 2006; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). Although most of Habyarimana's reign was characterized by economic growth and political stability, an economic downturn and political discontent in the mid-1980s weakened Habyarimana's rule and encouraged the development of opposition groups (Cox, 2017; Destexhe, 1995; Keller, 2014).

Throughout Habyarimana's rule, many Rwandan Tutsis fled to nearby countries, where they formed their own militia, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) led by Paul Kagame, which invaded Rwanda in 1990 (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). A brutal civil war was fought between the mostly Tutsi RPF and the predominantly Hutu Rwandan government, during which massacres of Tutsis became commonplace (Cox, 2017). However, during this time, the violence was not only directed from Hutus to Tutsis, as Tutsis also murdered large numbers of Hutus (Cox, 2017). The civil war lasted until 1993, when the United Nations supported development of a constitution inclusive of Rwanda's ethnic groups (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014; Straus, 2013).

However, this was only a temporary fix, as in April through July 1994, the Hutu implemented their "Final Solution", where civilians were instructed via radio and word of mouth to kill any moderate Hutus and all Tutsis (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014; Moghalu, 2005; Powell, 2011). The tipping point for the Rwandan genocide occurred on April 6, 1994, when an airplane carrying President Habyarimana and other leaders was shot down by a missile near the airport in the Rwandan capital city of Kigali (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2007). It is as yet still unknown whether the airplane was attacked by Hutu or Tutsi extremists (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014). The dearth of leadership left by the downed airplane allowed Hutu extremists to assassinate Rwanda's prime minister, and thus take control of the government and initiate the mass murder of Tutsi (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2007).

On the new government's first day in power, they charged the *Interahamwe* (sometimes translated as "those who stand together"), which began as a youth organization under President Habyarimana's leadership, to systematically murder Rwanda's Tutsi population (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014). Radio propaganda was the primary means of instigating violence (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014; Powell, 2011). Tutsis were consistently referred to as "cockroaches" on radio programs (Moghalu, 2005) and Hutus were provoked to hate and kill their Tutsi neighbors (Keller, 2014). For the next 100 days, an estimated 75,000 to 150,000 of Rwanda's Hutu population, including trained militia as well as untrained civilians, executed somewhere between 500,000 and one million Tutsis and Tutsi-sympathizer Hutus (Keller, 2014; Moghalu, 2005). The murders that constituted the 100 day Rwandan genocide have been described as rudimentary, low tech, and primitive, as the perpetrators often used whatever makeshift weapons they had, including machetes, tree limbs, clubs, knives, and sometimes guns (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). Additionally, churches, schools, and government offices often became massacre sites of

many Tutsi, as these were places offered and sought out for sanctuary by Tutsi, only to be attacked by the violent perpetrators (Cox; 2017; Straus, 2013).

This brief historical overview reveals that the ethnic conflicts between Tutsis, Hutus, and Twas in Rwanda existed for decades before the 1994 genocide. Animosity felt by the majority Hutus toward the minority Tutsis was often based on the perceptions that Tutsis were more financially and politically privileged than their Hutu neighbors. However, colonialism has been cited as fostering animosity between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups (Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). During the events leading up to and throughout the genocide, propaganda in the media and education system were used to divide the Hutu and Tutsi (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Hilker, 2011; King, 2013). Additionally, another critique of the education system before the genocide is that it did not include instruction on morals or values (Tawil & Harley, 2004). The combination of these historical factors, as well as weakened economic and political stability in Rwanda created an environment that facilitated the possibility of genocide (King, 2013).

Post-genocide education. Much research has been conducted on how the Rwandan government used the education system as a tool to unite its people (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; King, 2013). Similar to the development of curriculum in the post-Holocaust German context, however, it is still under question whether Rwanda has adopted the most appropriate approach to teaching about the genocide in their education system (King, 2013). The development of the post-genocide education system in Rwanda relied on a comparative approach to Holocaust education, especially related to ethnic conflict and the role of education in preventing future conflicts (Schweisfurth, 2006). Rwanda's post-genocide education system provides an opportunity to examine how the

post-Holocaust German approach to post-genocide education influenced the development of secondary social studies curriculum.

Immediately following the conflict, international organizations including the World Bank, UNICEF, and UNESCO stepped in to rebuild the seriously damaged infrastructure and provide basic teaching materials (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004). Even with their contributions, many Rwandan schools had no running water, insufficient lighting, and limited books (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004).

After the genocide, the government's primary goal was to return Rwanda to a functioning nation that could provide basic services to its citizens (King, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2008). Despite making significant achievements at re-developing their policy and infrastructure, Rwanda still heavily depends on external aid (Abbot, Sapsford, & Rwirahira, 2015). This dependence complicates policy making, as donors' expectations may take precedence over other issues (Abbot et al., 2015). Schweisfurth's (2006) study of post-genocide Rwanda explored external influences on national policy development, citing the influence of aid money, the effects of immigration, and the involvement of the international community in the time immediately following the genocide as major factors shaping national policy. The significant involvement of the international community following the genocide is sometimes attributed to feelings of guilt for having the opportunity, but refusing, to step in earlier to prevent the mass murders (Des Forges & Longman, 2004).

The Rwandan system of education changed dramatically following the civil war and genocide of the Tutsi people. Because schools served as sites of mass murders, many schools closed and few teachers were left (Abbot et al., 2015). The post-genocide Rwandan government placed a ban on teaching Rwandan history in schools until a common approach could be developed

(Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004), which resulted in a period of more than ten years where history was completely left out was so that the government and ministry of education had time to determine how to present their history and how to address conflict when tension still existed between ethnic groups (Hodgkin, 2006; Walker-Keleher, 2006; Weldon, 2009). The Rwandan government outlined two goals for the system of education to promote national reconciliation: (1) eliminate discrimination and focus school promotion on merit-based criteria, and (2) develop a culture of peace through an emphasis on non-violent values (Hilker, 2011).

Starting in 1997, the primary curriculum underwent a revision to remove all content with an ethnic bias (Weldon, 2009). A political education course was also introduced to cover the topics of "citizenship, human rights and freedom, participation, civic values, formation of a common identity, social cohesion, and peace" (Walker-Keleher, 2006). While these topics seem acceptable on paper, reports show that there has been little support for teacher training or implementation of the course (Walker-Keleher, 2006). Additionally, this subject area is not tested, resulting in less focus spent on these courses than other, tested, subjects (Walker-Keleher, 2006).

Even after the ten year moratorium and subsequent time, much disagreement between government officials, intellectuals, and Rwandan citizens about how the genocide should be taught still exists, and as such, emergency measures limiting what is taught have remained in place (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004). Despite the moratorium on history education, a singular narrative of Rwanda in the early 1990s has been shared through non-formal education channels, however this singular approach has been challenged as contradicting the process of reconciliation (Hilker, 2011). Although this narrative may have noble means of uniting a country, it is problematic that it does not allow space for dialogue, which may ultimately be harmful for building lasting peace (Hodgkin, 2006). Divisionism, consisting of any speech or act meant to divide

Rwandans or discussion of the labels Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa, has been outlawed and policed in Rwanda since 2002 (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Weldon, 2009). The official narrative of Rwanda's history "denies the existence of ethnicity," (Weldon, 2009, p. 186). A violation of this law may result in an organization being banned or expelled from the country (Buckley-Zistel, 2009). It also prevents the opportunity to critically engage with the past (Weldon, 2009). Previous research in Rwanda indicates that, as of the early 2000s, much of the education was teacher-centered and did not incorporate democratic teaching methods (Walker-Keleher, 2006).

The Rwandan government has kept education policy at a forefront in their recovery efforts and partnered with numerous external organizations (Hilker, 2011). The Rwandan government also adopted a focus on the UN's Millennium Development Goals, a challenge which raised the question of which national goal is more appropriate: reconciliation and unity or national development, although some argue that the MDGs and reconciliation are not mutually exclusive (Hilker, 2011; Smith & Vaux, 2003). Many external observers have commented on how much the Rwandan government was able to rebuild its country without relying on external influences and support (Obura, 2003) However, achieving Education for All (EFA) is still a primary focus, providing one example that although the Rwandan government and Ministry of Education may plan internally, they are externally influenced by international organizations and standards (Obura, 2003).

One of the first post-genocide education policy development partnerships the Rwandan National Curriculum Development Centre participated in was with the University of California at Berkeley Human Rights Center and the U.S.-based non-governmental organization *Facing History and Ourselves* (King, 2013). Representatives from these organizations, as well as academics from the National University of Rwanda, met to develop a history curriculum for post-genocide

Rwanda, however progress toward a full implementation of this project, including teacher training, was prevented by the national government (King, 2013). Another project through an international partnership in the post-genocide Rwandan education system is the *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-Affected Societies* project, in which a team from UNESCO partnered with the Rwandan National Curriculum Development Centre and the Kigali Institute of Education to interview teachers, students, education officials, donors, and representatives from various religious groups to gain an understanding of how education policy influenced citizens' identity development before the conflict (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Other researchers have explored both pre- and post-genocide education in Rwanda. Freedman, Kambanda et al., (2004) interviewed 376 secondary education stakeholders regarding history instruction in Rwandan schools. Interviewees agreed that education could contribute to national unity, and many responses indicated "an awareness of and a promotion of social justice" (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004, p. 254). Within these responses, many participants had contrasting rationales for promoting national unity and differing ideas about which methods should be used to teach Rwandan history, however all indicated that ethnic issues and history teaching are closely related, and most felt that open discussion and debate were necessary (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004). At the conclusion of their study, Freedman, Kambanda et al., (2004) offered numerous suggestions, including the importance of involving stakeholders, including parents, students, and teachers, in the education redevelopment process, as well as providing adequate training for teachers prior to implementing a new history curriculum.

Many of those interviewed also believed that contributions from outside organizations, including IGOs, NGOs and other national governments, could assist in rebuilding the education system (Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004). Although education experts recognize the challenges

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associated with importing curriculum from external sources, "the funding structures and organizational priorities of the most powerful aide agencies do, if anything, reduce the willingness and ability of the Ministry of Education in Rwanda to make reforms aimed at developing a history curriculum conducive to national reconciliation" (Hodgkin, 2006, p. 206). In subsequent years, "peace and reconciliation" have been embedded in the curriculum as a life skill, thus providing evidence of Rwanda's use of the education system to develop national unity (Tawil & Harley, 2004; UNESCO, 2003).

Despite much academic focus on the Rwandan genocide, it is still unclear how secondary social studies curriculum developed through the interaction of the Rwandan national government and ministry of education, UNESCO, and international scripts relating to Holocaust and post-genocide education. Rwanda presents a unique situation because, although there have been numerous other genocides throughout history, and even in the 1990s (Harff, 2003), there was a significant response by the international community. This international response, not only to Rwanda but also genocide studies more broadly, has been attributed to feelings of guilt associated with the UN's failure to intervene and prevent genocide (Des Forges & Longman, 2004; UN, 1999; Waller, 2016).

Germany and Rwanda: Similarities. Although the context surrounding the Holocaust in Germany and the genocide in Rwanda are different on a variety of points, including geography, economics, and historical placement of the genocide, both countries share a history of genocide. Many similarities have been drawn between the two nations regarding the development and perpetuation of the genocide (Eltringham, 2004). Although these similarities may be more characteristic of mass murders or genocide in general rather than unique to the German and Rwandan contexts, they provide a basis for the explanation of post-Holocaust education in

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Germany serving as an influential factor on post-genocide education in Rwanda (Eltringham, 2004). Many of these similarities are outlined in an admittedly simplified form in Table 1.

The first two rows of Table 1, Economic Instability and One-Party State, reveal two preconditions which made genocide possible in both Germany and Rwanda. In both contexts, an economic downturn led to social and political unrest, which allowed a fringe political party to gain strength by praying on the general public's prejudices (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017; Melvern, 2006; Moghalu, 2005). In Germany, these were stereotypes of the Jewish people, and in Rwanda, there were stereotypes of those labeled or identified as Tutsi (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Eltringham, 2004; Moghalu, 2005). Although in both situations, these targeted groups were considered as sub-human, there were also perceptions that they had more wealth and power than non-Jewish or Hutu civilians (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). These additional points of comparison appear in the third and fourth rows of Table 1.

In Germany and Rwanda, propaganda was used for the purpose of dehumanization and to incite a complicit citizen population, as seen in the fifth and sixth rows of Table 1. In both countries, propaganda and indoctrination were employed to convert ordinary citizens into complicit murders or silent bystanders (Powell, 2011; Valentino, 2013). In both Germany and Rwanda, the Jews and Tutsis were portrayed as threats to the German and Rwandan way of life, respectively (Eltringham, 2004; Valentino, 2013). By controlling the public's access to newspaper and radio media, leaders in both countries were able to influence the general population (Powell, 2011; Valentino, 2013). Ordinary men and women, either as members of the military, a trained militia, or untrained citizens, supported many genocidal acts (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017; Straus, 2007). Even the language used by the two perpetrators were similar, with both Jews and Tutsis being called non-human and cockroaches (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Eltringham, 2004;

Moghalu, 2005). The execution of the targeted groups in each country was referred to as the "final solution" (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Eltringham, 2004; Moghalu, 2005).

Another key similarity between the two contexts was the use and mobilization of the youth population to support the violent regime. In both Germany and Rwanda, the youth were targeted by the persecuting regimes for their potential for blind obedience and loyalty to their leaders (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017). The Hitler Youth, League of German Girls, and the Interahamwe represent the exploitation of impressionable populations for the purposes of either carrying out the extermination of an entire peoples or developing what had been presented as a "master race" (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017; Keller, 2014). Additionally, schools facilitated this indoctrination, as stereotypes and negative portrayals of Jews and Tutsis were included in the curriculum and students were forced to identify with a specific group as part of administrative duties (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990; Cox, 2017; Hein & Selden, 2000). These similarities may be seen in the Exploitation of Youth and Education rows of Table 1.

As time has passed, both Rwanda and Germany have faced similar challenges. One such challenge is teaching about the genocide to generations of young people who did not directly experience it (Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy, & Longman, 2008). While widespread healing and recovery takes generations, it is difficult to present such a traumatic history when the collective memory from those who experienced the events are no longer able to share their stories (King, 2013; Rohrs, 1989). These challenges have led both contexts to seek out the best practices for educating their youth, although what id defined as a best practice in each context varies. For example, in Germany, numerous iterations of curriculum content and methods have been adopted, reflecting both international trends in teaching as well as an attempt to improve instruction. In Rwanda, this search for best practices can be seen through the influence of Holocaust education.

In their search for best practices, both Germany and Rwanda have included a focus on peace education (Davies, 2004; Hilker, 2011; Obura, 2003).

Table 1

Major Contextual Similarities between Genocide in Germany & Rwanda

	Germany	**Rwanda**
Economic Instability	Economic instability contributed to political and social unrest, which led to the rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party.	Economic instability contributed to political and social unrest, which led to conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi.
One-Party State	Banning of all other political parties to create a one-party state.	Banning of all other political parties to create a one-party state.
Legacy of Prejudice	Anti-Semitic sentiment has existed throughout history, beginning even before the modern ages.	Although once able to live peacefully together, during the early 1900s, a variety of factors contributed to animosity between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups.
Pseudo-Scientific Classifications	Pseudo-scientific classifications of individuals based on physical attributes to develop Hitler's "master race".	Pseudo-scientific classifications of individuals to concretize distinctions between previously flexible ethnicities.
Perception of Wealth	Targeted group (Jews) were perceived to have more wealth than general population.	Targeted group (Tutsis) were perceived to have more wealth than general population.
Propaganda for Dehumanization	Use of propaganda which dehumanized and scapegoated targeted groups (people of Jewish, Gypsy or Roma descent, people with mental or physical disabilities, homosexuals).	Use of propaganda which dehumanized and scapegoated targeted groups (Tutsi and Hutu Tutsi-sympathizers).
Propaganda for Complicity	Use of propaganda to empower ordinary citizens to engage in or be silent against violence.	Use of propaganda to entice Hutu individuals to take up arms in violence against their Tutsi neighbors.
Exploitation of Youth	Exploitation of youth (Hitler Youth and League of German Girls).	Exploitation of youth (*Interahamwe*).

Education	Use of education system to promote anti-Semitic stereotypes.	Use of education to promote anti-Tutsi stereotypes.
Post-Genocide Education	Questions about appropriateness and effectiveness of post-Holocaust education.	Questions about appropriateness and effectiveness of post-genocide education.
International Involvement in Recovery	The international community was heavily involved in redeveloping Germany's infrastructure both because of global involvement in World War II and because the Holocaust was a threat to humanity around the world.	The international community was heavily involved in redevelopment in Rwanda, in part due to failures by the UN and world community, which permitted the genocide to happen despite numerous warnings.

UNESCO. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, was founded in 1945 and is directly associated with education, specifically policy and curriculum development for formal education (Smith & Vaux, 2003). Just as the League of Nations was the predecessor to the United Nations, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) preceded UNESCO (Droit, 2005). Similarly, the League of Nations was affiliated with the IIIC much as the UN is linked to UNESCO (Droit, 2005). Both sets of organizations were born, in part, as a reaction against each world war and the use of systems of education to further the causes of war (Droit, 2005). The UN mandate which established UNESCO identified the provision of "guidance for the development of national education systems" around the world as a key function of the organization (McNeely & Cha, 1994). Its creation has been cited as one of the leading causes for the promotion of a global system of education (Benavot & Resnik, 2006) and a major contributor to education policy (Leuze et al., 2008). UNESCO's first mission was "to reconstruct humanity through education--no less" (Droit, 2005, p. 58). As a result, combating and preventing ignorance, hatred, and injustice became some of UNESCO's founding principles (Droit, 2005). Both during the first years of its existence as well as today, UNESCO's stated focus has been on

rebuilding international cooperation and promoting a global feeling of peace and solidarity (Droit, 2005).

Because of UNESCO's organizational complexity and its many affiliated organizations, it is helpful to have a brief understanding of how UNESCO operates (Seeger, 2015). While the term UNESCO is widely used, it consists of a wide variety of arms with varying levels of independence and autonomy (Seeger, 2015). UNESCO is described as having two essential functions, one intellectual and one technical (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). Some of the intellectual functions of UNESCO are evident by academic literature published by many of its consultants. Also, the scholarly journal *Prospects: Comparative Journal of Curriculum, Learning, and Assessment* is edited by the International Bureau of Education (IBE), which is a UNESCO institute. UNESCO's technical functions may be seen through the variety of educational projects it supports in contexts around the world. From its beginning, UNESCO placed a special emphasis on the promotion of human rights, and, despite shifts by other international organizations to a focus on economic or human capital approaches to education, UNESCO has proven to be hesitant to adopting such approaches, choosing rather to stay focused on peace and human rights (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015).

Droit (2005) outlines three main foci of UNESCO's projects. First is a focus on fundamental education, specifically literacy, in order to find or develop a shared experience across education systems worldwide (Droit, 2005). A focus on fundamental education led to a much broader set of initiatives, including projects focused on art and culture, agriculture, and medicine (Droit, 2005). In addition to a focus on fundamental education's contribution to developing a shared humanity, the missions of UNESCO expanded in the 1960s, with a push to combat discrimination, and during the 1980s, there was a shift to focus on developing lifelong learners

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(Droit, 2005). Human rights education was added as a key component of UNESCO's curriculum in 1974 (Suarez, 2006). Although the content may have shifted somewhat over the past seventy years, UNESCO has always keep human rights as central to its message (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015).

UNESCO is made up of various nations through membership in the United Nations or through a special application process granting membership to UNESCO (Seeger, 2015). UNESCO currently consists of 195 member nations and 10 affiliated nations (UNESCO, n.d.) and is affiliated with more than 300 nongovernmental organizations and foundations (Seeger, 2015). These 195 member nations create UNESCO's governing body, with national representatives from each country contributing to policy development (Seeger, 2015). UNESCO derives its power from compliance of these member nations (Boli & Thomas, 1999) and relies on contributions from member nations to finance its activities (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). Member nations provide funding in various amounts, with countries such as the United States, Japan, Germany, and France providing more than half of the total budget (Seeger, 2015). However, despite variations in funding contributions, each member nation has an equal vote at General Conference meetings, where policies, projects, and budgets are decided (Seeger, 2015). Initially, UNESCO's projects and budgets targeted newly established Asian and African countries (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015), while now they are typically for developing nations and regions (Seeger, 2015). Although UNESCO makes policy recommendations, offers training, and sometimes provides funding, it does not have governance authority over member nations, meaning that it is up to each individual nation to adopt or reject UNESCO's work (Seeger, 2015). Even when member nations adopt UNESCO's conventions, implementation is mediated by national and local contexts (Seeger, 2015).

UNESCO and post-conflict education. UNESCO's creation following World War II in 1945 was, in part, premised against the use of systems of education to promote prejudice, hatred, and injustice (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015; Droit, 2005; McNeely & Cha, 1994). As a result, combating and preventing ignorance, hatred, and injustice became some of UNESCO's founding principles (Droit, 2005). From its outset, UNESCO was focused on education as a tool to develop international collaborations while promoting global peace and solidarity (McNeely & Cha, 1994). Both during the first years of its existence as well as today, UNESCO's stated focus has been on rebuilding international cooperation and promoting a global feeling of peace and solidarity (Droit, 2005). Since World War II, IGOs including UNESCO, have had increasing power to influence national policy (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). UNESCO has been involved both directly and indirectly in post-genocide education (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). Although much of its work may occur during and immediately following an emergency, the organization establishes partnerships with national governments that extend beyond the short term (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). Although the majority of their work focuses on textbooks, UNESCO also works with curriculum and other educational materials (Pingel, 2010).

Because schooling has been used to entice prejudicial beliefs about targeted populations, riding the education system of these negatively biased messages is seen as essential for moving toward reconciliation (Pingel, 2010). A task passed down from the League of Nations, textbook revision was one of UNESCO's initial post-war responsibilities (Pingel, 2010). Before World War II, 26 nations signed an agreement indicating that history textbooks should include other nations, focus on global interdependence, and advocate against prejudice (Pingel, 2010). However, many of the world's most powerful countries at that time refused to sign and continued to focus on national issues rather than incorporate perspectives existing outside their own boundaries (Pingel,

2010). Shortly after UNESCO's founding, the *Programme for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids in Developing International Understanding* was created, which presented a list of criteria to guide textbook development for international understanding (Pingel, 2010). UNESCO continued the League of Nations' work to revise history textbooks and curriculum, as well as develop "mutually acceptable interpretations" of World War II between previously warring nations (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012). These first revisions of textbooks and curriculum did not focus on genocide as much as the political, social, and economic causes that made World War II possible (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012).

UNESCO became involved with post-Holocaust and post-genocide education indirectly through the establishment and oversight of a project to write a "collective memory of mankind" (Duedahl, 2011, p. 105). One of UNESCO's first tasks was to organize the writing of this multi-volume history by historians from each continent in order to be void of geographical bias while simultaneously acknowledging the intersection, overlap, and exchange of cultures (Duedahl, 2011). A contributing factor to the development of the UN and its subsequent attempt to pen the whole history of humanity, was the shift in focus from nationalism to that of one united world, which was a global reaction against nationalist policies and perspectives that contributed to both world wars (Duedahl, 2011). The project's potential indirect influence to education comes from its intent, which was to inform school textbooks and promote education for peace (Duedahl, 2011).

UNESCO undertook this project for a variety of reasons, including to inform school textbooks and further promote education for peace (Duedahl, 2011). Although discussions about the project began in the 1940s, the International Commission for the Writing of the History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind's final work, *History of Mankind*, was not published until the 1960s and 1970s due to the enormity of the project and the contentious nature

of the topic, which was the focus of many debates both at the UN and UNESCO (Duedahl, 2011). The development of the *History of Mankind* paralleled the advent of Holocaust education as a field of study around the world (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012).

UNESCO has undertaken several projects related to post-conflict and Holocaust education. In 1974, UNESCO published a document promoting the inclusion of peace education and human rights (Pingel, 2010). This document "provided criteria, guidelines and recommendations with an international dimension for the development, evaluation and revision of curricula, textbooks and other educational materials" (Pingel, 2010, p. 14). Throughout its involvement with textbook research, policy, and practice, UNESCO has advocated for inclusive messages that promote international collaborations (Pingel, 2010). In 1998, the UN established the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (formerly the Task Force of International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research) to support the adoption of Holocaust education curriculum in countries around the world (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012). Following the Rwandan genocide, UNESCO facilitated as study to examine what was taught in Rwanda leading up to the genocide and how it may have contributed to the conflict as well as what should be taught to encourage national unity (Tawil & Harley, 2004). The multi-year project *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-Affected Societies* focused on understanding how education policy influenced social and civic identities in relation to identity-based conflicts (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Critiques of UNESCO. UNESCO has been described as continuing to perpetuate power structures, and both directly and indirectly controlling the educational systems of many developing, post-colonial nations. These critiques are especially noteworthy because colonialism has been cited as a contributing factor to the Rwandan genocide. Kamunzinzi (2016) outlines some of the challenges related to the involvement of international organizations in post-genocide

Rwanda, citing environmental, political, and financial uncertainty as three major areas of ambiguity. In post-genocide Rwanda, there was a focus on achieving the Education for All goals, which may have occurred at the expense of international interests over national or local stakeholders' needs (Kamunzinzi, 2016). Side effects of such a focus on enrollment quantity at the expense of quality are evidenced by a politicization of education in Rwanda leading up to the genocide (Hodgkin, 2006). Additionally, many of projects sponsored by UNESCO are ad hoc with no coordinated or central attempt to align the projects, and they may have been adopted in the national context as a way to demonstrate Rwanda's willingness to participate on an international stage, rather than meeting an expressed local need (Kamuzinzi, 2016).

Critiques of UNESCO, however, are not new and existed long before the Rwandan genocide. As far back as 1974, UNESCO's activities have been critiqued as political interference in national contexts as well as for spreading educational approaches from the global North to contexts in the global South, regardless of whether or not they are contextually appropriate. (Mundy, 1999). Regarding UNESCO's promotion of curriculum, a review of the model for journalism education found that the model was too generic to be responsive to national contexts (Freedman & Shafer, 2010). While critiques of UNESCO abound, the purpose of this research is not to pass a value judgement on UNESCO's role in post-conflict education development. Rather, it is to highlight the space between the international and national levels to demonstrate how these stakeholders interact to develop curriculum and teach about a nation's violent past.

Post-Genocide Education Context

When examining international organizations and national governments, it is helpful to have a basic understanding of their governance and decision-making methods, including the structure

of the school system and management, the reform process, susceptibility to external influence from stakeholders or donors, and the level of centralization or decentralization (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Germany. Following World War II, Germany was divided into two regions: the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), which was initially under rule by France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), which was under Soviet rule (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012). As such, the two states developed differently in the years following World War II, with the French, British, and American zones operating under a democratic and social federal state, while the Soviet zone operated under communist rule (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012). However, when Germany was unified in 1990, all Länder were reunited as the Federal Republic of Germany (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012). For this research, only the education redevelopment models from Länder formerly part of West Germany are considered because of their adherence to the federal tradition, with each Länder bearing responsibility for the provision of education, rather than models from the former East Germany, which was under communist control until the 1990s (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012; Pingel, 2006).

Following the unification of East and West Germany in 1990, all Länder became responsible for their own education systems, although general educational structures are typically standardized across the nation. Educational leaders from across Germany meet at the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder to coordinate systems, including course requirements, some curriculum, and assessment of educational performance (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012; Pingel, 2006). Included in these cooperative decisions regarding content are the cross-curricular topics of democracy, human rights, and the Holocaust (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012).

Compulsory education in Germany begins when children reach the age of six and includes nine to ten years of education, depending on the Länder, with the last years of lower secondary education, grades five through nine or ten, providing education targeted to a specific outcome: *Hauptschule* provides a basic general education; *Realschule* provides a more extensive general education with opportunities to specialize in vocational or higher education qualifications, and *Gymnasium* prepares students for the national exit exam and to enter university by providing the most rigorous general education (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012). Upper secondary education consists vocational training at *Berufschule*, university preparation courses at *Gymnasium,* or a combination of these two tracks. (Lohmar & Eckhardt, 2012). However, there are nuances in this format between Länder, so the general structure as depicted in Figure 1 is not fully applicable across all contexts.

Berufschule Grades 10-12 *Vocational Preparation*	Berufschule Grades 10-12 *Academic and vocational preparation*	Gymnasium Grades 10-12 or 13 *Preparation for University*	**Higher Secondary Level** (age 15-19)
Hauptschule Grades 5-9 *Basic practical general education*	Realschule Grades 5-10 *Preparation for vocational training or higher education*	Gymnasium Grades 5-12 or 13 *Preparation for higher education*	**Lower Secondary Level** (age: 10-15)
Grundschule Grades 1-4 *Common school for all children*			**Primary Level** (age: 6-10)

Figure 1. Simplified structure of German education system.
(Adapted from Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2012.)

Although education in the German system is officially decentralized, many educational activities align across Länder, with many head officials from each Länder voluntarily aligning policies that are later enacted by the local school systems (Ashwill, Foraker, Nerison-Lowe, Milotich, & Milotich, 1999). The Rwandan context represents the opposite side of this spectrum, with policy determined at the national level, with one curriculum for the entire country.

Rwanda. Rwanda is in the midst of decentralizing its education system, with the national level maintaining responsibility for national strategic management, while the local educational agencies are responsible for more technical and professional tasks (World Bank, 2011). There are thirty districts across the nation responsible for policy implementation and monitoring, under the guidance of area educational agencies and the Ministry of Education (World Bank, 2011).

Compulsory education in Rwanda begins when children reach the age of seven and includes nine years of basic education (Republic of Rwanda, 2013). At the end of lower secondary education, students take a national examination to determine whether they are eligible to attend upper secondary education, where students decide whether to attend a general secondary school or one focused on vocational or teacher training (Republic of Rwanda, 2013). Students at upper secondary general schools typically take classes in English, French, mathematics, as well as subjects from their chosen specialization, including the sciences or humanities (Republic of Rwanda, 2013; U.S. Embassy in Rwanda, n.d.). The Rwandan structure of compulsory education is depicted below in Figure 2.
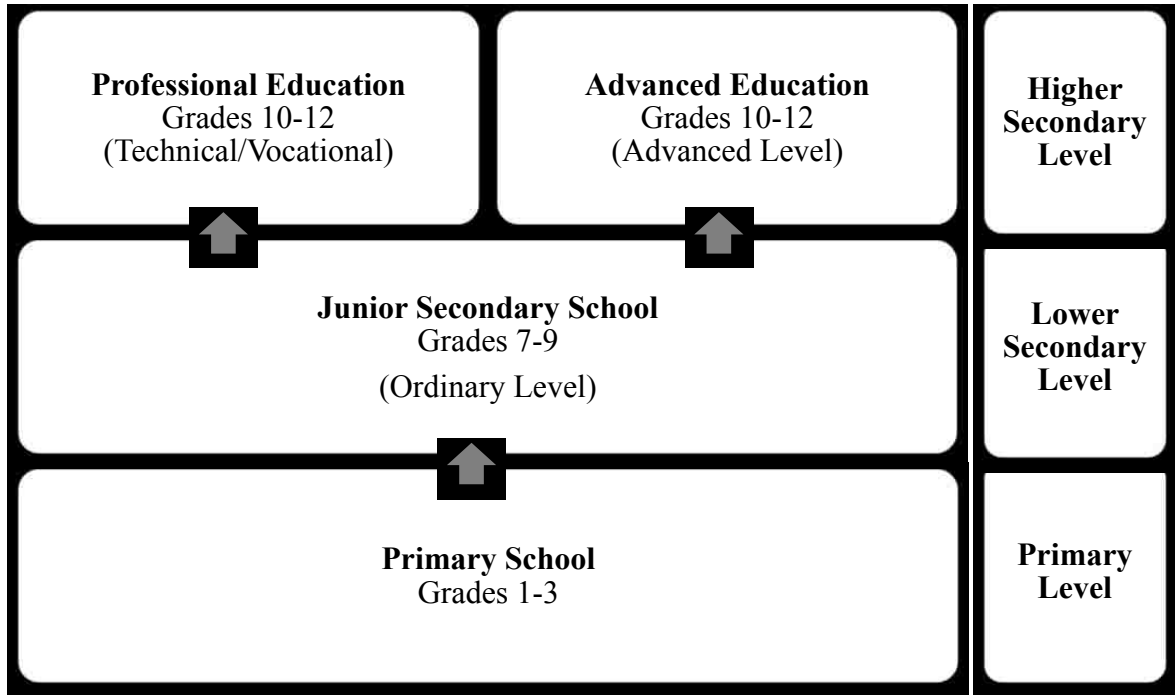
Figure 2. Structure of Rwandan education system.

(Adapted from Nuffic, 2015; Republic of Rwanda, 2013; U.S. Embassy in Rwanda, n.d.)

UNESCO. Because of UNESCO's organizational complexity and its extensive network of affiliated organizations, it is helpful to have an understanding of how UNESCO operates (Seeger, 2015). Although the term UNESCO is widely used, it consists of a wide variety of arms with varying levels of independence and autonomy (Seeger, 2015). UNESCO has been described as "one of the oldest and most wide-ranging organisations active in educational policy" (Leuze et al., 2008, p. 1). Droit (2005) traces three main foci which developed throughout the history of UNESCO's projects. First was a focus on fundamental education, specifically literacy, in order to develop a common shared experience for students across education systems (Droit, 2005). This focus on basic education led to a much broader set of initiatives, including those related to art and culture, agriculture, and medicine (Droit, 2005). In addition to basic education's potential for

creating a shared humanity, the missions of UNESCO expanded in the 1960s to combat discrimination, and again in the 1980s to a focus on developing lifelong learners (Droit, 2005).

Although UNESCO makes policy recommendations, offers trainings, and provides financial support for certain projects, it does not have governance authority over member nations, meaning that it is up to each individual nation to adopt and adhere to UNESCO's recommendations (Seeger, 2015). UNESCO derives its power from member nation compliance, providing an example of the influence of indirect authority on national education policy (Seeger, 2015). UNESCO's constitution outlines this approach, with the stated mission of providing guidance to national education systems through the development of norms and expectations spread through discourse and support national governments in developing their policies. However, IGOs such as UNESCO often use their financial influence and power to guide education policy (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). They also hold much expertise, including resources related to best practices, benchmarking, and evaluation (Seeger, 2015).

Since 1990, policy recommendations from international organizations have increasingly focused on quality, governance and accountability, privatization, and measurement of learning outcomes (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). However, despite these broad changes, UNESCO continues to focus on a "rights-based approach to education" (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015, p. 152). According to an analysis of publications by international organizations, UNESCO seems to be hesitant to adopt a purely economic or human capital approach to education (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015).

Review of Empirical Literature

Although much research has been conducted on systems of education in post-conflict and post-genocide settings, including those which specifically examine the Rwandan context, no study,

as of yet, has examined the development and content of secondary social studies curriculum in Rwanda against the framework of post-Holocaust secondary social studies education in Germany. The most topically and contextually relevant previously conducted research includes Schweisfurth's (2006) examination of international influences on post-genocide Rwanda in the article "Global and Cross-National Influences on Education in Post-Genocide Rwanda" and Russell's (2013) dissertation "The Role of Education in Promoting Reconciliation and Civic Identity in Rwanda: Global, National, and School Contexts". However, in both of these endeavors, the researchers go beyond the policy documents to include additional influencing factors, such as gender. Ehrenberg's (2016) recent dissertation "After the Recovery: Understanding Education Policy Shifts in Rwanda, 1998-2012" also addresses post-genocide education in Rwanda, however broader education policies, not curriculum, are the objects of study. These projects do not explicitly trace the curriculum development and content in Rwanda against the template created by post-Holocaust education in Germany.

Post-conflict education. In part because genocide is usually accompanied by internal or external conflict, post-genocide education is often nested under the larger umbrella of post-conflict education (Davies, 2004). Many of the education approaches used in post-conflict situations are often also used in post-genocide contexts, therefore the two areas heavily overlap (Keet, Zinn, & Porteus, 2009). Both of these categories, however, are recognized as simplifications, as each situation has its own unique context (Davies, 2004). Following genocide, war, or other violence which divides a nation, education is considered a primary tool to reunite the society (Buckland, 2006; Buckley-Zistel, 2009).

The field of post-genocide or post-conflict education traces its roots to post-Holocaust era Germany. Although not included in the German curriculum for several decades following the end

of World War II, the enormity of the Holocaust permeated education systems around the world, resulting in a focused study related to the development of curricular methods and content relating to the Holocaust (Schweisfurth, 2006; Waller, 2016). More attention has been paid to post-conflict societies since the mid-1990s, when the world witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Rwandan genocide, and conflicts in the Balkans, Africa, and South Asia (Weinstein, Freedman, & Hughson, 2007). As such, educational responses to and reform in post-genocide contexts and education for genocide prevention are considered increasingly important, and, as such, are more closely examined now than in the past (Waller, 2016). Much of this attention however has focused on restorative justice, not on how systems of education contribute to the rebuilding of societies (Weinstein et al., 2007).

Not only are genocide and post-genocide contexts more researched now than in the past, there is also an increased focus on the prevention of and response to genocide by the world outside of academia. For example, the UNESCO Chairs Programme has the Chair on Genocide Prevention at Rutgers University and the Chair on Genocide Education at the University of Southern California, represent the cross-over and intersection of international organizations and higher education related to post-genocide studies (Waller, 2016). Additionally, U.S.AID's "Education for a Just Society" is one of many international efforts to develop curriculum promoting peace and reconciliation (Waller, 2016). The expansion of research into the redevelopment and reform of education in post-genocide contexts is indicative of the larger global trend of the belief in education's power to influence society beyond the classroom (Waller, 2016), also known as education as a panacea (Wiseman et al., 2016).

Just as education has been used as a tool to indoctrinate a nation's youth, as was the case in both Germany and Rwanda, so too has it been used as a tool to foster peace, democracy, and

respect for others (Freedman, Cokalo et al., 2004). Despite the prevalence of conflict around the world, using education as a positive tool for societal (re)construction is often not realized until after an outbreak of violence (Buckland, 2006). Because schools reflect the values and power relations of the societies in which they operate, issues related to the negative use of an education system may not be revealed to the international community until after violence has occurred (Buckland, 2006). In post-conflict areas, approaches to education often promote peace and democracy, both in immediate short-term and longer term recovery efforts. The following literature review covers published research from post-conflict and post-genocide settings. Findings suggest similar trajectories of development following the end of a conflict, including a shift from education in emergencies to education for redevelopment. Although there are a variety of approaches to education in post-conflict settings, they share the common themes of using education as a tool for recovery and to reunite a nation's peoples through developing a shared history.

Purposes of post-conflict education. Aside from being a descriptor of a time period in a nation's history, post-conflict also refers to an educational approach with commonalities across national contexts. Education is not a neutral endeavor, so therefore, post-conflict societies have a myriad of tensions to consider when examining the redevelopment of their education systems (Cole, 2007a). Not only must education systems avoid provoking future conflicts, but they are also tasked with developing national unity without falsifying the narrative (Cole, 2007a). The contextual needs of the society, including the basis of the conflict, determine which policies are adopted and modified (Cole, 2007a). In situations where education contributed to the conflict and international organizations involvement is incentivized, the incoming government may desire to use education as a way to distinguish itself as different from the past (Buckland, 2006). The

purposes and rationales behind post-conflict education policy and curriculum are wide and varied, but they all return to the idea of education as a means to recover and redevelop following mass trauma.

Stover and Weinstein (2004) identify seven purposes of post-conflict education, including to:

(1) help young people think critically and independently about a contested past; (2) allow for open and free debate about facts and their interpretations; (3) teach civic and cultural values, including respect for human rights and dignity, tolerance of diversity, and the need for forgiveness; (4) help students come to terms with both their social (ethnic, religious, cultural, racial) and civic (citizenship) identities; (5) provide young people with a multi-disciplinary perspective on the world derived from literature, philosophy, ethics, art, history, and the physical and social sciences; (6) be developed through a process of consultation with parents, teachers, and students; and (7) be given priority, along with security, justice, refugee return, human rights, and economic development in negotiating peace accords and treaties. (p. 337)

This extensive list is indicative of education as a panacea, where education is deemed the solution to any and all challenges facing a society (Wiseman, et. al, 2016). These ideas are echoed by Waller (2016):

Education is foundational to human development but its preventative reach goes even further. Comprehensive education reform in post-genocide societies has direct ties to the longer-term preventative processes of building underlying structures of societal and state durability related to good governance, resilient economic conditions, and inclusive social cohesion. (p. 316)

These lists of purposes are also reflected in the available literature, which highlights the development of a shared history, as well as education focused on human rights, social justice, and civic engagement as key components of post-conflict or post-genocide education.

Phases of post-conflict education. The research literature revealed a variety of phased approaches to post-conflict education development. However, confining conflict and post-conflict settings to such strict timelines is artificial, in that each conflict is unique and transitions into each phase on its own time frame and through its own mechanisms (Obura, 2003; Pingel, 2010; Smith & Vaux, 2003). Obura (2003) outlines four overlapping phases of education following conflict or other major societal disruptions, including natural disasters: (1) the initial response, (2) the stable phase, (3) return and reconstruction, and finally (4) development. These phases have been echoed in Pingel's (2010) review of textbook revision and research to consist of an emergency stage, an intermediary reconstruction stage, and a final long-term, strategic phase. Although the involvement of outside institutions and organizations are expected during the emergency phases, this research examines interactions between international and national levels during the redevelopment phases. It is during redevelopment that the national government is able to play a more substantial role in long-term policy development (Pingel, 2010; UNESCO, 2003). These phases are described in more detail in the following sections.

Education in emergencies. During and immediately after an emergency, such as war or genocide, meeting urgent needs, including the provision of food, water, first aid, medicine, shelter, and education are of primary importance (Obura, 2003). During this time, external organizations, especially IGOs, take lead roles in developing and delivering educational content and supplies (Pingel, 2010). International organizations consider the establishment of an education system in these situations as heavily contributing to social and national reconstruction (Obura, 2003).

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However, after the violence ends, the next priorities become political transition and social reconstruction, and education is often considered a tool to facilitate the redevelopment of political and social institutions (Cole, 2007a). UNESCO recognizes the roles of organizations and nations in these two phases, noting that during emergencies, education is often provided by organizations, institutions, and even individuals able to offer educational structure and opportunities, while education for redevelopment is predicated on a national educational authority which sets national policy (UNESCO, 2003).

Education for redevelopment. Because of the frequency with which conflict has disrupted various national systems of education and the resiliency and contributions of schools to social reconstruction, humanitarian agencies recognize the importance of post-conflict education (Buckland, 2006). Following the emergency stage, a nation should review and update their education system (Pingel, 2010), including immediate revisions of textbooks and curriculum to remove offensive or divisive material (Freedman et al., 2008). After this intermediary phase, the system of education should embark on more complete overhauls, where the inciting elements of the former system are removed and education moves toward reconciliation (Freedman, Cokalo et al., 2004; Pingel, 2010). This research focuses on education during the long-term, strategic recovery and development phases.

During the later stages of education for redevelopment, there are often more opportunities for local and grassroots movements to influence the development of the education system, however the extent of this possibility is influenced by national partnerships with international organizations (Pingel, 2010). However, neglecting to gather input from the local community in the development of curriculum is one danger of over-involvement of external organizations (Freedman, Cokalo et al., 2004). It has been noted that significant changes to education policy are most effective when

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adopted by independent governments in a stable political and economic climate (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Timeline of post-conflict curriculum development. In many post-conflict situations, there is a lapse of time between the conclusion of the conflict and the development and implementation of new education policies (UNESCO, 2003). The period initially following genocide may leave that part of a nation's history out of the curriculum for several reasons, including the nation's unwillingness to acknowledge its own wrongdoings, feelings of inability to properly address the issue, or time spent writing history regarding how the country should discuss it (Cole, 2007a, 2007b; Freedman, Kambanda et al., 2004; Hilker, 2011; Hodgkin, 2006).

Cole (2007a; 2007b) provides several rationale for the gap between the end of conflict or genocide and its appearance in the intended curriculum. History education is generally taught chronologically, with a nation's earliest days at the beginning of the year and more recent events toward the end of the school year, meaning that a class may not make it to the nation's recent history and, thus, inadvertently, leave out the conflict or genocide (Cole, 2007a). Although secondary school students are often thought of as being mature enough to handle difficult topics, in the time immediately following conflict or genocide, it may still be too soon to learn about it in the classroom without the fear of triggering traumatic responses from students or teachers (Cole, 2007a).

The increased focus on standardization, examinations, and science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) courses may also hinder the revision of history curriculum in post-genocide contexts (Cole, 2007a). Because history, social studies, and other liberal arts courses have faced a decline in emphasis in most school systems around the world, these subjects may receive little interest or support from national and international policy makers following genocide

(Cole, 2007a). However, the alternative could also be true, as an increased focus on history education in post-genocide contexts by IGOs, INGOs, national governments, and academia may contribute to more attention being given to the curriculum revision process (Cole, 2007a).

Ngo (2014) defines this gap as a "period of mourning" during which citizens "may be unready to face a tragedy such as genocide and must first deal with the feelings and memories of the traumatic time" (p. 156). Ngo (2014) goes on to outline three phases in the education reform process: (1) phase one focuses on the promotion of a positive national identity and distance from previous regime; (2) phase two purposefully excludes the divisive curriculum issue to focus on political progress and national development; and (3) phase three, where the genocide is formally addressed in the education system as a response to international influences. Acknowledgement of both the initial gap and ongoing iterations of education policy and curriculum are important for this research in that they outline some of the trends to be reflected in the Rwandan education policy and curriculum development processes.

The Cambodian example. In addition to the examples of post-conflict curriculum development outlined above in Germany and Rwanda, Cambodia provides an additional example of a gap between the end of conflict and the inclusion of the conflict in the curriculum (Dy, 2013). The Khmer Rouge controlled Cambodia from 1975-1979, during which anyone described as an enemy, including teachers, doctors, former government officials, and other intellectuals, were systematically murdered (Dy, 2013). Following the fall of the Khmer Rouge and the subsequent rule by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, education was not a primary focus, and any revisions to the system were political in nature, where the history taught glorified the ruling party while lambasting any opponents (Dy, 2013). Following a peace agreement in 1991 and Cambodia's first national elections, a new version of history textbooks were made available, however these did not

include any history related to the Khmer Rouge (Dy, 2013). During this time, teachers were also instructed not to discuss the Khmer Rouge in their classroom.

It was not until the next round of textbook adoption, in 2000, that the Cambodian genocide was included in history textbooks and even then, at the ninth grade level for example, only a few sentences describe this period (Dy, 2013). Even the twelfth grade textbook only included approximately one and a half pages dedicated to the Khmer Rouge and Cambodian genocide (Dy, 2013). Even after this initial inclusion, how to address this period in Cambodian history remained a focus of political debate, which has meant that the Cambodian genocide has gone through periods of inclusion and absence in the curriculum and textbooks (Dy, 2013).

Ngo's examination of Cambodian history textbooks (2014) used a nation-building and neo-national perspective to explain how textbooks have contributed to the "social reconstruction process by which nations reimage their national identity", positioning Cambodian history textbooks as a "political tool for political agendas" (p. 158). Ngo (2014) attributed the influence of the ubiquitous world society to explain Cambodia's most recent inclusion of genocide education: Cambodia became increasingly involved with international organizations, thus increasing its visibility on the international stage and its familiarity with global norms, resulting in the incorporation of genocide education in the national curriculum.

Although not a context under specific examination in this research, Cambodia provides another example of the model of post-genocide history education, where a nation's violent past is either purposefully silenced or banned for a variety of reasons, and then, often with the input of external organizations, is the violent past included in formal education. Ngo's (2014) analysis of history textbooks further supports this framework by linking the inclusion of the Cambodian genocide to the involvement of international organizations. However, in Cambodia, as in many

other post-genocide contexts, support provided to teachers and other education professionals regarding what and how to teach may be limited (Dy, 2013), providing an example of the gap between policy adoption and implementation.

Development of a shared history. One key goal of new national leadership in revising the education system is to unite the country by developing a shared history through collective memory or collective forgetting, representing a top-down approach to unification policies (Buckley-Zistel, 2009). In post-genocide contexts, the new power regime "shape[s] what is remembered and what is forgotten with their choice of narratives about the past" (p. 31), which provides insight into their future objectives (Buckley-Zistel, 2009). Hein & Selden (2000) found that in Germany, Japan, and the U.S., a common theme of shared histories was deemphasizing the country's negative involvement and highlight where a nation suffered or provided the most international assistance. Such shared experiences may be developed in two ways: (1) focusing on the relationship between citizens and the state by recognizing or denying group differences or (2) focusing on foreign relations (Hein & Selden, 2000), both trends of which were observed in the post-Holocaust Germany education system (Ahonen, 2001; Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006). Aid organizations recognize that schools and education systems are locations where the script that incited previous violence may be rewritten to develop a united society (Buckland, 2006), and may therefore become targeted locations of interaction.

An aspect of national unity that appears in the literature about post-conflict education in social cohesion. Drawing on Coleman's explanation of social cohesion as the intersection of human and social capital, Hill (2011) describes social cohesion as "collective action of individuals and groups using their knowledge and skills to work toward a common goal", which is especially "important for cultivating and sustaining peaceful communities" (p. 156). Hill (2011) posits that

intentional attempts to develop social cohesion in schools, through practices that are democratic and encourage critical thinking, contribute to greater social cohesion in society.

The development of a shared identity may purposefully be in opposition to group identities which incited the conflict. In Germany, nationalism was downplayed, while the opposite was true in Rwanda, where the focus has been on developing one united Rwandan people (Freedman et al., 2008). For example, UNESCO sponsored a report on post-genocide education in Rwanda, in which they outlined education, specifically curriculum, as key to instilling into all Rwandans a "sense of security; reinforcement of national cohesion and positive values of society; promotion of peace, unity and reconciliation; promoting education, capacity building and human resource development and giving Rwandans essential skills for poverty reduction" (UNSECO, 2003, as cited in Buckley-Zistel, 2009).

Dierkes (2007) examined depictions of Germany in secondary school textbooks following the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990, finding that post-unification education in Germany takes a Europeanization approach, where Germany as a nation, and by extension, its citizens, is positioned as a European and international state (Dierkes, 2007). Soysal (2006) aligns his findings about the shifting focal point toward a European identity in German history books with the neo-institutional concept of isomorphism, where the national level adopts and reproduces discourse in alignment with the wider environment. In the case of German history curriculum, this consists of a move away from developing students' national identities to the development of an international perspective (Soysal, 2006). Soysal also recognizes that numerous actors, including teachers, academics, advocacy groups, international and intergovernmental organizations, have played substantial roles in the development of Germany's history education.

Educational approaches. Education in post-conflict settings takes a variety of forms and names, including social justice education, human rights education, civic education, Holocaust education, and peace education, just to name a few. However, despite many ways of guiding instruction, these approaches share the common purposes of recovering from and preventing future conflicts or genocidal events. Although the pedagogical methods or curriculum content may vary across approaches and contexts, there is a common emphasis on the development of critical thinking skills in order to build a thoughtful and civic minded citizenry. These approaches perpetuate the idea of education as a panacea because they are premised on the idea that education can solve problems created by conflict and can prevent future conflicts (Wiseman et al., 2016). A review of these varied approaches is necessary because they contribute to the international script regarding expectations for post-conflict education. What follows are explanations of these various approaches and reviews of the associated research literature. The various approaches and a brief definition are also listed in Table 2.

Social justice education. Social justice education serves as a broader concept under which more specific approaches, including civic education, multicultural education, and global education, have been classified (Levstick & Tyson, 2008). The term social justice is widely used across the field of education, however one comprehensive definition adopted by policy makers, researchers, and practitioners alike does not exist (North, 2006). Although most educational research around the field of social justice is focused on the U.S., however, as North (2006) acknowledges, the realm of education is under the "multidirectional influence of cultures in an increasingly global context" (p. 508).

Social justice education could broadly be described as education that works toward the "full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs"

(Adams et al., 2007). The incorporation of the process and goal, the content and methods of curriculum and education, are hallmarks of a social justice approach to education and curriculum, where the ultimate goal is the development of self-determinant—"able to develop their full capacities," and interdependent—"capable of interacting democratically with others" students (Adams et al., 2007, p. 1). Previous research emphasizes the importance of allowing students to grapple with a variety of perspectives from the conflict or genocide (Hilker, 2011), which is an approach central to social justice pedagogy (Adams et al., 2007).

Regarding content, social justice curriculum should reveal the various –isms, or types of discrimination apparent in the world, including racism, classism, and sexism. Additionally the content should be culturally integrative, including multicultural, intercultural, and cross-cultural perspectives that are embedded throughout, not just supplemented at various times, the school year (Banks & Banks, 2009). The methods used in social justice curriculum should be democratic, participatory, and inclusive, while working to develop students' abilities to critically analyze texts and experiences (Banks & Banks, 2009)**.** Social justice education is defined and included here because the characteristics of the content and methods it recommends overlap with the other post-conflict educational approaches outlined here.

Civic education. Within the field of social studies, civic education is the most researched sub-field (Levstick & Tyson, 2008). Williams (2014) notes the distinction between schools' involvement in developing students' civic responsibility in non-conflict and conflict settings:

Under normal conditions, schools' civic work is straightforward and mostly invisible. However, during periods of rapid social, political, and economic change, schools' civic work--especially that documented in school history and social studies textbooks--is likely

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to change, and in changing, to become visible, reflecting the role that schools and textbooks play in 'supporting' the nation. (p. 5)

As stated above, revisions to education policy following conflict provides an opportunity to examine how the education system promotes national unity for the developing citizenry.

Freedman, Weinstein et al. (2008) found that teaching history is always connected to developing national or civic identity. They outline two conflicting forces at work in post-conflict history curriculum: (1) teaching history for national identity development while also promoting evidence-based critical thinking; and (2) developing national unity while "incorporating in productive and non-divisive ways the social realities of continuing ethnic identities" (p. 685). These examples are indicative of intersection between developing civic minded students with a shared history.

Buck and Geissel's (2009) interviews with education policy makers in Germany highlighted how civic education in Germany began as a response to World War II with the purpose of preventing totalitarianism. The legacy of Germany's history has led to the embedding of civic education across subject areas and in both youth and adult education systems (Buck & Geissel, 2009). Their findings suggest that as Germany's economic situation has changed, so have understandings of what constitutes an ideal citizen, with the initial focus on developing democratic and critical citizens expanding to include economic independence and financial self-sufficiency (Buck & Geissel, 2009). Buck and Geissel's (2009) study emphasizes how civic education, and really any of the educational approaches outlined here, changes over time and depending on local understandings of the content.

Human rights education. Human rights education (HRE) includes both education as a human right and educating about human rights (Cardenas, 2005). Although it merits its own

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classification in this literature review, HRE has been repackaged and renamed under a variety of headings, including peace education, education for conflict resolution, or education for democratic citizenship (Brochmann & Midttun, 2002). However, HRE has been called "inherently revolutionary" (Cardenas, 2005, p. 364), as it has the potential to highlight injustices and reveal gaps in human rights guarantees. As HRE "seeks both to correct and to prevent human rights abuses" (Cardenas, 2005, p. 366), post-conflict nations may adopt such policies to demonstrate alignment with international norms.

Human rights education is often considered a "necessary element of re-establishing stable and just post-war societies" (Davies, 2007, p. 235) through the inclusion of content addressing human rights in the curriculum (Suarez, 2006). Like other approaches to post-conflict education, HRE advocates for a multifaceted approach to education, including a focus on cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral aspects (Bernath, Holland, & Martin, 1999; Davies, 2007). HRE should be adjusted to meet the needs of the local context while also promoting student-centered, participatory, and active pedagogy (Brochmann & Midttun, 2002). Additionally, HRE focuses on translating classroom learning to civic action and community participation (Davies, 2007), and is sometimes combined with civic education and conflict resolution programs, which highlights the overlap between the different approaches to post-conflict education (Bernath et al., 1999). HRE is more than just a transfer of knowledge from teacher to students, and in order to be effective at preventing future outbreaks of violence, human rights education must spur widespread cultural change (Bernath et al., 1999).

Bernath et al., (1999) examine human rights education in conflict and post-conflict settings to identify a minimum set of requirements for HRE to be effective. Their findings suggest that teachers and activists consider HRE as a "(a) needed, common, internationally recognized

reference points for social justice; and (b) as reminders that each human being has rights and that the authorities are obliged to recognize and protect them." (Bernath et al., p. 15). Interviews with educators in Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, revealed that much of HRE material provided by IGOs was not appropriate for ongoing- or post-conflict settings, nor did it allow for interpretation to the local contexts (Bernath et al., 1999). HRE should include interactive teaching methods with limited time spent on instructor-focused methods, such as lectures (Bernath et al., 1999). Classroom implementation should focus on real-life situations that are practical and relevant to students (Bernath et al., 1999).

Although it is particularly relevant in post-conflict settings, HRE is considered an international script which appears in countries around the world, regardless of context. Suarez's (2006) examination of HRE used a neo-institutional perspective to trace HRE from its original grassroots beginnings, up to international policy, and back down to local practices. Globalization serves as a conduit to spread educational models across national boundaries (Suarez, 2006). Suarez (2006) cited similarities in teaching methods and content across contexts as indicative of larger global scripts which permeate IGOs, NGOs, and national governments. Similarly, Cardenas (2005) case study of South Africa's Human Rights Commission and HRE trends around the world revealed that curriculum reforms were the most commonly adopted HRE policy around the world, appearing most in the Americas and Europe. However, she acknowledges that the adoption of policy does not guaranteed implementation, and therefore seeks to challenge the gap that exists between policy and practice around HRE (Cardenas, 2005). As exemplified by these two cases, the educational approaches outlined here are not unique to post-conflict context, therefore the rationales and impetuses behind the adoption of such curriculum in post-conflict societies vary from those countries which adopt such policies without having a history of violence.

Holocaust education. A distinction must be made between Holocaust education broadly speaking and Holocaust education in Germany. In the German context, the Holocaust is included as part of the national history, whereas when the Holocaust is included in other contexts, it is often part of the global history. Regardless of whether it is presented chronologically or thematically, Holocaust education broadly speaking is inherently different in Germany than in other contexts simply because of Germany's history. Much of the literature included here speaks to global Holocaust education, which, while it does contribute to an understanding of the now global model of Holocaust education, is not contextualized to specific post-conflict settings.

Although Holocaust education has a unique relationship with the German education system, its development occurred in countries both outside of Germany and Western Europe, including in the United States (Totten, 2012). Holocaust education appeared in the United States during the 1960s as the result of efforts by Jewish educators at private religious schools (Totten, 2012). Their efforts eventually influenced educators in public schools who began incorporating instruction about the Holocaust (Totten, 2012). Since the 1960s, Holocaust education slowly made its way into schools and curriculum in the U.S. (Totten, 2012), but it was not until several decades later, in the 1980s and 1990s that the Holocaust appeared widely in the curriculum (Davies & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013; Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012).

The Holocaust is the most widely studied human rights issue in U.S. schools for a variety of reasons, including:

(1) the Holocaust was a cataclysmic event that shocked the international community; (2) the genocide was committed by a government of a nation of people noted for its rich and sophisticated culture; (3) the Holocaust was carried out in the mid-20th century in the heart of Europe, which was considered a bastion of civilization; (4) the Holocaust was one of the

most well documented historical events in the history of humanity; (5) U.S. troops were involved in liberating the concentration and death camps; (7) numerous survivors of the Holocaust emigrated to the United States; and (8) the survivors and their compatriots have put a great deal of effort into encouraging the world community, including teachers and students in U.S. schools, to examine the fact of the Holocaust. (Totten, 2012, p. 223)

Holocaust education takes two primary forms: (1) as an embedded part of a national history narrative or (2) as part of a larger thematic narrative about morality and civic responsibility (Bromley & Russell, 2010). Over time, depictions of the Holocaust have shifted from a historical narrative covered chronologically to a focus on the preservation of human rights (Bromley & Russell, 2010), revealing once again the overlapping nature of the approaches described in the literature review. Although Holocaust education does appear more frequently in American and European contexts, it is not a requirement in several European nations, including Italy and Scotland (Davis & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). In South Africa, the first African country to adopt Holocaust education, it was framed as a human rights abuse case study (Davis & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). In this case, and in several others, examinations of the Holocaust allowed students to discuss human rights violations in different contexts in order to better understand their nation's historical treatment of minority groups (Davis & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013).

When teaching about the Holocaust, it is important to have predetermined focal points which guide instruction, otherwise educators run the risk of trying to include too much and, as a result, not including enough (Lindquist, 2008). In addition to students needing to learn about the Holocaust, educators too should attend professional development sessions where they learn both historical content as well as pedagogical approaches appropriate for teaching about the Holocaust. Lindquist (2008) suggests five focal points for teaching about the Holocaust, including:

1) situating the Holocaust as a central event in world history; 2) defining patterns of human behavior; 3) viewing Holocaust education as a force for social and educational change within the context of the civic values upon which democratic societies are anchored; 4) examining the Holocaust as a catalyst for fostering intellectual and personal growth in both students and teachers due to the subject's complexity and the high interest level that the topic generates; and 5) situating the Holocaust as a primary focus of contemporary education. (p. 5)

Although Lindquist's (2008) characterization focuses specifically on the inclusion of the Holocaust in curriculum and classrooms worldwide, the framework outlined above could also be applied when teaching about genocide.

Holocaust education appears in national education policy and in discourse put forth by IGOs and NGOs. UNESCO recently sponsored the publication of *Holocaust Education in a Global Context* to emphasize the importance of Holocaust education for school systems worldwide, not just those directly impacted by the Holocaust (Fracapane & Haß, 2014). Facing History and Ourselves is a well-known organization and leader in the field of Holocaust education (Stover & Weinstein, 2004). Although they are based in the United States, they have worked internationally, including to develop curriculum in post-genocide Rwanda (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Stover & Weinstein, 2004). A systematic literature review of conceptual publications related to Holocaust education attributes some of the spread of Holocaust education to nations worldwide to mass media, such as books and films, as well as NGOs, including the Anne Frank House in the Netherlands and the Memorial de la Shoah in France (Davies & Rubinstein-Avila, 2013). Organizations such as those mentioned here, as well as an emphasis from UNESCO on Holocaust

education contribute to the institutionalization of Holocaust education (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012).

Bromley and Russell's (2010) examination of the Holocaust in textbooks from around the world confirms the globalized expectation of human rights. Their research is premised on the belief that world organizations, institutions, and especially nations, have increasingly been influenced by international norms and values (Bromley and Russell, 2010). Bromley and Russell (2010) position Holocaust education as an international script which has emerged since World War II, and their findings suggest that Holocaust education is likely to appear in textbooks from societies focused on diversity, human rights, and belonging to the international community (Bromley & Russell, 2010). In their research, Bromley and Russell (2010) found that more books from the Western world mention the Holocaust than books from the non-West. The quantity of inclusion of the Holocaust in textbooks is static in these Western countries but is still increasing in non-Western perspectives, a phenomenon which could be explained through sociological neo-institutional perspectives (Bromley & Russell, 2010). Their research does not explicitly concern nations affected by genocide; rather they argue that the appearance of the Holocaust in textbooks is primarily a reflection of global trends and the influence of international organizations which have furthered the discourse on Holocaust education by launching programs to encourage its adoption rather than from the influence of national history (Bromley & Russell, 2010).

Other approaches. Peace education and transitional justice also appeared in the research literature as educational approaches for post-conflict contexts. As previously mentioned, these approaches are typically interdisciplinary and have significant overlap. What is called peace education in one context may only be slightly different from what is called civic education in another context. However, multiple studies have indicated that the most successful education

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reforms are those adopted in a stable political environment and which consider influential contexts and stakeholders' contributions (Bellino, 2016; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Weinstein et al, 2007).

Weinstein et al., (2007) critique notions of peace education and the role of education in contributing to social reconstruction, arguing that education is one piece of the larger reconstruction and reconciliation processes. Findings from their study in four post-conflict contexts suggest that educational systems are constrained by the legacy of former political regimes and traditional pedagogical practices and that sustained engagement in the redevelopment of the education system by local stakeholders is necessary for effective positive change (Weinstein et al., 2007). However, Hill's (2011) case study of post-conflict education in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which revealed that only some schools had adopted civics or peace education, which were directly supported by external organizations, including Education for Peace, Civitas, and Facing History and Ourselves. The success of the Education for Peace program was especially notable, and resulted in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government request that the program be implemented across the country (Hill, 2011).

Education was identified by Waller (2016) as a "key transitional justice mechanism in many post-atrocity societies" (p. 316). Bellino (2016) examines how education serves as a vehicle of transitional justice in post-conflict Guatemala. Transitional justice is an interdisciplinary field focused on how societies transition from periods of authoritarian rule or extensive human rights violations to a more peaceful and democratic system (Bellino, 2016). This approach positions education as a means for national policy makers to shape future citizens regarding both understandings of past history as well as their civic responsibilities (Bellino, 2016). Bellino (2016) found that transitional justice was a script that permeated the local, national, and global levels, however, how it was enacted was context specific.

Table 2

Approaches to Post-Conflict Education

Approach	Description
Social justice education	Broad category of education which applies to both any content and methods that works toward the inclusion of all students in democratic processes critically examining the inequalities in society.
Civic education	Particularly relevant in post-conflict settings as a tool to develop students' civic identity and responsibility.
Human rights education	Includes education as a human right and educating about human rights and often includes an examination of societal injustices and a focus on community engagement.
Holocaust education	Education about the Holocaust that is either included through the chronological history narrative or as a lesson on morality, civic responsibility, and critical thinking. *This differs from post-Holocaust education, which specifically pertains to teaching about the Holocaust and World War II in Germany, or potentially other Axis countries.*
Other approaches	With significant overlap with the previously mentioned approaches, peace education and transitional justice are two additional post-conflict educational approaches that emerged.

Summary. While research on post-conflict education is extensive, there are themes that emerge across the literature. These themes include common purposes, phases, and a timeline of post-conflict education development. The research commonly divides education in post-conflict settings into two phases: (1) education in emergencies, and (2) education for redevelopment. During an emergency, the purposes of education may shift to providing stability and meeting the immediate needs of students and their families, including providing water, food, and shelter. During the redevelopment phase, however, the purposes of education shift. In post-conflict and post-genocide communities, the overarching focus moves to the development of a shared history in order to create national unity. The parameters of the genocide influence how national unity is

developed, with nations often choosing to emphasize one national identity, as in post-genocide Rwanda, or their place in the larger, global community, as in post-Holocaust Germany. The educational approaches used to achieve this goal of national unity may vary in title and detail, but they share the common characteristics of being student centered in both content and methods, encouraging critical thinking to engage with real world injustices and inequalities, and developing skills of civic engagement and civic responsibility.

IGOs and education. International governmental organizations, which are created through formal agreements between two or more nations, have increased in power to influence national education policy since World War II (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015), meaning that since UNESCO's creation, it has had increasing ability to influence education around the world, including in Rwanda. Because UNESCO's mission of developing a global community through shared educational experiences which focus on human rights and peace building is especially relevant to post-genocide nations which may be seeking to achieve similar goals for their citizens, it is important to examine how UNESCO and other IGOs have been explored in the research literature, particularly related to post-conflict contexts.

National to international policy shifts. Changes in education today are due, in part, because of the increasing involvement of IGOs in educational policy making (Leuze et al., 2007). There are a variety of reasons attributed to the increasing influence of international organizations, including an acknowledgement that not all nations were able to manage and solve challenges related to education, and as a result, these nations sought to involve outside entities to find solutions to common problems (Leuze, Martens, & Rusconi, 2007). Throughout the 1990s, IGOs gained prominence as influencers on education policies, as national governments sought to utilize their funding and IGOs were looking to be involved in more national projects (Leuze, Brant, Jakobi,

Martens, Nagel, Rusconi, & Weyman, 2008). As these national programs developed, it became more common for IGOs to adhere to their own agenda rather than following along with their member states (Leuze et al., 2008).

Although education has traditionally been the responsibility of each nation, international organizations are increasingly responsible for education policy development and delivery (Leuze et al., 2007), especially in post-conflict or emergency situations (UNESCO, 2003). International organizations have become more involved with education policy at a national level by "widening their scope of action, by shifting the cognitive horizon beyond national borders and by providing regionally or universally applicable models for education" (Leuze et al., 2007, p. 3). However, the ideologies and actions of IGOs may not align with national goals, especially for those organizations represented primarily by larger or wealthier nations (Leuze et al., 2007). Therefore, the "public good of education", which formerly operated solely at the national level, increasingly operates at an international level (Leuze et al., 2007, p. 7), which has implications for nations redeveloping their education systems following genocide or other systemic collapse.

Akkari & Lauwerier (2015) examined official reports from the World Bank, OECD, UNESCO, and UNICEF from 1990 to 2000, finding that educational policy recommendations have increasingly focused on quality, governance and accountability, privatization, and measurement of learning outcomes. These findings suggest that although these IGOs generally remain true to their central missions, such as UNESCO's focus on a "rights-based approach to education" (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015, p. 152), the specifics of their policies vary over time, although all tend to advocate for a similar approach to educational governance. Dale and Robertson (2007) position education as a "major test" (p. 217) for globalization theories, as national education systems are now closely linked with international forces and external institutions, such as IGOs,

INGOs, private-for-profit universities, international think tanks, and other organizations focused on the capitalization of education.

Influence of IGOs. Membership to international organizations is often bound by specific conditions which must be met, which in turn limits which nations participate (Leuze et al., 2007). However, IGOs also provide "necessary means and tools" to encourage cooperation between countries (Leuze et al., 2007). International organizations often use their financial influence and power to guide education policy (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). International organizations provide support for educational development through a variety of avenues, including by offering funding as well as providing educational experts to guide national policy development (McNeely & Cha, 1994). They also hold much expertise, including resources related to best practices, benchmarking, or evaluation (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). Leuze et al. (2008) has termed the variety of ways IGOs influence national education policy as "governance instruments", which include discursive dissemination, standard setting, financial means, and coordinative activities.

Organizations such as UNESCO have played central roles in the development and adoption of educational policy at the national level (McNeely & Cha, 1994). The influence of national development goals, such as the MDGs, which are developed by IGOs with input from representatives from member nations, impact national level school policies through an emphasis on an international community, rather than a national community (Kamens, 2013). Additionally, the international expectation is that national levels of education have accountability measures and participate in sharing this information internationally or regionally (Kamens, 2013). These expectations become especially apparent at international conferences, as national level ministers of education are able to share how their country is pursuing "modern" values, which in turn may make a country seem more eligible for partnerships with external funders or organizations

(Kamens, 2013). In the field of Holocaust education, both nongovernmental and governmental international organizations have helped develop the guidelines for education (Macgilchrist & Chrisophe, 2011).

IGOs and post-conflict education. International organizations become involved in post-conflict education because their mandates are concerned primarily with (1) education, (2) children, (3) conflict and emergencies, or any combination of these sectors (Smith & Vaux, 2003). UNICEF's focus on children's needs means that it is present throughout the conflict, however supporting education systems post-conflict is not a requirement, and as such, they may have smaller projects in post-conflict nations, which may not have substantial impact on education policy or curriculum (Smith & Vaux, 2003). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is also involved with education in emergencies or conflicts, however they do not focus on education to the same extent as UNESCO, or even UNICEF (Smith & Vaux, 2003).

Obura (2003) states that UNESCO would like to improve documentation of national governments and ministries of education in post-conflict situations to be on par with the documentation UNESCO and other aid organizations. As a result, UNESCO launched the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and the Unit for Support to Countries in Crisis and Reconstruction to develop a handbook, training materials, and professional development courses for those involved in policy development following emergencies, including government officials, international aid workers, and other practitioners (Smith & Vaux, 2003). The World Bank is also significantly involved in post-conflict education and has outlined a five-stage framework for involvement in post-conflict reconstruction, including "a watching brief, a transitional support strategy, early reconstruction activities, post-conflict reconstruction, and a return to normal

operations" (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 56). The World Bank also established a Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction (CPR) Unit as well as a Post-Conflict Fund (Smith & Vaux, 2003).

Smith and Vaux (2003) recognize that post-conflict nations provide an opportunity for IGOs to financially contribute to "support education reform processes…[and] to develop more conflict-sensitive systems of education" (pp. 25-36). Lewin, Little, and Colclough's (1982) study of national educational plans from 1966 to 1985 from sixteen African, Asian, and Latin American countries were found to align with policy recommendations from UNESCO and the World Bank. Additionally, both of these organizations were typically consulted as nation's developed their education policies, which provides evidence of the overlap between international organizations and national governments (Lewin et al., 1982).

IGOs and human rights education. Although non-governmental organizations may have initially led the push for human rights education, nations have increasingly focused on the promotion, but not necessarily the implementation, of human rights education (Cardenas, 2005). "Transnational advocacy networks", consisting of domestic NGOs, international organizations, advocacy groups, and other nations, influence nations to adopt policy, such as HRE, in order to enhance a nation's reputation (Cardenas, 2005). International organizations have incentivized and supported HRE by offering financial and human resources (Cardenas, 2005). IGOs including UNESCO and other UN-affiliated branches have promoted HRE in areas transitioning from totalitarian to democratic rule or moving from conflict to post-conflict (Cardenas, 2005).

The UN contributed to the institutionalization of HRE by declaring 1995-2004 the "United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education" (Cardenas, 2005). Cardenas (2005) traced the development of human rights education through four international documents: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), International Covenant Economic, Social, and Cultural

Rights (1976), Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990), and Vienna Declaration and Program of Action (1993). A similar study by Smith & Vaux (2003) added the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949), the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959), and the Convention against Discrimination in Education (1962) as key documents which work to guarantee the universal primary education as a key human right even during times of conflict. Specifically, Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child outline children's right to free and compulsory primary education which includes preparing children for roles in a society characterized by understanding, peace, tolerance, equality, and respect for human rights (Smith & Vaux, 2003).

In 2003, UNESCO sponsored the colloquium *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies,* which educational experts and representatives from IGOs and NGOs attended. At this colloquium, case studies from numerous post-conflict countries, including Rwanda, were discussed in an attempt to understand the role of educational policy in rebuilding these societies and nations (UNESCO, 2003). Attendees described their approach as collaborative action-research, as they discussed and examined case-studies from seven post-identity-based-conflict contexts (UNESCO, 2003). One finding from UNESCO's 2003 colloquium on *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies* was the threat of IGOs and other aid organizations serving as "new missionaries" through an excessive influence of educational policies (p. 12). Rwanda was mentioned as being particularly susceptible to this threat due to the conflicting agendas of international donors (UNESCO, 2003).

Challenges. While the influence and incentives offered by international organizations may sometimes appear without fault or challenge, there are a variety of obstacles faced by all parties involved, including national government and local organizations. Although international funders

partnering with local organizations may seem like an ideal situation, it runs the risk of exploitation, as IGOs may be seen as taking advantage of typically cheaper local labor (Deacon & Stubbs, 1998). Additionally, overreach, dependence, and excessive competition are all challenges outlined in literature examining the interactions between international organizations, national governments, and local stakeholders.

Overreach and dependence. Deacon and Stubbs (1998) conducted a case study examination on the involvement of international and local organizations in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to highlight problems with international organization intervention in the development of long-term, sustainable social policy. Overreach, where international organizations support long-term efforts which should be taken over by the national government, including paying the salaries of doctors and teachers, rather than just providing funding for emergency or humanitarian needs, is one challenge associated with international donor involvement (Deacon & Stubbs, 1998). During the 1990s, UNESCO focused on its 'culture of peace' program, which was later criticized for being too far reaching (Smith & Vaux, 2003). Funding opportunities based on criteria outlined by donors rather than meeting needs expressed by the community may result in excess support for some programs while simultaneously under-funding, or completely neglecting, important components (Deacon & Stubbs, 1998).

Excessive competition. Competition across all sectors becomes a challenge with the involvement of international donors, as interest groups may seek what is best for their collective rights rather than what is best for all individuals' human rights (Deacon & Stubbs, 1998). Miscommunications between international organizations and local organizations and schools can lead to competition for funding, which may shift the focus away from what is best for the students and community to what is best for the stakeholders seeking funding (Brochman & Midttun, 2002;

Deacon & Stubbs, 1998). Additionally, international donors may seek to fund local organizations rather than support national ministries, which may create tension and competition between national institutions and local NGOs (Deacon & Stubbs, 1998).

Brochman and Midttun (2002) expand upon previous research that positions human rights education as important for education for peacebuilding in post-conflict settings and for nations transitioning from totalitarian to democratic rule. Drawing on their own experiences in the Southern Caucasus nations and in several countries in Africa, they witnessed several tensions at play between IGOs and local organizations and schools, including resistance from humanitarian organizations at prioritizing basic education in post-conflict settings (Brochmann & Midttun, 2002).

Theoretical Framework

The scope of a research project indicates which theoretical approach is most appropriate. Researchers examining broad trends and influences on post-conflict curriculum reform and development often use macro-sociological, neo-institutional perspectives (Bellino, 2016; Bromley & Russell, 2010; Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Perry & Tor, 2008; Suarez, 2006). Although sociological neo-institutionalism is the perspective most suited to answer questions related to international and national level interactions in post-genocide curriculum development, other researchers have explored similar topics through a variety of theoretical lenses. Researchers examining the interactions between the international and national levels have used conceptual frameworks similar to sociological neo-institutionalism, including world systems theory, global constructivism (Perry & Tor, 2008; Schuelka, 2014) and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's Advocacy Coalition Framework (as cited in Ehrenberg, 2016) to explain policy transfer and borrowing in Bhutan and Rwanda, respectively. Other researchers have used context specific frameworks

(Yogev, 2014), and critical perspectives (Rubin, 2016), including post-colonialism (Rwatabagu, 2010), to explain curriculum revisions in post-conflict contexts. Within each of these perspectives, authors further delineate and define the application of the theories. In the sections that follow, an application of the components of sociological neo-institutionalism and policy borrowing to the research questions studied here are described, followed by a brief review of other theoretical approaches to research in post-genocide education.

Sociological neo-institutional theory. Sociological neo-institutionalism has been used to examine interactions between international and national levels of education policy development (Bellino, 2016; Bromley & Russell, 2010; Dale & Robertson, 2007; Suarez, 2006), and as such, this approach provides the framework for the research outlined here. The research focuses predominantly on the development of secondary social studies curriculum, which aligns with previously conducted sociological neo-institutional studies relying on "standardized primary source materials" (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 513). A macro-level perspective, as sociological neo-institutionalism provides, is appropriate for examining the overarching education policy trends and the "wider forces that impact educational transfer" (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 512). Sociological neo-institutionalism serves as the broad, overarching theory, with policy-borrowing, as defined by Phillips and Ochs (2003) and Leuze et al. (2008), providing the more nuanced lens through which to examine interactions between the international and national levels through mechanisms of institutional interaction.

Neo-institutionalism examines taken-for-granted scripts, legitimacy seeking by national actors, and decoupling that occurs between the scripts and their enactment to explain interactions between international organizations and national governments (Jepperson, 2002; Meyer, 2008). Scripts consist of international models of action, thought, or discourse that nations may adopt in

their efforts to seek international legitimacy (Meyer, 2008; Wiseman et al., 2013). These norms have become institutionalized through their common adoption across a variety of institutions (Meyer, 2008). Legitimacy-seeking occurs when nations adhere to such widely-diffused scripts in attempts to gain or maintain status at the international level (Wiseman et al., 2013). However, policies that are adopted for the purpose of recognition at the global level are not always enacted with fidelity at the local level, resulting in a gap between policy and practice, known as decoupling (Weick, 1976). These three components of neo-institutionalism—scripting, legitimacy seeking, and decoupling—provide a basis for explaining how and why policy-borrowing occurs around the world, but especially in the case of curriculum in post-genocide Rwanda.

Scripting. Scripts refer to international models that influence national policy (Wiseman et al., 2013). Scripts are models for action, thought, or discourse that have become institutionalized through their common adoption across a variety of organizations (Meyer, 2008). They represent a generally standardized approach to education, including similar organizational structures and curriculum subjects (Meyer, 2008). The movement of these expectations around the world has been referred to as "educational transfer" (Perry & Tor, 2008), which encompasses policy borrowing, which is further outlined below.

Current scripts surrounding education perpetuate the idea that education contributes to economic improvement, promotes social justice (Wiseman & Baker, 2005), and increases social responsibility and civic engagement (Baker, 2014; Elias et al., 2008; Flanagan & Faison, 2001). Wiseman and Baker (2013) cite several contributing factors to the spread of international scripts related to education policy, including multilateral level models, the belief that international organizations have the wisdom and authority to be reliable sources for education decision-making, and an emphasis on scientific or data based studies. The adoption of internationally shared scripts

may indicate a nation's efforts at legitimacy-seeking, as using recommendations from international organizations provide policy with a sense of legitimacy and prestige (Loya & Boli, 1999). For nations recovering from genocide, adopting policy in alignment with international expectations is one way to regain or increase positive recognition on an international scale (Wiseman et al., 2014). Previous research suggests evidence of an institutionalized script for the development of curriculum in post-genocide contexts, where states are expected to visibly work to prevent future incidences of ethnic or racial violence by incorporating social justice content and methods (Schweisfurth, 2006).

  Standardized approach to education. One such model is the standardization of education. Standardization is a phenomenon which has spread across sectors and around the world, and, although education systems and schools may not look the same in every situation, they are generally recognizable and operate on the same principles (Baker, 2014; Loya & Boli, 1999). The spread of standardization has influenced the expectations of national ministries of education, resulting in educational systems that look increasingly similar (Loya & Boli, 1999). Participation in and compliance with education standards symbolizes legitimacy on an international level, and, as such, nations seeking to appear internationally legitimate may be tempted to adopt international principles despite potentially being contextually inappropriate (Loya & Boli, 1999). This standardized approach to education includes post-conflict and post-genocide education, as there is an expected, arguably standardized, script for approaching post-conflict education, including a shift away from the past and a focus on preventing future violence (Weldon, 2009; Waller, 2016) and establishing a shared, foundational history for all citizens (Buckley--Zistel, 2009; Hein & Selden, 2000).

Education as a panacea. An additional script that appears in international and national education policy is the belief that education is the cure for a variety of individual and social ills (Meyer & Jepperson, 2002; Wiseman & Baker, 2005; Wiseman et al., 2016). Not only is education believed to contribute to a nation's economic success, it is also believed to contribute to the development of equitable opportunities for its citizens. In fact, teaching for social justice, an approach often used in post-conflict contexts, has been described as teaching to "change the world" (Ayers, Hunt, & Quinn, 1998, p. xvii). This solutionist approach to education has been dubbed "education as a panacea" by previous research (Wiseman et al., 2016), and is particularly relevant for the research proposed here, as post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum may be perceived and positioned as a tool to build a socially responsible and civic minded citizenry to prevent future human rights violations.

As the official historical narrative and instructional guideline put forth by national systems of education, the curriculum carries many messages to local stakeholders in education. Du Preez (2014) goes so far as to call curriculum "the most powerful and influential document in a country, with an exceptional potential to generate social transformation" (p. 129). However, he acquiesces that it often "serves as a 'dumping ground' for complex issues in society" and as such, "any social problem, HIV/AIDS for instance, must be addressed in the curriculum", resulting in problems being "dealt with in a reductionist fashion--they are divorced from their context and stripped of the dynamics that perpetuate such problems" (p. 129). Du Preez's (2014) work highlights the two facets of education as a panacea: (1) education as a solution for specific issues or populations--such as HIV/AIDS, and (2) education as a cure-all for broad societal issues--such as general social transformation (Wiseman et al., 2016). Both of these aspects feed into the larger script of education as a panacea, which permeates international and national education policy around the world

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(Wiseman et al., 2016). Additionally, Du Preez (2014) emphasizes a key component of education as a panacea--that although policy makers may position education as a solution, it is rare that systems of education fully achieve these lofty goals.

Following violent conflict, education is expected to "heal the psychosocial wounds of war, solve youth unemployment, deliver decentralisation and democracy, build peace and promote economic and social development" (Buckland, 2006, p. 7). However one irony of these expectations is that education likely contributed to the violence (Buckland, 2006). Cole (2007) describes some challenges history education faces in achieving these far-reaching goals: "a constant problematic of history education is that it tends to be overburdened with expectations and meanings. It is only one part of a toolkit of reconciliatory mechanisms and indicators, and can be undercut or compensated for by other factors" (p. 19). Therefore, despite the fact that education may be positioned in international and national policy as a cure-all for the challenges faced in post-conflict settings, the reality of education actually delivering these goals is not attainable.

Legitimacy seeking. The institutionalization of beliefs results in the creation of a script which other nations and international organizations expect to be followed for a nation to achieve and retain legitimacy on a global scale (Wiseman et al., 2013). Countries seeking to appear legitimate on a global level may adopt scripts to increase their international approval (Loya & Boli, 1999; Wiseman et al., 2014). It is through the adoption and display of these institutionalized beliefs that nations achieve legitimacy, and thus status, among other nations on the global stage (Wiseman et al., 2014). Evidence of legitimacy seeking is closely linked to implementation, and hence decoupling, as countries may adopt policies to present the appearance of alignment with the global model while having little or no intention of implementing or enforcing the policy at a local level (Astiz, 2006; Kamens, 2013; Suarez, 2006).

The case of post-Holocaust education in Germany provides several examples of legitimacy seeking (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000). Hein and Selden (2000) note that in order to move forward from a genocidal history, government officials must consider the perspectives of citizens from nations other than their own, which may be indicative of a national government seeking approval from international peers. For example, after receiving criticism from the Israeli government regarding high school curriculum deemed "insufficiently critical of the Third Reich", German history textbooks were revised (Hein & Selden, 2000, p. 17). Dierkes's (2007) study of German history textbooks found a shifting focus from the what, or factual content, of history to the why of history, which he attributed, in part, to global trends toward the rationalization of education and the need for Germany to maintain their legitimacy on the international level by presenting a globally acceptable condemnation of past atrocities. Stoett (1995) acknowledges that one global expectation related to genocide is that the international community will respond in some way to the perpetuation of injustice. The adoption of curriculum addressing a nation's own wrongs may be evidence of legitimacy seeking to demonstrate conformity to international expectations.

Decoupling. As international scripts are transferred to the national level and then enacted at a local level, they do not always achieve their intended goals, resulting in a gap between policy and practice. Neo-institutional theorists describe the discrepancies between international scripts and practical implementation as decoupling (Jepperson, 2002; Meyer, 2008). Decoupling occurs when international education policies are out of alignment with the actual implementation of such beliefs (Astiz, 2006). Decoupling occurs for a variety of reasons, including through a lack of intention for implementation at the national level or a loss of meaning as the policy is transferred from the international to the local levels. This research explores decoupling between the

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international and national levels rather than gaps between national policy and local implementation.
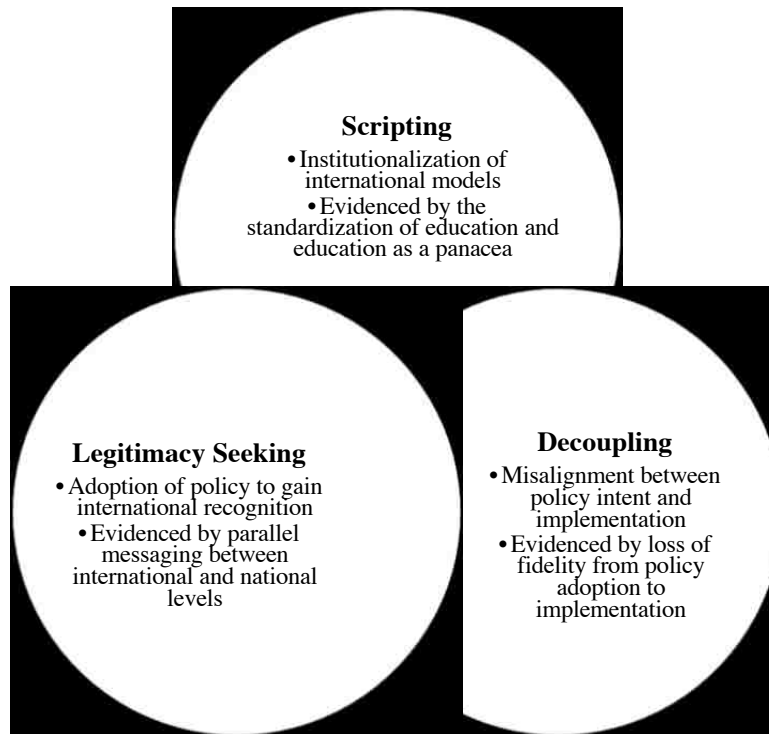
Figure 3. Sociological Neo-Institutionalism.

Sociological neo-institutionalism, as represented in Figure 1, provides the lens through which interactions between international and national levels of education policy development in post-genocide Rwanda is examined. The three major tenets of sociological neo-institutionalism are scripting, legitimacy seeking, and decoupling. For the purposes of explanation and examination, these elements have been artificially distinguished, when in reality they occur constantly and simultaneously. Scripting refers to wide-reaching models, or scripts, which become assumed or taken for granted elements of international discourse (Meyer, 2008; Wiseman et al., 2013). Although there are a variety of scripts related to education, the two most relevant for this research are the standardized approach to education in post-conflict contexts and education as a panacea.

Within these broad, overarching scripts are a variety of sub-scripts which further perpetuate and refine these themes. Legitimacy seeking occurs when nations adopt policies, which may not be the most appropriate or fitting for their national contexts, in an attempt to gain international recognition (Meyer, 2008; Wiseman et al., 2013). The repetition of scripts from international organizations to national policy, specifically for nations seeking to improve their international status--such as post-genocide Rwanda, offers one example of legitimacy seeking. Decoupling occurs as policies move from the often nebulous international level toward local implementation (Jepperson, 2002; Meyer, 2008). As the policies move toward action, any gap that develops between the original purpose or intention and the actual enactment of the policy is referred to as decoupling. For this research, discrepancies appearing between international levels, prior to implementation, are the only level of decoupling examined.

Policy borrowing. Education has traditionally been the most national of all institutions, as it is responsible for socializing youth and developing future citizens (Dale & Robertson, 2007). Although national governments and ministries of education are often tasked with developing educational policy, policy does not develop in a vacuum devoid of external influences (Perry & Tor, 2009; Soysal, 2006; Suarez, 2006). Education policy is no longer primarily developed at the national level, as responsibility is now held at a variety of institutional levels, including the regional and global (Dale & Robertson, 2007; Soysal, 2006). Influence by stakeholder groups spans from the local to the global levels, including professional organizations, administrators, teachers, and parents (Dale & Robertson, 2007; Perry & Tor, 2009).

The belief that education is an important component of social policies is not only diffused by international organizations, it is produced by them through the encouragement and influence of their areas of expertise (Dale & Robertson, 2007). It has been argued that educational policy

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borrowing is so ubiquitous it has become a widely accepted and taken for granted assumption in national ministries of education worldwide (Suarez, 2006), meaning that policy borrowing is a model policy makers follow when developing national education policy. Research on policy borrowing is not unique to the field of education, although it has occupied a substantial subset within the field of comparative and international education, as multiple scholars have discussed and characterized policy borrowing within the context of mass public education (Dale & Robertson, 2007; Perry & Tor, 2009; Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004; Schuelka, 2014).

In Schuelka's (2014) dissertation, he describes three ways policies cross international and national borders: (1) policy borrowing and lending, (2) policy learning, and (3) policy imposition. Policy borrowing and lending is linked to national problem solving, as nations adopt policies developed externally to address national concerns within their own contexts (Schuelka, 2014). The extent to which a policy is directly transferred or adapted to suit the national context varies (Astiz, 2006; Perry & Tor, 2008). Policy learning refers to educational best-practices which spread through international expectations about education, such as the expansion of compulsory education (Schuelka, 2014). Policy imposition occurs when a nation is forced by an external entity to adopt a policy (Schuelka, 2014). Of the three, Schuelka's (2014) borrowing and lending most closely aligns with the policy borrowing framework used in this research and outlined below.

Similarly, Perry and Tor (2008) identify diffusion, imposition, and lesson-drawing as three mechanisms through which education policy transfer occurs. Diffusion, closely related to the idea of scripting or international models and expectations for education, consists of the unintentional and spontaneous transfer of policies from the global to the local levels. Imposition of policies represents the opposite end of the educational policy transfer, as it is characterized by a powerful external agency explicitly and deliberately forces a policy upon a nation state. This imposition,

also referred to as coercion, occurs through financial means or through military occupation or colonization. The final mechanism, lesson-drawing, refers to a nation instigating the borrowing process by seeking outside its own borders for solutions to challenges experienced in its education system. However, as Perry and Tor (2008) note, these distinctions are artificially imposed, and most education policy transfer aligns with elements from all three mechanisms.

Although both the approaches outlined by Schuelka (2014) and Perry and Tor (2008) could be used as frameworks regarding the development of education policy in post-genocide Rwanda, the policy borrowing approaches detailed here create a foundation closely aligned with sociological neo-institutionalism, including the belief that both nations and international organizations have agency in the policy development and adoption process (Perry & Tor, 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Ramirez, 2003). Research on the intersection of national and international policy, situated in a sociological neo-institutional perspective, provides an explanation of interactions between institutional levels to create educational change (Holzinger & Knill, 2005; Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Leuze et al.'s (2008) concept of the two-level game contributes an understanding of the power and influence international organizations exert over national policy, which aligns with Phillips and Ochs's (2003) policy borrowing in education framework to explain the relationships and interactions occurring between national and international organizations as part of the policy development and adoption processes. The mechanisms of institutional interaction, including financial resources, professional oversight, normative beliefs, implementation, and accountability measures, developed from these explanations of policy borrowing, and provide a framework for examining policy borrowing between Rwanda and UNESCO.

A policy borrowing framework is directly applicable to understanding the similar development of education policies by nations around the world. For the purposes of this research, the definition of policy borrowing as put forth by Phillips and Ochs (2003; 2004) is used. Because it developed from a study of the influence of the German education system on the British education system and is therefore directly applicable to education policy. Phillips and Ochs (2003; 2004) position policy borrowing as a conscious, and not coincidental, adoption of a policy that was originally, in whole or part, established or in use elsewhere. They describe policy borrowing as a "deliberate, purposive phenomenon" (p. 774), but they exclude policy imposition (Phillips & Ochs, 2004), which was outlined as a particular type of policy borrowing by both Schuelka (2014) and Perry and Tor (2008).

International level implications. Although much of policy transfer or borrowing literature focuses on how nations are easily influenced or coerced by external forces, international organizations themselves are also susceptible to external influence. UNESCO, for example, is "influenced to different degrees by [its own] policies, the participation of NGOs, the actions of National Commissions, and the cultural policies of each country" (Seegers, 2015, p. 278) and by national level influences from its member-states (Droit, 2005). Policy borrowing in education cannot assume a one-size-fits-all position; rather, contextual details are vitally important when making decisions about what policy to borrow, how to modify it to fit the context, and how to implement it at the local level (Dale & Robertson, 2007). Research has demonstrated that when policy is imposed, either without national policy makers' initiation of said policy or without local stakeholders' input or approval, the policy is not likely to be implemented to any measure of success (Perry & Tor, 2008).

IGOs play a significant role in post-conflict education, not only in providing financial and personnel support, but also through contributing to the discourse (King, 2013). The UN has on numerous occasions identified education as a means to prevent and overcome conflict (King, 2013), which has simultaneously contributed to the international scripts around post-conflict education and worked to establish their organizational expertise.

National level implications. While international organizations are often looked to for guidance regarding educational policy, national governments and policy makers actively contribute to the intersection of international and national policies by seeking out exemplary policies and external partners. Policy borrowing has the potential to benefit nations beyond just indicating their participation on the international stage. It may have more immediate benefits to the nation and is often associated with lower costs, as the external institution often funds the research and development of such policy (Loya & Boli, 1999). Especially in the field of education, policy borrowing is often associated with best practices, or practices proven to be successful in other contexts (Kamens, 2013), a theme echoed in Schuelka's (2014) concept of policy learning. However, while best practices and what constitute success are contextually dependent, national policy makers often look to incorporate such policies in attempts to improve their national education systems (Kamens, 2013).

Borrowing international education policy links a nation's education system with its economic output and development (Suarez, 2006; Wiseman & Baker, 2013). Internationalized education policy is seen as a tool for national development, as schools are considered as means to enhance the civil welfare, political status, and economy of a nation (Suarez, 2006; Wiseman & Baker, 2013), echoing the belief in education as a panacea (Wiseman et al., 2016). Nations consider policy borrowing as a benefit because it may be used to develop citizens to be economic and

political contributors who contribute to national development (Wiseman & Baker, 2013). National ideas about education are important to understanding how and why policy borrowing occurs (Leuze et al., 2008). A nation's cultural legacy consists of the ideas foundational to its institutions and the beliefs widely held, or assumed to be held, by the collective population (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Leuze et al., 2008).

Post-genocide implications. Research on the intersection of national and international policy informs the analysis of post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum development and adoption by providing insight into how IGOs interact with national governments and policy makers (Holzinger & Knill, 2005; Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003). The belief that international organizations have the wisdom and authority to be reliable sources for education decision-making is one contributing factor to their ability to influence national education policy (Wiseman & Baker, 2013). As a result of an increased expectation for nations to look abroad when developing national education policy, the process of policy adoption allows for, and even encourages, external influence from intergovernmental organizations (Wiseman & Baker, 2013).

Numerous factors, both within and outside of a nation influence educational policy development in post-genocide contexts, including international and national governmental and nongovernmental organizations (Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013). Other factors may include the nation's dominant political ideology, the quantity of aid money received, the nation's development level, the status of the nation's and world's economy, or the length and severity of the genocide (Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Schweisfurth, 2013). Additionally, the length of time since the genocide occurred influences the development of educational policy (Cole, 2007; Freedman Kambanda et al., 2004; Hilker, 2011; Hodgkin, 2006). Policy borrowing is relevant for post-genocide contexts because many of the pre-conditions which contribute to national policy makers

seeking policies from an external source are related to the current status of a national system of government, and in post-genocidal contexts, these countries may be completely rebuilding their education systems.

Two-level game. Leuze et al. (2008) describe the intersections between international and national policies as a two-level game influenced by international organizations' governance instruments and a nation's transformation capacities. These international organizations have the ability to influence national governments through dominating the policy discourse, providing financial support or technical assistance, and coordinating personnel and procedures to assist the nation in rebuilding its governmental, educational, or other institutional structures (Leuze et al., 2008). A nation's transformation capacity is the extent to which it responds to international and external influences regarding policy development—specifically the nation's institutional structure that creates the right to veto policy or the nation's cultural ideological approach to education (Leuze et al., 2008). As Figure 4 indicates, governance instruments at the national level and transformation capacities at the national level interact to influence national education policy (Leuze et al., 2008).
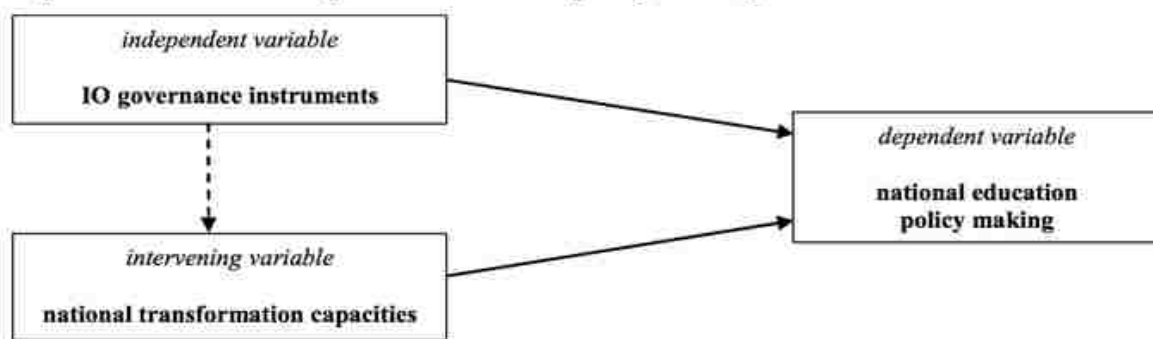
Figure 4. The two-level game in education policy making. (Leuze et al., 2008)

Governance instruments. Borrowing from Jacobson's (1979) list of international organization's governance instruments, Leuze et al., (2008) identify five tools international organizations have to influence national policy. These tools, or governance instruments, consist of discursive dissemination, standard setting, financial means, coordinative activities, and technical assistance (Leuze et al., 2008). Discursive dissemination refers to international organizations' ability to influence and guide the discourse. Any publications put forth by international organizations, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) *Education at a Glance* yearly reports are one example of this governance instrument. Standard setting refers to the expectation that international organizations are capable of setting educational standards that should be applied across contexts. One example of standard setting is found in UNESCO's *Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the Implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4*, which sets quantitative indicators to monitor national progress toward "Ensur[ing] inclusive and equitable quality education and promot[ing] lifelong learning opportunities for all" (UNESCO, 2015a).

An international organization's financial means refers to its ability to financially support projects or policies in countries (Leuze et al. 2008). For example, UNESCO has set aside almost 68 billion USD for 2016-2017 to support equitable quality education for all children (UNESCO, 2016). An international organization's ability to organize and influence policy is called coordinative activities (Leuze et al., 2008). At the 2015 World Education Forum, the UN and subsequently UNESCO sponsored the development and adoption of the previously mentioned *Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action.* The publication credits

Over 1,600 participants from 160 countries, including over 120 Ministers, heads and members of delegations, heads of agencies and officials of multilateral and bilateral

organizations, and representatives of civil society, the teaching profession, youth and the

private sector, adopted the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030, which sets out a new

vision for education for the next fifteen years. (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 4)

The final governance instrument, technical assistance, refers to the capacity to provide personnel

and procedures to assist in policy implementation (Leuze et al., 2008). UNESCO has 53 field

offices and institutions in countries around the world, especially in those countries with which

UNESCO does much of their work. Staffing these offices, both with local staff and international

experts is one example of technical assistance.

Table 3

Governance Instruments

Governance Instrument	Dominant Function	Example
Discursive dissemination	Establishing ideas	OECD's Education at a Glance UNESCO's Culture of Peace or Sustainable Development
Standard setting	Prescribing behavior	UNESCO's *Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action*
Financial means	Transfer payment	Financial support for SDG 4
Coordinative activities	Execute surveillance	SDG 4 Monitoring and Evaluation
Technical assistance	Support structures	UNESCO support for education statistics and planning and local support through field offices

(Modified from Jakobi, 2008; Leuze et al., 2008)

Although outlined here as five different components, as the *Incheon Declaration and*

Framework for Action example above illustrates, these governance instruments occur

simultaneously and overlap. Organizations employ any combination and range of these

governance instruments, which interact with the specific national context. It is the nation's

institutional factors, further described as its transformative capacity, which determines how the international organization's influence appears in the policy (Leuze et al., 2008).

Transformative capacities. Leuze et al.'s (2008) framework acknowledges that nations have agency in the policy borrowing process. A nation's transformative capacity is the extent to which a nation responds to international and external influences regarding policy development—specifically the nation's institutional structure that creates the right to veto policy or the nation's cultural ideological approach to education. Described by Leuze et al. (2008) as "an institutional opportunity to veto a decision" (p. 11), national veto points and players are those individual or collective actors which have authority to prevent the adoption of a policy. The second transformative capacity is a nation's cultural legacy, which includes ideas or beliefs which are embedded in the national culture and institutions.

Leuze et al.'s (2008) explanation of national level mechanisms of agency neglects many contextual factors which influenced education policy development in post-genocide Rwanda. As a result, it is necessary to look elsewhere to provide a further explanation of the national conditions which encourage international educational policy borrowing. Leuze et al. (2008) highlight that both international organizations and national governments interact to develop policy, however their explanation does not fully explain the many national level contextual factors, so it is necessary to supplement the two-level game with Phillips and Ochs's four stage approach to policy borrowing, as outlined in the following sections.

Phillips and Ochs's policy borrowing. Phillips and Ochs (2003) propose a multi-stage approach to policy borrowing in education, of which the first stage, cross-national attraction, expands Leuze et al.'s (2008) definition of transformative capacity. Phillips and Ochs go on to outline three more stages: decision, implementation and internalization/indigenisation, and

although the latter two are outside of the purview of this research, all phases are briefly explained below and seen in Figure 2: Policy borrowing in education: composite processes.

Stage one: Cross-national attraction: Impulses. The first stage—cross-national attraction—consists of two components, one related to the national level: impulses, and one related to the content of the policies themselves: externalising potential (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Phillips and Ochs's (2003, 2004) understanding of national impulses extends Leuze et al.'s (2008) understanding of a nation's transformation capacity by describing additional national preconditions that may compel policy makers to look externally for policy (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004). Examining the impulses in cross-national attraction includes the conditions at home that (1) contribute to the need or desire to look elsewhere and (2) create a suitable environment for the adoption and implementation of borrowed policies (Ochs, 2002). These impulses include internal dissatisfaction, systemic collapse, negative internal evaluation, economic change, changes to the political system, and innovation in knowledge and skills (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, p. 778). Although the list of impulses or national preconditions for change is extensive and inclusive, any combination of these characteristics could inspire the national governing body of education to seek policy from outside their own context (Ochs, 2002).

In the case of post-genocide Rwanda, Leuze et al.'s (2008) transformative capacity and Phillips & Ochs's (2003, 2004) impulses are especially relevant. Following the 1994 genocide, Rwanda was facing extreme institutional and governmental changes, creating an environment where national leaders and policy makers were especially susceptible to the influence of international organizations. Therefore, Rwanda had many national impulses and a high transformative capacity in that it was extremely responsive to external influences on policy development (Leuze et al., 2008). The Rwandan genocide triggered a swift and drastic political

and economic change, as well as causing a systemic collapse, all of which are impulses contributing to a nation's cross-national attraction and the desire to look externally for policy influences (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004). However, of note in using these policy-borrowing frameworks is that Rwandan government officials and policy makers were not just inactive receptacles, rather, as both Leuze et al. (2008) and Phillips and Ochs (2003, 2004) outline, policy-borrowing occurs across levels, as nations seek external input with international organizations happy to oblige.

Stage one: Cross-national attraction: Externalizing potential. In addition to national impulses, cross-national attraction also includes externalising potential, which are components of a policy which could lead to it being sought out by policy makers (Phillips & Ochs, 2003; 2004). These components are pieces of a policy which could be borrowed. A policy's externalizing potential may include its: (1) guiding philosophy and underlying belief about education; (2) goals or anticipated outcomes; (3) strategies for policy implementation; (4) enabling structures, such as financial and personnel support; (5) educational process, including curriculum and assessment; and (6) educational techniques, including pedagogy and teaching methods (Ochs, 2002). In the development of a policy, any singular or combination of the previously outlined components may be borrowed from an external source (Ochs, 2002).

Stage two: Decision. The second stage of Phillips and Ochs's (2003) policy borrowing process is decision-making, which includes four approaches: (1) theoretical, (2) realistic/practical, (3) 'quick fix', and (4) 'phoney'. Theoretical decision-making refers to broad and general approaches to education, such as a focus on peace-building or diversity. Realistic/practical decision-making refers to the adoption of a particular aspect or component of a policy which has been successful elsewhere. Quick fix decision-making occurs when policy makers, often heavily

influenced by external entities, adopt an external policy or model out of immediate necessity. Phony decision-making occurs when policy makers adopt a policy with no intention of actually implementation. These decision-making approaches are examined through national education documents outlining the policy development process.

  Stages three and four: Implementation and internalisation/indigenisation. Once a policy has been developed and adopted, Phillips and Ochs (2003) describe the next two stages of implementation and internalization or indigenization. Although these phases are not examined in this research, they are described here in order to provide a full description of Phillips and Ochs's (2003, 2004) approach to policy borrowing. Figure 5, below, provides a visual representation of the policy borrowing process as outlined by Phillips & Ochs (2003).

  Implementation consists of adaptations made to the policy to improve its fit for the national context (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Implementation often aligns with the neo-institutional concept of decoupling, because it is one point where one level of the policy begins to separate from the next. This decoupling occurs between policies borrowed from nation to nation or from IGO policy or discourse to the national level. The amount a policy is adapted varies depending on contextual factors, such as economic and human resources (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Internalisation/indigenisation refers to how much the policy actually becomes an embedded part of the education system (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). This process is characterized by the absorption and synthesis of a borrowed policy into the national context (Phillips & Ochs, 2003).
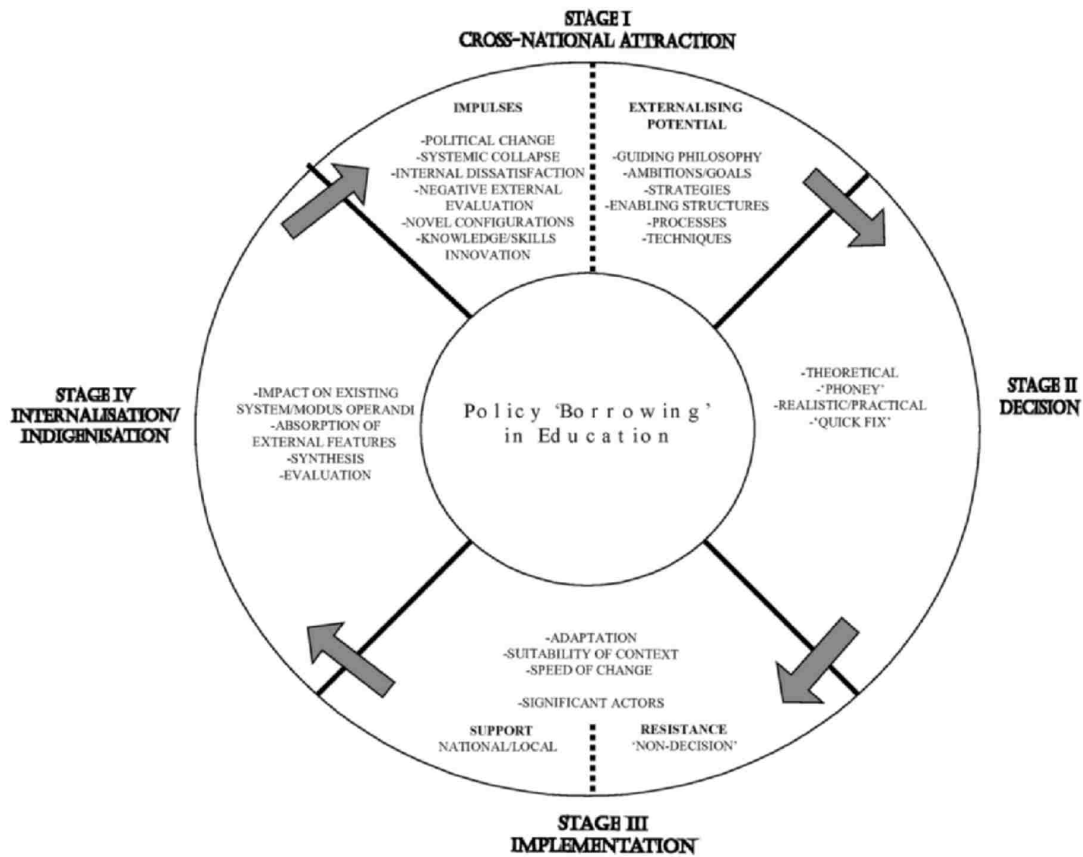
Figure 5. Policy borrowing in education: composite processes. (Phillips & Ochs, 2003)

Figure 6 provides an example of how these two approaches align, but are not fully integrated. At the national level, transformation capacities (Leuze et al., 2008) and impulses (Phillips & Ochs, 2003) contribute to a nation looking externally to borrow policies. A policy's externalizing potential is what makes is appealing to those seeking to borrow a policy (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). International organizations use their governance instruments to exert their influence on national policy (Leuze et al., 2008). There are no lines to delineate the boundaries between the national, policy, and international levels because these distinctions are blurred when examining international and national policy. The arrows from the nation and international organizations

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indicate movement to and from the national and international levels as well as national and international influence on the policy. Policy itself does not have any arrows because it has no agency or decision-making power, unlike national and international actors.

International Organizations
Governance Instruments

Discursive dissemination, standard setting, financial means, coordinative activities, technical issues

Policy
Externalizing Potential

Guiding philosophy, goals & outcomes, implementation strategies, enabling structures, educational processes, educational techniques

Nation
Transformative Capacities and Inputs

Internal dissatisfaction, systemic collapse, negative self-perception, economic or political change, external innovation

Figure 6. Alignment of Leuze et al. (2008) and Phillips and Ochs (2003).

Mechanisms of institutional interaction. While the explanations of policy borrowing taken from Leuze et al. (2008) and Phillips and Ochs (2003, 2004) provide a substantial foundation on which to examine interactions between the international and national levels regarding post-genocide education development, these two approaches are be further aligned to create a framework that not only is appropriate for the research project here, but is also applicable to policy borrowing in other post-conflict contexts, as well as to other research on policy borrowing in education. An alignment of Leuze et al.'s (2008) governance instruments, which focus on tools

used by international organizations to influence policy borrowing with Phillips and Ochs's (2003) externalizing potential, which details borrow-able components of a policy, results in framework applicable to both international and national compulsions for policy borrowing. Called mechanisms of institutional interaction, this framework is used to explain the interactions between UNESCO and Rwanda around post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum as mediated by the international script of Holocaust education. This framework is seen in Table 4.

Rather than considering different mechanisms for international organizations, national governments, and policy documents, the mechanisms for institutional interaction create a frame that is applicable across the actors in policy borrowing. Financial support aligns with the governance instrument of financial means as well as the externalizing potential of enabling structures, which include support in the form of financial and human resources. For the mechanisms of institutional interaction, financial and human resources are separated from one component of externalizing potential into two categories: financial resources, as previously outlined, and professional oversight, which encompasses professionals who offer a certain expertise, which Leuze et al. (2008) refers to the support of personnel as technical assistance.

The next sphere where interaction between the international and national levels may occur is in the area of normative beliefs, which aligns with Leuze et al.,'s (2008) concept of discursive dissemination and Phillips and Ochs's (2003) guiding philosophy. Normative beliefs also include the national transformative capacity of cultural legacy. These components interact to create opportunities for international organizations to influence normative beliefs, which are also either rejected, adopted, or something in between, by national governments seeking to policy borrow.

The mechanism of implementation includes any support or guidance requested at the national level or offered at the international level. This area aligns Leuze et al.'s (2008) technical

assistance with several categories of Phillips & Ochs's externalizing potential, including strategies for implementation, educational operations, and educational techniques. Although Leuze et al.'s (2008) technical assistance refers more to human capacity and infrastructure and Philips & Ochs (2003), both categories are related to the abilities and expertise of education professionals. The final mechanism of institutional interaction is accountability measures, which encompasses the governance instruments of coordinative activities and standard setting (Leuze et al., 2008) with the externalizing potential of goals and outcomes (Phillips & Ochs, 2003).

Table 4

Mechanisms of Institutional Interaction

	Governance Instruments (Leuze et al., 2008)	Externalizing Potential (Phillips & Ochs, 2003)
Financial support	Financial means	Enabling structures
Professional oversight	Technical assistance	Enabling structures
Normative beliefs	Discursive dissemination Transformative capacity: Cultural legacy	Guiding philosophy Educational operations Educational techniques
Implementation	Technical assistance	Strategies for implementation Educational operations Educational techniques
Accountability measures	Coordinative activities Standard setting	Goals and outcomes

Figure 7 represents a visual of the overarching conceptual framework, which draws on sociological neo-institutionalism (Jepperson, 2002; Meyer, 2008; Wiseman et al., 2013) and several interpretations of policy borrowing (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004). The three tenets of sociological neo-institutionalism—scripting, legitimacy seeking, and decoupling— can be seen in the Venn-diagram at the left side of the figure. These aspects are depicted in a Venn diagram to demonstrate that they are constant, simultaneous and overlapping. From the center of

the Venn diagram, where all three tenets overlap, is a larger arrow, which represents the policy borrowing process, indicating that policy borrowing exists at the intersection of the international and national levels and occurs through the mechanisms of institutional interaction, including financial support, professional oversight, normative beliefs, implementation, and accountability measures. The arrow moves toward post-genocide curriculum development, showing that the entire policy borrowing process moves toward policy development and eventual adoption and implementation.
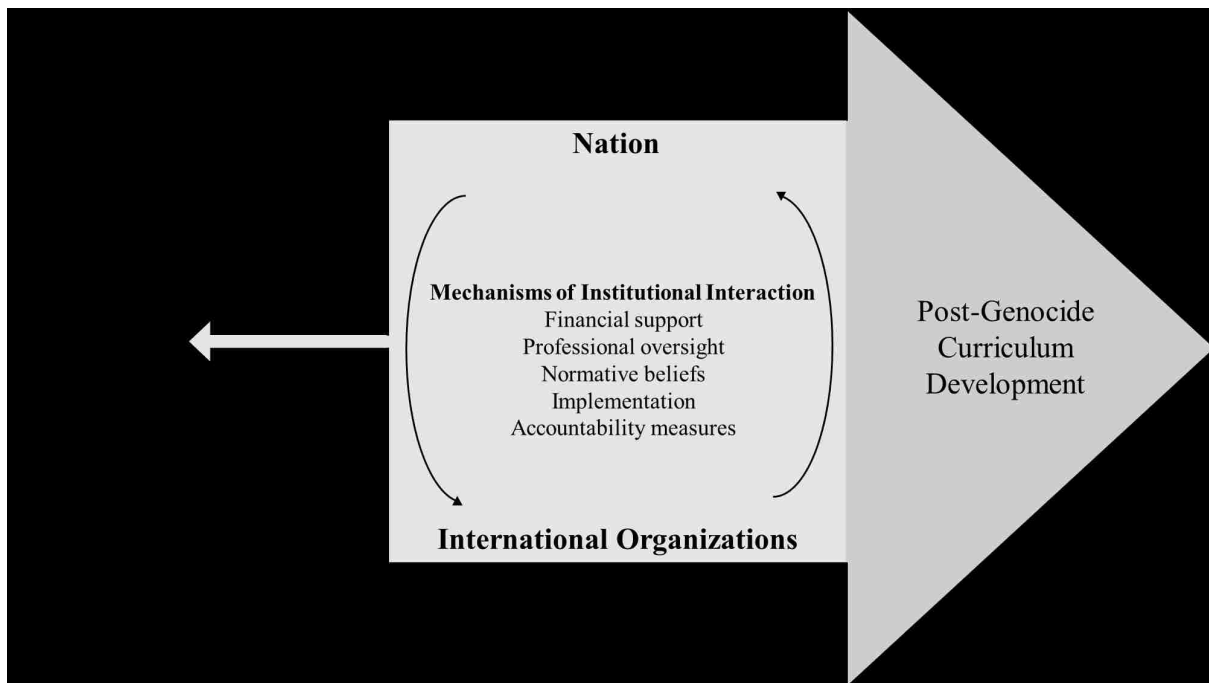
Figure 7. Conceptual Framework for Post-Genocide Curriculum Development.

Policy borrowing in post-genocide contexts. Phillips & Ochs (2003) outline national preconditions that may contribute to a nation looking externally for policy, including political or economic change or systemic collapse. In the case of post-genocide contexts, these countries are often dealing with extreme institutional and governmental changes, contributing to their susceptibility to the influence of international organizations or other external factors (Phillips &

Ochs, 2003). International organizations often use their financial influence and power to guide education policy (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). They also hold much expertise, including resources related to best practices, benchmarking, or evaluation (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015). International organizations have the ability to influence national governments by providing support financially or through human resources. IGOs also offer their expertise in related to the implementation of a policy as well as accountability through monitoring and evaluation. Additionally, even without directly engaging with a national government or ministry of education, IGOs perpetuate normative beliefs through publishing documents intended to guide post-conflict education development. Each of these mechanisms of institutional interaction offer a means for interaction between the national and international levels to assist in rebuilding a nation's governmental, educational, or other institutional structures. Although IGOs have and continue to contribute to curriculum reforms in Rwanda, the extent to which these reforms actually occur at the local school and classroom levels varies. Reports suggest that policies to propel the country closer to achieving the MDGs goals have been more strictly implemented and monitored than other policies, such as those related to supporting girls' education (Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe & VSO Rwanda, 2012; UNICEF, 2013; USAID, 2010; World Bank, 2011).

While the approaches outlined here are broadly applicable to policy borrowing situations worldwide, there are several points related to post-genocide or post-conflict education redevelopment which contribute to the application of and understanding of the framework. The length of time since the genocide influences the level of IGO involvement in policy development and the content of education policy. In the years immediately following genocide, a nation is more susceptible to external influences because of weakened political and economic structures, and as such is more likely to be influenced by external stakeholders in the development of curriculum

(Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Additionally, it may be too difficult to the genocide in the classroom without triggering traumatic responses from teachers or students (Cole, 2007a). Therefore, the length of time since genocide until its inclusion in the curriculum affects how it is portrayed and which external factors have the greatest influence.

Competing theories. A review of research literature indicates that several theoretical approaches have been used to examine curriculum development in post-conflict countries (Bellino, 2016; Bromley & Russell, 2010; Rubin, 2016; Rwatabagu, 2010; Yogev, 2014). Although a sociological neo-institutional perspective informs this research, other researchers have used micro-level frameworks (Yogev, 2014) or critical theories (Rubin, 2016; Rwatabagu, 2010) to explore similar topics. For example, in Yogev's (2014) analysis of the 1967 war in Israeli history textbooks uses Bar-Tal's Motifs of the Israeli Psyche. While Yogev's approach specifically addressed how concepts related to an Israeli identity appeared in history textbooks, other researchers have examined curriculum at the classroom level using other micro-level approaches (Bellino, 2016; Hilker, 2011; Houang & Schmidt, 2003; Short, 2005).

Critical theories. Much of the research regarding education in post-conflict settings addresses the issues of colonialism and frames the causes of the conflict and recovery from in ways that acknowledge the traumas and legacies of colonialism. Rubin (2016) uses a critical, sociocultural approach to examine students' and teachers' perceptions of and reactions to citizenship education in post-conflict Guatemala. Guided by civic belonging, historical memory, and the colonialism of power, Rubin's (2016) research challenges the applicability and effectiveness of global scripts or best practices related to post-conflict civic education. Additionally, her findings suggest that curriculum, specifically curriculum related to a complex history and civic engagement, it enacted differently across Guatemala because it is filtered through

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students' and teachers' previous experiences (Rubin, 2016). In explaining how South African teachers were affected by professional development seminars regarding Holocaust and Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa, Welden (n.d.) drew upon Foucault's descriptions of truth, including the truth regime and truth telling as an educational activity. However, not all perspectives critical of international and national interactions are framed by post-colonial theories.

Postcolonial perspectives developed as a reaction against colonialism and is generally used in contexts previously experiencing geographical, cultural, or psychological occupation by an external dominant group (Loomba, 2005; McClintock, 1992). However, Loomba (2005) acknowledges that colonialism occurs within a country when the dominant way of life is forced upon a marginalized population. Rwatabagu (2010), in addition to using a moral education framework, describes the influence of colonialism on the decline of Burundian values in society and schools. Although many studies on education systems in Africa mention the legacy of colonialism, analyses of education policy is not generally framed through a postcolonial perspective (Oluniyi & Akinyeye, 2013).

Systems theory. Drawing on systems theory and theories of the subject, Macgilchrist and Christophe (2011) critique education as a tool to address 21st century challenges and prepare students for a global workplace because this approach positions students and educators as only reacting to globalization. Davies (2003) used systems theory to argue that education contributes to the development of civic culture. In Rwanda, an examination of the influence of the education system to both contributing to and healing from the genocide came from a perspective mindful of development and social cohesion (Tawil & Harley, 2004). This approach advocates that education contributes to a nation's overall economic, social, and civic development as well as recognizes how social exclusion and inclusion appears in education policies (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Although each of these previously used theoretical frameworks may have been appropriate for the research questions posed by the researcher, they would not be the best approach to use to examine the interactions between UNESCO, Holocaust Education, and secondary social studies curriculum in post-genocide Rwanda. While postcolonial perspectives could be used to examine the Rwandan education system, and although colonialism left a lasting impression on Rwanda, including by, perhaps, contributing to the instigation of conflict which led to the genocide, they would not be applicable to the transmission of Holocaust education. Additionally, the research presented here relies on comparison, meaning that a framework unique to or only appropriate for education in Rwanda would be insufficient. Rather, a framework which examines interactions at the institutional level is necessary, and sociological neo-institutional theory provides a foundation for such an examination.

Hypotheses. The involvement of the UN, UNESCO, UNICEF, and numerous other international and national governmental and nongovernmental organizations in Rwanda during the years following the genocide is evidence that national governments and international organizations interact for the purposes of social redevelopment in post-conflict settings (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Obura, 2003). Rwanda's adoption of the United Nations' international development agenda of the Millennium, and now Sustainable, Development Goals, provides one example of the interaction between the international and national level (Hilker, 2011; King, 2013). Additionally, academics from the Human Rights Center at the University of California-Berkeley and members of the organization Facing History and Ourselves, worked with Rwandan academics to provide a guide for teaching Rwandan history (Hilker, 2011; King, 2013; Schweisfurth, 2006). These examples provide evidence of the external influences, including intergovernmental, such as the United Nations, and nongovernmental, such as universities or other organization, on policy development

in post-genocide contexts. While these examples demonstrate the wide array of ways the global community is involved in post-genocide education development, for this research, the role of UNESCO in curriculum development and adoption in post-genocide Rwanda is be the primary focus. It is therefore hypothesized that *the Rwandan national government, including the Ministry of Education, worked with UNESCO to develop post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum through the mechanisms of institutional interaction, including financial support, professional oversight, normative beliefs, implementation, and accountability measures.*

IGOs often intervene in post-conflict settings to influence curriculum development, resulting in practices that may not be contextually appropriate, thereby limiting the potential of systems of education to serve as sites of reconciliation and prevention (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Freedman, Cokalo et al., 2004). In post-genocide contexts, the field of Holocaust education is acknowledged as providing a model of curriculum development and content (Schweisfurth, 2006). As nations redevelop curriculum following genocide or other state-imposed violence, they may look to Holocaust education for guidelines. It is therefore hypothesized that *the process of secondary social studies curriculum development and adoption in post-genocide Rwanda looks to the development of post-Holocaust education in Germany.*

A case study, content analysis examination of international policy documents, national policy documents, and national curriculum provides evidence to prove or disprove the previously outlined hypothesis. Coding each of these document sets for mechanisms of institutional interaction, education approaches, post-genocide education timeline, and education as a panacea, the interactions between the international and national levels are explored. Evidence supporting these hypotheses demonstrates the existence of the script of education as a panacea in post-genocide contexts.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This research presents a case study of post-genocide secondary social studies education policy in Rwanda through a content analysis of policy and curriculum documents from Rwanda and UNESCO. A case study presents an in-depth examination of a particular place, event, or process (Creswell, 2007; 2012). The case study for this research is defined as the development of post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum in Rwanda, with an emphasis on UNESCO's involvement and the influence of German post-Holocaust history education. A case study, with UNESCO and Rwandan policy documents as the items of analysis, is the most appropriate approach to use for this research because of the specific parameters and unique situation under examination. Although documents are the content under analysis, they are representative of the narrative chosen by international and national level policy makers. While not generalizable to other contexts, this case study provides a detailed investigation of the development of education policy and curriculum in a post-genocide context as mediated by an international organization, which may inform both international and national policy makers working in post-genocide contexts. The mechanisms of institutional engagement indicate where IGOs have influenced national policy development while simultaneously demonstrating where national policy is susceptible to borrowing and has pushed back from national narratives.

The objects under examination are official documents representing the history of education policy development in post-genocide Rwanda (Cole, 2007b; Tawil & Harley, 2004). Therefore, content analysis provides the best framework to systematically examine the intersections of the international and national levels and resulting secondary social studies curriculum. Content analysis (Kuckartz, 2014) focuses on text or media, including spoken or written words, images and pictures, charts and graphs, or any other form of pertinent communication (Kuckartz, 2014;

Neuman, 2011; Schreier, 2012). Whereas some research approaches focus on expanding meaning, content analysis focuses on shrinking the data to manageable conclusions (Schreier, 2012). Content analysis is a way to systematically examine and describe the meaning of selected text and is especially helpful for distilling large amounts of information into smaller categories, such as the international and national policy documents under examination here (Schreier, 2012).

Coding, where designated segments are linked to specific categories, is the primary means of data collection in content analysis research (Kuckartz, 2014; Neuman, 2011). By adhering to methodological instructions, such as those presented here, content analysis strives to "identify and record relatively objective characteristics of messages" (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 141), meaning that although the imposition of the researcher is inevitable, following strict guidelines increases the repeatability, or reliability, of the results. For this research, content under examination includes education policy and curriculum documents related to secondary education in post-genocide Rwanda. Documents from UNESCO promoting the transmission of the model of post-conflict education established by post-Holocaust Germany, as well as documents outlining UNESCO's involvement in Rwanda after the genocide are also considered. These documents were selected to represent the narratives put forth by both UNESCO and Rwanda in order to observe areas of intersection or contradiction.

Content Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches to textual analysis may be used in content analysis. One key characteristic of content analysis, which blends data collection and data analysis, is the establishment of a systematic codebook detailing the categories or themes which are used to classify text of the selected sample (Kuckartz, 2014). This coding scheme is used to operationalize the constructs established by the research question and literature review. The codebook, categories,

and the process of coding are all central to content analysis (Kuckartz, 2014; Neuman, 2011). Coding involves labeling segments of text with brief words or phrases to distill the information to broad categories or themes (Creswell, 2012; Neuman, 2011). It consists of rules to guide the classification and categorization of the objects under examination (Neuman, 2011). These guidelines should be clearly stated so that the study could be replicated by future researchers, which increases reliability (Kuckartz, 2014; Neuman, 2011).

One challenge related to studies of curriculum is that there are no standardized or predetermined measures (Houang & Schmidt, 2003). Each researcher must identify and define the terms and variables most appropriate for his or her project (Houang & Schmidt, 2003), which is both a benefit and a pitfall of content analysis. Because each research project has its own coding system, each system is highly responsive and tailored to the research question, which increases validity (Neuman, 2011). However, the individuality of each coding system limits reliability (Neuman, 2011). Issues of reliability and validity are further addressed below.

History of content analysis. With a history dating back to Max Weber in 1910, content analysis has gone through cycles of focusing more on either qualitative or quantitative strategies (Kuckartz, 2014). Although content analysis and coding are often associated with grounded theory studies (Creswell, 2007), their roots are in quantitative methodologies, where the appearances of specific words were simply counted (Kuckartz, 2014). Content analysis is inherently interdisciplinary, drawing on research methods from a variety of fields, including communication science, hermeneutics, qualitative social research, literature and literacy studies, and the psychology of processing texts (Kuckartz, 2014).

Initially critiqued for focusing too much on systematic counting devoid of context, content analysis has since expanded to include textual interpretation (Kuckartz, 2014). As content analysis

developed as a research method, it became more systematized, with the potential to combine both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection and analysis (Kuckartz, 2014). Current applications of content analysis include the quantification of texts, qualitatively considering themes, and contextually situating the text (Kuckartz, 2014). While the quantification of a text can be insightful, the resulting matrix of numerical data is limited in what it reveals about the text or phenomena under examination, and as such, it is necessary to include additional qualitative and descriptive components (Kuckartz, 2014). The research described here includes classical, or quantitative, content analysis, and qualitative content analysis in order to provide a thorough examination of post-genocide secondary social studies curriculum in Rwanda. This approach has also been called document analysis, which is a subset of content analysis that focuses solely on documents (Schreier, 2012).

Previous studies of post-conflict education development. Research on curriculum in post-conflict contexts, especially longitudinal or cross-national research, is limited (Bromley & Russell, 2010). Previous content analysis studies have explored education policy in post-conflict or post-genocide context using policies and textbooks as primary focal points (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Ngo, 2014; Yogev, 2014). Additional studies of education policy have consisted of qualitative and descriptive studies of national policy development (Cole, 2007; Sieborger, 2006). Examinations of local understandings and interpretations of post-genocide education policy and systems are also common (Buckley-Zistel, 2009; Houang & Schmidt, 2003; King, 2013; Longman & Rutagengwa, 2004; Oglesby, 2007). Textbook content has been examined using primarily qualitative, content analysis approaches (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000). For example, Sieborger (2006) examined how curriculum was developed in post-apartheid South Africa by tracing the steps and examining where language from external consultants appeared in national

curriculum, finding clear evidence of the influence of German consultants in South African curriculum through the appearance of terms such as "historical consciousness" and "multiperspectivity"—words which were not part of the national education discourse at the time. Because the research explored here focuses solely on the interactions between the international and national levels, and not the national to local levels, international and national policy documents are the primary objects of analysis.

Research examining post-genocide policy revisions often takes a primarily qualitative approach, with document analysis and interviews with key stakeholders as two frequently used methods (King, 2013; Longman & Rutagengwa, 2004; Oglesby, 2007). These studies include national curriculum policy; implemented curriculum, which is what occurs in the classroom; and attained curriculum, which refers to students' actual learning (Houang & Schmidt, 2003). Longman and Rutagengwa (2004) explored how Rwanda's national policies, including those related to education, influenced Rwandans' collective memory through an examination of local and international media, government publications of the official Rwandan history, and interviews with political, religious, and governmental stakeholders. Their findings suggest that the majority of Rwandans acknowledge the necessity of developing a unified history, however conversations suggest that alternative narratives are shared in private circles (Longman & Rutagengwa, 2004).

Buckley-Zistel's (2009) study of Rwanda's strategic attempt to develop national unity reveals that developing shared experiences as victims of colonization is one strategy used to unite Rwandans. Through an historic review of the development of policy documents and practices, as well as interviews with key stakeholders, Buckley-Zistel's (2009) findings suggest that the current strategy to develop national unity may not be as effective as government leadership hoped, as many of the labels and divisions, although unspoken, still exist (Buckley-Zistel, 2009).

Similarly, King (2013) examined the content and structure of schooling in post-genocide Rwanda, specifically in the subject area of history. King's (2013) examination of educational content and structure through document analysis, interviews, and her own experiences, found that though many of the current approaches to educational content and structure are meant to promote reconciliation and peacebuilding in Rwanda, they are actually increasing divisions between groups of people. Her findings suggest that although the documents put forth by the Rwandan Ministry of Education and affiliated offices contain the right content, the actual implementation of such policies is drastically different from what is outlined (King, 2013).

The researchers in each of these studies drew upon the conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches most appropriate for their research questions and goals. The research presented here draws on a conceptual framework drawing from sociological neo-institutionalism and policy borrowing to examine interactions between UNESCO and Rwanda. The mechanisms of institutional interaction indicate where the international and national levels may overlap. Content analysis is the method used for this research because the focus is specifically on the interactions between international and national levels and the resulting policies, not policy makers' choices or interpretations regarding policy. The focus is on the intended curriculum, not how it is received or implemented at the local level, therefore the chosen policy documents provide the means to identify overlap of international policy documents to national policy and curriculum. Documents from both UNESCO and Rwanda are examined and coded for these mechanisms, as well as other related factors, such as the timeline for post-genocide education development and education strategies.

Research Design

Content analysis is used to analyze the education policy and curriculum documents related to post-genocide secondary social studies education in Rwanda and the template of Holocaust education. Researchers approach and implement content analysis in ways most reflective of their research questions and theoretical frameworks, and therefore there are critiques to both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Creswell, 2007). This project relies heavily on the content analysis procedures outlined by Kuckartz (2014) and Schreier (2012), who both outline postpositivist approaches to content analysis, with clearly defined and logical steps for data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007). Although the focus of qualitative versus quantitative data collection, the overall detail of the study, and the order of the specific steps may vary from content analysis used in one research project to another, Kuckartz (2014) has outlined five general phases for such projects: (1) planning, (2) developing, (3) piloting, (4) coding, and (5) analysis. Each of these phases and the subsequent steps are outlined in the following "Procedures" section.

Drawing on Kuckartz's (2014) terminology, the content analysis conducted here most closely aligns with evaluative qualitative text analysis, which focuses on assessing, classifying, and evaluating content through a framework based on the theory and research questions. However, there is some attention to and analysis of quantitative results, which rely on numerical counts of categories for comparison across and within variables (Neuendorf, 2002) This approach to content analysis relies on the development of a predetermined coding scheme, which has also been called a "coding frame" (Schreier, 2012), a "coding system" (Neuman, 2011), and a "category scheme" (Kuckartz, 2014). The coding scheme consists of categories and subcategories contributing to answering the research questions (Schreier, 2012). Other researchers have used the terms theme,

concept, dimension, or variable to refer to categories (Creswell, 2012; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012).

Reliability. Although often associated with quantitative research methodologies, reliability is relevant to content analysis, specifically for the quality of the coding scheme (Schreier, 2012). Reliability is related to the consistency of results (Creswell, 2003; Neuendorf, 2002), meaning that use of the coding scheme would generate similar results across time and with different coders (Schreier, 2012). In content analysis, there are two primary ways of enhancing reliability: comparisons across persons and comparisons across time. For reliability across coders or across time, consistency is the goal, meaning that whether there are multiple coders or the same coder who returns to the same content at different points in the research project, sentences should still receive the same codes (Neuendorf, 2002).

During the pilot phase the coding scheme is tested against the documents under analysis, and multiple researchers coded the text and discuss each discrepancy in their results until they come to an agreement (Neuendorf, 2002). This agreement may take the shape of a decision rule which guides future coding of similar sentences or the addition or modification one of the sub-categories to better reflect the needs of the text or research. More specific details of this process are outlined in the piloting phase of the procedures section.

Validity. Results that are valid are those which align with what was intended to be examined, as identified by the research questions and theoretical framework (Creswell, 2012; Schreier, 2012). In content analysis research, validity is directly related to the coding system, where the categories reflect the concepts in the research question (Schreier, 2012) Validity in qualitative research has also been called trustworthiness, authenticity, and credibility (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Content validity is particularly important for content analysis research because each coding scheme is unique to its research project. Content validity refers to how much a measure, or category, is able to provide a complete representation of the content (Neuendorf, 2002). In the piloting phase of this study, additional codes and more refined descriptions of the initial codes were developed, which was expected in order to increase content validity (Schreier, 2012). These gaps were identified during the piloting phase when the theoretical framework or previous research were unable to anticipate significant and relevant components of the coded material. As the need arose, the coding scheme and categories were revised to match the needs of the text, thus promoting content validity.

External validity, or generalizability, refers to whether the results of a study can be applied to other situations. However, this study does not purport to be generalizable; the findings found from the intersections of UNESCO and Rwandan education policy are specific and unique to this particular case study. However, these results still contribute to the body of knowledge related to policy development and post-genocide education, which may inform future research and policy.

Site

The first major step of content analysis is to identify the site of analysis (Neuman, 2011). In order to examine the intersections of Rwanda, UNESCO, and the template for post-genocide education, this macro-level study explores discourse put forth by educational organizations and institutions. Specifically, the content under examination in this study includes secondary social studies curriculum from Rwanda and post-genocide education guidelines. National policy documents offer specific insight into the rationale, aims, objectives, and content of a subject and provide a glimpse at a nation's presentation of self at particular moments in history (Van den Akker, 2010). However, because education policy, and therefore curriculum, is not neutral (Foster

& Crawford, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Walker-Keleher, 2006; Westheimer & Kahne, 1998), it is also important to examine influencing factors, such as the international model for post-genocide education. For this research, the scripts put forth by UNESCO are the mediating factor under examination.

Rwanda. There are numerous post-genocide and post-conflict contexts which could be used for this study, however, Rwanda was selected as the area of focus. There are a number of factors which set the Rwandan genocide apart from other instances of mass violence in the twentieth century, including the response from the international community and the amount of academic attention paid to both the genocide, and the national efforts at recovery. Although other genocides have occurred since the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Crime of Genocide in 1948, perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide were the first to be found guilty of genocide by international courts (USHMM, 2016). The UN and international community also had warnings of the impending violence in Rwanda and had several opportunities to intercede, however they failed to do so, with UN Peacekeeping forces pulling out of the country as the genocide was beginning (Dowden, 2007; UN, 1999). Researchers have attributed the significant involvement of the international community in Rwanda following the genocide to feelings of guilt and responsibility (DesForges & Longman, 2004) as a result of the shortcoming of the international community to prevent genocide (UN, 1999). The international community's focus on Rwanda in the months and years following the genocide provides an opportunity to examine the intersection of international and national forces in the development of education policy, specifically such policy pertaining to secondary social studies curriculum.

Intended secondary social studies curriculum. National policy provides insight into what government officials and policy makers find important and how they would like their nation to be

perceived from the outside (Pingel, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004). The intended, official, or formally adopted curriculum, provides one perspective on what policy makers and representatives from the ministry of education or other governing body consider important enough to formally include in official publications (Pingel, 2006; Tawil & Harley, 2004). The intended curriculum can include goals, objectives, rationales, and content, classroom activities, teaching strategies, evaluation, time, or any other information meant to inform the content or methods (Klein, Tye, & Wright, 1979; Maadad & Rodwell, 2016; Van den Akker, 2003).

Within the intended curriculum, only secondary social studies curriculum is included in this study. Social studies courses at the secondary level were selected because they often include such topics as national history, government, and civics, which are invariably linked to a nation's past and often used as a political tool for nation building (Ahonen, 2001; Cole, 2007; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Van den Akker, 2010). These courses highlight the story a nation chooses to tell about itself, its past, and its role in the world (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Additionally, students at the secondary level are older, and therefore more likely to considered mature enough to handle details about violence for which younger students may not be ready (Cole, 2007a).

UNESCO. Although there are numerous international organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, which could be examined for their influence on and interactions with national governments in the wake of conflicts or genocides, UNESCO was selected as the primary IGO for this study because of its historical development and focus on education. Additionally, UNESCO was selected as the education extension of the UN, which is uniquely linked to the Rwandan context as it has been cited in failing to prevent the 1994 genocide (DesForges & Longman, 2004).

UNESCO was established in 1945 to guide education systems around the world and prevent the spread of ignorance, hatred, and injustice through the promotion of peace and solidarity (Droit, 2005). UNESCO's birth and development paralleled the historic development of post-Holocaust education, and in recent years, the organization has increasingly focused on disseminating the script related to Holocaust education to countries worldwide, including both non-conflict and post-conflict contexts. The research presented here focuses on the influence of the model of post-genocide education, which looks to post-Holocaust education in Germany as a model (Hoffman, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2006).

Because of international organizations' increasing power and influence since World War II, and especially since 1990 (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015), the selection of UNESCO is an appropriate choice for this study. Although UNESCO makes policy recommendations, offers training, and provides funding, it does not have governance authority over member nations, meaning that national contexts choose the policies to adopt and to what extent the policy should be adopted and implemented (Seeger, 2015). Therefore, although UNESCO contributes to the international discourse and expectations surrounding post-genocide education, it is not able to completely impose or enforce a policy on a nation. Although the balance of power between IGO and nation may be uneven, there is agency at both levels of the policy development and adoption process.

Documents

Once the research question and site of analysis have been determined, the next step of a content analysis study is to develop a sampling plan (Neuman, 2011). Because this research focuses on secondary social studies curriculum, the sampling units are education policy documents published at the national level in Rwanda and at the international level from UNESCO. This

intentional selection of documents represents purposeful sampling, as each document was chosen according to predetermined and established parameters, which are outlined below (Creswell, 2012). All discoverable documents which meet these criteria are included in the analysis. Because content analysis focuses on documents after their publication, it is a type of nonreactive research (Creswell, 2012; Neuman, 2011) and therefore has no human engagement and, hence, no need for human subject's consideration or clearance from IRB. Additionally clearance is not needed from Rwanda, as "policy-related studies" are excluded from research clearance according to the Rules and Regulations for Research Activities in Rwanda (Rwandan Ministry of Education, 2010).

While curriculum is the primary object of analysis for this study, it is also necessary to situate the curriculum within broader policies. Each set of curriculum policies represents a glimpse into topics and values important to policy makers at the time of adoption. Qualitative factors, such as influence—which pertains stakeholders' ability to affect curriculum policy, rationale—which is why curriculum decisions are made, and attitudes—which reflect the public's opinions of the curriculum, are also important to understanding education policy (Klein et al., 1979). Therefore, in order to fully understand curriculum content, it is also necessary to include any documents which frame or position the curriculum, and as such relevant policy documents from both Rwanda and UNESCO are also included.

English was only adopted as a national language in Rwanda in 1996 (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). Prior to that, Kinyarwanda, the national language, and French were the national languages (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). As the primary research is only fluent in English and not French or Kinyarwanda, challenges associated with this were anticipated. However, upon examination of the documents using the parameters outlined below, there were no relevant and available documents in French or Kinyarwanda. The documents included on the Rwandan national

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websites were all in English. There were several documents from UNESCO which were only published in French, however their topics were unrelated to this research (e.g. drug use, financing primary education, and extracurricular activities). Any additional documents published in French were also published in English, with translations conducted either by Rwandan or UNESCO officials—the documents do not specify the translating entity. Therefore, although language had the potential to create a barrier or limitation for this research, the relevant documents were all available in English.

UNESCO documents. Because of UNESCO's wide reach, it is necessary to put parameters on which UNESCO publications are included in this sample. UNESCO publishes the academic journal *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, and although relevant *Prospects* articles were included in the literature review, for the purposes of this study, only documents published under the UNESCO label are included. Only texts published in English are included. Addresses, ceremonies, and other speeches are not included in the sample.

UNESDOC is UNESCO's database of more than 100,000 full text documents published since 1945. When using UNESDOC's advanced search feature, search terms were first put in as "Keywords" which searched only documents labeled with terms from the UNESCO Thesaurus. If this search was not productive, the same search terms were searched in "Words from title", and then "Words from text" when necessary. The search terms, which are described in the relevant sections below, were purposefully broad, as the researcher would rather eliminate potential documents on a case by case basis, than neglect or miss relevant documents due to narrow search terms. The advanced search feature also allowed results to be limited to UNESCO documents, publications, and serial articles, which excluded non-UNESCO publications and resources, and periodicals. This parameter was only used with unwieldy results of more than 500 documents.

UNESCO and Rwanda documents. Documents published by UNESCO about or in conjunction with the Rwandan Ministry of education are included. A search of the terms "Rwanda" and "education" in the title resulted in a list of 40 documents, however, using the previously outlined parameters, only nine were relevant for this study above (English, open source, full text, not from *Prospects* or a speech). They are listed below in Table 5.

Table 5.

UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education Included in Study

Title	Year
Within the Reform Process of 9-Year Basic Education in Africa	2007
Education Marginalisation in Post-Conflict Settings: A Comparison of Government and Donor Responses in Burundi and Rwanda *(Background paper prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010)*	2009
The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace: The Case of Rwanda *(Background paper prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011)*	2010
Kigali Statement: Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Ministerial Conference on Education Post 2015	2015

Holocaust education documents. UNESCO's involvement in Holocaust education is examined through related publications. A search of the UNESCO database (UNESDOC) for documents with "Holocaust education" in the title revealed 28 records published in English. Of these 28 documents, 16 were *Prospects* articles and two were speeches, and thus these documents were excluded. Two documents were not open source and were excluded because of lack of availability. Two sets of documents consisted of a full report and a summary, however for the purposes of this study, only the full reports were included, leaving six potential documents, which are listed below in Table 6. A search of texts containing the world "Holocaust education"

elucidated one additional document, "Why teach about genocide? The example of the Holocaust", which is also included in this research and can also be found in Table 6.

A search for text containing the phrase "post-genocide education" found 17 records, however there were no relevant documents meeting the terms outlined above (English, open source, full text, not from *Prospects* or a speech). A search for the keywords "Germany" and "curriculum" found no available full text documents.

Table 6.

UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education Included in Study	
Title	**Year**
Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education (Conference Proceedings)	2009
Holocaust and Genocide Education Report	2013
The Impact of Holocaust Education: How to Assess Policies and Practices? (International Seminar)	2014
Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide	2017

Rwandan policy documents. Although the primary focus of this research is on secondary social studies curriculum, it is necessary to include national policy related to the general execution of education in Rwanda to situate the national curriculum within Rwanda's education system. All Rwandan policy documents included in this study are officially published by offices of the Republic of Rwanda, meaning they all bear the national seal. The majority of the documents are from the Ministry of Education, however additional documents were also found through the Rwanda Education Board (formerly the National Curriculum Development Centre) and Ministry of Youth. For instances when the same document was found across multiple sources, the longest and most extensive version of the document was included.

The Policies page on the Rwandan Ministry of Education's website served as a source for many of the framing documents. In 2015, Rwanda adopted a new, competence based, curriculum framework. These documents were found on the Rwanda Education Board Competence Based Curriculum website. The content areas were divided into sciences, humanities, and languages. All curriculum—called syllabi here—were downloaded, however only those distinguished as "History" are included in this study. Table 7 lists included policy documents and Table 8 lists included curriculum or syllabi.

Table 5

Rwandan Policy Documents Included in Study

Title	Year
Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* *(translated from French)*	1997
Plan of Action for Education in Rwanda (1998-2000): Recovery and Development* *(translated from French)*	1998
Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda: Revised* *(translated from French)*	1998
Education Sector Policy	2003
The Teaching of History of Rwanda: A Participatory Approach	2006
Education Sector Strategic Plan 2008-2012 (DRAFT)	2008
Nine Years Basic Education Implementation: Fast Track Strategies	2008
Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010-2015	2010
Education Sector Strategic Plan 2013-2018	2013
Competence-Based Curriculum: Curriculum Framework Pre-Primary to Upper Secondary (policy and curriculum document)	2015
Competence-Based Curriculum: Summary of Curriculum Framework Pre-Primary to Upper Secondary	2015
National Education for All 2015 Review*	2015

Indicates that documents were found through the UNESCO website and were created with financial and personnel support from UNESCO.

Table 6

Rwandan Curriculum Documents Included in Study

Title	Year
History Program for Ordinary Level	2008
History Program for Advanced Level	2010
Competence-Based Curriculum: Curriculum Framework Pre-Primary to Upper Secondary (policy and curriculum document)	2015
History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level S1-S3	2015
History Syllabus for Advanced Level S4-S6	2015

Additional information on each of these documents can be found in Appendix B, which includes the document title, publisher, authors or contributors, and document intent and purpose.

Procedures

There are at least five phases in content analysis research project: (1) planning, (2) developing, (3) piloting, (4) coding, and (5) analysis (Kuckartz, 2014). Within each of these phases are multistep processes which further outline how to conduct content analysis (Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012). The outcome from the coding phase are qualitative and quantitative data matrices which are analyzed to address the research questions. This methodology chapter bridges the planning, developing, and piloting phases, as it addresses data selection and analysis methods, coding and analysis phases, whose results are explored in the following chapter. A visual representation of the five phases of content analysis can be seen in Figure 8.

Phase Two: Developing

Create coding scheme and define categories.

Present results.

Pilot coding (with additional coder).

Phase Three: Piloting

Phase Five: Analysis

Empirical Literature

Theoretical Framework

Analyze: category-based, qualitative, and quantitative.

Revise categories and code book (as necessary).

Research Question

Phase One: Planning

Compile coded text

Code full data set.

Phase Four: Coding

Figure 8. Research procedures. (Kuckartz, 2014)

Phase one: Planning. The research question and hypotheses were established, a literature review was conducted, and the data selection and analysis methods were outlined during the planning phase (Kuckartz, 2014). During this phase, the foundation for the rest of the project was created, including selecting documents and establishing frameworks for analysis. The planning phase of this research project is represented in the first three chapters, including the introduction, historical and contextual background, and theoretical framework, with the third chapter serving as a bridge to the final results and discussion which are covered in the final two chapters. As the site and sample selection have already been addressed, more specific details regarding the piloting, coding, and analysis phases are outlined in the sections that follow.

Coding. There are two types of coding: latent and manifest (Kuckartz, 2014; Neuman, 2011; Neundorf, 2002). In latent coding, the researcher includes analysis in the coding process by interpreting not only what the text says, but also what the text implies, such as motives or intentions (Neuman, 2011). In manifest coding, the researcher only considers what is presented and does not attempt to extrapolate deeper meaning (Neuman, 2011). Manifest coding is associated with higher reliability, as it strives to be as objective as possible (Neundorf, 2002). This research relies on manifest coding for document analysis. Considerations of motive or intentions are considered through a discussion of the results, but during the coding process, only the presented text was coded.

Identifying which sections of the text are considered as one unit is a necessary step in planning a content analysis study. This process has been called a variety of names, including segmentation (Schreier, 2012) and unitizing (Neuendorf, 2002). Dividing the text into segments aids in the reliability of the results and ensures that potential future researchers could replicate the coding procedures (Schreier, 2012). Each segment, or unit, should fit only into one subcategory, although it is possible for a segment to apply to multiple categories (Schreier, 2012). The documents selected for this study have a formal structure consisting primarily of paragraphs and sentences, and as such the sentence is the primary coding unit. However, there were exceptions to this guideline. In policy or curriculum documents, there are often lists that may or may not be complete sentences. For instances such as this, or for sentences consisting of numerous and lengthy related ideas, each phrase was separately coded.

The structure of each document included in this project varies, therefore it was necessary to indicate what was included and excluded in the coding process. Schreier (2012) notes that it is necessary to determine what to do with information that is repeated multiple times, such as in an

executive summary and a full report. Because this research seeks to identify the quantity and content of related information, repeated information was coded every time it appeared. However, some elements were not coded, including images including pictures, photographs, or graphs.

Content analysis software. MAXQDA is a qualitative and quantitative media analysis tool and is recommended for textual analysis (Creswell, 2012). The researcher is familiar with MAXQDA as it was used it for a previous project. Within MAXQDA, the user develops a hierarchical coding system and uploads the documents, which can include PDF files or webpages (Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012). Then, using the MAXQDA system, each sentence is highlighted and coded. MAXQDA also provides space for writing notes and summaries and offers search functions (Schreier, 2012). MAXQDAY allows the results of the coding process to be quantitatively and statistically analyzed, with options to present results as data matrices or other visualizations (Kuckartz, 2014). MAXQDA also supports exporting results to statistical software, including Microsoft Excel and SPSS (Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012).

Phase two: Developing. During the second phase of a content analysis study, the coding system and categories and rules for coding were developed (Kuckartz, 2014). Schreier (2012) outlines four steps to building a coding scheme: (1) selecting, (2) structuring and generating, (3) defining, and (4) revising and expanding. These steps were followed to create the coding scheme for this research; the process is described below. This phase is also known as operationalization, where the researcher develops the measures for the project (Neuendorf, 2002).

Selecting. In Schreier's approach, selection includes distinguishing data by source and topic. For this research, there are four sets of primary sources: (1) international policy documents focused on Rwanda, (2) international policy documents focused on Holocaust education, (3) national policy documents, and (4) national curriculum documents. Examining four different, but

overlapping, sets of data not only allows for triangulation, but also indicates where concepts overlap or where they do not appear across the three sources. MAXQDA can identify areas of overlap and absence in the data sets.

In the selection process, relevant and irrelevant material must be identified. Although the documents were all purposefully selected for their relevance to the research topic, there is content in each document that does not contribute to answering the research questions. However, in order to identify how much of the policy and curriculum documents focus on post-genocide education, irrelevant sentences in the included material were coded as such. Indicating material that is irrelevant contributes to results by demonstrating the emphasis of post-genocide education in each document. For example, an international policy document with 100 sentences, but with only 10 relevant to the research, would indicate a 90% focus on other topics. This scenario or the opposite (100 sentences with only 10 irrelevant, indicating a 90% focus on research-question relevant content) reveal different things about post-genocide history education in Rwanda.

Structuring and generating. Adhering to Schreier's (2012) steps for developing a coding scheme, once the content was selected, the next step was structuring and generating a coding frame. There are two primary means to developing coding schemes: deductive and inductive category construction (Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012). Deductive category construction is based on the theoretical approach and existing research literature (Kuckartz, 2014). Deductive coding is beneficial when comparing the same categories across time or multiple documents (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). With this approach, the codes exist first, as outlined in the coding system or codebook, and then they are applied to the text (Kuckartz, 2014; Neuendorf, 2002). This research primarily relies on concept-driven categories which are based on the theory, previous research, and research questions (Kuckartz, 2014; Schreier, 2012). The categories and subcategories developed for this

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coding scheme draw on Leuze et al. (2008), Phillips and Ochs (2003), Wiseman et al. (2016), as well as literature related to post-genocide education and curriculum. Although deductive category construction is based on existing theories and research, it does allow the freedom to make changes as necessary (Kuckartz, 2014).

In addition to these concept driven categories, the coding scheme was further developed and refined through an iterative process during the piloting phase (Schreier, 2012). While the deductive approach represents the application of codes to the text, inductive category construction represents the development of codes from the text (Kuckartz, 2014). In addition to the coding scheme presented below, there was also a general "miscellaneous" category to indicate any information that is relevant but does not fit into the coding scheme. Additionally, each category has an "other" subcategory, which was used to highlight related statements that may not fit into a specific subcategory. Coding sentences as relevant (either miscellaneous or other) but do not fit into the current coding scheme allowed for unanticipated results to emerge. From these sentences, the coding scheme can be reexamined, giving the possibility for new categories and subcategories to develop. Although miscellaneous and other categories exist throughout the coding process, they were of primary importance during the piloting phase. It was expected that after the piloting phase, the coding frame has been finalized and these categories would remain unused during the final coding, which held true for almost all of the categories.

Defining. During the defining step of the development phase, the name, description, and examples of each category and sub-category were outlined (Schreier, 2012). Categories are mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive, meaning that there should not be any overlap between potential coding text for each category and categories should cover all of the text (Kuckartz, 2014). Decision rules are also created for material that may fit under two overlapping

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categories or subcategories (Schreier, 2012). The categories for this research include the mechanisms of institutional interaction, education as a panacea, development of a shared identity, timeline of post-genocide education, education strategies, context, irrelevant, and miscellaneous. The categories derived from theory include the mechanisms of institutional interaction (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004) and education as a panacea (Wiseman et al., 2016). The empirical literature suggested that development of a shared identity, timeline of post-genocide education, and education strategies are important to post-genocide education policy documents. Categories, subcategories, and their descriptions are outlined in Table 9 and a more detailed coding scheme can be found in Appendix A.

Mechanisms of institutional interaction. For the category of mechanisms of institutional interaction, there were six sub-codes, including "other." These mechanisms include financial support, professional oversight, normative beliefs, accountability measures, and implementation. These categories are derived from the integration of the policy borrowing frameworks by Leuze et al., (2008) and Phillips and Ochs (2003), as described in Chapter Two.

- Financial support includes funding models, monetary support, or incentives provided as aid or for the implementation of a project or policy. It includes references to funding sources such as grants or organizations, as well as needs, or strategies to receive additional funding. Financial support also includes references to physical resources or infrastructure. Sentences related to school fees were also coded as financial support. Sample keywords include: aid, budget, economic support, equipment, financial support, funding, grant, investment, monetary support, or physical resources.

- Professional oversight includes human resources and technical assistance References to human expertise, resources, or experience were coded as professional oversight, as were

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organizational partnerships. Professional oversight can include local stakeholders, such as parents, community members, teachers, or others who may influence education. The use or seeking out of professional expertise also falls under professional oversight. Sample keywords include capacity building, experts, human capital, or partnership.

- Normative beliefs are represented by accepted and taken-for-grated structures and strategies, including references to international and national publications and strategies. In order to be coded as normative beliefs, there must be an explicit reference to an international belief system or policy—topics such as the importance of girls' education cannot be coded as a normative belief unless there is a specific reference to an international expectation or policy. Sample keywords include: belief, best practices, document, norm, policy, publication, or value.

- Implementation includes all statements outlining how to move a policy from an international or national level document to practice. Many statements coded as implementation described how a teacher would deliver content in the classroom. Sample keywords include: administrators, classroom, implementation, instructions, operational, process, schools, strategy, or teachers.

- Accountability measures include standard setting, where international organizations set expectations regarding specific measurable criteria. Accountability measures also include the monitoring and evaluation an education program or policy, as well as recommendations for improvement. Sample keywords include accountable, assess, evaluate, forecast, measure, monitor, progress, results, standardize, supervision, forecast.

Each of these mechanisms represents both outbound and inbound messaging. For example, an international organization may mention financially supporting a project in a specific nation,

representing outbound messaging, while a national government may mention seeking funding options, representing inbound messaging. These directions are associated with who puts forth the idea. Sentences coded as mechanisms of institutional interaction create a compilation of similar ideas across document sets, which were then analyzed in phase four of this research project.

Education as a panacea. Wiseman et al.'s (2016) concept of education as a panacea is included to indicate where education is positioned as a solution for specific issues or populations or as a broad cure-all. Keywords associated with education as a panacea – broad cure-all include life chances, life outcomes, or foundations for the future. Sentences coded as a broad-cure all include those which list multiple issues which education may solve. Keywords associated with education as a solution to specific issues or populations include cultural, economic, entrepreneurial, environmental, health, or poverty reduction.

In addition, the sub-codes indicating if education is a solution to a wide array of issues or only for a specific population, two specific codes related to the post-genocide context are included: prevention and recovery. Although these two components would be a part of solutions for specific issues or populations, their centrality to the research question necessitate a separate examination. The prevention sub-code indicates when education is positioned as a way to prevent future genocide or conflict and the recovery sub-code indicates when education is seen as a tool for local and national recovery from the genocide. An additional "other" category includes text which is solutionist in nature but does not adhere to the previous subcategories. Evidence from this category provides another way to track the international script around post-genocide education.

Development of a shared identity. Previous research suggests that a post-genocide education strategy is the development of a shared identity (Dierkes, 2007; Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006). This shared past can focus on national unity or situating a

country in the international community, with the type of conflict often determining which approach is used. For example, in post-Holocaust Germany, when the rise of National Socialism created a climate too focused on national unity, the post-conflict curriculum focused on Germany's place in the larger world and European communities (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006). As such, there are two main subcategories for the development of a shared identity code: national and international. Sentences which focus on developing a shared national history were coded as national, while those focused on developing a shared history by positioning the nation in the larger regional or global context were coded as international. Keywords for sentences coded as development of a national identity include nation, reunite, redevelop, Rwandan, or unity, and keywords for the development of an international identity include African, international, global, regional, or world. An additional other subcategory exists for sentences which promote a shared history but do not align with either the national or international approach.

Post-genocide education development timeline. Empirical literature suggests that post-conflict or post-genocide education systems go through similar phases of development (Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2006; Jones, 2006; Ngo, 2014; Pingel, 2006). The literature identifies these phases as: (1) emergency, (2) elimination, (3) violence as history, (4) blame to others, (5) individual perspectives, and (6) collective responsibility (Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2006; Jones, 2006; Ngo, 2014; Pingel, 2006). These phases are not all inclusive nor are there clear distinctions between one and the next, rather, the transition from one phase to another are blurred and overlapping, with each occupying a length of time unique to each context.

Meeting the community's necessities, such as food, water, and medical attention, are the primary focus, however schools often play an important role in returning the community to normalcy by providing a schedule or a place to gather (Obura, 2003). During the emergency phase,

schools may not focus on academic content as much as basic necessities (Obura, 2003). The elimination phase occurs when any potentially offensive or triggering material is removed from educational materials (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006). This removal usually occurs in the immediate aftermath of a conflict, so it was hypothesized that this category would be limited in curriculum documents and appear more heavily in policy documents with publication dates soon after the 1994 genocide. When violence first makes an appearance in the policy and curriculum documents, it may refer to genocide as just a part of or side effect of war (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006), which is represented in the violence as history subcategory. Another iteration of post-conflict curriculum may place blame for the violence on those outside of the nation or on past leadership (Hein & Selden, 2006; Ngo, 2014; Pingel, 2006), which is encompassed with the blame to others subcategory. As history education following a conflict further progresses, individual stories or experiences, both positive and negative, are included (Jones, 2006; Pingel 2006), as indicated in the individual perspectives subcategory. The last phase of post-genocide history education development outlined in previous literature is collective responsibility, where onus for preventing future outbreaks of violence are placed on individuals situated in the larger, collective society (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006). Keywords for each of these elements may be found in the Coding Scheme in Appendix A. As with previous categories, another subcategory also exists to highlight any sentences which are indicative of a post-conflict education development timeline but which were not found in the existing literature. Details about the post-genocide education timeline in Rwanda are compared against the development of education in post-Holocaust Germany, which is from where many of these subcategories were drawn.

Education strategies. The education strategies category indicates used or recommended pedagogical approaches. The literature suggests that Holocaust education, social justice education,

civic education, human rights education, or peace education are used in post-conflict contexts, however, because these approaches overlap, two main sub-categories were identified: social justice-oriented and civic-oriented (Banks & Banks, 2009; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Davies, 2007; Freedman, Weinstein et al., 2008; Levstick & Tyson, 2008; Waller, 2016). Descriptions of content or pedagogy promoting positive social development (such as human rights, peace, etc.) were coded as social justice-oriented, while approaches promoting the development of students' civic identities were coded as civic-oriented. Keywords pertaining to social justice-oriented education strategies include: human rights, inclusive, interdependent, justice, multiculturalism, participatory, peace, reconciliation, self-determinant, social development, social inclusion, or social responsibility. Keywords pertaining to civic-oriented education strategies include civic duty, civic responsibility, democracy, government, rights, or voting.

Because a component of this research focuses on the development of history education in post-Holocaust Germany, an additional Holocaust education category identified statements explicitly calling for teaching the Holocaust in post-genocide or post-conflict settings. In order to be coded as Holocaust education, a sentence had to explicitly mention the Holocaust; references to World War II, Nazis, or Hitler were not coded as Holocaust education.

During the pilot phase, two additional coding sub-categories developed: genocide education and language education. Genocide education was referenced in both international and national policy documents. Sentences were coded as genocide education when they explicitly referenced genocide or specific instances of genocide other than the Holocaust. For Rwandan policy and curriculum documents, this included references to both genocides outside of the country as well as the 1994 genocide.

The final sub-category under education strategies was language education. During the piloting phase, this category emerged descriptions of shifting from French to English as an additional and primary language of instruction. Due to Rwanda's history with the French, particularly with the history of colonization and the genocide, the focus on varying emphasis of French or English language instruction was noteworthy. An additional "other" category covered any other approaches which may have not appeared in the review of the relevant literature and research. This category was the only "other" category substantially used in the final coding process, and many of the sentences included here focused on competency-based education. These findings are discussed in the following chapters.

Context. The final category of the coding scheme developed during the piloting process as the coders realized that information providing context to the overall system of education in Rwanda was important to the overall project but did not fit into any of the other predetermined categories. The context category is considered secondary to the previously outlined categories, meaning that it does not directly contribute to answering the research questions, however, sentences coded as context provide descriptions of relevant components of the education system, including details related to the overall school systems, local schools, teachers, or students. In order to be included as contextually relevant, however, these statements must refer to secondary education. Although they did not have to be subject specific (e.g., history), sentences which were clearly outside of the scope of this research, such as secondary science courses, were not included. Sentences referring to Rwanda's history were included as Context – History. Again, while these sentences do not directly contribute to answering the research questions, they do provide details and background which aids in the understanding of the Rwandan historical, national, and educational contexts.

Table 7

Coding Scheme		
Category	**Subcategory**	**Description**
Mechanisms of institutional interaction (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003)	Financial support	Financial resources to support or incentivize policy adoption
	Professional oversight	Human resources, expertise or experience
	Normative beliefs	International or belief systems and policies
	Implementation	Instructions, guidance, or strategies for moving policy to practice
	Accountability measures	Expectations related to measuring the success of a program or policy
	Other	Any sentence related to the mechanisms of institutional interaction but which does not align with the existing subcategories
Education as a panacea (Wiseman et al., 2016)	Prevention	Education positioned as a way to prevent future conflict or genocide
	Recovery	Education positioned as a way to recover from genocide
	Specific issues or populations	Education positioned as a solution for a specific issue or population
	Broad cure-all	Education positioned as a solution for broad, overarching issues facing society
	Other	Any sentence related to education as a panacea but which does not align with the existing subcategories
Development of a shared history (Dierkes, 2007; Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006)	National (Hein & Selden, 2000; Freedman et al., 2008)	Develop a shared history by focusing on national unity
	International (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006)	Develop a shared history by positioning the country in the larger regional or international community
	Other	Any sentence related to the development of a shared history but which does not align with the existing subcategories
Post-genocide education development timeline (Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2006; Jones, 2006; Ngo,	Emergency (Obura, 2003)	Education in the immediate post-genocide context
	Elimination (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Elimination of offensive or triggering material
	Violence as history (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Genocide as part of or a side effect of war
	Blame to others (Hein & Selden, 2006; Ngo, 2014; Pingel, 2006)	Limited to no national responsibility for conflict, violence, or genocide as the fault is placed on past leadership or external influences

2014; Pingel, 2006)	Individual perspectives (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Inclusion of individual stories or experiences, both positive and negative
	Collective responsibility (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Placing responsibility for past and future on society-at-large
	Other	Any sentence related to the post-genocide education development timeline but which does not align with the existing subcategories
Education strategies (Banks & Banks, 2009; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Bromley & Russell, 2010; Davies, 2007; Freedman, Weinstein et al., 2008; Levstick & Tyson, 2008; Totten, 2012; Waller, 2016)	Social justice -oriented (Banks & Banks, 2009; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Davies, 2007; Waller, 2016)	Descriptions of pedagogy or content which aligns with social justice approaches to education
	Civic -oriented (Freedman, Weinstein et al., 2008; Levstick & Tyson, 2008)	Descriptions of pedagogy or content which promote the development of students' civic identities
	Holocaust education (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Totten, 2012)	Descriptions of the use of the Holocaust as a teaching tool or model
	Genocide education	Descriptions of educational content related to the history of genocide around the world
	Language education	Descriptions of teaching about a language other than the common first-language of a context, which in Rwanda includes English and French
	Other	Any sentence related to education strategies but which does not align with the existing subcategories
Context *Includes sentences which tangentially relate to the research question by providing general context*	Schools/School system	Describes the characteristics, demographics, experiences, descriptions of the broader school context which provide background for the research without contributing to research questions
	Teachers	Describes teachers' characteristics, demographics, experiences, training, that provide a greater understanding of the educational environment but are not directly related to genocide or post-genocide education
	Students	Describes students' characteristics, demographics, etc. but are not directly related to genocide or post-genocide education
	History	Descriptions of Rwandan history prior to the genocide, including colonialism. Includes general descriptions of the genocide which are not related to the education sector

	Other	Any sentence related to the Rwandan context but does not align with the existing subcategories

Revising and expanding. During the final step of the coding scheme development phase, categories were reviewed for overlap (Schreier, 2012). For this research, the initial revision and expansion occurred when the primary coder reviewed the coding scheme with the secondary coder. Going through each category and sub-category allowed both participants to note any areas of weakness. During these conversations, the coding scheme was revised and additional descriptions, definitions, and keywords were added. The full coding scheme can be found in Appendix A. Additional revisions occurred during the piloting process, which is described below.

Phase three: Piloting. The piloting phase is especially important for content analysis as the measures, or coding schemes, are uniquely developed for each research project. During the piloting phase, the coders implement the initial coding scheme to further identify areas of weakness or needs for clarification, which thus enhances their reliability (Schreier, 2012). This phase allows the researcher to correct shortcomings to the units, categories, or procedures prior to coding the entire data set (Schreier, 2012). While testing the coding system is the main step in the piloting phase, it also includes checking for consistency between coders and subsequently adjusting the coding frame (Schreier, 2012). Schreier's (2012) detailed outline for conducting pilot coding guided this phase of the research.

In purely quantitative text analysis, researchers are generally discouraged from using the research material for the pilot coding process, however in qualitative analysis, using a selection of the research documents can be beneficial (Schreier, 2012). Because the criteria guiding document selection was so specific and narrow and because the coding scheme was designed specifically for these documents, the trial coding for this research occurred on the same material as the final coding

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phase. Variability of selected texts for the trial coding are described as the most important concern for the piloting phase (Schreier, 2012), therefore, during the trial coding, all four types of documents (UNESCO documents pertaining to Rwanda, UNESCO documents pertaining to Holocaust education, Rwandan policy document, and Rwandan curriculum) were included to ensure that the coding scheme works appropriately with each type. The balance of variability and practicability is important when selecting how much of each document to include in the trial coding, with between ten and twenty percent of the overall material suggested as a reasonable amount (Schreier, 2012), therefore representative pages of approximately ten percent of each document will be used in the trial coding process, with the pages selected from across the documents. Details regarding pilot coding selections can be found in Appendix C.

Having two coders during the pilot phase increases the reliability of the results. The use of multiple coders is an accepted way to validate a coding scheme and provide evidence that it can be used by multiple researchers with similar results (Neuendorf, 2002). One of the first steps prior to coding was briefing all coders on the coding scheme and procedures. The primary researcher led an introductory meeting and presented the research questions, theoretical framework, and coding scheme. Following this initial meeting, the two coders worked through several pages from each of the document types. To make sure that both coders were on the same pages and sentences, the primary researcher printed and numbered the relevant sections of the documents. This step ensured that both coders were counting pages and sentences in the same way, which made for smoother communication and alignment of codes. During this round of coding, no computer-coding programs were used; coders manually indicated which code applied to each sentence by entering the codes in spreadsheet. Feedback from this experience contributed to changes to the

coding scheme, including more detailed guidelines and additional keywords for each. The full coding scheme is outlined in Appendix A.

Once both coders demonstrated alignment in understanding and consistency in coding, the two coders independently coded a larger selection of pages from documents in each set, following the same order of coding as will be performed in the final coding phase (UNESCO Rwandan documents, UNESCO Holocaust education documents, Rwandan national policy, and Rwandan curriculum, in chronological order). The pages pilot coded during this step differed from those used to establish initial inter-coder consistency. Coders noted any questions, challenges, or misunderstandings related to the application of the coding scheme, which were discussed at regular follow-up meetings. The two coders met after each set of documents to address questions and adjust the coding scheme. In preparation for these meetings, the lead researcher compared codes from each coder's spreadsheet, which contributed to a list of discussion points for the meeting. The focus of these meetings was agreement, meaning both coders must come to an agreement regarding how to code a sentence. Coders worked through differences in coded sentences, and either mistakes were be identified or coding categories and definitions were further refined. If agreement could not be reached through an examination of the sentences, the coding scheme was revised until both coders had the same understanding of the meaning or the relevant category or sub-category (Neuendorf, 2002). Once this occurred for the UNESCO documents, the coders then moved on to Rwandan policy and then Rwandan curriculum documents, adhering to these same steps throughout each pilot coding process.

These meetings were designed to be responsive to the texts under analysis and represented of a more inductive coding approach. In addition to refining the definitions, descriptions, and keywords of the other subcategories, these meetings led to the addition of the context category and

the education strategies sub-categories of language education and genocide education. Following a deductive approach for the initial coding scheme and allowing inductive coding to develop during the piloting phase increased the validity of the coding scheme as it included the theoretical framework and existing literature while being responsive to the texts under examination.

The piloting phase, including trial coding, consistency checking, and coding scheme adjustment occurred until there were only minor discrepancies between coders. Previous research indicates that an inter-coder reliability coefficient between .70 and .80 for each category is acceptable (Neuendorf, 2002). The inter-coder reliability coefficient is a simple percent agreement where the number sentences on which both coders agree is divided by the number of sentences coded (Neuendorf, 2002). The coding scheme continued to be refined through the piloting phase until a coding coefficient of .80 was achieved for the overall pilot coding set. Details regarding coding coefficients for each document and document set can be found in Appendix C. When no major discrepancies or serious revisions and the inter-coder reliability coefficient was met, the research project progressed to the coding phase. At this point, no major changes can be made to the coding scheme without recoding the entire data set (Schreier, 2012).

Phase four: Coding. During the coding phase, the researcher independently coded the remaining pages. Each time the coder returned to the text after any period away--even overnight—she reviewed the coding scheme by reading over the categories, subcategories, and descriptors. Additionally, the pages from the pilot coding phase served as another method to verify coding, as the researcher re-coded these pages first to confirm coding consistency between the pilot and coding phases. The final coding phase followed the same process as the pilot coding phase: each document was read, sentence by sentence and each sentence was coded relevant categories or was marked as irrelevant.

For this research, there were four rounds of coding: UNESCO policy documents, including those focused on Rwanda and those focused on Holocaust education, and Rwandan national documents, including policy and secondary social studies curriculum. The coding process was conducted in this order, with documents coded in order of publication date, starting with the earliest and moving to those with the most recent publication dates. Each document was coded, sentence by sentence, from beginning to end, with the exception of the information outlined above, such as images and visuals representations and large sections deemed irrelevant to the study, including chapters focusing on early childhood or higher education.

Phase five: Analysis. UNESCO documents were coded first, using the methods previously outlined. Next, Rwandan national policy documents and curriculum were coded. The analysis phase consists of comparing the results of each of these coding cycles. The first step of compiling results was to pull the coded sentences for each document set. This was accomplished by activing the relevant codes and document sets in MAXQDA and using the export feature to create a spreadsheet containing information including the coded statement and the name of the document in which it appeared. The researcher read through the sentences from each document set and code and made any necessary adjustments. One the data set was finalized, the coded sentences were reviewed for common phrases, words, or ideas. These commonalities resulted in the qualitative results which are described in the following chapter.

An additional approach to analysis includes examining each data set for trends across categories. For this examination, the sentences will be compiled in the documents in chronological order, beginning with the documents with the earliest publication date. From a reading of sentences coded by category and document set in chronological order, changes to the policies or curriculum over time will become evident. Through these multiple approaches to examining the data and

results, this research will highlight the interactions between the international and the national level of education policy development in a post-genocide context.

After finalizing the codes, then quantitative information could be gathered and analyzed. The researcher used the Code Matrix Browser to again activate the relevant codes and document sets and then exported the resulting information into a spreadsheet. Creating such matrices is a feature of MAXQDA (Kuckartz, 2014). The researcher performed the same process for relevant codes and documents in order to determine relevant information or trends. The resulting matrices contained the number of coded sentences by document and document set. In addition to numerical data, percentages were calculated within the international and national levels. Due to more national documents than international documents, calculating percentages across the entire data set would be skewed. A sample data matrix can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8

Sample Data Matrix

Document	Category			
	Sub-Category	Sub-Category	Sub-Category	Sub-Category
International Level	##	##	##	##
National Level	##	##	##	##

Results from the mechanisms of institutional interaction will assist in answering the first research question, which seeks to identify interactions between UNESCO and Rwanda regarding post-genocide social studies curriculum development. The sentences coded as relating to the timeline of post-genocide education development, development of a shared history, and education strategies will contribute to answering the second research question, which seeks to explore the relationship between the Rwandan post-genocide education development with the model of post-

Holocaust education in Germany. Statements related to education as a panacea will further inform this question as well.

Timeline

This research project began in the Fall of 2016 and culminated in my formal dissertation proposal in September of 2017. The pilot phase occurred throughout October and November 2017, with the coding phase taking place in December 2017 and January 2018. The piloting phase occurred over approximately six weeks, while the coding phase occurred over approximately eight weeks. The final analysis phase occurred in February 2018.
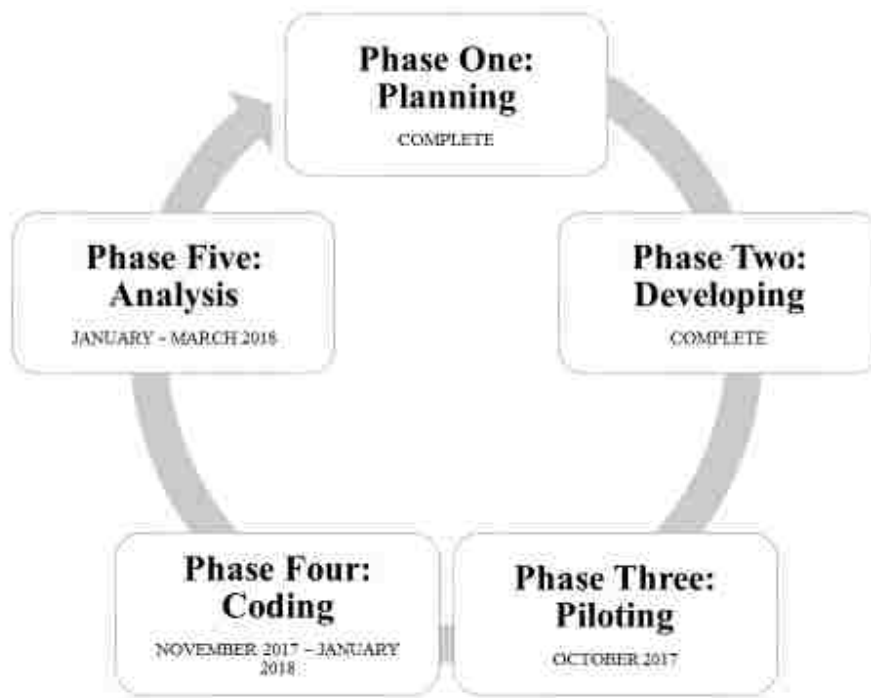
Figure 9. Timeline of Research. (Kuckartz, 2014)

Limitations

Although every effort was taken in the data collection and analysis processes to ensure reliability and validity, there are limitations to every study. Specifically, for content analysis research, Kuckartz (2014) outlines three potential threats: (1) anecdotalism, (2) transparency, and

(3) trustworthiness. Anecdotalism occurs when a researcher selects only specific items in a text to highlight or retell, which can result in an inaccurate or portrayal of the data. This research combats anecdotalism by including all documents which meet the sampling criteria, ensuring that no document was purposefully excluded. Transparency and trustworthiness represent two sides of the same coin: transparency is achieved through a detailed and replicable description of the data collection and analysis process, which is found in this chapter. Trustworthiness develops by adhering to the specific standards and procedures outlined in the research design. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, this chapter serves as the instruction manual, ensuring the systematic use of content analysis.

There is a risk of confirmation bias because many of the documents about post-conflict and Holocaust education are published by UNESCO. Following the Rwandan genocide, UNESCO had several ongoing projects regarding the redevelopment of their education system (Tawil & Harley, 2004). Although some publications by UNESCO also warn of the dangers of involvement by international organizations, the research for these publications was funded primarily by UNESCO, creating a contentious relationship where UNESCO may appear more positively than in research not funded by an international organization.

A limitation to the overall design of the study is that only exploring intended curriculum at the policy level leaves out how such policy is enacted at the classroom level. Although something may appear in the curriculum, it cannot, by extension, be assumed to be taught (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Critiques of studies conducted on the intended curriculum highlight that they fail to account for what is actually taught in the classroom (Tawil & Harley, 2004). In addition to the failure to cover the material in the curriculum, such studies do not take into account learning that goes beyond what is prescribed (Tawil & Harley, 2004). Short's (2005) study of Holocaust education

in the United Kingdom revealed that although schools must adhere to the same curriculum, the emphasis on specific topics may vary. As a result, although items may appear (or not appear) in the intended curriculum, the emphasis or pedagogy teachers apply to the standards varies (Cole, 2007; Short, 2005). Beyond what occurs in schools, it is also, as Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy, & Longman (2008) noted, difficult to identify the influence of history education on students' attitudes or behaviors after they leave the classroom. Additionally, because of history's lack of popularity as a subject at the secondary level, external influences, such as family, news media, religion, and popular culture, could play a more significant role in shaping youth's' perceptions of their country (Cole, 2007a). However, the research questions examined here do not include these levels of policy implementation; therefore, a different research question and strategy would be needed to address these topics.

The official curriculum represents a snapshot of what education policy makers consider important to teach in the classroom, and because it is heavily documented, it is easier to examine than what occurs in or beyond the classroom (Thornton, 2008). Curriculum documents can be analyzed for a period of time in the past, whereas classroom practices or curriculum implementation must be measured in a timely fashion. A study of how the curriculum is enacted at the classroom level would require new research questions and design.

Conclusion

The research presented here provides an opportunity to inform policy makers in similar post-genocide or post-conflict contexts about the ways international organizations may influence the development of national policy. By familiarizing themselves with the mechanisms of institutional interaction, policy makers can become aware of and appropriately address external influences. Although the interactions between the international and national levels do not

necessarily represent imposition or overt coercion (Perry & Tor, 2008; Schuelka, 2014), an awareness that post-genocide education policies may adhere to international normative scripts rather than be contextually most appropriate is necessary for the fidelity and relevance of education policy at the local levels.

Chapter Four: Results

The following chapter contains the results of the content analysis. In keeping with tradition of previous content analysis studies, the results are presented thematically, using the coding categories as a guide (Ehrenberg, 2016; Russell, 2013). Each set of results contains quantitative and qualitative information about how the category appeared in both the international and national literature, including representative quotations which tell the story of each coding category and its particular relevance to the research question. Comparisons between the international and national levels were also included when the differences or similarities were noteworthy. These results presented here will be used to address the research questions in the discussion, which follows in Chapter Five. However, before presenting the results, it is important to briefly review the methods and documents chosen for this research.

Methods. The methodological approach chosen for this research was content analysis. This method was selected because it focuses on distilling down a large amount of information into manageable segments. For this research, over 1,000 pages from 24 documents published by UNESCO and Rwanda were the sample. Document selection is discussed below. Prior to beginning content analysis, an extensive theoretical framework and literature review contributed to the establishment of a preliminary coding scheme, which was thoroughly tested and revised during the pilot phase. During the pilot phase, the researcher and another coder applied the coding scheme to approximately ten percent of each document. After working through an initial document

together, the researcher and coder worked through each document set and then met afterward to discuss discrepancies and adjust the coding scheme, if necessary. This continued until approximately ten percent of the documents had been coded and an inter-coder coefficient of at least 70% was achieved. The final inter-coder coefficient for this research was 81.7%. Details about this number, including the inter-coder coefficient rates of each document can be found in Appendix D.

Documents. The documents selected for this research represent the larger voices of UNESCO and the Rwandan government and ministry of education. They were selected from thorough searches of the UNESCO document database and the Rwandan national education websites. For UNESCO, two sets of documents were chosen: those with a particular focus on Rwanda and those which promoted Holocaust education. Rwandan-focused documents were selected because they provided an opportunity to examine what UNESCO was saying about education in Rwandan. The narratives put forth in these documents provide an external perspective to the narrative put forth by the Rwandan national education officials. Because Holocaust education is a stated mission of both the United Nations and UNESCO and because it is believed that Holocaust education is influential in post-genocide contexts, these documents were also chosen to represent the UNESCO-driven international narrative around Holocaust education. These two document sets (UNESCO documents about Rwanda and UNESCO documents about Holocaust Education) represent UNESCO's international narrative.

At the national level, documents from various iterations of Rwanda's ministry of education were chosen. The documents had to pertain to or contain information about secondary social studies education to be selected. Documents at the national level represented two sets: policy and curriculum. Policy documents included those which outlined national educational goals, such as

various adoptions of the *Education Sector Strategic Plan* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a, 2010, 2013) as well as reports gathered for international conferences, such as the *Education for All 2015 National Review Report* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015). Although these documents often covered the entire education sector, from early childhood to higher education, only the relevant sections were included in this study. These documents represent the presentation of Rwanda as identified by national policy makers. In addition to policy documents, two rounds of curriculum adoptions were also included. The first occurred in 2008 and 2010 with the history programs for ordinary and advanced levels (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, 2010) and were followed in 2015 by the adoption of competence-based curriculum for history and citizenship at the ordinary level and history at the advanced level (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d). While still representative of the national education narrative, curriculum documents directly influence classroom instruction, as they are the guide by which teachers determine their daily content and pedagogy.

These document sets provide a glimpse into the voices of international and national level policy makers so that any overlaps or gaps can be identified through the coding process. Although the documents are the objects of study, they are used to examine the larger and purposeful narrative put forth by UNESCO and Rwandan policy makers. In the sections that follow and for each of the coding categories and sub-categories, the UNESCO documents, representative of the international level will first be examined, followed by Rwandan policy and curriculum documents, which represent the national level. Additional descriptions of each of the documents, including title, publishing organization, publication year, authors or contributors and intent and purpose, can be found in Appendix B.

Mechanisms of Institutional Interaction

The mechanisms of institutional interaction developed from theoretical frameworks on policy borrowing, particularly drawing on Leuze et al.'s (2008) two-level game, including international organizations governance instruments and national transformation capacities as well as Phillips and Ochs's (2003) multi-stage approach to policy borrowing. Policy becomes the space where evidence of international and national interactions become apparent, as international organizations use their governance instruments and national governments draw on their transformative capacities and impulses when creating policies (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003). The mechanisms of institutional interaction include financial support, professional oversight, normative beliefs, implementation, and accountability measures. Within the mechanisms of institutional interaction, accountability measures appeared the most frequently (n = 1,568, 35.4%), followed by professional oversight (n = 1142, 25.8%). Normative beliefs were the next most common code (n = 798, 18.0%) followed by financial support (n = 610, 13.8%). Implementation was the least frequently occurring code with only 314 sentences at 7.1%. Across document levels, the majority of the codes were found in the national narratives, however there were more documents in that set, therefore the numbers may not be as skewed as they seem. Table 9, found below, presents this information and each of these areas is further described in the corresponding results section.

Table 9

Mechanisms of Institutional Interaction

	Financial Support		Professional Oversight		Normative Beliefs		Implementation		Accountability Measures		TOTALS	
	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent
International Documents	88	13.5%	237	36.2%	164	25.1%	36	5.5%	129	19.7%	654	100.0%
UNESCO: Rwandan Policy	80	12.2%	102	15.6%	71	10.9%	22	3.4%	77	11.8%	352	53.8%
UNESCO: Holocaust Education	8	1.2%	135	20.6%	93	14.2%	14	2.1%	52	8.0%	302	46.2%
National Documents	522	13.8%	905	24.0%	634	16.8%	278	7.4%	1439	38.1%	3778	100.0%
Rwanda: Policy	513	13.6%	844	22.3%	507	13.4%	146	3.9%	982	26.0%	2992	79.2%
Rwanda: Curriculum	9	0.2%	61	1.6%	127	3.4%	132	3.5%	457	12.1%	786	20.8%
TOTALS	610	13.8%	1142	25.8%	798	18.0%	314	7.1%	1568	35.4%	4432	100.0%

Financial support. Previous research and theories suggest that there is significant space for interaction between international and national levels regarding financial support. Whether it is the national government seeking external funding for a project or an international organization, money can influence policies and practices. Several themes appeared across the sentences coded as financial support, including explicit calls for funding needs, school fees or free education, materials and infrastructure, and the intersection of human resources and funding, including professional development as well as alternative measures to compensate for education. Within this category, of the total 610 sentences, 88 sentences were in the international narrative while 52 sentences were in the national narrative.

International level. There were 88 sentences about financial support published at the international level, with the majority of these (n = 88) published in documents focused on Rwanda. Only eight sentences appeared in documents promoting Holocaust education. Documents published by UNESCO were characterized by a narrower narrative than those published by Rwanda, and as such, three primary themes emerged: (1) a general lack of funding for education initiatives—which appeared primarily in documents promoting Holocaust education; (2) a history of post-genocide donor funding to Rwanda; and (3) a description of the Genocide Survivors Assistance Fund (FARG).

Financial support statements from Holocaust Education documents were broadly characterized by the lack of resources available to schools. *Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education* (UNESCO, 2009) in particular has the most contributions, with the "lack of good materials and resources" (p. 85) in schools severely challenging the extent to which teachers can engage students with relevant material. As many sections of this publication

focus on Holocaust Education in South Africa and Rwanda, infrastructure and materials registered high on the list of needs.

Transitioning to Rwanda-focused international documents, many of the sentences detailed the history of donor aid to Rwanda following the genocide, including listing the various organizations which made significant contributions, including the World Bank, the African Development Bank, (IBE-UNESCO, 2007), the Department for International Development (DfID) (Obura & Bird, 2009), and the German and Belgian governments (Hilker, 2010). Interestingly, UNESCO or other branches of the United Nations were not listed. The way Rwanda dealt with donors following the genocide is described in a positive connotation, as Rwanda was considered a "'donor darling'" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 20). The immediacy and quantity of post-genocide aid which was given to Rwanda has been attributed to the "collective 'guilt' over the genocide and lack of intervention despite repeated warnings" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 16). Additionally the interactions between the Rwandan government and their funders is described as a model for other post-crisis nations, as it is said to have "built the trust and drawn in support for donors" Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 17) and their implementation of a sector wide approaches has "given confidence" in the method to other donors (p. 21). Despite Rwanda's success at drawing and utilizing donor aid, a gap between expected aid contributions and government funding began in 2009, which has contributed to some of the new funding strategies outlined in the national documents.

A significant portion of Hilker's (2010) *The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace—The Case of Rwanda* describes the FARG program, which is a fund to provide support for genocide survivors' school fees. While these funds were originally designed to provide support to any orphan of the genocide, regardless of ethnic group, in reality, the implementation has not been consistently applied across groups, resulting in

Tutsi pupils who are genocide survivors have had their school fees, transportation and

supplies paid for, yet many Hutu children who are survivors of the wider civil war and

RPA killings have not had this support, and in many cases, have therefore not been able to

attend school. (Hilker, 2010, p. 11)

This inequality in distribution has had further repercussions, as FARG recipients have also

received identification cards, which "effectively replaces the Tutsi ID card carried before the

genocide" (Hilker, 2010, p. 11). Inevitably, this program has created a point of division between

Rwandans and is effectively working against national attempts at unity (Hilker, 2010). This report,

however, is from 2010, and while the FARG program still exists, there are fewer students who are

genocide orphans. Unfortunately, none of the UNESCO documents mention any follow up to the

potential dangers of this program.

National level. In national level documents, 522 sentences were coded as financial support,

with the majority of these sentences ($n = 513$) occurring in policy documents compared to nine

sentences in the curriculum. The national level discourse focuses on several different components

than the international level, including innovative funding strategies, references to local as well as

international organizations, and an importance placed on materials and infrastructure. An

additional commonality was across document sets was a focus on infrastructure, however the

national documents supplied more details and linked availability of supplies and resources with

academic achievement. For example, the Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997) states

that, "Greater use of textbooks and other school materials, in order to increase the productivity of

overburdened teachers" (p. 138). Sixteen years later this refrain still remained, as the Republic of

Rwanda Ministry of Education states (2013), "The adequate supply of appropriate teaching and

learning materials, including textbooks and reading materials also has a significant bearing on

quality" (p. 42). These sentences demonstrate that while both international organizations and national government focus on the need for infrastructure and materials, the ways in which these narratives are framed vary, with national government focusing on how such classrooms and textbooks will contribute to greater educational success.

Despite the different components of financial contributions between international and national sources, external funding was also described in the national documents, especially those with earlier publication dates. These statements include a different set of donor agencies than were listed in the international documents, including the UNDP, UNESCO (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997), the Kuwait Fund, the Global Fund for HIV, and the World Health Organization, the Global Partnership for Education (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013), and UNICEF and UNFPA, (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d). Organizations which were mentioned in both sets of documents include the World Bank (IBE-UNESCO, 2007; Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997), DfID (Obura & Bird, 2009; Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d), and the African Development Bank (Hilker, 2010; Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013). The documents published with more time passing since the genocide tended to have fewer references to external funders and the references they did have were predominantly vague, referring broadly to "bilateral/multilateral development partners" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010) or "international partners" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013).

An additional difference between donor funding between the international and national levels is that the Rwandan government acknowledged the necessity of both international and national donors. While the international documents did not acknowledge national donors, the government calls on "Resources from international partners [to] complement the national effort"

because "the resources available at the national level are insufficient" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 141). One pillar in the Rwandan financial policy is "The importance of participation of all different partners: …Government, parents, communities, donors, the private sector, NGOs and Civil Society" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 8). In addition to balancing international and national donors, much of the Rwandan documents outline a need to coordinate effective and efficient management systems (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010). As documents' publication dates were further from the genocide, an emphasis on "ensuring that partners directly support the education sector" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 96) rather than accept all potential donor funds, is enforced by the Rwandan government.

Innovative financing strategies are described in the national documents, including in kind work to cover students' school fees, which is described as having "a local sociocultural foundation and correspond[ing] to a certain Rwandese historical tradition" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 139). Statements suggesting that "the families of beneficiaries could, for example, contribute in kind, or by offering their labour (during rehabilitation, construction, and maintenance exercises)" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, xvi) appear first in the earliest published documents, however this idea is echoed throughout, as "Classroom construction will continue to be completed using the 'unconventional approach' which harnesses support from communities to reduce costs" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 53). This progression demonstrates the normalization of parental and community involvement in education financing, as it is even included in the several statements about the government's financing strategy, including "Involving communities in the construction, management and supervision" of schools" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology, and Scientific

Research, 2003, p. 7). Beyond reducing financial obligations, this parental and community support is described as "a social investment with a very wide symbolic and relational meaning" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998b, p. 140). In addition to community support, secondary schools are "encourage[d]…to have income generating projects to contribute to their budgets" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology, and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 21). Not only will this help meet financial needs, it also encourages entrepreneurial skills (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010).

Professional oversight. Professional oversight was the second most frequently occurring code across the entire document set, with 1,142 sentences at 25.8%. It was the most frequently occurring code at the international level as well. Sentences coded as professional oversight include references to human resources, experience, or expertise. It can include individual and organizational oversight. Local stakeholders, parents, community members or other people who may try to influence education are also included in professional oversight. Overall, professional oversight sentences contain a human component, either through individuals or organizations.

International level. In the international narrative, there were a total of 237 professional oversight sentences which were split almost evenly across Rwandan policy ($n = 102$) and Holocaust education documents ($n = 135$). Professional oversight sentences from were sub-coded using the three levels they referenced: global, national, or local. Sentences which did not clearly refer to one of these levels were not included, which explains the discrepancy in totals. At the international level, the sentences overwhelmingly gave information on the professional oversight offered by international organizations. Both Holocaust education and Rwandan-focused documents contained more sentences focused on the global level than national or local perspectives, with 168 sentences focusing on the global level, 42 sentences focusing on the

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national level, and 21 focusing on the local level. Within Rwandan-focused documents, the highest emphasis was on global involvement, with 65 sentences. Twenty-four sentences referred to national responsibilities, while eight referred to local stakeholders, including teachers or parents. Policy promoting Holocaust education mirrored this trend, with 103 globally focused, 18 nationally focused, and 13 locally focused sentences.

The narrative put forth by UNESCO regarding professional oversight in the Rwandan education context indicate clear involvement in supporting education development. For example, at the "Kigali Call for Action" regional workshop, "UNESCO and its education partners, among others the African Union, ADEA and the World Bank, have come to the conclusion that a thorough, sector-wide reform of basic education in African countries is required" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 59). Later, this same document states that UNESSCO was asked to "disseminate pertinent documents", "promote education as a right for all", and "assist countries in their reform process" by offering technical, legal and policy assistance, teacher training, and expansion of curricula (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 60). While the first two calls for actions are align closely with UNESCO's promotion of normative beliefs, the final request, to "assist countries in their reform process" shows how UNESCO provides professional oversight. However, in this example, professional oversight was requested by international and national policy makers participating in the conference, which demonstrates that the mechanisms of institutional interaction do not operate on a one-way street. A similar narrative is echoed in the *Kigali Statement* (UNESCO, 2015b), which recommends "that UNESCO continue to lead the coordination and monitoring of the implementation of the post-2015 education agenda" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 5). Again, UNESCO's professional expertise is called upon to contribute to policy implementation.

In addition to professional oversight from UNESCO and other organizations, the international narrative also promotes relying on a network of national policy makers, as "there is great value in sharing national perspectives in a regional context because collective learning is very enriching and stimulating" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 54). The network of policy makers which is developed at regional and international conferences can be an important professional tool, as "participants will rely on each other for provisions of technical expertise and professional peer support" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 54). These sentences indicate that international professional oversight does not just come from organizations such as UNESCO, rather, it can come from national policy makers outside of one's own context.

Statements describing professionals at the national level most commonly referred to the roles and responsibilities of the ministry of education and other national level education officials. Many of these sentences described actions the national government had taken in the wake of the 1994 genocide. Not all of these descriptions were positive, such as this critique of the misalignment between education policy and practice:

> However, in spite of several statements by the Rwandan Government about the desire to teach pupils skills of critical thinking and debate…in practice this has not been implemented and the available evidence suggests that the teaching style in Rwandan schools largely remains teacher-centred with little opportunity for student debate and discussion. (Hilker, 2010, p. 16)

Statements about local level involvement encourage developing the "capacities of volunteers creating and taking care of schools" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 53) and encouraging "parents and communities participation" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 9). Although neither the national or local narratives constitute a major portion of the international narrative, they are included to some extent.

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The documents on Holocaust education are written for an international audience, therefore it was expected that they would focus more on the global level of professional oversight rather than the national and local. UNESCO even states that the documents are not meant to define or outline national specifics, "rather leav[ing] them to be formulated anew at the national level" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 4). Many of these sentences describe UNESCO's role as an international organization and in promoting Holocaust education. UNESCO "devotes primary attention to the universal value of tolerance and mutual understanding" and works to prevent "ignorance, prejudice, hatred and violence" by "promoting mutual understanding between individuals, communities and people" (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 12-13). It sees Holocaust education as a way to remember the Holocaust, promote positive values, and prevent future genocide. Statements about the national level provide resources for policy-makers to adopt Holocaust education in their own contexts. Some of these resources include guidelines such as "encourage[ing] the teaching of several cases of genocide that respect the historical integrity of each event" and "ensur[ing] educators are supported with accurate sources of information…and reliable methodologies" (UNESCO, 2017, pp. 7-8).

The sentences focusing on the local level were primarily focused on the perspectives and needs of teachers, who are described as "particularly important stakeholders in the curriculum development process" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 52). As teachers are so important to "Successful implementation of education about the Holocaust" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 58), these documents promote the provision of professional development and teaching materials, as most "Teachers have not been educated to talk about the history of the Holocaust" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 131). The scarcity of sentences at the national and local levels within these documents indicate that their

audience is policy makers who frequently interact with other national and international policy makers.

National narrative. There were a total of 905 sentences codded as professional oversight in the national narrative, and the majority of these sentences appeared in policy documents (*n* = 844), however 61 sentences occurred in curriculum documents, with all but four of those sentences occurring in the 2015 adoption. Notably, in the acknowledgements section of each document, international organizations are thanked for providing financial and technical support (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d). Of the 62 sentences, 40 explained teachers' roles in the classroom, which is expected since curriculum documents are designed to implement the curriculum and "whose role is central to the success" of the curriculum (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. ii; 2015d, p. i).

In the *History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c) and the *History Syllabus for Advanced Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d) teachers are given a variety of tasks related to delivering history education, including to "help learners appreciate the relevance and benefits for studying this subject" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 1), "ensure that the learning is personalized, active and participative and co-operative" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 7; 2015d, p. 6), and "select and develop appropriate materials, such as teaching models and charts for the learners to use in their work" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 8, 2015d, p. 6). This final piece gives teachers some autonomy when implementing the curriculum in their classrooms. In addition to these guidelines, many of the sentences focus on shifting to more learner-centered methods, which advocate that teachers "shift from the traditional method of instruction [and] rather play the role of a facilitator" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 7, 2015d, p. 6) and "act as a guide and not as a source of all information" (Rwanda Education

Board, 2015c, p. 7, 2015d, p. 5). More information regarding the shift to student-centered learning can be found in the education strategies section.

Not only did Rwandan policy documents contain more references to professional oversight than any other document set, many of the references directly linked work in Rwanda to work by UNESCO. Each of the earliest documents examined acknowledged the technical collaboration of UNESCO (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). In addition to these acknowledgements, the later documents also reference the NCU, or National Commission for UNESCO, which is "responsible for coordination of activities related to UNESCO's interventions" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 8). This office appears in the policy documents from its first mention in 2008 until 2013, which indicates that it is a relatively long-standing office. The lasting existence of a national level office to coordinate the in-country work of UNESCO speaks to the organization's significant presence in Rwanda.

Another theme that appeared in Rwandan national policy documents was the process of decentralizing the education system. In the earliest examined documents, the "highly centralized management system" is described as an "obstacle to its smooth operation and does not provide local officials with the decision-making power which would allow them to take the necessary initiatives" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. xvi). However, many of the documents acknowledge the need for capacity-building at both the national and local levels so that decentralization can be implemented. While, according to the documents, this process is ever ongoing in Rwanda, local and national offices still carry responsibilities and accountabilities. For example, district education offices are responsible for strategic plan implementation and monitoring, and they must report this information back to the ministry of education (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a). Another education component which has been passed on

to the local levels is the selection of textbooks, which allows teachers to select resources from a list of those nationally approved (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010). This decentralization occurred not just within the education sector, but across the Rwandan government as a "way of empowering the population to participate in development activities that have an influence [on] them" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 33). However, decentralization is not without its challenges, as the gaps between national and local education leaders can create communication challenges, however having established, reliable, and consistent means of communication can alleviate some of these challenges (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015). This decentralization policy also supports increased parental involvement.

Parents are also an important stakeholder in the Rwandan education system, with 56 sentences describing their roles in the education sector. Parents are asked to help build and maintain buildings, guide the financial management of their local school, play decision making roles, support curriculum development, and have roles in local Parent Teacher Associations and Parent Teacher Committees. In the first *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997) one objective is to "encourage[e] the increased participation of parents in the financing of schools" (p. 24). One suggested way to increase parental involvement is through including them in school construction and initiatives. More about this can be read in the financial support section, where is it suggested that parents support their local schools through in-kind donations. The portrayal and expectations of parents changes over time, as they, along with government, communities, and donors, are considered essential partners whose participation is necessary for the development of the Rwandan education system (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003). The involvement of parents will help "achieve transparency, accountability, predictability and

participation in an atmosphere of good governance" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 20).

The inclusion of parents in the education sector is a narrative that exists across Rwandan policy documents. While parents may have first been asked to assist in the construction and maintenance of school buildings, they were later referred to as partners in decision making process. As this narrative evolved, there was a consistent emphasis on the "need for involvement of parents and community leaders in the management of schools to drive improvements in the quality and efficiency of education services" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 46). Beyond this, parents, along with teachers and school leaders "must be engaged together in supporting teaching and learning and holding each accountable for their contributions" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015, p. 20). This demonstrates that not only are teachers accountable to the communities they serve, parents are also accountable to contribute to their children's education. One way of achieving this mutual respect and accountability is by "shar[ing] with parents what students are doing well and where they need to improve" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b, p. 13). This final recommendation appeared in documents describing the most recent curriculum adoption, and despite the emphasis on parental involvement, is the first time that sharing student information with them is mentioned. The emphasis on parental involvement throughout Rwandan policy documents demonstrates that national policy makers consider local community members as assets to education development.

Normative beliefs. Normative beliefs encompass a wide variety of discourse, understandings, and expectations. Although normative beliefs are difficult to extract from document analysis, as many of them are so taken-for-granted and embedded into culture and mindsets, this research includes references to best practices, policies, and values and norms.

Because normative beliefs can be tricky to tease out, only explicit references, not statements the researcher assumed were representative of taken for granted beliefs were included in this research. Normative beliefs were the third most frequently occurring code within the mechanisms of institutional interaction, with a total of 798 sentences (18.0%).

International level. At the international level, normative beliefs were the second most frequently occurring code, with 164 total sentences divided between Rwandan policy documents (*n* = 71) and documents promoting Holocaust education (*n* = 93). Documents at the international level, unsurprisingly, mentioned international standards, such as "The United Nations Education for All (EFA) movement is a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 7). They also provide an external perspective on Rwanda's participation in such initiatives and the sometimes conflicting national script, where the international goal of eliminating poverty creates tension between Rwandan national goals of "unity and reconciliation…and economic development" (Hayman, 2007, in Hilker, 2010, p. 9).

In addition to references to international and national policies, sentences coded as normative beliefs also included references to global trends in education which have impacted the Rwandan system, including inclusive education and competence-based education. Inclusive education is described as a "key social policy" (p. 18) in great detail in IBE-UNESCO's (2007) *Within the Reform Process of 9-Year Basic Education in Africa*, where it is also linked to EFA and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Inclusive education is described as including students orphaned or traumatized by the genocide, which makes it particularly relevant to the Rwandan genocide. In addition to descriptions of the international push for inclusive education, IBE-UNESCO (2007) also identify competence-based approaches to education as "an effective answer to the emergence of a new way of conceiving and understanding the role of education today, in

different regions of the world" (p. 54). These examples underscore the connection between international and national level policy-making, as both inclusive education and competence-based education are strategies adopted in Rwanda and further validated through references such as these. Additionally, their adoption is linked to achieving international achievement benchmarks, such as the SDGs or EFA goals (IBE-UNESCO, 2007; UNESCO, 2015b).

Statements regarding the Rwandan government's narrative regarding the 1994 genocide factor heavily in Hilker's (2010) *The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace – The Case for Rwanda*. This report is the only document which offered a critical perspective of the climate around the genocide, which it describes as "attempts to impose a singular 'official history'" (pp. 14-15). According to Hilker (2010), Rwanda's laws which criminalize genocide ideology have been repurposed to "restrict political competition, silence dissent and curb criticism" (p. 14) of those in power, coupled with the "official narrative" of the genocide which is disseminated through "the media, genocide memorials, gacaca courts, and… re-education camps" have denied "voice to or repress[ed] the memories of particular groups in society" (Hilker, 2010). Hilker (2010) also notes that Rwandan policy makers speak of their national commitment to peacebuilding, however it is not reflected in action. Hilker's (2010) paper, which was prepared for the *EFA Global Monitoring Report* provides a contrasting perspective on how the Rwandan national government positions itself.

The UNESCO publications about Holocaust Education are peppered with references to United Nations and UNESCO policy as well as with best practices for teaching about the Holocaust. Throughout the documents, which are published by UNESCO, there are several self-referential statements promoting the United Nations's and its branches stance on Holocaust education, including, "UNESCO upholds and underscores educative awareness-raising and the

crucial role that teachers play in transmitting values and influencing attitudes that promote tolerance and peace" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 14). UNESCO's (2017) most recent publication, *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide,* was created to influence normative beliefs by "guid[ing] aims to help key actors in the world's education systems implement effective education about the Holocaust and genocide" (p. 7). Additionally, it promotes the United Nations's narrative of teaching about the Holocaust, "which emphasizes its historical significance and the importance of teaching this event as a fundamental consideration pertaining to the prevention of genocide" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 15). Statements such as this, and references to numerous "Holocaust Remembrance" resolutions demonstrate the United Nations and UNESCO's focus on increasing the expectations regarding Holocaust education for nations around the world—not just those directly influenced by it. Additionally, this narrative represents the belief in education as a panacea, as international organizations promote Holocaust and genocide education to prevent genocide. In addition to these contributions to the broader Holocaust education narrative, instructions regarding the presentation of the Holocaust in official policy and curriculum

National level. A total of 634 sentences were coded as normative beliefs at the national level, with 507 sentences appearing in policy documents and 127 sentences appearing in the curriculum. At the national level, statements which were coded as normative beliefs broadly referred to previous or existing policies to build an intricate web of policies which overlapped and built on one another. For example, a box in the *Education for All 2015 National Review Report: Rwanda* included the following list of policies and strategic plan:

MINEDUC Policies and Strategic Plans

- Quality Standards in Education (2008)

- Girls Education Policy (2008)

- Special Needs Education (2008)

- Higher Education Policy (2008)

- Nine Year Basic Education Strategy (2008)

- Technical & Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Policy (2008, under review)

- Technical Education Strategic Plan 2008-12

- ICT in Education Policy (2008, revised 2013)

- Higher Education Strategic Plan (2009)

- Teacher Development and Management Policy (revised 2011)

- Early Childhood Development Policy and Strategic Plan (2011)

- Youth and Adult Literacy Strategic Plan (approval 2014)

- School Health Policy (2014)

- Teacher Incentives Policy (2014)

- Natioanl Science, Technology and Innovation Policy (2005, revised 2013) (Republic of Rwanda Minsitry of Education, 2015, p. 7)

While not all of these policies are relevant to the research topics examined here, this extensive list demonstrates the numerous ongoing policies and plans which intersect across the Rwandan education system and levels, further hinting at the complexity of these policies. While numerous policies were named across all documents published by the various iterations of the Rwandan Ministry of Education, there were several national and international policies which appeared with notable frequency, including Vision 2020, versions of the Education Sector Strategic Plans, nine- and twelve-year basic education policies, and the Education for All goals.

In addition to referencing policies, normative beliefs also include values which the government and ministry want to transfer to students. The Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010, 2013) and the Rwandan Education Board (2015a) outline the mission of the Ministry of Education as follows: "to transform the Rwandan citizen into skilled human capital for socio-economic 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" (p. 2; p. 9; p. 10). The promotion of these values is also discussed in the education as a panacea and development of a national identity sections, as the government positions many of these values, such as justice, peace, tolerance, and human rights, as essential to the Rwandan identity.

Vision 2020. This policy is mentioned across 28 sentences in both curriculum and policy documents, beginning in 2003 and continuing until the most recent documents' publication year, 2015. Vision 2020 is a guiding policy which appears to serve as a foundation for every national policy since its adoption in 2020 (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000). All future policies and plans must align with and work toward the same goals as those laid out by Vision 2020. In 2003, Vision 2020 was described as outlining education's primary objective "to provide Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2010 and subsequently Basic Education for All (EFA) by 2015 (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 6). However, as time passed, so too did the objectives associated with Vision 2020, as in 2008, "Promoting science and technology education is [identified as] an essential strategy to achieve the human development objectives set out in Vision 2020" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 11). These statements expanded again in 2010, as Vision 2020 "set out ambitious plans to create a growing knowledge

economy based on a skilled workforce that can compete in the region and the wider international arena" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 2). The most recent documents, published in 2015, state that one of the six pillars of Vision 2020 is "Human resource development [which] starts with the provision of quality education right from pre-primary to university levels" (p. 4). These statements about Vision 2020 demonstrate how the policy impacts the education sector, however it is much broader and also touches on equality through focusing on issues such as gender equity and poverty alleviation. The prevalence of Vision 2020 across the documents indicates that it has played a central role in Rwanda's development for the past two decades by influencing virtually all aspects of Rwandan life.

Other national policies. Additional policies which were also frequently mentioned throughout Rwanda policy include version of the Education Sector Strategic Plans, which initially focused on developing nine-year basic education, and once this was accomplished, shifted to a focus on twelve-year basic education. While Vision 2020 is the foundation for all national policies, the Education Sector Strategic is the basis for subsequent education-specific policies, including the Nine-Year Basic Education Strategy. Once nine-years of basic education were implemented widely across the country, the policy shifted in 2012 to promote twelve years of basic education (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015). Beyond alignment with national policies, references to international policies and expectations, such as the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All framework were also common.

MDGs and EFA Goals. In creating policy, the Rwandan government states their commitment to "comply[ing] with major international goals and aspirations" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education 2010, p. 2). As the most over-arching education policy, the Education Sector Strategic Plans are aligned with the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All

Framework (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a). Documents across publication years laud Rwanda's commitment to the MDGs and EFA goals (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 2015; 2015a).

Competence-based education. Another area where the overlap between national and international discourse is apparent is in statements about competence-based education. Competence-based approaches were first outlined by IBE-UNESCO in 2007, where they were described as "an effective answer to the emergence of a new way of conceiving and understanding the role of education today" (p. 54). Just a few years later, in 2015, Rwanda adopted a competence-based approach for their education system, even stating that the new curriculum "matches global trends and is in line with the 2013 Harmonised Curriculum Framework for the East African Community" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b, p. 1). This example provides evidence of overlapping international and national narratives.

Accountability measures. Accountability measures were the most frequently occurring code overall (n = 1,568, 35.4%) and at the national level (n = 1439, 38.1%). A total of 129 sentences were coded as accountability measures in international documents. Accountability measures refer to expectations for specific measurable criteria. This may take the form of international goals, such as the Millennium Development Goals or Education for All. It also includes the monitoring and evaluation of a specific program or policy.

International narrative. At the international level, there were 129 sentences coded as accountability measures, with 77 sentences in policy about Rwanda and 52 sentences in policy about Holocaust education. The international narrative around accountability varied between Rwandan-focused policy and policy promoting Holocaust education. Within Holocaust education documents, most of the sentences focused on either the need for research and evaluation for

Holocaust education (*n* = 19) or gave particular learning outcomes for students who participate in a Holocaust education program (*n* = 15). Across the international documents, accountability measures 17 sentences referenced international goals and 14 sentences referred to international goals, thus demonstrating how even the international narrative can be an intersecting point of international and national policy.

Within the documents on Holocaust education, statements coded as accountability measures called for research and evaluation in order to justify adding Holocaust to the curriculum. Although these statements appeared across documents, they were predominantly found in *The Impact of Holocaust Education: How to Assess Policies and Practices* (UNESCO, 2014), which is not surprising because assessment is the primary point of the document. The document called for "high quality research about Holocaust education…to strengthen the field by identifying challenges and obstacles, best practices, conducive policies, and promising innovations" (UNESCO, 2014, pp. 3 & 11). Assessment and evaluation are commonly thought of from a quantitative perspective and UNESCO (2014) recognizes that "it is not a simple matter to quantify the impact of Holocaust education" (p.6). While "The evidence-based case for Holocaust education…exists in practice" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 11), both quantitative and qualitative research is necessary to support the inclusion of Holocaust education around the world.

The second characteristic of accountability in the Holocaust education documents are student learning objectives. Holocaust education is said to impact learners in a variety of ways, including by "acquir[ing] knowledge, understanding and critical thinking regarding global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations" and "hav[ing] a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, with empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity"

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(UNESCO, 2017, p. 41). Objectives such as these align with education as a panacea, as they position Holocaust education to address issues well beyond the scope of curriculum or walls of the classroom. These statements also align with many of the traits described as Rw andan values.

The international narrative frequently called out international education goals, such as the Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals and the Education for All goals. These statements were often included references to Rwandan national policies and plans, such as Vision 2020, stating that achieving national benchmarks could "contribute to a further acceleration in the direction of the attainment of EFA goals" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 54). Regional goals were also cited, particularly in the *Kigali Statement*, which developed from the Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Ministerial Conference on Education Post-2015 (UNESCO, 2015b). This document in particular recognized "appreciable progress in education over the last 25 years since the EFA movement" while simultaneously calling out that "most countries have not achieved EFA and Second Decade of Education for Africa goals and targets" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 1). These statements demonstrate the intersection of national, regional, and international goals, even in the international discourse.

National narrative. Accountability measures appeared in national documents 1,439 times, making it the most frequently occurring code within the national narrative. Of those 1,439 sentences, 982 were in policy documents and 457 were in the curriculum. Because of the differences in accountability measures looked across document types, curriculum and policy are examined separately here. In policy documents, accountability included recommendations and guidelines for assessment programs, including terms such as monitoring and evaluation, priority, and progress. Across the 992 sentences from policy documents, the word "monitor" appeared 131 times, which makes up 13% of all accountability measures in the national policy documents. Similarly, the term "quality" appeared 159 times, making up 16.0% of sentences from national

policy. White how these terms appeared in context is relevant, it is worth noting that they appeared with much more frequency than measure (36 times) or evaluate (18 times).

In the curriculum, accountability primarily occupied two spaces: (1) introductory material which gave the framework and instructions for assessment procedures to accompany the curriculum adoption and (2) as part of the curriculum, either as a broad learning goal or specific student learning objectives. Only sentences which covered topics relevant to this research were included in this section.

Policy. Changes to the Rwandan education system can be documented through changes in the accountability measures called for in the policy documents. Whereas the earliest documents focused on needs assessment and capacity building, over time the focus has shifted more toward monitoring and evaluation. And while the earliest documents did not mention international goals, later policy documents attempted to align national and international goals.

Within the accountability measures category, the documents published prior to 2000 were widely characterized by sentences expressing the need for or reviewing the results of need assessments as well as expressing an increase in capacity in order to reach national goals. The three earliest documents from the Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997, 1998a, 1998b) include a study of and education plan for the education sector and broadly state that an in-depth study of the education sector is needed in order to prioritize needs and develop a plan of action (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). These documents chronicle evidence of the 1997 needs assessment, where the inadequacy of the education system is linked to professional teaching capacity, student intake capacity, science and technology, systematic planning, and "numerous quantitative and qualitative deficiencies" Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 7).

From these needs, the Ministry of Education set objectives for "access and improvement of the quality of education and training in all sub-sectors," including to increase secondary-school admissions to 30 percent of primary-school leavers by the year 2000 and to 40 percent by 2005" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. iii). These goals are repeated in both 1998 versions of the *Plan of Action for Education in Rwanda* (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, 1998b). In addition to these numeric goals, there are general objectives to improve the quality and output of the education system, however explicit measures, beyond access to and transition rates from primary to secondary, regarding what constitutes education quality are not included (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, 1998b). These documents present the first narrative from the Rwandan government following the 1994 genocide.

As time passed from the genocide, the Rwandan education system went through significant changes, and while not necessarily documented in the accountability measures category, some of these changes can be noted through revisions to priorities and shifting focal areas for evaluation. One area where these changes can be observed is around teacher qualifications. Although teachers were not a primary focal point of this research, statements about them which pertained to the overall development of education were included. In the documents published prior to 2000, the six mentions of teachers mentioned the need for training because the teaching-body at the time was largely underqualified (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). For example, the Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997) identifies "the number, qualifications and motivation of teachers" (p. x) as the number one inadequacy of the education system. However, by 2000-2009, this need has dropped from the education needs list. While there is still a need for quality teacher training (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008s) the focus has shifted to ensuring that teachers are trained on the new policies and assessment

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procedures (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003). Later attention to teachers focus on ensuring there are enough to meet the needs of expanding secondary education, however teachers are not as central of a focus later in the policy documents, demonstrating the shifting needs of the education system.

With the *Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2008-2012* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a) came a focus on the development and use of an Education Management Information System (EMIS). The EMIS is an electronic system into which all schools will input data so that the Ministry of Education can "monitor and evaluate education activities at school, district and national levels" (Rwanda P 3). Some of this data includes expenditures, total enrollment, student-teacher and student-classroom ratio, and number of students who pass national exams (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a). One goal of this system was to harmonize the work of the education sector across Rwanda (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a). While the EMIS was not as heavily emphasized in later policies, it continued to play a role in national monitoring and evaluation of Rwandan education.

In the *Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2010-2015* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010), the purpose of the EMIS was to allow the Ministry of Education to "monitor education activities at school, district and national levels, and to aggregate and disaggregate information by various criteria such as enrolment, transition, completion, repetition, drop-out rates, textbook and student/teacher ratios, examination results and teacher qualifications" (p. 57). Despite this clearly outlined purpose, there have been implementation challenges with the EMIS since it was first introduced in 2008. As of 2010, these challenges included "limitations to electricity access, connectivity and availability of ICT infrastructure" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 57). However, by 2015, systems of monitoring and evaluation

across Rwandan sectors have grown so much that consolidation is recommended (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 104). This evolution of an electronic information system is indicative of the larger progress which has occurred in the Rwandan education system.

In the most recent *Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2013-2018* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013), evaluation of the education sector was described using the same approach as the curriculum, including "a combination of formative and summative evaluations", with formative evaluations focusing on "the effectiveness and immediate impact of products" while summative assessments focused on the "impact and sustainability of projects and whether or not overall outcomes have been achieved" (p. 83). This mirroring of the curriculum was observed throughout the document, as there was an education-wide focus on being responsive to the results of assessments of student learning.

International goals such as Education for All or the Millennium Development Goals are only mentioned sporadically across national policy documents, there is a clear attempt to align national priorities with these global expectations. The *Education Sector Policy* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research (2003) states that Rwanda is "at a crossroads with commitments to achieve certain international development targets, notably Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Education for All (EFA), and a great need to develop other levels of education which remain at a low point" (p. 3). This contradiction was also evident in the international documents, as Hilker (2010) cited another study (Hayman, 2007) which described tensions between these international goals and the Rwandan specific goals of peacebuilding, reconciliation and unity. However, as time since the genocide increased, these international goals were less called out, with the Rwandan narrative broadly stating that "The

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policies for the education sector comply with major international goals and national aspirations" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 2).

The exception to this is the *Education for All 2015 National Review* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015), which cited international goals more than all of the other documents combined ($nI = 27$). However, this is to be expected considering the purpose of the document is to report Rwanda's status toward achieving Education for All goals.

Curriculum. For the 2008 *History Program for Ordinary Level,* there were 19 total accountability sentences, with 12 assessment-focused, three on broad goals, and four learning outcomes (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008c). In the 2010 *History Program for Advanced Level,* there were 15 total accountability sentences, with six focused on assessment, 5 focused on broad goals, and four learning outcomes (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010). These numbers greatly increased with the 2015 curriculum adoption, as the material relevant to this research project grew. In the *History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a), there were 214 accountability sentences, with 32 describing assessment procedures, 21 over broad goals, and 161 student learning objectives. The numbers are similar for the *History Syllabus for Advanced Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b), where there were 203accountability sentences, with 35 describing assessment procedures, 17 over broad goals, and 147 student learning objectives. This information is also presented in Table 10. Again— the documents on a whole contained more than these numbers of goals and objectives, however only those which were relevant to the research were included in these totals. The increased numbers of the 2008 and 2010 curriculum in comparison with the 2015 numbers indicate robust growth in the curriculum itself as well as growth in areas either directly or tangentially related to the 1994 genocide.

Table 10

Accountability measures in national curriculum

	Assessment Guidelines	Broad Goals	Student Learning Objectives	TOTALS
History Program for Ordinary Level (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008c)	12	3	4	19
History Program for Advanced Level (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010)	6	5	4	15
History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a)	32	17	161	214
History Syllabus for Advanced Level (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b)	35	21	147	203

Both sets of curriculum adoption provide guidelines for student evaluation and assessment. The 2008 *History Program for Ordinary Level* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008c) states that "evaluation shall be both continuous (formative evaluation) and periodic (summative evaluation)" (p. 74), which is echoed in the 2010 *History Program for Advanced Level* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, pp. 60-61). The 2015 curriculum adoption provides a more robust description of student learning evaluations. Assessment is described as "an integral part of the teaching and learning process (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 9; 2015b, p. 8) and is expanded from just formative and summative assessments to include school-based, district, examinations. Teachers are advised to "establish criteria for performance and behavior changes at the beginning of a unit" and then "the teacher should ensure that all the learners have mastered the stated key unit competences based on the criteria stated, before going to the next unit" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 10; 2015b, p. 8). Teachers should use observations, written assessments, and oral questioning when evaluating students' learning (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a; 2015b).

In addition to these outlines, the 2015 curriculum adoption focuses heavily on competence-based education, and therefore assessments should reflect this shift. According to the Rwanda Education Board (2015a, 2015b) competence based assessments should give learners "a complex situation related to his/her everyday life and…try to overcome the situation by applying what he/she has learned (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 9; 2015b p.8) and questions "from higher levels of Bloom's taxonomy should be given more weight than those from the knowledge or comprehension level" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 12; 2015b, p. 10). Because "a single mark is not sufficient to convey" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 13; 2015b, p. 11) students' learning, another change accompanying the adoption of a competence-based curriculum is the addition of a portfolio of "the student's work as well as the student's evaluation of strengths and weaknesses of their work" (2015a, p. 11; 2015b, p. 10). Portfolios were added to document the students entire learning experience (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, 2015b). These guidelines expand upon the 2008 and 2010 curriculum in order to further guide implementation at the school level.

Accountability also appeared in the curriculum through broad statements which covered objectives or competencies for students to complete by the end of each cycle (Ordinary and Advanced) and at the end of each year. Table 11 below presents the broad objectives for both the 2008 and 2015 curriculum adoption. While both acknowledge the circumstances and situation surrounding the 1994 genocide and promote the Rwandan values of peace, tolerance, and reconciliation, the list of competencies from the 2015 curriculum are far more extensive, including such characteristics as self-reliance, active citizenship, and moral responsibility. These broad objectives did not include any specific instructions for evaluation, nor were they linked to content throughout the curriculum.

Table 11

Broad Objectives for Ordinary Level in Rwanda, 2008 & 2015

General Objectives of the Cycle	Broad History and Citizenship competencies at the end of Ordinary Level
At the end of the first Cycle of Secondary teaching, the Student will be able to: 1. Work with the critical spirit. 2. To find out the diverse Human experiences. 3. To live with the world without ethnic, religious distinction or other forms of discrimination and of exclusion that led to genocide of Tutsi in 1994. 4. To promote the culture of peace, tolerance and of reconciliation and the love of the homeland (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008c, p. 5)	At end of the History and Citizenship course, the leaner should be able to: • Analyse and understand how societies evolved in order to know appropriately both near and distant environments so as to apply such techniques in developing his or her own society. • Develop into a mature, informed, responsible and active participating citizen. • Live in harmony and tolerance with others without any distinction of religion or other form of discrimination and exclusion that have caused problems in society such as the Tutsi genocide of 1994. • Appreciate Rwandan values, universal values of peace, respecting human rights, gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity and good governance. • Promote moral, intellectual, social values through which learners will improve the competences and skills that are essential for the sustainable development of the country. • Develop patriotic spirit, the sense of civic pride and awareness of what happens in the global community. • Develop a sense of moral responsibility and commitment to social justice and gender equality. • Encourage learners to assume responsibility for their own behaviour and to respect the rights of others. • Promote the spirit of self reliance, dignity and cooperation among nations.

(Rwanda Education Board, 2015a)

Across all four curriculum document, the bulk of accountability sentences appeared as student learning objectives. These appeared as specific objectives in the 2008 and 2010 curriculum (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008c, 2010), and were expanded to include a key competence for each unit as well as learning outcomes related to knowledge and understanding, skills, and attitudes and values in the 2015 curriculum (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, 2015b). Action verbs commonly appearing in the 2015 curriculum learning objectives include identify,

describe, analyse, explain, appreciate, assess, and evaluate. More information on the content of these learning objectives can be found in the Education Strategies and Timeline of Post-Genocide Education.

Implementation. Implementation is described as the process of moving from policy to practice and was identified by previous research and the theoretical framework as an area where there could be overlap between the international and national levels. Many of these sentences referred to teachers' delivery of subject matter, with national curriculum frameworks carrying the majority of this responsibility. Although the lack of focus on implementation at the international level is interesting, it can be explained because these documents are not pushing a particular plan or policy, whereas national level documents are generally adopted with at least some intention of implementation.

International level. Documents at the international level discussed implementation from a policy perspective, which is in contrast to national level documents which addressed national and district plans and classroom practices. Within the Rwandan-focused documents, implementation referred to enacting nation-wide policies. While implementation was described as a challenge in two different policy documents (IBE-UNESCO, 2007; Hilker, 2010), the importance of "developing an implementation plan that sets achievable goals" and "monitoring implementation" as part of the curriculum development processes were acknowledged (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 57). There was not much emphasis on implementation across the international documents, other than to acknowledge its importance and the challenges that can accompany it.

Documents about Holocaust education emphasized implementation differently than the Rwanda-specific documents, with most of the references to implementation coming from UNESCO's 2017 *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide,*

which is described as a "for policy makers who seek to implement or substantiate within their education systems the study of the Holocaust and, more broadly, the study of genocide and mass atrocities" (p. 16). While it is an implementation guide for policy makers, it "does not aim to provide detailed guidelines for educators on how to teach about the Holocaust or the history of genocide and mass atrocities" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 59). Although the document does give broad recommendations for curriculum, professional development, and classroom practices, it remains purposefully vague as "there is not single best approach to implementing teaching and learning about the Holocaust in a global context" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 49). These findings are not unexpected, as providing strict implementation guidelines for Holocaust education in school systems around the world would be impractical due to contextual differences. Rather, this document advocates for the adoption and implementation of Holocaust education policies that are appropriate for each countries "distinct context, educational practices, and capacity (institutional, financial, and human)" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 8).

National level. At the national level sentences coded as implementation occupied two types: (1) broad, policy implementation and (2) direct classroom implementation. Of the total sentence coded as implementation at the national level, 184 were from policy text and the remaining 94 sentences were from teaching and learning activities in the curriculum. Implementation moves a policy from discourse to action, and as such is important for national policy makers so that the things they prescribe are put into action. Successful implementation of policy is linked with achieving international and national development goals, such as those related to the EFA goals and the Rwandan Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, as it is outlined that the "systematic and effective implementation of these policies will contribute

to…the achievement of the objectives of the EDPRS 2" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 4).

Across sentences coded as implementation from national level documents, several themes emerged, including the need for an implementation plan, as the Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998a) noted, "Having a Plan of Action is one thing; implementing it is quite a different matter" (p. 9), and that "In order to implement the Plan of Action, detailed programmes and projects must be drawn up" (p. 63). According to the documents, implementation plans should be "clear, complete and prioritized…to serve as a frame of reference for objectives, strategies, and activities" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 141). The implementation of a policy is further described as

> not 'written in stone', nor is it presented as a blueprint for education sector development; rather it is a flexible strategic guide that will be used as a basis for the development of a detailed Operational / Implementation Plan indicating what, by who, and when all activities will be done. (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. ii)

While implementation plans should "make education sector policies operational" " (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. ii), they must also be responsive to national, regional, and local needs, especially as policy moves from national discourse to local schools.

Throughout the national policy documents, implementation is described as something that occurs primarily on the local level and is the responsibility of local leadership, while national leadership is responsible for overseeing district implementation. Due to the decentralization of education in Rwanda, "Districts are at the forefront of education delivery" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 68). They are primarily "responsib[le] for programme and plan implementation and monitoring at the district levels" Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education,

2008a, p. 7). While responsibility for the "execution of policy" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 8), including "ensur[ing] that the curriculum is implemented as intended" (p. 16) is primarily at the district level, the Ministry of Education and Rwandan Education Board are responsible for "coordinating and fast-tracking implementation" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 9). This means that the national education governance bodies are responsible for ensuring that the policy is implemented at the district level, making "Communication and coordination between central and decentralized levels…critical to ensure that policy is correctly translated down to district level, incorporated into district plans and therefore has an impact on the learner in the classroom" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 75). This decentralized hierarchy of responsibility, where local levels carry the onus for implementing policy which then must be reported back to the national ministry of education, who are also responsible for overseeing the assessment and success of the plan's implementation.

Accompanying mentions of implementation plans are calls for monitoring and evaluation. "[E]vidence-based decision making and enhanced monitoring and evaluation at multiple levels" strengthen policy implementation (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 31). The Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010) states that "implementation plans are the basis for self-monitoring and evaluation" (p. 12) meaning that the benchmarks, indicators, and targets for success are outlined in the implementation framework (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013). For the implementation of a new curriculum, such as the Competence-Based Curriculum in 2015, the "Framework is the nation's guiding curriculum policy document, indicating how the curriculum vision is translated into practice at school level and reflected in learning experiences, assessment, and in monitoring and evaluation" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 1). These documents are "designed to ensure that there is consistency and coherence in

the delivery of the curriculum across all levels of general education in Rwandan schools" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. iv). Each school and district provides quarterly reports to the Rwanda Education Board, which then reports back to the Ministry of Education (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013). One challenge associated with a decentralized education system, such as Rwanda's, is that "Implementation gaps will develop where policies and programs are not effectively disseminated amongst education stakeholders" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. xv), making effective communication and monitoring and evaluation essential to achieving the link from policy, to implementation, to achievement of international goals (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013).

The curriculum documents—also called syllabi—are meant to guide implementation of the curriculum "in order to ensure consistency and coherence in the delivery of quality education across all levels of general education in Rwandan schools" (UNESCO, 2015c, p. i; 2015d, p. i). Within each of the curriculum documents, there is a section within each topic which provides a list of teaching and learning activities for teachers to use in their classrooms. There was a total of 94 such sentences in Rwandan curriculum. While these statements outline ways the curriculum is delivered to students, they are further discussed in the education strategies section of the results. Without the teaching or learning activities, the remaining pedagogical sentences focus on implementing learner-centered strategies, where students are "active participants in their own learning" (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 6). These instructions and accompanying activities are meant to guide the daily implementation of the curriculum content.

Summary. Although all of the mechanisms of institutional interaction make significant appearances across the international and national policy and curriculum documents, there were several categories which provided more direct answers to the research questions, specifically

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professional oversight, normative beliefs, and accountability measures. Although implementation and financial support were important, they were not as prevalent quantitatively nor was their qualitative content as relevant as the previously mentioned categories. Accountability measures occupied the greatest number of coded sentences, and many of these sentences overlapped with normative beliefs. For example the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All goals are both global scripts but also tools to measure progress. The examples presented here indicate the overlapping narratives around international goals. Across documents, the Education for All goals are cited as a benchmark toward which the national education system is striving, while the UNESCO narrative attributes the development of the Rwandan education system, and overall national development, in part, to its achievement of these goals. However, despite this alignment of narratives, researchers external to the Rwandan context describe tensions created through Rwanda's adherence to international poverty elimination goals and the challenges of creating a united and equitable society. Within professional oversight, the sentences were further sub coded to classify at which level the professional oversight was being offered: global, national, and local. Although all levels appeared across international and the national narratives, most references referred to oversight at the global level, such as these examples show. This focus on the global level of oversight demonstrates the extent to which Rwanda looks to international organizations for professional and technical assistance and how UNESCO continues to offer such services.

Education as a Panacea

Previous research has found that education is often positioned as a solution to any and all of a society's challenges, including those related to national development, gender inequality, health challenges, economic stability, or poverty reduction (Wiseman et al., 2016). This previous research

explored only two aspects of education as a panacea: education for specific issues or populations and education as a broad cure-all (Wiseman et al., 2016). The research presented here expands and contextualizes this definition for post-genocide Rwanda to include when education is positioned as a tool to recover from conflict (education for recovery) or when education is presented as a tool to prevent future violence (education for prevention). Although these sub-categories technically fall under education as a solution for specific issues or populations, their direct relevance to this research necessitates the development of their own code. In total, 454 statements were coded as education as a panacea. Of the available sub-categories (recovery, prevention, specific issues or populations, or cure-all), 37.9% of codes referred to statements which positioned education as a solution for specific issues or populations ($n = 172$), while 32.6% of codes represented statements where education was positioned as a cure-all ($n = 148$). Only 18.1% ($n = 82$) of the sentences mentioned education as a tool for recovery and 11.5% ($n = 52$) described education's potential to prevent conflicts. At the international level, education for genocide prevention was the strongest occurring narrative, occupying 35.3% ($n = 42$) and at the national level, education as a solution to specific problems occurred with the most frequency (43.3%, $n = 145$), followed closely by education as a cure-all (34.3%, $n = 115$). This information can be found in Table 12.

Table 12

Education as a Panacea

	Recovery		Prevention		Specific Issues or Populations		Cure-All		TOTALS	
	Sentences	%	Sentences	%	Sentences	%	Sentences	%	Sentences	%
International Documents	17	14.3	42	35.3	27	22.7	33	27.7	119	100.0
UNESCO: Rwandan Policy	14	11.8	11	9.2	20	16.8	15	12.6	60	50.4

UNESCO: Holocaust Education	3	2.5	31	26.1	7	5.9	18	15.1	59	49.6
National Documents	65	19.4	10	3.0	145	43.3	115	34.3	335	100.0
Rwanda: Policy	61	18.2	4	1.2	120	35.8	88	26.3	273	81.5
Rwanda: Curriculum	4	1.2	6	1.8	25	7.5	27	8.1	62	18.5
TOTALS	82	18.1	52	11.5	172	37.9	148	32.6	454	100.0

Education for recovery. The theme of education's role in national recovery, reconstruction, and reconciliation appeared across all document sets and occupied 18.1% ($n = 82$) of all education as a panacea sentences. The national narrative published before 2000 and closer to the 1995 genocide, had a higher emphasis on education's role in redeveloping human capital, which would then contribute to national recovery and development. The three national documents published prior to 2000 contained 51 of the total 65 sentences referencing education as a tool for recovery. Along with reconciliation, the words peace, unity, patriotism, and reconstruction also frequently appeared.

International narrative. At the international level, education for recovery was mentioned more often in Rwandan-focused policy ($n = 14$, 11.8%) than in Holocaust education policy ($n = 3$, 2.5%). Obura and Bird (2009) summarize how the Rwandan system of education was intended to contribute to post-genocide recovery by

- Creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-violent national values; and promoting the universal values of justice, peace, tolerance respect for others, solidarity and democracy.

- Eliminating negative and positive discrimination; and promoting access to higher
  levels of education using criteria based solely on student competency. (Obura &
  Bird, 2009, pp. 8-9)

This quote is cited in another later document (Hilker, 2010, p. 10) and indicated that in addition to education to recover national development, education was also expected to promote reconciliation in both the short- and long-term aftermath of the genocide. These statements demonstrate the belief that, "Ii Rwanda, the education sector actually offers important opportunities to encourage progress towards more democratic governance and genuine reconciliation" (Hilker, 2010, p. 18).

National narrative. The vast majority of sentences referencing education for recovery appeared in Rwanda's national education policy ($n = 61$, 18.2%), and within those documents, 51 sentences were published prior to 2000, with only 14 sentences published after 2000. During 1997 and 1998, much of the focus was still on recovery efforts, as these statements linked recovery to the redevelopment of human capital:

The Government of National Unity is endeavouring to reinforce national cohesion as well
as promote the reconciliation of all its citizens and the development of the country. In order
to reach these goals, it has placed education at the top of its priorities. (Rwandese Republic
Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 3; Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998b, p. 4)

This quote demonstrates how the Rwandan government considered education as a tool to promote reconciliation and national development. Similar sentiments are conveyed in later documents, such as the following from the *Plan of Action for Education in Rwanda (1998-2000):* "This urgent recovery task [restructuring the system of education] is being undertaken systematically in order to lay down a sound foundation for a new education system, to meet the numerous requirements imperative for the development of the country" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education,

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1998b, p. 8). Both of these examples demonstrate the importance national education officials placed on recovering the education system to increase national development.

During the years immediately following the genocide, education was described as "invested with a great deal of responsibility for the reconstitution of qualified human resources as well as contributing greatly to the reinstallation of displaced populations and promotion of the harmonious development of Rwandese society" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 11). This quote bridges the wide expectations held regarding education's ability to contribute to national recovery: education was expected to rebuild human resources as well as promote reconciliation, a belief which becomes even more apparent as the nation moves away from the genocide.

Education for prevention. Education for the prevention of future genocide or violence appeared with more frequency in international ($n = 42$) than national ($n = 10$) documents and represented just 11.5% ($n = 52$) of all education as a panacea sentences. This discrepancy between levels may be because international documents are written to be applicable across contexts, therefore focusing on education's potential to prevent conflict makes sense in comparison to Rwanda's focus on recovering from and creating national unity, rather than explicit conflict-prevention.

International narrative. The majority of education for prevention sentences occurred in policy promoting Holocaust education. Of the 31 statements coded as education as prevention in the UNESCO: Holocaust Education document set, 21 statements appeared in the same document: *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* (UNESCO, 2017). In this document, education, "especially history and civics education" is highlighted for its role in "providing a forum for addressing the past, while promoting the knowledge, skills, values and

attitudes that help prevent the occurrence, or recurrence, of group-targeted violence" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 14). Special recognition is given to the United Nations's role in using Holocaust education for genocide prevention, with descriptions of each resolution highlighting this commitment, including the 2005 United Nations General Assembly resolution on "Holocaust Remembrance", sections from the 2007 Resolution 34c/61 of its General Conference on Holocaust Remembers, the 2015 Resolution 2150, and the 2015 Resolution on the prevention of Genocide (UNESCO, 2017). In each of these instances, the UN "emphasizes [the Holocaust's] historical significance and the importance of teaching this event as a fundamental consideration pertaining to the prevention of genocide" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 15).

While "the role that teaching and learning about the Holocaust" has in "the prevention of genocide" is most heavily emphasized in this document, this idea appears in other UNESCO: Holocaust Education documents as well (UNESCO, 2017, p. 23). In *The Impact of Holocaust Education: How to Assess Policies and Practices?* (UNESCO, 2014) the United Nations is described as encouraging teaching "the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help prevent genocides" (p. 4). The UN does not "specify what those lessons are, but rather leaves them to be formulated anew at the national level" with the "hope" that "future genocides might be averted" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 4). These statements are particularly relevant for the research questions explored here because they demonstrate clear intent by the United Nations to promote Holocaust and genocide education for the prevention of future violence.

Documents published by UNESCO which focused on Rwanda have a different take on education for prevention of genocide. Whereas the documents promoting Holocaust education positioned education as the solution to prevent future outbreaks of violence, the UNESCO narrative positioned education "as the early warning barometer" which could "prevent or at the

very least, mitigate" genocide and violence (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 1). The most recent document published by UNESCO, the *Kigali Statement* (2015b), acknowledged "the important role that education plays in preventing conflicts" (p. 5).

National narrative. Rwandan policy and curriculum is much sparser regarding education for genocide prevention. In education policy, the primary references to education for prevention occur in the most recent policy documents, from 2015, when "Rwandan children" are encouraged to "take part in fighting genocide ideology and genocide denial" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 21; 2015b, p. 5). Similarly, in the curriculum documents, the earliest curriculum adoption, from 2008 only states that by the end of their third year at ordinary level, students should be able "To show the disadvantages of the war and interest of future preventions of war" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 52). The latest curriculum adoption states that by the end of Senior Six, students should be able to "Assess how the genocide can be prevented in Rwanda and elsewhere in the World" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 50). Of particular note with this objective is that very few students make it to Senior Six in Rwanda, although the number is improving. Additionally, these statements outline what students should be able to do without providing details of how they will get to such a level of understanding; genocide prevention is a broad learning outcome meant to guide the entire year's instruction.

Education for specific issues or populations. Of the overall 454 sentences coded as education as a panacea, 172 sentences (37.9%) were coded as a solution for specific issues or populations. Within that total, 27 sentences came from international documents, with 20 sentences appearing in UNESCO policy focused on Rwanda and seven appearing in Holocaust education policy. At the national level, 145 sentences were coded as a solution for specific issues or populations, with 120 sentences appearing in the Rwandan policy and 25 sentences appearing in

Rwandan curriculum documents. Across sentences focused on education as a solution for specific issues or populations, economic issues and those relating to building an inclusive society were the most frequently occurring codes across international and national documents. Other themes that appeared include gender equity, poverty alleviation, and violence prevention. There are numerous challenges for which education is often positioned as a solution to, such as the spread of HIV/AIDS, however, because of the focus of this research project, sections of documents solely focused on health education or other specific issues were excluded or coded as irrelevant for this data set.

International narrative. Within international documents, the category of education as a solution for specific issues or populations appeared most frequently in documents focused on Rwandan education ($n = 20$, 16.8%). These sentences were further coded for the specific issue or population they addressed, with 17 sentences pertaining to developing an inclusive society, including "eliminating all forms of exclusion and inequality in and through education" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 2). Eleven of the 20 sentences came from Within the Reform Process of 9-Year Basic Education in Africa (IBE-UNESCO, 2007), including the goal of "Building a truly inclusive society, where all people learn together and participate equally hinges on providing a quality education for all" (p. 7) and "inclusive education can be considered as a pathway to attain social inclusion" (p. 17). Statements from Holocaust education policy reflected similar beliefs, as evidenced by the statement that "education can help to instill awareness and appreciation of diversity and human rights" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 25). These statements demonstrate the belief that creating an inclusive and equitable education system will contribute to an inclusive and equitable society.

National narrative. The national documents continued the theme of developing an inclusive society while also adding a focus on the workforce, economy, and human resources. Of the 145 sentences coded in national documents, 120 sentences came from policy documents, with a focus on either the workforce, economy, or human resources totaling 88 of these statements, whereas there were only 7 sentences focused on developing an inclusive society. Interestingly, this emphasis was reversed in the curriculum documents, with the development of an inclusive society and productive citizens totaling 20 of the overall 25 sentences.

A focus on the labor market or work force was the most frequently occurring theme across the national policy documents, with 47 sentences of the total 120 focusing on these topics. Many of these statements, such as the one that follows, directly linked education with the labor market: "An intended outcome of this reform will be a better-prepared young person wishing to gain meaningful and challenging employment" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 75). One statement—whose sentiments appeared across two documents—warned against weak education systems contributing to poor workforce development, saying that "drop in quality aggravates and affects the entire system—the poorly prepared products of today will be the…economic actors of tomorrow" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 77; Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998b, p. 71).

Related to the labor market and work force, the next most frequently occurring themes were those related to the economy (*n* = 22) and human resource development (*n* = 19). One example of a sentence where education is positioned as a solution for economic improvement comes from the *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997), which reads, "Secondary and higher education are of considerable importance for Rwanda, in particular for the development and diversification of the economy." (p. xvii).

Numerous statements refer to a "post-basic education system tailored to meet labour market needs" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 57). Rwandan policy makers express their own interest in "priorit[izing] skills development to strengthen the quality and relevance of education and to better equip…our students to meet the requirements of the diverse labour market" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 4).

Related to the economy are sentences which focused on the development of human resources, which then contribute to national economic development. There were 19 human resource focused sentences across the Rwandan policy documents. Many of these sentences positioned human resource development as a necessity in order to reach national and international benchmarks, including this statement from *the Plan of Action for Education in Rwanda (1998-2000)*: "The education system constitutes the principal source for creating and mobilizing the human resources which are needed if the objectives of the Government and of national development policy are to be achieved" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 18). The *Education for all 2015 National Review Report* linked human resources with achieving international development goals, "Subsequent education policies, plans and strategies since the turn of the century have focused on the development of human capital through an education system that aligns with the Education for All global guidelines" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 7). These statements position education as a means to improve human capital and human resources, which will then improve the overall economic status of the country.

Of the 145 sentences coded as education as a solution for specific issues or populations, only 25 came from curriculum. Of those 25, eleven sentences focused on developing an inclusive society while six sentences addressed education for improving citizens' participation. These statements only appeared in the 2015 curriculum adoption documents (Rwanda Education Board,

2015c, 2015d). Both ordinary and advanced level curriculum documents outline that one goal of the education system is to "produc[e] the kind of citizens the country needs" (Rwanda Education Board 2015a, p. i; 2015b, p. i), which are further described as "good citizens" (2015a, p. 3) and a "responsible and active participating citizen" (2015a, p. 5). This focus on citizenship did not appear in the international documents as a global perspective is not as contextually narrowed as national curriculum which are designed to use for classroom implementation in the specific Rwandan context. These references aligned with other statements regarding developing an inclusive society, as students were "to develop skills and attitudes that will build a harmonious society" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 12). While these 25 sentences only made up a small portion of the larger section, they provide an indication that social development has some importance to Rwandan policy makers, especially regarding the classroom level, as curriculum documents are meant to guide local implementation.

Education as a cure-all. Sentences which represented education as a cure-all included those which listed multiple challenges which education could address as well as broad statements regarding education's ability to improve life chances or life outcomes. Overall, statements coded as education as a cure all represented 32.6% (n = 148) of all education as a panacea sentences. The majority of these sentences appeared in Rwandan documents (*n* = 115), with 88 such sentences appearing in Rwandan policy and 27 sentences appearing in the Rwanda curriculum. Documents published by UNESCO contained 33 sentences pertaining to education as a cure all, including 15 sentences from Rwandan-focused UNESCO documents and 18 sentences from UNESCO documents about Holocaust Education.

International narrative. Rather than being overly optimistic—a trait apparent in the national documents--the 15 sentences code as a cure-all at the international level list multiple areas

where education is expected to make a difference, including poverty reduction, social inclusion, democratic governance, and economic growth. Many of the sentences published at the international level focus on how education could positively influence both economic and societal areas, positioning "basic education [as] the foundation for human resources and citizenship in Rwanda" (IBE-UNESCO, 2007, p. 22). Education is described as "key to citizenship and as an essential component of public policy" (p. 17). These examples focus on both national economic development as well as societal development and demonstrate how educational expectations go across sectors.

Eleven of the 18 sentences which position education as a cure-all in UNESCO documents about Holocaust education appear in *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* (UNESCO, 2017). Not only is the purpose of this document explicitly stated to influence policy, it also explains UNESCO's self-perceived role in the process, as can be seen through the following sentences, "education is UNESCO's top priority because it is a basic human right and the foundation on which to build peace and drive sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 2), as well as, "For UNESCO, quality education, based on knowledge of the social and political dynamics that can lead to mass violence, is fundamental to building stronger societies, resilient to violence and hatred" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 3). These documents and statements demonstrate that education is a cure-all is not a narrative isolated to the national levels; rather international organizations and policy documents promote the

Holocaust education focused documents echo other international documents regarding the perception of education as a cure all. For example, *Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education* (UNESCO, 2009) states,

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In addition to more knowledge, [Holocaust] education can also have an impact of attitudes

and competences…. It can also help to promote intercultural dialogue and helping

communities to learn to live together…. To promote increased understanding and respect

for human rights. To promote the importance of civic values." (p. 83)

This statement provides additional evidence of the belief in education as a cure-all at the

international level.

National narrative. Within the national documents, 115 (34.3%) sentences were coded to

represent education as a cure-all, with 88 (26.3%) coming from policy documents and 27 (8.1%)

coming from curriculum documents. As with the international documents, Rwandan policy

documents were characterized by lists of areas where education is suspected to have a positive

impact as well as broad statements representing an overly optimistic perspective of education's

potential to make a difference in individual lives and society. Sentences which were lists of

education as a cure-all often represented lists of objectives framing a particular policy or

curriculum adoption and outlining what students should be able to do after completing the

Rwandan education program. Additionally, some sentences focused on two primary outcomes for

education, including some mix of the following sectors: economy, society, poverty reduction,

politics, and civic engagement.

In contrast with the international documents, several statements in Rwandan policy could

be described as overly optimistic. In the earliest international document examined, education is

described as helping "to ensure the full blossoming of the potential of every individual" (Rwandese

Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 2). While not all of the sentences coded education as a

cure-all were characterized by such flowery language, other examples include education's ability

to provide a "chance to make their way in life" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997,

p. 54) and to allow students to "realize their potential and lead fulfilling lives" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 121). Additional sentences which represented a broad approach to education's potential to make a difference on students' lived included statements such as "realise their full potential" (Republic of Rwanda, 2003, p. 4); "take charge of [their] own destiny" (Republic of Rwanda, 2003, p. 17); and "optimizing the potential of all learners…and their achievement" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 16-17). These sentiments are repeated across 19 sentences from Rwandan policy. While only these sentences put such unbridled faith in education, the remaining sentences provided lists of areas which education is believed to positively influence.

Many statements coded as education as a cure-all included a list of multiple areas which are positively impacted by education. For some of these statements, the focus echoed the dual nature of the international policy by focusing on both financial and social improvements, such as:

According to the official documents on education which appeared after the tragic events of 1994, education in Rwanda pursues two main aims: to train human resources for economic and social development and to promote peace and tolerance in the Rwandese nation. (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 23).

Other examples detailed ways education would contribute to improvement across a wide range of sectors:

…education imparts knowledge and skills that enable people to realize their full potential, and so it becomes a catalyst for the achievement of other development goals. Education reduces poverty, boosts job opportunities and fosters economic prosperity. It also increases people's chances of leading a healthy life, deepens the foundations of democracy, and changes attitudes to protect the environment and empower women. (EFA Global

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Monitoring Report 2013/4, Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for All, 2014, p. 22,

quoted in Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 96)

While this quote was reprinted from another international document which was not included in this study, it not only demonstrates how education is positioned as a cure-all for a variety of issues—in this case, issues related to poverty, unemployment, health, democracy, environment, and women's empowerment—but also shows the influence of the international to national levels.

The *History Syllabus for Advanced Level* positions history education itself as a panacea, citing the subject as one which can positively influence a variety of sectors, including the political, social, and environmental:

History is one of the social science subjects, and is an important discipline that has contributed to the human activities, political and social transformation throughout the world. This has also enabled man to understand the past and present so as to predict the future….History has played a central role in uniting the people, preservation of culture and conservation of identities. History prepares the learners to take faculties like Law, Management, Social Administration, Political Science, Education, Sociology etc. so as to become good citizens. This subject provides the skills and the values that help the learner in problem solving and empowers the learner to manage both human and natural resources. (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 2)

The *History and Citizenship Syllabus for the Ordinary Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 2) replicates many of these sentences.

Similarly, in the Rwandan national policy documents, Peace and Values Education (PVE) is also positioned as a panacea:

Peace and Values Education (PVE) is all about how education can contribute to a better awareness of the root causes of conflicts, violence, and peacelessness at the personal, interpersonal, community, national, regional, and international/global levels on the one hand and, on the other hand, about how education can simultaneously cultivate values and attitudes which will encourage individual and social action for building more peaceful families, communities, societies and ultimately a more peaceful world. PVE is further 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 (a society that does not use violence to resolve conflicts). PVE is also understood as being the process of acquiring values and knowledge, and developing attitudes, skills and behavior to live in harmony with oneself, with others and with the natural environment. (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 23)

Both of these examples about History and Peace and Values Education indicate the extreme importance and expectations placed not only in systems of education, but even more specifically subject areas are expected to contribute to eliminating conflict, developing critical thinking, and creating students who can "live in harmony…with others and…the environment" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 23).

Summary. The education as a panacea script is one that has been observed in international and national discourse across contexts (Wiseman et al., 2016), and post-genocide Rwanda is no exception to this expectation. For this research, the sub-categories included education for recovery from genocide, prevention of genocide, to solve specific challenges, or as a general cure-all. Surprisingly, education was not situated as a tool to recover from or prevent genocide widely across the documents. However, although recovery and prevention were not explicitly stated as

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goals of the education system, many of the specific issues education was positioned to address are related to Rwanda's history. For example, education was widely positioned as a solution for particular issues, such as those related to workforce development and promoting civic engagement, with the international and national narratives focusing on different issues. Many of the sentences at the international level focused on developing an inclusive society. In the national narrative, policy documents predominantly focused on the economy and work force and human resource development while curriculum documents focused on developing students' civic participation. These differences may be a result of the intended audiences, as policy makers are more likely to want to know about how the education will benefit the national economy, while school administrators and classroom instructors are more focused on developing civic skills for individual students.

Development of a Shared Identity

As evidenced by previous research, one national strategy for recovering from genocide or other internal conflict is to build community through the creation of a shared history or identity (Dierkes, 2007; Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006). The underlying nature of a conflict influences whether there is more of an emphasis on the development of an international or a national shared identity. For example, previous research has shown that conflicts characterized by excessive nationalism lead to a focus on the regional or international community (e.g., the Holocaust), while conflicts based on internal issues or rivalries lead to a focus on developing national identity (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006). Both of these components—the development of international and national identities—were included in this project, and the results presented here confirm previous findings regarding the type identity promoted following conflict. Because the conflict in Rwanda was internal and between different

ethnic groups, an emphasis on developing national unity was expected and is confirmed in the results.

Overall, 309 sentences were coded as development of national or international identity. Of these, 289 were found in Rwandan national documents, with 99 sentences (34.3%) in policy documents and 190 sentences (65.7%) in curriculum documents. In UNESCO documents, only 20 sentences were coded as developing either national or international identities, with the majority (n = 19, 95.0%) appearing in documents about Rwanda. Only one sentence appeared in UNESCO documents about Holocaust education. Within the 309 total sentences, 296 (95.8%) were coded for developing a national identity and only 13 (4.2%) focused on developing an international identity. These numbers indicate that the majority of the sentences across all sets of documents focused on the development of a national identity (296 sentences, 95.8%), while only 13 sentences (4.2%) focused on developing an international identity. This information is shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Development of a Shared Identity

	International Identity		National Identity		TOTALS	
	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent
International Documents	4	20.0%	16	80.0%	20	100.0
UNESCO: Rwandan Policy	4	20.0%	15	75.0%	19	95.0
UNESCO: Holocaust Education	0	0.0%	1	5.0%	1	5.0
National Documents	9	3.1%	280	96.9%	289	100.0
Rwanda: Policy	6	2.1%	93	32.2%	99	34.3
Rwanda: Curriculum	3	1.0%	187	64.7%	190	65.7
TOTALS	13	4.2%	296	95.8%	309	100

Development of an international identity. Across all documents, development of an international identity (n = 13, 4.2%) played a more minor role than the focus on national identity (n = 296, 95.8%). Rather than focusing on characteristics of a global citizen, much of the focus on developing Rwandans' international identity included Rwanda's position in the wider African and global communities. Many of the documents mentioned how Rwandan values could contribute to a more peaceful and just world.

International narrative. The development of an international identity adhered closely to the national identity outlined above. For example, references to "universal" values were double coded as contributing to the development of an international identity. Eliminating the sentences promoting both international and national identity, left very few sentences, and even these focused on the same skills which characterized the Rwandan national identity: "We further acknowledge the importance of GCED [Global Citizenship Education] in promoting the development of values, attitudes and skills that are necessary for a more peaceful, just, inclusive, and harmonious world" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 4). This overlap echoes the anticipated results, in that these documents are more heavily focused on developing the national identity of Rwandan citizens than promoting their citizenship in the larger world. Even when Rwandans' position as global citizens is mentioned, the focus remains on the national identity characteristics of peace, justice, tolerance, and respect.

National narrative. Sentences relating to the development of an international identity only appeared six times across documents from national policy makers. An international identity only appeared in the 2015 curriculum adoption, with one statement appearing in both the Ordinary (S1-S3) and Advanced (S4-S6) Levels. This statement promoted the development of a "patriotic spirit, the sense of civic pride and the spirit of knowing what happens all over the world" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 5; 2015d, p. 4). This sentence also demonstrates the same phenomenon

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outlined in the international documents: even when promoting Rwandan citizens' place in the global community, the national identity is still promoted. Statements promoting international identity in national policy echo the same sentiment of "Rwandese and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy" (Republic of Rwanda, 2003, p. 17) as well as "global awareness" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 8).

Development of a national identity. In the coded documents, statements promoting the development of a national identity appeared more often than statements promoting an international identity. These findings confirm previous research findings that in the aftermath of an internal conflict, policies generally focus on developing a united national identity. Of special note for the documents examined here is that the distinction between the national and internationally published documents is primarily in the intended audience. Many of the documents financed and published by the Rwandan government and for international monitoring purposes were written in conjunction with UNESCO staff and supported by UNESCO funding.

International narrative. At the international level, only 20 sentences referred to either developing a national or international identity, with 15 sentences (75.0%) focusing on a national identity compared to 4 sentences (20%) focusing on international identity. Within the two document types, UNESCO policy documents had 19 sentences (95.0%) while Holocaust Education documents had only one such sentence (5%).

Obura & Bird's (2009) *Education Marginalisation in Post Conflict Settings* focused on both Burundi and Rwanda and explained that the "role of the education sector 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, peace, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy" (pp. 8-9). This promotion of national unity continued in later documents,

including the Kigali Statement (UNESCO, 2015b): "Rwandan culture and heritage will be promoted to sustain the strong sense of national unity" (p. 80). These statements demonstrate a focus not only of the development of a national identity, but one based on the ideas of peace, justice, tolerance, and respect, traits which are further emphasized in the Rwandan documents.

However, not all statements were so positive. Hilker's (2010) background paper for the EFA Global Monitoring report critiqued the education system, and history instruction in particular, for "not leav[ing] any space to discuss the social realities of continuing ethnic identification and categorization in Rwandan society in productive and non-divisive ways" by "eschew[ing] the 'ethnic' categories 'Hutu', 'Tutsi' and 'Twa' and instead emphasis[ing] a single national group" (p. 14). This point has been raised in previous research and provides evidence of a critical external perspective on post-genocide education in Rwanda.

National narrative. Although there were far more identity focused sentences in the national documents (*n* = 289), the discrepancies between international and national identities remained consistent, with 280 (96.9%) national identity sentences appearing in Rwandan documents, compared to only 9 sentences (3.1%) focused on international identity.

The documents published by the Rwandan government echo the same sentiments that appeared in the international discourse to "promot[e] a culture of peace and to emphasise Rwandese and universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for human rights, gender equality, solidarity and democracy" (Republic of Rwanda, 2003, p. 17). Both the *History Program for Ordinary Level* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b) and the *History Program for Advanced Level* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010) reflect this language, with general goals to "make the citizen know the Rwandese value and universal of peace, the respect of personal rights, gender equality, of democracy, of justice, of solidarity and of good governance"

and to develop "the Rwandese spirit of patriotism" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 3). Additionally, the advanced level history syllabus outlines the goals "Training citizens with Rwandese Values and universal values of peace, respecting human rights, rights of gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity and good governance" and "Developing in Rwandese citizens patriotic spirit, the sense of civic pride" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 3). This consistency of language across documents is likely due in part to the roles Rwandan government and education officials played in compiling and writing the international reports published by UNESCO.

The narrative surrounding the development of a Rwandan identity maintains a focus on peace, democracy, and justice across policy and curriculum documents. In the earliest policy document from this study, in 1997, the development of a national identity was presented as follows. "Rwanda is taking charge of its own destiny…The Government of National Unity is endeavouring to reinforce national cohesion as well as promote the reconciliation of all its citizens and the development of the country" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, pp. 2-3). Later in the same document, the "development of Rwandese society" is characterized by "training citizens free of any type of discrimination, exclusion and favouritism and thus contributing to the promotion of peace, Rwandese and universal values of justice, solidarity, tolerance, and respect for the rights and the duties of human beings" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 23). These Rwandese values are echoed in later documents: "The country now finds itself in a phase of psychological and social reconstruction with a view to creating a new collective Rwandese identity enriched with the values of peace, justice, tolerance and equity" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 4). While these same ideas appear across the documents,

those published in 2015 and pertaining to the most recent competence-based curriculum adoption were widely characterized by statements promoting national identity.

Within the curriculum documents, as the publication year moves further from the genocide, there is an increasing emphasis on the promotion of Rwandan cultural values. Documents pertaining to the most recent competence-based curriculum adoption were widely characterized by statements promoting national identity. In the *Competence-Based Curriculum: Curriculum Framework* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a), the framing information describes how Rwandan national values are embedded in education policy and structure:

> The Rwandan curriculum is underpinned by the values that represent the basic beliefs of the nation. These basic values permeate the curriculum and all the processes of schooling and which students will also develop. The 'Curriculum Values' are those that underpin the curriculum itself and which determine the nature of the subject syllabi. (p. 17)

These basic values include "national and cultural identity; peace and tolerance; justice; respect for others and for human rights; solidarity and democracy", concepts which are repeated in the curriculum values, with a focus on "the importance of family, Rwandan culture and heritage" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 17).

This same document goes on to explain why it is so important for subject syllabi to "reflect Rwandan culture and heritage," stating that:

This is important for two reasons:

- It is important that all young people learn to understand and value their own heritage and culture, so that their heritage will not be forgotten and the culture will be nurtured;

- Learning is most effective when it relates to the immediate context of the learner and subject learning is enhanced by the Rwandan context. (p. 18)

Many of these same ideas are echoed in the Competence-Based Curriculum: Summary of Curriculum Framework Pre-Primary to Upper Secondary 2015 (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b). Both documents outline how History and Citizenship courses contribute to developing this national sense of identity, including by "relat[ing] the impact of historical events on past and present national and cultural identity" and "show[ing] national consciousness, a strong sense of belonging and patriotic spirit" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 30; 2015b, p. 10).

While national policy states the importance of learning about a national Rwandan identity, the curriculum documents outline what this should look like in practice. For the *History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level S1-S3* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c), this primarily takes the form of a focus on identity for Senior One and Two students, as they are asked to know and understand the meaning of identity, especially the different forms of identity in Rwanda and the larger national identity. Accompanying this expectation is a focus on unity, interdependence, harmony, and unity in diversity (p. 31, 52) with the expectation that "This will develop a spirit of nationalism" (p. 31). In the same curriculum adoption, only for Advanced Level students in Senior Four through Six, this focus on identity expands to include human rights and how these beliefs have contributed to respect, tolerance, and social cohesion (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 30). National duties, which are outlined in the Rwandan constitution, are examined during Senior Five, with a particular emphasis on how they "develop a spirit of national independence" and how they "show love to one's country" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 44).

Despite this focus on a Rwandan heritage, a detailed description of the Rwandan culture or context is absent from these texts. This document identifies "(1) art, craft, music, dance, drama;

(2) food, dress, festivals; (3) family, community, beliefs, values; (4) business, enterprise, self-employment, and (5) history, literature, myths, stories" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 18) as all contributing to the national culture, however what constitutes each of these areas is not included, though some history curriculum documents do include information pertaining to Rwandan history and mythology.

These examples from national policy and curriculum documents demonstrate a focused approach on not only the development of a Rwandan identity, but one founded in peace, justice, and democracy, among other characteristics. They also show that this narrative has remained fairly consistent across policy and curriculum since the 1994 genocide. Additionally, these results confirm previous findings, as a heavy emphasis on national identity following internal conflicts is expected.

Summary. The narratives at both the international and national levels were overwhelmingly focused on the development of a Rwandan identity, with 95.8% of all identity development statements emphasizing a national identity. These results were expected, as a contributing factor to the Rwandan genocide was the internal conflict between ethnic groups. Therefore, one reaction against these divisions is to promote one national identity over any other regional or ethnic groupings, a trend clearly seen across the documents. Many of the sentences promoting a national Rwandan identity described Rwandese values, such as peace, justice, tolerance, and respect. These characteristics were echoed in international policy and national policy and curriculum documents and represent traits that could potentially prevent future outbreaks of violence.

Timeline of Post-Genocide Education

The coding categories for the timeline of post-genocide education were drawn from Jones's (2006) and Pingel's (2006) research on how Germany dealt with its past. Jones's (2006) identified the three stages of Germany's response to its past as (1) "willful amnesia" (p. 346) from the war's end to the mid-1960s, (2) a focus on German history in research and popular culture from the 1960s until the 1990s, and (3) coming to terms with individual's roles as both victims and perpetrators in literature, history, and art. Pingel's (2006) outline is more detailed and focused primarily on education. During the time immediately following World War II, the Holocaust was studied as part of the war, including occupation and persecution; the occupying Allied forces set the curriculum (Pingel, 2006). As time from the end of the Second World War passed, in the 1950s and 1960s, a few brief sentences about the Holocaust were included, but the blame was primarily placed on a small group of leadership within the Third Reich (Pingel, 2006). During the 1960s and 1970s, the blame again shifted, and the full responsibility was given to Hitler (Pingel, 2006). It was not until the 1980s that the Holocaust given its own topic within the curriculum, and with this shift came a focus on critical thinking (Pingel, 2006). Following the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990, the curriculum shifted to focusing on Germany's place in the European Union and larger global community (Hein & Selden, 2000). Current analyses of the history education in Germany highlight the focus on critical thinking, including the responsibilities of bystanders (Buruma, 1994).

The sub-categories created for the timeline of post-genocide education (emergency, elimination, violence as history, blame to others, individual perspectives, and collective responsibility) drew directly from these frameworks. However, the majority of these codes were not amply used across the research literature. In total, 35 sentences were coded as Timeline-

Emergency, ten were coded as Elimination, none were coded as violence as history, 46 sentences were coded as individual perspectives, and seven were described as a collective response. This information can be found in Table 14.

Table 14

Timeline of Post Genocide Education

	Emer-gency	Elimin-ation	Violence as History	Blame to Others	Individual Perspective	Collective Responsibility	Other	TOTALS
International Documents	3	10	0	1	45	5	87	151
UNESCO: Rwandan Policy	3	6	0	0	0	0	67	76
UNESCO: Holocaust Education	0	4	0	1	45	5	20	75
National Documents	32	0	0	0	1	2	555	590
Rwanda: Policy	32	0	0	0	0	2	96	130
Rwanda: Curriculum	0	0	0	0	2	0	458	461
TOTALS	35	10	0	1	47	7	642	741

However, many sentences ($n = 642$) were coded as "Timeline – Other" to indicate that they were related to the evolution of post-genocide education in Rwanda but did not fit into the previously mentioned categories. Most sentences from both international and national documents fell into this "Other" category. While there was some overlap between the development of the post-genocide Rwandan education system and the post-World War II German education system, there are many contrasting elements, which is expected considering the differing circumstances of

each conflict and the contextual differences between the two countries. Additionally, many of the phases noted in the development of the German education system are noted in 20-year increments, with the years immediately after the Holocaust characterized by a stagnation of and underrepresentation in the curriculum. Therefore, since, at the writing of this research, only 24 years have passed since the Rwandan genocide, it could also be anticipated that their education system would not progress through as many or the same stages as the German education system. These circumstances do not invalidate the results, rather it is necessary to carefully examine the "Timeline—Other" subcategory for trends that may emerge which are unique to the Rwandan context.

Emergency. Because it is not a direct focus of this research question, and because the documents examined were not published in the immediate aftermath of the 1994 conflict and genocide, sentences coded as emergency are not a focal point for this research, however, several sentences in the Rwandan policy documents addressed the "emergency situation during which the objective was to reshape and try to restart the education system which had broken down" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 3). Similar sentences described how the development of education risked being pushed into the background to make way for urgent needs such as food, health and the reconstruction of housing" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 11). Some sentences mentioned schools' contributions to normalizing life, despite a lack of infrastructure or supplies (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015). Schools were also sites of massacres, and therefore many parents were afraid that their children would not return from school, however, schools contributed to the establishment of "routines that provided some comfort and stability" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. xv). These sentences reflect previous findings which outline the importance of education at providing

stability in the time following an emergency (Obura, 2003; Pingel, 2006). Three sentences were coded as Timeline-Emergency in the international documents, and each described the Rwandan context in the immediate aftermath of the genocide.

Elimination. The elimination category included any references to the removal of potentially offensive material as well as not teaching subject matter related to the genocide. There were no elimination sentences in the national documents. At the international level, there were ten sentences coded as elimination. In the Holocaust Education documents, the sentences referred broadly to the elimination period in post-conflict contexts in general by acknowledging the "initial period of silence and/or minimization [that] many countries" go through (UNESCO, 2009, p. 29). For UNESCO documents about Rwanda, the sentences coded as elimination referred to the Rwandan government's "moratorium on the teaching of Rwandan history in schools" (Hilker, 2010, p. 2) until a new curriculum, one which told the "'official' account" (p. 14), could be produced.

Blame to others. Only two sentences were coded as blame to others across the document sets. At the international level, the only sentence coded as blame to others appeared in a UNESCO publication about Holocaust education and critiqued "Historical narratives that reduce history explanation to the actions of top leaders—the 'Great Man' theory of history" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 9). At the national level, The *History Program for Advanced Level* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010) included an objective related to the "bad actions of power of Juvenal Habyarimana" p. 70). Although this statement does not directly place blame on Habyarimana, it is a reference to former leadership regarding the 1990s Rwandan conflict. While blaming others did not widely appear in the documents, blaming previous leadership could appear more when the content is implemented in the classroom. This category might also be absent because instead of

blaming past leadership, the focus in Rwanda is blaming colonization on institutionalizing and attaching privilege to ethnic divisions.

Individual perspectives. Of the 46 sentences coded as individual perspectives, 45 of them appeared in documents about Holocaust education where a major emphasis is placed on teaching about the roles and perspectives of bystanders. These sentences are primarily found in UNESCO's (2009) *Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education*, which advocates for using bystander behavior to "explore an aspect of human behavior that we all fall into and can claim" and "the reasons why individuals do not intervene when they witness something that is wrong," a phenomenon "not unique to perpetrators or victims" (p. 71). Another reason for teaching about bystanders is because it "offers an opportunity to look at the roles of individuals within history, rather than 'states' or representatives of states" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 72). However, although discussing bystanders in the context of the Holocaust may be an appropriate and even effective way to teach "the importance of choice and consequence, and… that passivity is another choice" (p. 71), it may yet be an appropriate parallel to the Rwandan context. It took decades for Germany to include individual perspectives from all sides of the war and Holocaust in their curriculum, and Rwanda may not yet be ready for this approach.

Much of this conversation occurs in a description of a workshop presented by Facing History and Ourselves with Rwandan teachers (UNESCO, 2009). Of particular note to the conversation about education about bystanders is the difficulty the Rwandan participants had with translate the term bystander to Kinyarwanda (UNESCO, 2009). Whereas the group had success with educating about bystanders before, with the Rwandan participants, "the struggle to understand bystander behavior did not seem to translate into exploring choice" the way they expected (UNESCO, 2009, p. 74). Additionally, UNESCO (2009) advocates for teaching multiple

perspectives, which again is something the Rwandan government may not be ready to allow. Despite these challenges, it is worth noting that "national, professional or individual responsibilities remain heavily debated within and among countries where the Holocaust took place" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 29) meaning that it may still take decades for Rwanda to reach this same stage.

Collective responsibility. Although this category was minimally used across the documents, with only seven sentences coded as such, it may be because it was subsumed under education as a panacea-prevention. The four sentences coded as collective responsibility at the international level focused on the responsibility of all people, "not just the elected leaders or the elite" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 83) to prevent genocide or violence. At the national level, sentence coded as collective responsibility mentioned students role in "fighting genocide ideology and genocide denial" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 21).

Other: International narrative. At the international level, there were 87 sentences coded in the other category, with the majority of these occurring in Rwandan policy documents ($n = 67$) and 20 sentences occurring in documents promoting Holocaust education. Several patterns emerged from within these sentences, including a history of how the education system redeveloped following the genocide and the curriculum reform process in Rwanda. Several statements also described the challenges with teaching history in the aftermath of genocide and critiqued the educational approaches and strategies used in Rwanda.

Redevelopment of Rwandan education system. Several sentences provide an historical account of how the Rwandan system of education recovered following the 1994 genocide. Obura and Bird (2009) comment that "Within two months the Ministry of Education re-opened primary schools and senior officials and staff toured the countryside cajoling children to come back to

school," which was not an easy task considering that "schools in many cases [had] been the site of massacres and atrocities" (p. 8). Once schools were reopened, there was a need to "modify the curriculum post-genocide" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 11), which is outlined in the next section.

    Post-genocide curriculum reform process. Rwanda has participated in numerous activities and projects to reform its system of education and history curriculum since the 1994 genocide, and many sentences of these sentences fall into the Other category of the Timeline for Post-Genocide Education. Rwandan ministry of education officials worked with the U.S.-based organization Facing History and Ourselves, faculty from the University of Berkeley in the US and the National University of Rwanda to develop a framework for teaching about Rwanda history, including both content and methods. The resulting document, *The Teaching of History of Rwanda: A Participatory Approach* (Human Rights Center, 2006), was published and "distributed to some teachers and used in professional development" as of 2010, the "Government has still not yet introduced the history resource book into schools as part of the curriculum" (Hilker, 2010, p. 13). Although it has been officially accepted by the government, it has not been formally pushed out to schools. This document was included in this research as an example of national policy.

    In addition to the previous resource development, Hilker (2010) describes a five-year process during which "working groups comprising a variety of stakeholders (teachers, students, parents, government officials, nongovernmental organizations, and historians)" met for a series of workshops to "help develop new history resources, including the development of teaching materials and the introduction of democratic teaching methods" (p. 13). However, even though the purpose of these workshops was to determine how to teach difficult content, "from the start, some participants expressed concerns about how to teach the more controversial aspects of Rwanda's history [as] Many teachers were clearly reluctant to allow for any open discussions of these issues

in the classroom and were reticent to introduce any issues that could create disagreement or conflict" (Hilker, 2010, p. 13). These sentences demonstrate that developing post-genocide history education in Rwanda has been a challenging process and one which is still on-going.

Challenges of teaching in post-genocide contexts. UNESCO's (2017) *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* outlines some challenges with teaching in post-genocide contexts. While these sentences are predominantly talking about Holocaust education, they are applicable to the Rwandan context as well. When teaching about a violent past, UNESCO (2017) states

> Nationalistic ideologies continue to influence the ways in which history is remembered and taught. Many post-atrocity communities throughout the world struggle with divided societies. Social cohesion remains fractured and progress is blocked by the country's refusal to deal with its national history of genocide and mass atrocities and the long-term trauma such crimes cause. This challenge increases when conflicting parties or survivors and their tormentors must co-exist in the same society in the aftermaths of atrocity crimes. (UNESCO, 2017, p. 29).

These statements are not only applicable in many countries impacted by the Holocaust, but also true in Rwanda where genocide survivors and perpetrators have returned to living side by side and in the same communities. Further challenges include the slow nature of education change; even without a systemic collapse, national trauma, or conflicting leadership perspectives, education change and curriculum adoption are processes which may take years.

Statements about the challenges of education in post-genocide contexts are not limited to this one UNESCO document. Other documents, including Obura and Bird's *Background Paper for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010* describe Rwanda as "still struggling over revising the

history curriculum" fifteen years after the genocide (p. 12). These authors describe the "very difficult challenge of teaching history after internal strife" (p. 13). Hilker (2010), in the following year's *Background Paper for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011* states that some the ongoing challenges in the Rwandan education system "mirror some of those that were present in the pre-genocide period" (p. 2). Hilker (2010) argues that the content and methods in the Rwandan system must complement each other in order to effectively contribute to peacebuilding, as the Rwandan government says it would like, an argument which Obura and Bird (2009) also presented. Many of the statements which are positioned as challenges can also be described as critiques of the Rwandan education system, more of which are explored below.

Critiques of education system. In addition to the critiques embedded in the above paragraphs, including the challenges of teaching Rwandan history and the potential misalignment of teaching content and pedagogy, a major critique of the system is for the Rwandan government's construction of a single narrative, which commentators have said prevents "alternative interpretations, [which is] detrimental to the reconciliation process" (Hilker, 2010). They warn that "a one-sided, pro-RPF interpretation of history will inspire resentment and will be too easy to dismiss as propaganda" (Mgbako, 2005, p. 221, in Hilker, 2010, p. 15). Authors also agree that the "school curriculum is a key opportunity to promote reconciliation" and that the pedagogy in post-conflict schools should encourage active participation to promote social reconstruction (Hilker, 2010, p. 15). Although Rwanda has made some progress about teaching its violent past, these external voices are arguing at an international level for a re-examination of the current methods and a "different approach to that which has been taken" (Hilker, 2010, p. 15).

Other: National narrative. At the national level, the vast majority of the sentences coded as Timeline of Post-Genocide Education – Other appeared in curriculum documents (n = 460),

with 118 sentences coming from Rwandan policy documents. Within the curriculum documents, three major categories emerged: (1) curriculum about the 1994 genocide, (2) curriculum related to Rwandan values, and (3) curriculum about United Nations organizations. Across the policy documents, there were far fewer sentences coded as Timeline – Other ($n = 118$), and two topics emerged from across these sentence, including descriptions of the history of education reform in Rwanda and tasks which still needed to be accomplished at the publication of each document.

Curriculum about the 1994 genocide. Curriculum related to the genocide was coded as Timeline – Other because comparing how the curriculum has changed from one adoption to the next can reveal how the educational approach has evolved with the passage of time. Table 15 below presents the curriculum units related to teaching about the Rwandan genocide. For the sake of space, not all objectives or content have been included for each chapter or unit; only those related to the 1994 genocide are listed. However, prior to examining these changes, a general description of the genocide-focused curriculum in Rwanda follows.

In the 2008 and 2010 curriculum adoption, the genocide is left out of the curriculum until students are at the Senior Three level, and even then, genocide is the last topic to be covered. There are ten periods dedicated to the chapter on genocide, which constitutes 16.7% of the entire Senior Three curriculum. Additionally, while the genocide is included for Senior Three students, the content outlined is vague. For example, it asks teachers to cover "The development of ideology of Genocide, The phase of execution extermination of Tutsi and Hutu opposition to the Genocide ideology, and the role of different actors: State, International, Community, Religious Confessions, Medias, local Population" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, pp. 71-72) but does not provide context or details for each of these points. One of the learning activities advocates for a comparative approach, where students are asked to use textbooks to "compare Tutsi Genocide

with other Genocides in Africa and outside of Africa" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 72). Although Holocaust education is not explicitly mentioned, this comparative approach is recommended throughout the international documents on teaching about genocide. Although not included in the genocide-related curriculum below, Rwandan colonization and independence are covered across Senior One through Three.

At the Advanced Level, genocide is again left out of the curriculum until the final level, for Senior Six students and it is again the last chapter to be covered. The Chapter on the "The Liberation War of 1990 and the Tutsi Genocide of 1994" calls for 14 periods, which is only 6.5% of the overall Senior Six curriculum. Much of the content for Senior Six students is repeated from the Senior Three level, including the definition of the word genocide and the consequences of the genocide. Similar to the Senior Three level, details about the content remain vague. Teachers are supposed to cover the "Stages of genocide" but nowhere are those stages included in the curriculum. While they might appear in textbooks, shortages of materials, including textbooks are a challenge of schools across the country, so there is no way of knowing to what materials teachers have access. Whereas a comparative study was simply a learning activity for Senior Three students, it is considered part of the content. At the advanced level, Rwanda's pre-colonial, colonial, and independent histories are included across Senior Four through Six, including 30 periods dedicated to "Rwanda under Belgian colonial rule" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 50).

The 2015 adoption of a competence-based curriculum signified significant changes from the previous curriculum. Subject areas were combined, the number of periods covered in a year were expanded, and the number of topics went from six to nine each year to 16-18. However, despite these revisions, the curriculum pertaining to the genocide remained largely stagnant,

although it did appear at each level of Ordinary education. Students in Senior One are expected to learn about genocide and other mass crimes and "Distinguish the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi from other mass crimes" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 24). Senior Two students are expected to "be able to describe the causes and the course of genocide against the Tutsi" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 40). The Senior Three curriculum about the genocide from the 2015 curriculum adoption, which occupies 7.5% of the school year, is similar to the 2008 curriculum. Both focus on the consequences of the genocide without actually identifying what the consequences are. The 2015 adoption takes a more forward looking approach, as it asks students to "Learn from mistakes" and "Be responsible participants in civil society" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 40).

The *History Syllabus for Advanced Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d) follows a similar model to the ordinary level, with Senior Four students comparing "different genocides of the 20th century" (p. 19). The content presented here differs from the previous comparisons in that it explicitly mentions the Holocaust as a point of comparison. At the Senior Five level, although the 1994 Rwandan genocide is not explicitly mentioned, 14 periods are dedicated to "Genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 35), a topic which has not previously appeared in the curriculum.

As with the 2010 curriculum adoption, it is not until Senior Six that students are expected to engage specifically with the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In a 20-period unit constituting 7.9% of the curriculum, students are "should be able to assess the causes, course and the consequences of the Liberation war of 1990-1994; the achievements and the challenges of the government of Rwanda after 1994 genocide against the Tutsi" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 51). However, again, "causes, course, and the effects" are part of the content, but details for each of

these components is absent from the curriculum. Also, this unit seems to combine the genocide with the 1990-1994 Liberation War, however without more details on content, this is unable to distinguish. In addition to this unit on the Rwandan genocide, the following 22-period unit focuses on the prevention of genocide, another topic which has not explicitly appeared in the curriculum prior to this adoption (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 53). What these units reveal, in contrast to previous year's curriculum is that while the content directly related to teaching the 1994 genocide has remained stagnant and vague, its inclusion has been expanded across the curriculum so that students are exposed to genocide-related topics more frequently at all secondary levels.

Table 15

Curriculum about the 1994 Genocide	
2008 and 2010 Curriculum Adoption (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, 2010)	2015 Curriculum Adoption (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d)
Senior One	
No relevant content.	Unit 5: Genocide and its Features – 8 periods Key Unit Competence: To be able to differentiate between genocide and other mass crimes. Learning Objectives: Distinguish the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi from other mass crimes (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c. p. 24)
Senior Two	
No relevant content.	Unit 3: Causes and courses of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi – 6 periods Key Unit Competence: To be able to describe the causes and the course of genocide against the Tutsi (Planning, execution and how genocide was stopped) Learning Objectives: Explain the causes of genocide against the Tutsi. Describe how genocide was planned, executed and stopped. Analyse the causes of the genocide against the Tutsi. Assess the course of genocide against the Tutsi Evaluate how the genocide against the Tutsi was stopped. Describe the causes and the course of genocide against the Tutsi (Planning, execution and how genocide was stopped)

| | Appreciate the causes of genocide against the Tutsi and advocate solutions. Recognise how genocide was carried out. Appreciate the role played by RPF/RPA to stop genocide against the Tutsi.

Content:
Causes of the genocide against the Tutsi.
Planning and execution of genocide against the Tutsi.
Role played by RPF/RPA to stop genocide against the Tutsi.

(Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 40) |
|---|---|
| Senior Three | |
| Chapter 3: The War of 1990-1994 and the Genocide of the Tutsi – 10 periods

Specific Objectives:
Define genocide.
Show and explain how ideology of Genocide was prepared and executed
Establish the responsibilities and interior institutions and international view towards the Genocide of the Tutsi
Give the political, economic, and socio-cultural consequences of the Tutsi Genocide

Contents: The Genocide of Tutsi (April-July 1994)
Definition of the word "Genocide"
The development of ideology of Genocide
The phase of execution extermination of Tutsi and Hutu opposition to the Genocide ideology.
The role of different actors: State, International, Community, Religious Confessions, Medias, local population.
The consequences of Tutsi Genocide of April-July 1994 | Unit 2: Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi – 8 periods

Key Unit Competence:
To be able to examine the consequences of genocide against the Tutsi and how society has been re-built.

Learning Objectives:
Explain the consequences of genocide against the Tutsi.
Assess the consequences of genocide against the Tutsi and show the lessons young can learn from it.
Assess the consequences of genocide against the Tutsi.
Show concern for the struggle that victims of genocide face and give them needed support.
Learn from mistakes made by genocide planners to make sure genocide will never happen again in Rwanda and elsewhere.
Be responsible participants in civil society so as to protect their communities against all kind of division and genocide ideology.

Content: |

	Consequences of genocide against the Tutsi.
(Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b, pp. 71-71)	(Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 59)
Senior Four	
No relevant content	Unit 2: Comparison of the Genocides – 8 periods Key unit competency: The learners should be able to compare different genocides in the 20th century. Learning Objectives: Identify the similarities and the differences between the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the other genocides. Describe the measures that have been taken to reconstruct the Rwandan society after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Analyse the similarities and the differences between the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the other genocides. Content: Different genocides in the 20th century (e.g. Holocaust, 1994 genocide against the Tutsi). Similarities and the differences between the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the other genocides. Measures that have been taken to reconstruct the Rwandan society after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 19)
Senior Five	
No relevant content	Unit 2: Genocide denia5598l and ideology in Rwanda and abroad – 14 periods Key unit competency: The learner should be able to analyse different forms of genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad.

	(Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 35)
Senior Six	
Chapter IX: The Liberation War of 1990 and the Tutsi Genocide of 1994 Specific Objectives: • Identify the causes and the effects of the Tutsi Genocide of 1994 Contents: The 1994 genocide against Tutsi • Definition of the word "genocide" • Comparative study of various of 'genocides' • Causes and effects • Stages of genocide • Planning and execution of extermination of Tutsi and Hutu that opposed to the genocide ideology • The consequences of genocide different level [sic] • Political • Economic • Social • Negationism and persistence of the genocide ideology (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, pp. 58-59)	Unit 1: Post-Colonial Rwanda – 20 periods Key Unit Competency: The learner should be able to assess the causes, course and the consequences of the Liberation war of 1990-1994; the achievements and the challenges of the government of Rwanda after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Learning Objectives: • Identify the achievements and the challenges of the Rwandan Government after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. • Assess the causes, course and the effects of the Liberation war of 1990 in Rwanda so as to determine the impact of bad governance on the society. • Analyse the achievements and the challenges of the Rwandan Government after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in the political, social and economic spheres of life. • Acknowledge the causes, course and the effects of the Liberation war of 1990 in Rwanda. This develops the spirit of love and respect. • Recognise the achievements and the challenges of the Rwandan Government after 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Content: • Causes, course and the effects of the Liberation war of 1990 in Rwanda. • Achievements and the challenges of the Rwandan Government after 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

	Unit 2: Prevention of Genocide – 22 periods
	Key unit competency: The learner should be able to explain the measures of preventing genocide from happening again in Rwanda and elsewhere.
	(Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, pp. 51-53)

Curriculum related to Rwandan values. In addition to the curriculum related directly to the 1994 genocide, many curriculum units conveyed topics related to Rwandan values, especially in the 2015 curriculum adoption. However, this may be due, in part, to the combination of political education and history (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c). Because the "two subjects share a lot in common…There was a great need to incorporate Political Education into History" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 1), which resulted in the *History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level.* Across the three years of ordinary level, nine units could be considered a reaction against the genocide and ways to teach positive values and outcomes without focusing on Rwanda's violent history. History and Citizenship is compulsory for students in Senior One through Three, so all students who make it through Senior Three should have some exposure to the topics outlined below. At the Advanced Level, for Students in Senior Four through Six, such topics are also covered, but not to the same extent, with only six units across the three years. The inclusion of the topics listed in Table 16 are particularly notable as there is no similar content from the previous curriculum adoption.

Table 16

Curriculum Content Related to Rwandan History or Values (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d)

Level	Relevant Unit Title and Objective
Senior One	Unit 12: Identify oneself differently in reference to Rwanda • To be able to identify oneself differently in reference to Rwanda (p. 31) Unit 13: Forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence • To be able to analyse forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence (p. 32) Unit 14: Dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society • To be able to explain dignity and self-reliance and their implications for Rwandan society (p. 33)
Senior Two	Unit 12: Rights, duties and obligations • To be able to analyse how rights are balanced by obligations and duties and relate this to the situation in Rwanda (p. 50) Unit 14: Interdependence and unity in diversity

	• To be able to explain the interdependency and unity in diversity (p. 52) Unit 15: Social cohesion • To be able to analyse how people can live together in harmony (p. 53) Unit 16: Hindrances to dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society • To be able to identify the hindrances to dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society. (p. 54)
Senior Three	Unit 10: National and international human rights instruments and the protection of human rights • To be able to analyse the effectiveness of national and international human rights instruments and ways in which human Rights can be protected in the context of democracy (p. 68) Unit 16: Tolerance and respect • To be able to recognize and respond to the effects of bias, prejudice, intolerance and stigma on individual and family (p. 74)
Senior Four	Unit 9: Human Rights codification and its impact • The learner should be able to explain how the Human Rights have been codified since second World War and the impact this has had in Rwanda and other countries (p. 29) Unit 10: National cohesion, identities and the respect of Human Rights • The learner should be able to survey the factors affecting the national cohesion, identities in terms of Culture, History and the economic activities, and respect of the Human Rights (p. 30)
Senior Five	Unit 7: The national duties and obligations • The learner should be able to analyse the national duties and obligations (p. 44) Unit 8: National and international judicial systems and instruments • The learner should be able to analyse the national, international judicial systems and instruments, and how the justice has been delayed and denied in the Rwandan system (p. 46)
Senior Six	Unit 11: Prevention and resolution of the conflicts • The learner should be able to explore the ways of preventing and resolving conflicts and violence as the national and international levels (p. 68

Curriculum about United Nations organizations. A final notable theme which emerged from the sentences marked Timeline – Other in the curriculum documents was the inclusion of the history of United Nations organizations. The *History Program for Ordinary Level* (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b), Senior Three level, includes the "Creation of UNO and its

Institutions especially UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, etc." (p. 61) as content to be included regarding the consequences of World War II. In the same curriculum adoption, students in Senior Five are also expected to identify the creation of United Nations organizations as a consequence of World War II, as well as knowing the "Definition, Organs, Objectives, Achievements, Failures" of UN organizations (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 33-34). Although this narrative does not feature prominently across the curriculum, evidence demonstrates that information about the UN and its bodies has been included in multiple adoptions of Rwandan curriculum and across grade levels.

Education reform in Rwanda. Many of the sentences coded as Timeline – Other in the national policy documents chronicled changes made to the Rwandan system of education. While the international documents did this to some extent, they primarily examined the post-conflict recovery of the education system as opposed to the curriculum revisions which are detailed in the national documents. The national documents begin with describing that "The Government launched a process for reformulating and implementing the country's education policy taking into account the consequences of the 1994 genocide" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 3), which led to the publication of *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1997), the earliest published document included in this study. However, as time passed, the government acknowledge that Rwanda has "entered a new phase which is more developmental and consequently, the education sector needs a new policy" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 3). This new policy was to be "An outcome oriented curriculum to be used by all schools [and] developed, monitored, and reviewed as necessary" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 3).

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It is not until 2015 that a competence based approach is adopted, and the *Competence-Based Curriculum: Curriculum Framework* further details the "remarkable reforms" which the Rwandan education sector has gone through since 1994 (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 5). Some of these changes include restructuring of "the education system to provide 6 years of primary, 3 years of lower secondary and 3 years of upper secondary schooling" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 6) and aligning the curriculum with "the needs of students, communities and the labour market" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. xiii). These sentences serve to document the changes to the Rwandan education system since the 1994 conflict and genocide.

Tasks yet to be accomplished. A portion of the sentences coded as other contained directives regarding tasks which had yet to be accomplished in the education reform process. Documents with earlier publication dates outlined designing and setting up a new education structure and implement a long-term plan for the development of the education system (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a). Documents from the 2000s cited a need to "Develop, print and distribute a revised and harmonised syllabus" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 19), and "Revise current curricula and develop new curricula and qualification framework for priority economic sectors with a focus on competences" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 28). Additional tasks included reforming textbook policy and shifting toward post-basic education (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010). In the most recently published set of documents, the upcoming tasks include regularly updating the curriculum "to keep pace with the changing global situation" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 7) and to include more topics related to HIV/AIDS education and children's rights, among others (Republic of Rwanda Ministry

of Education, 2015). These sentences are indicative of some of the progress the Rwandan education system has made. For example, they were able to restructure their system and have moved from focusing on nine years of basic education to twelve. They have also adopted a competence-based framework, which was outlined as early as 2003. Although the most recent documents suggest there are still tasks to be accomplished, the nature of these tasks is often maintenance, monitoring, and evaluation of the current system.

Summary. Although it was hypothesized that the post-genocide education timeline in Rwanda would mimic, at least to some extent, the post-genocide education timeline in Germany, the results did not support this conclusion. While the literature review suggested the sub-categories of emergency, elimination, violence as history, blame to others, individual perspectives, and collective responsibility, neither the international nor national narratives were represented by these categories. There were many sentences related to the timeline of post-genocide development, however they did not align with these sub-categories, and were therefore examined separately for emergent themes and trends. At the international level, many of the relevant sections provided an historical account of the redevelopment of the Rwandan education system, including the post-genocide curriculum reform process. Another trend that emerged from this section were critiques of the Rwandan education system, particularly around the policy inclusion of participative methods but a lack of evidence that this was occurring at the classroom level.

At the national level, variations between the initial and follow-up curriculum adoptions provided insight regarding how the genocide was differently addressed as time passed, with more of an emphasis on the inclusion of genocide in the formal curriculum in the latter adoption, although it did not occupy more than 10% of the overall curriculum for either set of documents. Indirectly related to education about the genocide, there were many sentences related to conveying

Rwandan values, such as peace, respect, diversity, and social cohesion. Although these characteristics were not directly tied to the genocide, their appearance in the curriculum may have occurred as a reaction against previous outbreaks of violence. Interestingly, the curriculum also included several objectives about United Nations organizations, including their history and purpose, which may indicate the importance these organizations play in Rwandan society. In the policy documents, statements related to the post-genocide education development timeline could be broadly placed in two categories: statements chronicling the education reform process and statements outlining tasks yet to be accomplished. Although these results did not align with the initial hypothesis, they still revealed information about the post-genocide education redevelopment timeline in Rwanda.

Education Strategies

The education strategies coding category evolved during the pilot coding phase from an initial focus on social justice-oriented, civic-oriented, and Holocaust education to also include language education and genocide education. The addition of these sub-categories allows for a more in-depth study of the strategies used to education Rwandan students about their past, as well as highlight historical and organizational influences on the Rwandan education system. In total, 1,296 sentences were coded as education strategies, with a slim majority ($n = 447$, 29.6%) of sentences representing Holocaust education compared to 423 sentences (28.0%) as social-justice oriented. However, because four documents specifically focused on Holocaust education, this number is not surprising. For the other strategies, 11.3% ($n = 170$) focused on genocide education, 10.3% ($n = 155$) focused on civic-oriented education, and 8.0% ($n = 120$) focused on language education. An additional 194 sentences were coded as in the other category, meaning they were relevant but did

not pertain to one of the previously outlined categories. These sentences are further examined at the end of this section. This information is shown in Table 17.

At the national level, the majority of the education strategies sentences appeared in the curriculum documents (n = 515, 60.9%), which is to be expected since these documents guide instruction and implementation of policies. Within national policy, education strategies appeared most often in documents related to instruction, including *The Teaching of History of Rwanda,* with 71 sentences (Human Rights Center, 2006) and the policies supporting the implementation of a competence-based curriculum, with 180 sentences (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, 2015b). At the international level, unsurprisingly, the majority of education strategy sentences appeared about Holocaust education in documents which promoted Holocaust education. Education strategies were covered to a lesser extent in international policy, with Hilker's (2010) *The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace—The Case of Rwanda* having 39 such sentences.

Table 17

Education Strategies

	Language Education		Genocide Education		Civic Oriented		Social Justice Oriented		Holocaust Education		Other		TOTALS	
	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent	Sentences	Percent
International Documents	25	3.8%	49	7.4%	39	5.9%	83	12.5%	441	66.5%	26	3.9%	663	100.0%
UNESCO: Rwandan Policy	25	3.8%	0	0.0%	9	1.4%	48	7.2%	0	0.0%	11	1.7%	93	14.0%
UNESCO: Holocaust Education	0	0.0%	49	7.4%	30	4.5%	35	5.3%	441	66.5%	15	2.3%	570	86.0%
National Documents	95	11.2%	121	14.3%	116	13.7%	340	40.2%	6	0.7%	168	19.9%	846	100.0%
Rwanda: Policy	95	11.2%	17	2.0%	16	1.9%	78	9.2%	3	0.4%	122	14.4%	331	39.1%
Rwanda: Curriculum	0	0.0%	104	12.3%	100	11.8%	262	31.0%	3	0.4%	46	5.4%	515	60.9%
TOTALS	120	8.0%	170	11.3%	155	10.3%	423	28.0%	447	29.6%	194	12.9%	1509	100.0%

Social justice-oriented. Social justice-oriented education is broadly defined as educational methods or content which promoted positive social development (Banks & Banks, 2009; Davies, 2007; Freedman, Weinstein et al., 2008; Levstick & Tyson, 2008). The literature review of related research suggested that social-justice oriented education would factor heavily in the recommended and prescribed approaches from both international and national policy makers. However, at the international level social justice-oriented education was not a dominant theme across the education strategies, occupying just 12.5% (n = 83) of the total education strategy coded sentences. However, the national narrative heavily promoted a social justice approach to education, with 40.2% (*n* = 340) of the overall education strategies coded as social-justice oriented.

International narrative. Within the international documents, 35 sentences were found in documents focused on Holocaust education while 49 sentences appeared in Rwanda-focused policy. Across these sentences, themes related to peace (*n* = 24) and human rights (*n* = 18) were the most frequently occurring, with a focus on human rights education occupying a substantial place within the Holocaust education documents and peace education appearing in the Rwandan focused documents. Many of these statements focused on education for wider purposes of promoting peace, which is included as social justice content, however only six sentences referred to social justice pedagogy.

Human rights education was identified as a means for the "promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 148). This statement represents social justice education because it focuses on eliminating prejudice across groups. The document further goes on to characterize human rights education as focusing on "knowledge and skills," "values, attitudes and behaviour," and "action" related to the promotion of human rights

(UNESCO, 2009, p. 148). Although not explicitly referring to human rights education, a human rights framework can promote critical thinking and "instill awareness and appreciation of diversity and human rights" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 25). While the documents focused on promoting Holocaust education mostly discussed human rights education, the documents focused on the Rwandan context did not focus on one particular method, instead advocating for a focus on peace and justice.

Documents published by UNESCO and focused on the Rwandan context included statements such as "education programmes need to build resilience and social cohesion rather than creating division and conflict" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 1). This theme was echoed throughout the documents, including schools as leaders in peace building efforts (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 2) and promoting "education for a culture of peace and non-violence, and intercultural dialogue and understanding" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 5). However, these documents also noted that "despite the Government's stated ambition that schooling should contribute to reconciliation and peacebuilding, educational policy and reforms in Rwanda appear to have been largely divorced from the wider peacebuilding project" (Hilker, 2010, p. 4).

From a methodological perspective, both document sets included sentences which promote socially just pedagogies, however not to the extent that was expected based on the literature review. *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* (UNESCO, 2017) states that the Rwandan education system has shifted its focus from "one based on standard rote memorization to one that encourages discussion and the spirit of critical thinking and analysis…[which] identifies the student as an active participant in the learning experience" (Jean-Damascène Gasanabo, director-general of the Research and Documentation Center on Genocide at the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) in Kigali, as cited in UNESCO, 2017, p. 35). Similarly, the Rwandan-focused policy documents recommend

introducing "more democratic, student-centred teaching methods" (Hilker, 2010, p. 97) especially around instruction pertaining to the 1994 Rwandan genocide, as findings suggest that student-centered learning may not be as prevalent as national policy makers would have the public believe (Obura & Bird, 2009; Hilker, 2010).

These documents, which are sometimes written by researchers outside of the Rwandan context, provide a contrast between Rwandan policy makers' statements—such as Jean-Damascène Gasanabo's above—and the actuality of education in the Rwandan context, as described by Obura and Bird (2009) and Hilker (2010), which can further be explored by contrasting the results from the national level with these international level sentences

National narrative. Of the 340 sentences coded as social justice-oriented at the national level, 231 were pulled from explicit classroom instructions in the curriculum. Across Senior One through Senior Six, 11 units are dedicated to social justice-related topics, including human rights, dignity, social cohesion, interdependence, and justice. While the topics are included across all levels of secondary history education, the percentage of time dedicate to social justice issues is insubstantial. At the Senior Two level, three units covering social justice-related topics covers only 8.1% of the prescribed curriculum. For students in Senior Four, only 8.7% is dedicated to social justice issues. These numbers do not mean Rwandan students are exposed to social justice less than 10% of the time, however this is all that is explicitly outlined in the curriculum. Teachers' pedagogical approaches and personal interests will influence how content is taught in the classroom. Table 18 identifies the social-justice oriented topics from the 2015 competence-based curriculum adoption (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d). Complete outlines of the curriculum examined for this research can be found in Appendix F.

Table 18

Units Covering Social-Justice Oriented Topics in Rwanda Education Board (2015c, 2015d)

Year	Unit and Key Competence	Periods	Instructional Percentage*
Senior One	Unit 10: Concept of human rights, citizen duties, and responsibilities and ways of preventing human rights violations • To be able to explain the concepts of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities, and suggest ways of preventing human rights violations (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 29)	3	2.9%
Senior One	Unit 14: Dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society • To be able to explain dignity and self-reliance and their implications for Rwandan society (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 33)	2	1.9%
Senior Two	Unit 14: Interdependence and unity in diversity • To be able to explain the interdependence and unity in diversity (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 52)	3	2.7%
Senior Two	Unit 15: Social Cohesion • To be able to analyse how people can live together in harmony (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 53)	3	2.7%
Senior Two	Unit 16: Hindrances to dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society • To be able to identify the hindrances to dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 54)	3	2.7%
Senior Three	Unit 10: National and international human rights instruments and the protection of human rights. • To be able to analyse the effectiveness of national and international human rights instruments and ways in which human rights can be protected in the context of democracy (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 68)	3	2.8%
Senior Three	Unit 16: Tolerance and respect • To be able to recognize and respond to the effects of bias, prejudice, intolerance and stigma on individual and family (UNESCO, 2015c, p. 74)	2	1.9%
Senior Four	Unit 9: Human rights codification and its impact	10	4.0%

	• The learner should be able to explain how the Human Rights have been codified since second World War and the impact this has had in Rwanda and the other countries. (UNESCO, 2015d, p. 29)		
Senior Four	Unit 10: National cohesion, identities and the respect of Human Rights • The learner should be able to survey the factors affecting the national cohesion identities in terms of Culture, History and the economic activities, and the respect of the Human Rights (UNESCO, 2015d, p. 30)	12	4.7%
Senior Five	Unit 8: National and international judicial systems and instruments • The learner should be able to analyse the national, international judicial systems and instruments, and how the justice has been delayed and denied in the Rwandan society (UNESCO, 2015d, pp. 46-47)	20	7.9%
Senior Six	Unit 9: The role of democracy, unity and reconciliation in the transformation of the Rwandan society • The learner should be able to examine the role of democracy, unity and reconciliation in the transformation of the Rwandan society (UNESCO, 2015d, pp. 64-65)	22	8.7%

Instructional Percentage was calculated by dividing the number of periods indicated for a unit by the total number of periods outlined in the curriculum. (Senior One = 103 periods; Senior Two = 108 periods; Senior Three = 106 periods; Senior Four = 253 periods; Senior Five = 252 periods; Senior Six = 252 periods)

In addition to being included in entire units, social justice was also covered in several competencies. In particular, the four broad competencies set out for students in advanced level history are as follows:

At the end the History course, students should be able to:

- Live in harmony with the others without any distinction, religious distinction or other form of discrimination and exclusion that have caused problems in the society like Tutsi genocide of 1994, in order to transform them into good citizens.

- Appreciate the Rwandan values, universal values of peace, respect human rights, rights of gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity and good governance.

- Promote the moral, intellectual and social values through which the learners will improve their competence and skills that are essential for the sustainable development of the country.

- Develop a sense of moral responsibility and commitment to social justice and gender equity. (UNESCO, 2015d, p. 4)

In addition to demonstrating an emphasis on social justice, these competencies highlight how education is positioned as a panacea. These competencies also indicate how social justice-oriented education occurs in classrooms beyond the units committed to such content. In addition to these objectives, the Rwandan curriculum documents also describe the pedagogical approach to accompany the shift to competence-based education.

While interactive pedagogies are mentioned in the 2008 and 2010 curriculum adoptions (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b & 2010), they are more heavily emphasized in the competence-based curriculum. Both the *History and Citizen Syllabus for Ordinary Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c) and the *History Syllabus for Advanced Level* (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d) outline the expectation that teachers "will use learner centred methods of teaching…to promote learning through doing where students are active participants in their own learning" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 6) because "learners will learn better when the are actively involved in the learning process through a high degree of participation, contribution and

production" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 5). The "Learning Activities" column of each unit is meant to provide some examples of how students can be actively involved in their own learning process.

Although it is not as heavily emphasized in the Rwandan policy documents, participatory methods were encouraged as early as 2006, when it was proposed to "involve the learner…in order to get his/her participation in the most possible objective interpretation of facts" (Human Rights Center, 2006, p. 280). This document goes on to describe that participative methods may be a habit which resists change, a sentiment echoed in the 2010 *Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2010-2015,* as the shift to learner-centered education is still occurring, four years after its initial mention. Even with the most recent curriculum adoption, the focus on shifting to "learner centered rather than the traditional didactic approach (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 20) to "ensure that learning is active, participative and engaging rather than passive" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b, p. 23) is mentioned. This same gap is identified in the UNESCO policy documents, as researchers found a gap between the policy and actual implementation in the classroom (Hilker, 2010; Obura & Bird, 2009).

Holocaust education. Although there were 430 sentences coded as Holocaust education, the distribution of these sentences is noteworthy, as the vast majority appeared in UNESCO published documents promoting Holocaust education as a strategy for prevention of future violence. Outside of the Holocaust education document set, there were three sentences in Rwandan curriculum, three sentences in Rwandan policy, and no sentences in UNESCO documents about Rwanda. This gap between international and national policy will be explored in further depths in the discussion section.

International narrative. Before entering a discussion about the results for Holocaust education in international documents, it is first necessary to review the purpose of the documents discussed here. Whereas many of the UNESCO documents focus solely on Rwanda, the Holocaust Education documents—where all Holocaust education coded sentences appear—are targeted for a global audience, meaning that they are not particularly tailored to the Rwandan context. These documents and statements are relevant to this research because they were written to influence international policy, including that in Rwanda. However, for this document set, the high number of coded sentences was to be expected; it is the absence of Holocaust education in any of the other document sets that is noteworthy. Therefore, rather than focusing on what UNESCO's Holocaust Education documents are broadly stating, this section will only cover content relevant to the research questions and Rwandan context.

One specific mission of UNESCO is promoting Holocaust education, which is stated in numerous resolutions (UNESCO, 2014), including resolution 34c/61 on Holocaust Remembrance, which states that UNESCO should "promote…awareness of Holocaust remembrance through education". *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide (*UNESCO, 2017) even goes so far as to say "education about the Holocaust in particular, and education about the history of genocide and mass atrocities, stands at the heart of UNESCO's efforts to foster peace and mutual understanding" (p. 3). This document goes on to say

> If the Holocaust is to be taught, it should be explicitly mentioned in the curriculum. Additionally, it can be linked to more general issues of genocide. This means that it should appear in official state or ministry education policy as required or encouraged topic. (p. 54)

Although this document was published in 2017, which is after the most recent curriculum adoption in Rwanda in 2015, the template put forth adheres to that of the previously published documents on Holocaust education. Interestingly, The *UNESCO Regional Consultation in Latin America on Holocaust and Genocide Education Report* (UNESCO, 2013) states that "The genocide of the Jewish people, and other crimes perpetrated by the Nazi regime and its collaborators, has become a universal reference when dealing with mass atrocities" (p. 6). The 1994 Rwandan genocide is the only other genocide recognized by the United Nations, yet they do not include Holocaust education as a reference point. UNESCO documents published prior to 2017 do not explicitly state that Holocaust education should be included in national policy and curriculum, they do convey the same messages about the importance and relevance of Holocaust education in post-genocide contexts.

Education about the Holocaust is recommended in post-genocide contexts because it "address[es] issues such as peace and conflict, human rights and human rights violations, tolerance and intolerance, human morality, racism and respect for diversity" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 5), can provide a way to "mainstream peace and human rights concerns in the education system" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 6), and "can support global education priorities, including cultivating global citizenship, promoting human rights, and developing a culture of peace that can prevent future mass atrocities" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 75). Not only do these statements reveal the expectations placed on Holocaust education, they also demonstrate how this approach overlaps with some of the other coding categories, such as education as a panacea. Additionally, teaching about the Holocaust in post-genocide contexts presents "a history removed from your own experience yet has some parallels to the country narrative" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 49). This distance allows "participants…to make powerful connections to what they have experienced themselves," and "In

the case of Rwanda, this meant that connections could be made safely, that comments which would otherwise not be made out of fear, were allowed" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 72). Teaching about the Holocaust in post-genocide or post-conflict settings creates a distance that "allow[s] for reflection and critical thinking" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 135) because it does not carry the same contentious nature as conflicts which have occurred locally. However, despite the recommendations that Holocaust education be incorporated in post-genocide context and despite the recommendations of genocide education policy that genocide should be taught from a comparative perspective, there is hardly any mention of Holocaust education or comparative genocide education in the national policy documents.

Although the Holocaust is almost absent in national policy and curriculum documents, Rwanda is mentioned throughout international documents on Holocaust education, making nine appearances in the Holocaust education document set. Combating intolerance, exclusion and violence through Holocaust education (UNESCO, 2009) outlines some points of comparison between the Rwandan genocide and Holocaust, including connecting the post-World War II Nuremberg trials with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the influence of the eugenics movement on colonial Rwanda. The UNESCO regional consultation in Latin American on Holocaust and genocide education (2013) states that the Cambodian and Rwandan cases should be taught alongside the "broader history of mass atrocities, specifically the Holocaust" (p. 7). The impact of Holocaust education (UNESCO, 2014) states that the Holocaust "functions as a measuring rod in discussions relate to the genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda" (p. 9). These examples demonstrate that conversations about Rwanda should be included when teaching about the Holocaust, and likewise, therefore, one could anticipate seeing discussions of the Holocaust in

genocide-related content. However, as the next section on national documents will reveal, education about the Holocaust is almost absent in Rwandan policy and curriculum.

National narrative. Although Holocaust education makes a minimal appearance in Rwandan documents, it is emphasized as an important point in "the teaching of the history of genocide" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 21). As explained in the policy document introducing and justifying the implementation of a competence-based curriculum, the Rwanda Education Board (2015a) states that "Rwandan children should know about the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi people as well as other genocides, including the Holocaust of World War II" and that "By learning about the Holocaust and other genocides, they will analyze the similarities and differences in the methods used to carry out genocide" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 21). Despite this stated emphasis in the policy documents, education about the Holocaust is almost non-existent in the 2015 competence-based curriculum. At the Ordinary Level, the Holocaust is only mentioned once, and even then it is only a suggested "Links to other subjects" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 29). There is an entire 12-period unit for students in Senior Three to learn about the rise of Fascism and Nazism leading up to World War II, however, there is no reference to the Holocaust. Similarly, for students in Advanced Level History, the Holocaust is mentioned once as a link to other subject and once as part of an eight-period unit on "different genocides of the 20th century" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 19). Again, there is a 24-period unit dedicated to the "causes, course, and the effects" of World War II, with the Holocaust being completely absent from this text. Similarly, in the previous curriculum adoptions, from 2008 and 2010, totalitarian regimes and Hitler's rise to power were discussed, but the curriculum included no references to the Holocaust.

Genocide education. There was a total of 170 sentences coded as genocide education, with 49 sentences appearing in UNESCO documents about Holocaust education and 121 sentences in Rwandan policy and curriculum. Of this total number of sentences, 20 sentences referred to both Holocaust and genocide education. In keeping with the expected themes as demonstrated by the coding scheme, several of these sentences also mentioned genocide education for future violence prevention and post-conflict recovery.

International narrative. All 48 sentences coded as genocide education in international documents appeared in policy related to Holocaust education, and within this set, 44 sentences appeared in *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* (UNESCO, 2017). Genocide education is defined as "distinct" from Holocaust education because of its focus on "the trends and patterns of genocide and mass atrocities more broadly", however "the fields are interconnected" (UNECO, 2017, p. 8), which is demonstrated in the fourteen sentences in this document set that refer to both Holocaust and genocide education. Additionally, genocide education "deals with the phenomenon of genocide, while Holocaust education focuses above all on the causes and dynamic of the genocide of the Jewish people and responses to it" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 31). The importance of genocide education to societies both affected by conflict and genocide is that it "can support global education priorities, including cultivating global citizenship, promoting human rights, and developing a culture of peace that can prevent future mass atrocities" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 75).

Genocide education policy advocates for a comparative approach ($n = 19$, 37.2%), because of the potential to identify "common patters and themes…in the carrying out of genocides and their aftermath" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 33). However, these comparisons come with substantial warnings regarding the contextualization of each genocide, as "each even has specificities and

differences that make each historical context unique (UNESCO, 2017, p. 33). The policy documents also states that "Any comparative approach requires teaching the particular history and cultural context of each genocide or mass atrocity in order to prevent trivialization or distortion of each event" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 29). These documents outline how genocide education can "promote national unity and peace" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 35) in post-genocide contexts such as Rwanda, as well as "mainstream peace and human rights concerns in the education system," (UNESCO, 2013, p. 6). At the same time, they also "emphasize the importance of historical accuracy when teaching about each particular genocide and mass atrocity in order to avoid inaccurate comparisons between historical events and to support an outcome that honours historical truth" (UNESCO, 2017, 17).

National narrative. Of the 121 sentences coded as genocide education in Rwandan national documents, the vast majority (*n* = 104, 12.3%) appeared in curriculum documents, however, this is due in part to the structure of the documents. Because they were written to guide classroom instruction, these documents provide lists of learning activities for teachers to use and objectives which describe what students will learn or be able to do at the end of the unit. As a result, 80 of these sentences were learning activities or objectives, which are characterized by action verbs (e.g., show, compare, discuss, explain, etc.). Following the trend in the international documents, utilizing a comparative perspective was mentioned several times, however not to the same extent, as only 27 sentences (25.6%) advocated for comparative perspectives, including to an eight-period unit for Senior Four students on "Comparison of the Genocide, where one objective is to "Analyse the similarities and the differences between the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the other genocides" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015dp. 19). While not at the same level of saturation as

the international documents, there are indications that genocide is taught comparatively in Rwanda.

Within the total 121 sentences, 93 appeared in documents related to the 2015 curriculum adoption, which provides insight into the emphasis on genocide education in previous curriculum adoptions. These results suggest that as time has passed since the 1994 genocide, the inclusion of genocide education has grown, which is consistent with previous research on the development of Holocaust education in Germany (Ahonen, 2001; Pingel, 2006; Rensmann, 2005). While the sentences from curriculum documents from this time frame are characterized primarily by learning objectives and activities, the policy documents describe some of the larger purposes for teaching both the Rwandan genocide and other genocides (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a), including "to protect the memory of those who were lost" and to "remember what [humanity] is capable of" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 21). Statements such as these align with the previously described Education as a Panacea – Recovery and Prevention sub-categories.

An entire unit for students in Senior Five is dedicated to "Genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 35). The learning objectives within this section include "Describe how the genocide has been denied in Rwanda and in other societies", and "Suggest ways of fighting against the different forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 35). This unit is meant to occur over 14 periods and was notable because genocide denial was not a theme mentioned in previous literature.

Civic-oriented education. Sentences coded as civic-oriented education occupied 10.3% of the overall total with 155 sentences. Of these sentences, the vast majority ($n = 116$) appeared in national documents while only 39 appeared in international publications. These numbers were

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surprisingly low because civic-oriented education was a major theme which was expected based on both the literature review and the theory.

International narrative. For civic education, 39 sentences appeared in international documents. Of the 39 sentences, only nine appeared in Rwandan policy documents while the other 30 sentences came from documents about Holocaust education. Across these sentences, terms related to civic education frequently appeared, with forms of the word democracy appearing eleven times. The word citizen appeared in 18 sentences, including those focused on Global Citizenship Education.

Statements related to civic education "promote[d] the importance of civic values" and advocated for "help[ing] young people view democracy as a responsibility for all" (UNESCO, 2000, p. 83). Another component of civic-education which was mentioned four times in these sentences is a focus on "global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 40) so that citizens can "act effectively and responsibly…for a more peaceful and sustainable world" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 18). Statements such as this also contribute to evidence of education as a panacea, where civic education is said to contribute to "peace building, strengthening social cohesion and reconciliation" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 23).

Global Citizenship Education (GCED) appears in *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* (UNESCO, 2017) and "aims to empower learners to assume active roles to face and resolve global challenges and to become proactive contributors to a more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and secure world" (p. 16). This document positions Holocaust and genocide education as a means to "help learners reflect on their roles as global citizens" and to "address…themes that are central concerns of GCED, including human rights and discrimination"

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(UNESCO, 2017, pp. 39-40). The example of GCED demonstrates the ambiguity that exists between the education strategies examined here. These categories do not exist in isolation of one another, rather there is substantial overlap, which can also be seen in the 60 sentences coded as both civic and social justice-oriented education.

National narrative. The majority of the sentences coded as civic education appeared in Rwandan curriculum documents (n = 100), with 16 sentences appearing in national policy. Frequently appearing key words pertaining to civics education were similar to those found in the international documents, with forms of the word democracy appearing in 41 sentences and rights, such as human or children's rights appearing in 27 sentences. Exclusive of the sentences referring to the subject of History and Citizenship, citizen appeared 17 times.

Of the 100 sentences appearing in the curriculum, only two civic-oriented education strategies were noted in the 2010 curriculum adoption, however, this is likely due to the re-organization of subjects in 2015, when History and Political Education were merged into one History and Citizenship course (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c). Within the curriculum documents, the statements about civic education appeared in three primary ways: (1) in introductory or explanatory material at the beginning of a document, (2) as part of a general competency, and (3) in relation to a specific unit of instruction. Two general competences related to civic-education were outlined for students in Senior One through Three, including to "Develop into a mature, informed, responsible, and active participating citizen" and to "Develop patriotic spirit, the sense of civic pride and awareness of what happens in the global community" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 5). At the Senior Four through Six level, students were expected to develop this same "sense of civic pride" as well as "Appreciate the Rwandan values, universal values of peace, respect, human rights, rights of gender equality, democracy, justice, solidarity,

and good governance" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 4). These broader competencies were supported by units within each year's curriculum.

At the Senior One level, there were two units relating to civic education: Unit 10: Concept of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities and ways of preventing human rights violations (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 29) and Unit 11: Forms and principles of democracy (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 30). Each of these units was prescribed to take three periods and included relevant learning objectives, content, and activities to guide the teacher's instruction. Some of the learning objectives from Unit 10 include: "Explain the concept of human rights"; Explain ways of preventing human rights violation by referring to justice and democracy in societies and appropriate remedial action" and "Promote respect for the rights of the child" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 29). The content from Unit 11 includes the "definition of democracy," "Principles of democracy" and "Forms of democracy" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 30). Suggested learning activities across both units include "Read relevant material", "Discuss in groups" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 29), and "Write a poem on democracy" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 30). In the Senior One curriculum, there were 103 total periods assigned to content, however, only six of these periods were directly focused on topics related to civic education, meaning that if teachers adhered to this structure, only 5.8% of the school year for Senior One students would be spent learning civic-related topics. At the Senior Two level, there were only three of 108 periods (2.8%) for civic-related issues. For Senior Three students, there were no units dedicated to civic education, although there was one focused on the evolution of Rwanda's democratization process (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 69).

For students at the Advanced Level, Citizenship is dropped from the title of the course, instead focusing only on history education. Although there were no direct references to civic-

related topics in Senior Four or Five, at Senior Six, there were 22 periods (out of 252, 8.7%) dedicated to "The role of democracy, unity and reconciliation in the transformation of Rwanda society" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015, p. 64). This unit represents both history and civic education, as students are asked to "Describe the concepts of democracy and justice" and "Appreciate how the democracy, unity, reconciliation, and justice are maintained in Rwanda" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015, p. 64). However, what the civic-oriented education sentences across both the Ordinary and Advanced levels do reveal is less of an emphasis than was initially expected on topics related to democracy and citizenship.

Language education. Although a complete study chronicling the evolution of language education in Rwanda is beyond the scope of this research, several noteworthy observations can be made from the 120 sentences coded as language instruction. Sentences pertaining to language education appeared only in UNESCO and Rwandan policy documents, with UNESCO documents containing 25 sentences and Rwandan documents containing 95 sentences.

International narrative. The 25 sentences coded as language education in the international tell a story about the history of Rwanda. Although Rwanda "instituted a tri-language policy in education" during the 1990s, where every student would "learn Kinyarwanda, English, and French in school …implementation was a challenge" (Hilker, 2010, p. 12). This policy resulted in dividing the population again, as many "Tutsi refugees were from Anglophone countries and the (mainly) Hutu Rwandans" who spoke Kinyarwanda were placed in schools based on the language of instruction (Hilker, 2010, p. 12).

The earliest policy document examined here, published in 2009 outlines "English as the new language of instruction" because of its importance at promoting Rwanda's "integration in the East African community" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 10) and its position as "the leading language of

science, commerce and economic development" (Hilker, 2010, p. 12). Another reason for focusing primarily on English as the means of instruction is that many returning Rwandan refugees from both the 1994 genocide and prior conflicts "had lived or grown up in the English-speaking countries of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya" (Hilker, 2010, p. 11). However, as with previous attempts to add English language instruction, a challenge with adding or switching the national language to English is that it may give "special advantage to well-educated… and some more recent returnees who are Anglophone" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 10). These threats were addressed in the national priorities for education, as there was a focus on "Ensuring measures are put into place to ensure the new language policy does not create tensions by putting certain groups at an advantage" (Hilker, 2010, p. 2). An additional component at work during language policy debates was the "backdrop of deteriorating diplomatic relations with France" (Hilker, 2010, p. 12), which further pushed Rwanda toward English as a national language. Notable however, is a sentence in the most recent policy document which reads, "We commit to the use of mother tongue instruction before transitioning to use of national/international languages for literacy programmes" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 4). This statement outlines the importance of students to learn to read and write first in their native tongue, which is most likely to be Kinyarwanda, and then add English or French as second and/or third languages and it stands in contrast to the previous policies, which focus predominantly on English—and French—instruction over Kinyarwanda or other local languages.

National narrative. Of the sentences related to language education in national documents, all 95 sentences appeared in Rwandan policy and not curriculum. However, this is likely because only history curriculum was examined, which leaves language curriculum out of the chosen

sample. However, even the Rwandan policy documents tell a similar story about the evolution of language education in Rwanda, but with a slightly different perspective.

The national documents outline similar reasons for implementing English education, including those related to "economic, social, and political" (Republic of Rwanda, 2003, p. 14). Similar reasons are additionally given in later documents, such as the following:

> However, with Rwanda's membership of the East African Community (EAC) and the Commonwealth, and the increasing development of international partnerships, the use of English has become more prominent and the need for literacy in English greater. It is seen as an important vehicle for trade and socioeconomic development and as a gateway to the global knowledge economy." (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 14)

Later documents echo these same reasons, stating that English is the "global lingua franca and…the international language of business and of science and technology" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 7). Overall the national documents highlight that English education will improve its relationships with other African nations in the region as well as "increase Rwanda's competitiveness in regional and global settings" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 98).

However, one point of departure exists around the marginalization of English speakers. Whereas the international narrative described that focusing on English and French were potentially giving a "special advantages" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 10) to returning Rwandans—who were primarily Tutsi, The Human Rights Center's (2006) The Teaching of History of Rwanda presented that attempts to add the English language to already existing Kinyarwanda and French systems could marginalize English speakers "in terms of access especially to education and employment"

(p. 260). While both narrative spoke of marginalization and privilege, which groups are positioned as in power is slightly different across international and national documents.

Although it is not a major threat throughout the documents, references to Kinyarwanda and the need for students to learn first in their native language occurs throughout the national policy documents. Kinyarwanda is to be used with students in primary education with English and French education as subjects, and when students reach secondary education, English and French become the languages of instruction (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology, and Scientific Research, 2003). The national policy documents also provide the perspectives of Rwandans, which is outlined as "true bilingualism in education, in government institutions, at the workplace and so forth, school include Kinyarwanda" in addition to French and English (The Human Rights Center, 2006, p. 260). Even as the primary languages of instruction shifted away from French in 2010, Kinyarwanda was still recognized as "the bedrock of initial literacy and learning [with] English as the new medium of instruction" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 14).

Another narrative that only appeared in national documents was teaching about language policies in Rwanda beginning in the early 1990s. The Teaching of History of Rwanda (Human Right Center, 2006) advocates for teaching about Rwandan language policies in education prior to the genocide to show how politics can play a role and how "language policy occupies a crucial position in the lives of the people in question" (Human Rights Center, 2006, p. 258). Teachers are encouraged to use "*active learning* or *learning by doing*" " (Human Rights Center, 2006, p. 258) and to challenge students about how Rwandan society has been influenced by the 1990s language policy. While not a major component of the discourse on language education in Rwanda, these 18 sentences highlight a unique strategy for teaching about pre-genocide inequality in education.

Other. Although all of the coding categories had other categories, Education Strategies was one of the only ones to use this category to hold sentences which did not clearly fit into the other sub-categories. Within Holocaust education documents, many of the sentences in the other sub-category of education strategies provided recommendations for materials related to Holocaust and genocide education, such as, "Textbooks must offer adequate material for such a multi-perspective approach" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 13). However, two themes developed from the other coded sentences, including the implementation of competence-based education and critiques of the Rwandan system in international policy. Information regarding these numbers can be seen in Table 19.

Table 19

Themes from Education Strategies - Other

	Other	Competence Based Education	Critiques of Rwandan System	TOTALS
International Documents	15	0	11	26
UNESCO: Rwandan Policy	0	0	11	11
UNESCO: Holocaust Education	15	0	0	15
National Documents	63	105	0	168
Rwanda: Policy	49	73	0	122
Rwanda: Curriculum	14	32	0	46
TOTALS	78	105	11	194

Competence-Based Education. Although it did not come out during the pilot coding phase, competence-based education was a major portion of Rwandan policy and curriculum, however, there were no competence-based sentences in any of the international documents. Following the completion of the coding process, the researcher added the sub-code of "competence-based education" to the education strategy-other category, which only allowed sentences previously coded as other to be considered for recoding. In the policy and curriculum documents published in 2015 (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d) there were 98 sentences covering

competence-based education. While developing a competence-based curriculum may not provide great insight into how Rwanda teaches about the genocide, it does provide insight into how Rwanda responds to international trends and expectations and can potentially provide evidence of whether Rwanda's education system is more influenced by its past or by expectations related to development. For example, the Rwandan policy document summarizing the competence-based curriculum states, "Rwanda's new competence-based curriculum matches global trends and is in line with the 2013 Harmonised Curriculum Framework for the East African Community" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b, p. 1). Additionally, the need to switch from a knowledge-based to a competence-based curriculum framework was attributed to the "ambition to develop a knowledge-based society and the growth of regional and global competition in the jobs market" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. i; 2015b, p. i). While this shift will likely have positive benefits for the Rwandan education system and society, the newness of the program means that no such indicators yet exist.

Many of the competency-based education sentences, like the ones above, explain why this shift in curriculum is needed, while others describe how the competency-based education framework has been contextualized for the Rwandan setting. These documents define competence as "the ability to use an appropriate combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and behaviour to accomplish a particular task" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 3; 2015d, p. 3) and state that they are a "key strategy for improving life chances and subject learning" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. d). They outline "Citizenship and National Identity" as a basic competence and the generic competences "to be developed within all subjects" include "Critical thinking; Creativity and innovation; Research and problem solving; Communication; Co-operation, interpersonal relations and life skills; Life long learning" (Rwanda Education Board,

2015a, p. 27). While the competency-based curriculum adoption did include numerous topics and standards related to Rwanda's history and the genocide, how a competency-based approach evolves around this content will be an interesting phenomenon to examine in the years to come.

Critiques of Rwandan Pedagogy. All of the statements coded under the other category from UNESCO policy focused on Rwanda critiqued the student-based approach which was found to characterize the system of education. These eleven statements are all from Hilker's (2010) The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace – The Case of Rwanda, which offers a critique of the Rwandan education system at the time, stating that the Rwandan governments "continued to insist that only its singular 'official' narrative should be transmitted" (p. 13) which "did not leave any space to discuss the social realities of continuing ethnic identification and categorization in Rwandan society" (p. 13). Hilker (2010) also commented on the discrepancies between what policy makers would say in relation to what was actually occurring in the classroom: "However, in spite of several statements by the Rwandan Government about the desire to teach pupils skills of critical thinking and debate…in practice this has not been implemented" (p. 16), and advocated for a "history curriculum that…provide[ed] for diverse memories of victims, perpetrators and bystanders and allowed pupils to debate and interrogate history" (p. 17), such as the one implemented in South Africa. Although not a substantial portion of the education strategies section, these sentences provide an external perspective of Rwandan the education system.

Summary. Although many of the sub-categories in the education strategies section were identified through the literature review (e.g. social justice-oriented, civic-oriented, and Holocaust education), additional sub-categories emerged during the pilot coding process (e.g. language education and genocide education). In addition to these five categories, two additional trends emerged from the Other sub-category: competence-based education and critiques of Rwandan

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pedagogy. While not the most prevalent theme at the international level, social justice-oriented education occupied the largest number of sentences in the international documents. There was great overlap between social justice oriented education and teaching Rwandan values in the development of a national identity. Additionally, content which focused on human rights, diversity, tolerance, and respect were included in this category. At the international level, Holocaust education occupied the largest number of sentences, however this number was clearly an outlier an influenced heavily by the fact that half of the international documents had Holocaust education as their specific topic. Outside of Holocaust education, social justice-oriented education was the most frequently covered sub-category. Although civic education was anticipated to be a significant theme in the overall research, the majority of the sentences coded as civic-oriented appeared in a curriculum document focused on citizenship (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c), meaning that this was not a prevailing theme across the narrative.

There were several education strategies which emerged as running parallel to those more closely related to the research topic, including language education and competence-based education. Language education appeared across both international and national policy and alluded to the potential of a larger study focused on language education policies in Rwanda. Although competence-based education did not directly outline educational content, with the adoption of this approach came an increased push for participatory methods and a shift away from rote memorization, therefore influencing the delivery of education. The adoption of a competence-based approach may be an example of Rwanda's response to international expectations, as documents stated that this method was adopted in order to align with global trends.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The previous chapter reviewed major results from the content analysis process for each coding category and document level. Information included quantitative counts and percentages as well as qualitative descriptions and sample quotes to highlight the multilevel narratives. Within each of the five major coding categories (mechanisms of institutional interaction, education as a panacea, development of a shared identity, timeline of post-genocide education, and education strategies) each subcategory was reviewed first from the international perspective followed by the national. Direct contrasts and comparisons were made as needed; however, these results were not presented with direct reference to the research questions. What follows is a further examination of overlapping concepts or the existence of gaps in themes across document sets. The research questions, which seek to understand UNESCO's contribution to secondary social studies education and UNESCO's role in the transmission of post-Holocaust education in post-genocide Rwanda, are directly addressed in this chapter.

Conclusions

To examine the interactions between international organizations, national governments, and global expectations, the following question guided this research: *How did UNESCO contribute to secondary social studies education in post-genocide Rwanda?* A subsequent question focused primarily on the scripts surrounding post-genocide education as established by post-Holocaust Germany: *How did UNESCO facilitate the transmission of the model of Germany's post-Holocaust education to post-genocide Rwanda?* These questions are premised on evidence from previous research which states that UNESCO was involved in education development in post-genocide Rwanda and that a model of post-genocide education was established, in part, by post-Holocaust

education in Germany. While the results section broadly outlined some of the findings related to this research, this conclusions section connects relevant findings to the research questions.

UNESCO & Rwanda: Post-genocide education development. These results indicate that UNESCO was and is involved in post-genocide education development in Rwanda. The mechanisms of institutional interaction indicate that UNESCO's greatest areas of influence professional oversight and normative beliefs. While this insight can be observed through quantitative data, stronger evidence emerges from the narrative content. Because these categories are artificially imposed onto the documents, it is important to note that in actuality it is impossible to completely isolate each variable, phenomenon, or organization, and therefore, UNESCO also played a role in financial support, implementation, and accountability of post-genocide education in Rwanda, as did many other organizations and forces. These findings that UNESCO and other organizations have played a role in post-genocide social studies education in Rwanda are not surprising and align with previous research in policy borrowing (Dale & Robertson, 2007; Leuze et al., 20008; Perry & Tor, 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Schuelka, 2014). Although UNESCO was the organization under examination here, there were and are numerous international organizations which have played parts in redeveloping the Rwandan education sector, so while this research focuses solely on the international and national level relationship between UNESCO and Rwanda, these connections do not claim to be causal or one-dimensional. Even in documents published by UNESCO, other international organizations and narratives were frequently attributed to contributing to the dialogue in these areas. This research examines one set of interactions between international and national policy around the mechanisms of institutional interaction.

Mechanisms of institutional interaction. The mechanisms of institutional interaction developed from Leuze et al.'s (2008) governance instruments and Phillips and Ochs (2003)

externalizing potential to highlight areas where international organizations and national governments exercise agency in perpetuating, adopting, implementing, or rejecting global scripts. This research examines where one international organization, UNESCO, interacted with policy makers in post-genocide Rwanda around secondary social studies education. Evidence from the documents demonstrates that UNESCO offered professional oversight in the form of expertise to guide policy adoption and implementation following the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Statements referring to normative beliefs often referenced international goals, such as the MDGs and EFA goals, and as such, although normative beliefs are the most relevant category for answering the first research question, both are included in this discussion.

Professional oversight. The most substantial evidence speaking to UNESCO's provision of professional oversight, and Rwanda's acceptance of this assistance, comes from statements in the Rwandan national policy documents. Many of these documents explicitly referenced UNESCO's involvement through "technical assistance" and listed a UNESCO team of contributors in addition to Rwandan team. Also, the documents described a Rwandan National Commission for UNESCO, whose sole purpose is coordinating UNESCO activities in Rwanda. While this office was not described with great frequency or detail, its existence speaks to the level of involvement and embeddedness of UNESCO in the Rwandan education system. Although these statements do not occupy a large quantity of the documents, they are a direct indication of the mutual involvement of UNESCO and Rwandan policy makers in the education development process.

Normative beliefs and accountability measures. Accountability measures occupied the greatest quantity out of the coded sentences, and many of these sentences coded as accountability overlap with normative beliefs, as the MDGs and EFA goals are global scripts but also represent

measures of progress. Although normative beliefs can be difficult to code because they are assumed and inconspicuous in educational expectations, there were several areas where there was clear overlap between the Rwandan and international narrative. However, international scripts are not owned solely by one organization, such as UNESCO, so although this research focused on UNESCO's involvement in the Rwandan education system, these findings do not represent direct and singular influence from UNESCO. Both UNESCO and Rwanda, as well as almost every other international organization and national government, facilitate the transmission of these normative beliefs, therefore it is impossible to completely separate cause and effect in education discourse.

The examples reviewed here indicate where these international and national scripts overlap without attributing the appearance in one document directly to its appearance in another document or by another organization. The international and national objectives in these documents feed into one another, as both the UNESCO and Rwandan narrative explicitly mention the existence of each other's policies. In the Rwandan documents, the Education for All goals are frequently touted as a benchmark toward which the national education system is striving, and the UNESCO narrative attributes the Rwandan education development policies with Rwanda's overall economic and social redevelopment. Rwanda and UNESCO both position the achievement of national objectives as a step in achieving international objectives.

Documents guiding Rwandan national policy identified universal primary education and basic education for all as key goals to be achieved to not only promote national development but also meet the international EFA goals. Inclusive education and competence-based education were approaches appearing in both international and national narratives and were linked to achieving international education benchmarks, such as the EFA goals. The documents cited alignment between national and international expectations and gave accolades when progress toward

achieving these goals was met. However, despite this alignment of narratives, researcher external to the Rwandan context have noted the tensions created through Rwanda's adherence to international poverty elimination goals and the challenges of creating a united and equitable society. While it does not come out in the international and national scripts, these external research perspectives provide evidence of legitimacy seeking, as Rwandan policy makers strive to include and mark progress toward international goals, and decoupling, as the reality of what is needed and implemented in local contexts may not align with the MDG or EFA goals.

Education as a panacea. At both international and national levels, the belief in education as a panacea is widely apparent. The international narrative, particularly that put forth by Holocaust education, most heavily promoted education's potential to prevent future violence. The national narrative around education as a panacea positioned education as a solution to specific issues or for specific populations, such as poverty alleviation, and violence prevention. The representative range of specific issues covered across all education policy documents is much broader than what is included here, as sections which were tangential to the research questions were not covered. Topics related to health, HIV/AIDS, and technology often appeared in sections of the documents not included in the coding selection.

Within the Rwandan documents, the statements most closely linking the genocide as a way to recover from or prevent future violence were the least referenced of the four sub-categories. Within the two types of Rwandan documents, policy and curriculum, there were differences regarding how education was positioned as a solution. In the policy documents, education was most frequently identified with improving the national economy by building the human resources and work force, while in the curriculum documents, education was positioned as building accepting and responsible citizens. The differences between these narratives can be described as

decoupling. The varying emphasis across levels shows that while the belief in education as a panacea is ubiquitous, it is adopted to uniquely fit each context. Even within a context, the way a nation chooses to present itself to the outside world, especially through national policy, can differ from what it actually focuses on in the classroom, and the different focal points of the Rwandan policy and curriculum are indicative of this phenomenon.

These education as a panacea statements highlight the ubiquitous belief in the healing power of education, which is a narrative that transcends boundaries and manifests itself in both the international and national narratives, although the challenges it addresses at each level vary depending on the priorities and message it wants to convey to the outside world. Therefore international narrative focuses on developing an equitable and just Rwanda where violence is not likely to occur again, while the national narrative focuses on economic development in its policy documents but civic development of young people in the curriculum documents, conveying different purposes for each intended audience. These narratives provide an example of legitimacy seeking, as the content is targeted to the audience.

Education strategies. The overlap between international and national levels can be observed in results from the education strategies coding. Although a quantitative comparison does not reveal much solid evidence, and examination of policy content provides evidence of international to national influence. Documents published by UNESCO and Rwandan education officials recognized the need for content to reflect pedagogy, meaning that in order to teach from a social justice or civic-oriented perspective, the teaching methods must reflect student involvement. However, despite the appearance of this narrative across the documents, external consultants found a gap between calls for student-centered learning and actual implementation, which appear in several UNESCO sponsored documents. While the international and national

documents both promoted interactive learning environments, evidence suggests that classroom practices did not implement these procedures, providing an example of decoupling.

An additional area of overlap between international and national narratives is in recommended approaches to genocide education. The earliest document promoting comparative approaches to education was UNESCO's (2009) *Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education*. This approach continued to be recommended in subsequent documents. However, comparative approaches were only mentioned once in the 2008 and 2010 curriculum adoptions, although they were cited much more frequently in the teaching content and strategies of the 2015 curriculum documents. In fact, comparative approaches are so emphasized in these documents that a key competence for students at the end of Senior Four is to be able to "Compare and Contrast different genocides that occurred in different parts of the world" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 16). While there are likely other influential factors in this shift to including more comparative perspectives when teaching about genocide, it is notable that the comparative method was first heavily advocated by UNESCO and later adopted by Rwandan policy makers, demonstrating one way in which they may have influenced national policy.

The transition to competence-based education also indicates an overlap between international and national policies. Competence-based education did not appear in the international documents, however, Rwandan education officials stated that "the new competence-based curriculum matches global trends and is in line with the 2013 Harmonised Curriculum Framework for the East African Community" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b, p. 1). Admittedly, this evidence alone is thin, but a brief review of the literature revealed that competency-based education has been growing across Africa since South Africa in the late 1990s, which was supported, in part, by UNESCO and other international organizations (Chisholm, 2007). Although

these findings do not definitively prove that UNESCO is the sole or primary reason for a shift toward competence-based education, they do demonstrate that UNESCO played a role in bringing such an approach to the region.

Genocide in the curriculum. Although not a coding category or theme, it is worth noting that in the initial curriculum adoption, students were not exposed to content about the 1994 genocide until the last year of ordinary and advanced levels, and in both of those instances, it was the last topic addressed on the syllabus. For the first curriculum adoption, there were no references to the genocide for students in senior one, two, four, or five. By the 2015 curriculum adoption, the 1994 genocide made an appearance at every level except senior one. However, although the genocide was not heavily included throughout the contents, there was an increased emphasis on civic and social justice education with a focus on Rwandan values, between the two curriculum adoptions, which may be an indirect way of addressing the genocide by promoting the creation of a citizenry who are more aware and prepared to prevent any such event in the future. However, previous researchers have found that the methods of curriculum implementation in classrooms are not learner-centered as the policy states they should be, creating a decoupling between the intent of the policy and its actual implementation.

Other possible explanations for inclusion of the genocide and the questionable extent of democratic or participatory teaching methods at the classroom level is the Rwandan government's need to include it in their curriculum in order to meet the expectations of the international community. As a result of the international community's involvement in the recovery and redevelopment efforts across Rwanda, there have been many eyes on the Rwandan government's response. If the Rwandan education ministry were to leave out instruction about the genocide, the international community, including UNESCO, would likely make a point of sharing this

information with donor agencies, potentially limiting donor aid. The Rwandan ministry may include content related to the genocide as a way to maintain global legitimacy and attract donor aid. However, legitimacy seeking is difficult to prove as policy makers and documents do not state that policies are only for show, however, evidence of legitimacy seeking can be the gaps that occur between policy adoption and implementation—gaps which are evident in the Rwandan education system.

In addition to the challenges of implementation, increasing the transition rate from elementary to secondary education and from ordinary to advanced levels is frequently cited as a national objective throughout the documents. However, there are significant implications of the current attrition rate between elementary and secondary on the teaching of the 1994 genocide. The most recently available numbers state that while the primary net enrollment rate is 97.7%, the secondary net enrollment rate is only 32.9% (UNICEF, 2017). Although this research did not look at elementary level curriculum, many students may not be exposed to classroom instruction about the 1994 genocide until secondary education, which the majority of Rwandan youth are not attending. This means that students' understandings of what transpired in 1994 and the time prior to it will come from unofficial sources, such as family or community members or from narratives put forth by the government through other media sources. There are benefits and pitfalls to each of these sources of information, as they both carry biases and present their own truths. The most widely accepted scenario in the international discourse for teaching about genocide is to present students with multiple perspectives and encourage them to compare, contrast, and think critically to determine their own understandings of the events. Currently, there is little evidence of this approach occurring in Rwanda, despite what policy makers, policy documents, or the curriculum put forth.

Holocaust education and the post-Holocaust model in Rwanda Results from this study indicate that the post-genocide education system in Rwanda has been somewhat influenced by UNESCO and by the model created by post-Holocaust education in Germany. An additional finding is that the Rwandan system has been influenced by UNESCO's worldwide promotion of Holocaust education. The following sections address areas of overlap and gaps between the post-genocide education development timeline in Rwanda and the international narrative and provides potential explanations as to why some concepts have transferred while others have not. It also describes the rationale behind the promotion of an international identity in post-Holocaust Germany compared to the national identity promoted in post-genocide Rwanda. Finally, it examines ways that UNESCO's focus on Holocaust education have or have not appeared in post-genocide history curriculum in Rwanda.

International versus national identity. Over time in post-Holocaust Germany, the education system developed a focus on Germany's position in the European and global communities; this characteristic of the education system was a reaction against the excessive nationalism that contributed to the rise of fascism and the Third Reich (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006). However, the context of the Rwandan genocide differs from Germany in that Rwandan communities were divided based on artificially created, assigned, and institutionalized ethnic identities. The argument could be made that whereas in Germany there was too much national pride, in Rwanda there was not enough, as individuals identified more with an ethnic grouping than as Rwandan. Therefore, it was expected that the narrative regarding the development of a shared identity in Rwanda would differ from that in Germany, which focused on Germany as part of a global community. The results from this study reflect this expectation, with far more sentences promoting the development of a national Rwandan identity than Rwanda's

position in the African or international community. This finding was found across international and national documents. Although these results differ from post-Holocaust Germany, the context surrounding the conflicts suggests that the focus on national identity in Rwanda was to be expected.

Education development timeline. It was initially hypothesized that the timeline of post-genocide education in Rwanda would be similar to that in post-Holocaust Germany. However, this expectation was not supported by the results, with minimal overlap between the post-Holocaust education development timeline in Germany, as outlined by Buruma (1994), Jones (2006), and Pingel (2006), and the post-genocide education development timeline in Rwanda. The vast majority of relevant sentences did not fit the literature review suggested sub-categories of emergency, elimination, violence as history, blame to others, individual perspectives, and collective responsibility. While there was some focus on individual perspectives, these sentences primarily appeared in documents promoting Holocaust education which were written for a global audience, not specifically for post-genocide contexts. There are several potential causes for this lack of alignment, including contextual differences in Germany and Rwanda both leading up to and following the genocide. Another reason for this discrepancy may be that only 24 years have passed since the Rwandan genocide while the categories from Germany cover seven decades. Education about the Holocaust in Germany did not appear in the official curriculum immediately following the genocide, therefore it may take several more decades and curriculum adoptions for these trends to develop and become apparent.

Another potential reason for the lack of alignment is the limited change in the Rwandan governance structures since before the 1994 genocide. In contrast, in Germany, there was an entire regime change following the end of World War II, where immediate educational leadership was administered by outside nations. In Rwanda, the current president, Paul Kagame, was the leader

of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the mostly Tutsi military which played a significant role in the conflict leading up to and following the 1994 genocide (Cox, 2017; Moghalu, 2005; Straus, 2013). In the curriculum content related to the genocide, the RPF is positioned positively as stopping the genocide without addressing their role in the pre-genocide conflict (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c). Human Rights Watch (2017) acknowledges speculation and lack of documentation about violence, and potentially thousands of murders, carried out by the RPF against civilians. The nation is still ruled by individuals and parties involved in the 1994 conflict, and the curriculum reflects these biases.

Additionally, while it is illegal to discuss ethnic identities in Rwanda, this forced silence influences how the genocide is taught. For example, across all of the curriculum documents mentions of the genocide are referred to as the "genocide of the Tutsi" when there were also victims from the Hutu and Twa groups. Leadership from the former-RPF are currently in power today, and therefore the curriculum and ways which the genocide is discussed is controlled by this perspective. These restrictions influence how the Rwandan genocide is taught and also influence how history education following the genocide has developed.

However, while the patterns established by post-Holocaust education in Germany were not apparent in the Rwandan narrative, other trends emerged from the sentences which were coded in the other category, including, at the international level, the redevelopment of the Rwandan education system and post-genocide curriculum reform process, challenges of teaching in post-genocide contexts, and critiques of the Rwandan system. At the national level, the quantity and depth of content in teaching about the Rwandan genocide between the first and second curriculum adoption increased. Additionally, there was also an increased focus on Rwandan values, which overlaps with the development of a national Rwandan identity. While not directly tied to how

Rwanda's post-genocide history education developed in comparison to Germany's post-Holocaust system, as more time since the genocide passed, the Rwandan Ministry of education has increased the curriculum's focus on promoting values such as peace, justice, tolerance, and self-reliance.

Another noteworthy characteristic emerging from the timeline of post-genocide education curriculum is the inclusion of content related to the history of the United Nations and its branches. The creation of the United Nations is included as one outcome of World War II (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d). This content is included across curriculum adoptions. Although it is not a major portion of the curriculum, its inclusion is noteworthy as it conveys the message of the importance of this information.

The international narrative describes evidence that history education in Rwanda as not yet adopting the most appropriate or successful methods and content to teach about the genocide, however, teaching about a nation's own violent past is a process, one which can be seen through the numerous iterations of curriculum which Germany has gone through since World War II. In addition to the influences of post-genocide education, international and national curriculum trends are always changing and evolving. Combining international trends, such as competence-based education, with the process of confronting a nation's history path, demonstrates that the process through which a country goes through is important to developing its self-perception and how to convey that to its current and future citizenry. It is important to process the effects of the genocide, not just go through the motions of adopting policy revisions because it is what is expected. As a nation processes through these iterations, they make progress toward dealing with the past. Even in Germany and other countries involved in World War II, there are still debates about how individuals and institutions should have been involved in the war and therefore there are debates about how it is taught. Curriculum adoption and school change are a slow process, and while

Rwanda may have made progress as a nation, they are still faced with confronting the legacy left by the 1994 genocide.

Education strategies: Holocaust education. Unsurprisingly, the documents containing the most information about Holocaust education were those which specifically promoted this educational approach as a violence prevention and global citizenship development strategy. In addition to promoting Holocaust education, these documents also chronicled that the promotion of Holocaust remembrance, specifically through education, is a key element of UNESCO's mission by identifying the numerous UN and UNESCO resolutions which officially set this agenda. These documents also widely promoted a focus on comparative genocide education as a strategy for teaching in post-genocide contexts. However, while the Rwandan narrative accepted a comparative approach to some extent, teaching about the Holocaust was broadly excluded from curriculum content. Some of this may be explained by the timing of the publications. Holocaust remembrance has been a focus of the UN as early as 2005 with UN Resolution 60/7 which condemned Holocaust denial, a mission which was adopted by UNESCO in 2007 with the Resolution on Holocaust Remembrance (UNESCO, 2009). The earliest document on Holocaust education was from 2009, and the most recent document, which arguably may be the most beneficial for changing national policy was just published in 2017. As a result, the *Education about Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide* (UNESCO, 2017) would not have been able to influence Rwanda's most recent curriculum adoption in 2015.

Although this policy guide was published too late to influence the most recent curriculum revision, education about the Holocaust, especially in post-genocide contexts has been encouraged for more than a decade. In spite of this, the Holocaust is not explicitly included in Rwandan secondary social studies curriculum. There were only three mentions of the Holocaust in Rwandan

curriculum documents, and two were under the "Links to other subjects" categories (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, 2015d). The third reference asks students to compare "different genocides of the 20th century (e.g. Holocaust, 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi)" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 19). No additional details or instructions are given. While this in itself is interesting, the Rwandan curriculum also includes numerous units on World War II which completely neglect any objectives, content, or activities pertaining to the Holocaust (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d). One key competence for students in Senior Three asks them to explain "the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe (Fascism and Nazisim)" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 66), although there is no mention of the Holocaust with any materials associated with this unit. Therefore, despite the recommendations from UNESCO and other organizations—such as Facing History and Ourselves—which encourage the use of Holocaust education and comparative perspectives in post-genocide contexts, Rwanda has largely left these approaches out of their national secondary social studies policies and curricula. This refusal indicates that national level policy makers do not have to fully repeat or adopt international expectations. Although international organizations may set out with the purpose of influencing national policy, the national contexts do have some agency in selecting which policies to adopt, resulting in decoupling from the international to national levels.

Limitations

Limitations associated with content analysis research, including anecdotalism, transparency, and trustworthiness are descried in the methodology section. This research combatted methodological limitations by outlining and adhering to a set of procedures for the coding and analysis process, including all relevant and available documents, and extensively testing the coding scheme and procedures during the pilot coding phase. However, despite these

methodological concerns, there are still limitations to this research, including its scope and generalizability.

This research only explores international and national level documents, which reveals the conscious narrative each of these stakeholders put forth, but it also leaves out the personal perspectives of those directly involved in policy and curriculum development. This limitation is a result of the research question and design, and could be addressed in later, follow-up studies. An additional limitation is the lack of generalizability of this research. What is presented here is a case study of international and national policy and curriculum pertaining to post-genocide Rwanda, and while it may inform future policy makers in post-genocide contexts, it cannot be assumed that the exact findings will occur in different situations, although similarities and overlap are likely. The measurement tools and coding schemed can be adjusted for future research in post-genocide contexts

A final limitation, which was also discussed in the methodology section, is the threat of confirmation bias. Research essentially isolates phenomenon that in reality are interwoven in complicated and complex ways, and what is presented here is no exception. Although one aim of this research has been to delineate between the international and national levels of policy, there are significant intersections between these narratives, as the results presented here indicate. International organizations contribute to the narrative, which national governments can choose to replicate either in policy, or practice, or both, which further reaffirms and replicates the global discourse. Simultaneously, the national government is creating policies closely aligned to their own needs, which may or may not feed into international expectations. While the research presented here differentiates between international and national narratives based on publishing entity, representatives from UNESCO and the Rwandan government and ministry of education are

cited across document sets, meaning neither are created in isolation. However, this limitation is a side effect of research and one that should be acknowledged even though it cannot be prevented.

Recommendations for Future Research

Not only does this research fill an existing gap regarding policy borrowing in post-conflict contexts, it is also positioned as a foundation for numerous future research projects. Future research could be conducted in Rwanda after the passage of more time or examine the school and classroom implementation of the policies explored here. The conceptual framework and coding scheme could also be applied to other post-genocide contexts. Another possibility is to expand the data collection from documents to people. The addition of individual voices would provide another perspective on the interactions between international and national policy makers, but it would also come with challenges, such as finding people who were involved at each stage of the process and recognizing that each person's perception and understanding of the events is unique. Additionally, with the passage of time comes the loss of details and nuances in the memories of those involved. As more time passes, this will become increasingly more difficult, as policy makers may have changed roles or

As more time passes since the Rwandan genocide and more revisions of the curriculum are adopted, a follow-up study to this one could be performed. Such a study could be used to draw further comparisons with post-Holocaust education in Germany. For the present study, it may have been too soon to see any parallels between the two approaches, however as more iterations of secondary history curriculum are adopted in Rwanda, the patterns from the German education system may become more apparent.

The coding scheme established here can be used for research in other post-genocide contexts. The mechanisms of institutional interaction and the themes for post-genocide history

education could be adapted and applied to examine other countries confronting their own violent pasts through the curriculum. While it is expected that financial support, professional oversight, accountability measures, implementation, and normative beliefs can be used to examine any interactions between the international and national levels, education as a panacea and the development of a shared identity would also be present. The timeline of post-genocide education and education strategies used would need to be adapted depending on the context. However, while the sub-categories associated with the education timeline and strategies may change, both items would appear in curriculum and policy documents. A project such as this would highlight that the processes by which international organizations and national governments interact are similar across contexts, thereby confirming the research presented here.

In addition to using replicating this research in another context, the transfer of policy from the national level to local implementation could be explored. Although it was not the focus of this research, a similar framework could be used to examine the implementation of the latest curriculum adoption. This research describes how the curriculum was influenced by the international level. Taking this a step further, a researcher could extend the findings presented here by examining the fidelity with which this curriculum is implemented in Rwandan schools. However, the policy analysis and coding methodology would have to be adapted to dealing with people rather than documents. Although transcripts of interviews and focus groups could be coded, the coding scheme built for this research is specific to policy and would not be relevant to conversations with administrators, teachers, or administrators. However, with a different methodological approach, this research could extend not only that presented here, but also previous studies which have examined, and often critiqued, post-genocide education in Rwanda.

A final suggestion for future research is to trace similar documents from a comparable, but non-conflict, country with the results found here in order determine if the development of Rwanda's system of education is shaped more by its post-genocide history—when it would likely more align with other post-genocide contexts, or if it is shaped more by its level of development or its position and location in the broader global community. If the latter were true, one could expect to find more similarities between the Rwandan findings and those from a similar, but non-conflict, context. From such a comparison, the argument could be built that the development of Rwanda's system of education is influenced more by its post-genocide history or by its global economic and social status, which could inform policy makers in post-conflict settings.

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Coding Scheme			
Category	**Subcategory**	**Description**	**Coding Guidelines**
Mechanisms of institutional interaction (Leuze et al., 2008; Phillips & Ochs, 2003) Must focus on macro-level, post-genocide development	Financial support	Financial resources to support or incentive policy adoption	• Can be sought out, used, or offered • Includes funding sources, needs, or strategies • From the international level, may take the form of grant opportunities or offered financial support • From the national level, may take the form of grant awards or expression of financial need, or reception of financial support • Any mention of money, funding models, public/private, tangible materials • Keywords: aid, budget, economic support, equipment, financial support, funding, grant, investment, monetary support, physical resources, privatization,
	Professional oversight	Human resources, expertise or experience	• Can be sought out, used, or offered • Includes personnel to assist in the policy development and implementation process and technical assistance • Must reference human expertise or people or human resources or human experience • Also includes organizational partnerships as these partnerships are made up of people • Includes local stakeholders, parents, community members, or other people who may try to influence education • Keywords: capacity building, experts, human capital, partnership
	Normative beliefs	International discourse, understandings, and	• Accepted and taken-for-granted structures and strategies • Includes international and national publications which further perpetuate or refine such ideas

		expectations and national cultural norms and values	• Must call out or reference international belief systems (can't just be an assumed international script) • Keywords: belief, best practices, document, norm, publication, value, policy
	Implementation	Instructions, guidance, or strategies for moving from policy to practice	• Includes policies which outline how to move a policy from an international or national level document to practice • Technical assistance, such as intervention plan, plans for improvement - what this looks like • Focus on HOW to move from policy to practice and WHAT was done or will be done • Can include what has been done or what should be done to move a policy forward (but excludes needs assessments) • What we recommend be done or what has been done already • Identifies problem • Must reference policy being implemented • Keywords: administrators, best practices, classrooms, implementation, instructions, local, schools, teachers, process, strategy
	Accountability measures	Expectations related to measuring the success of a program or policy	• References to monitoring and evaluation, including specific measurable criteria and outcomes • Can include pre-test and post-test information, such as the need for needs assessment, or evaluations of strengths/weaknesses • Narrower than implementation • Can measure the success in the past or outline how a program will be measured in the future • Keywords: accountable, assess, evaluate, measure, monitor, progress, results, standardize, supervision, forecast • Strong, weak, priority, efficient, quantifiable, range
	Other	Any sentence related to the mechanisms of institutional interaction but which does not align with the existing subcategories	

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Education as a panacea (Wiseman, et al., 2016) Education must be explicitly included in the sentence.	Prevention	Education positioned as a way to prevent future conflict or genocide	• Education in relationship to preventing future conflict within a nation • Must state an explicit connection between education and prevention • Does not include healing, recovery, or reconciliation (would be coded as recovery) • Considered part of a "specific issue or population" approach (see below), but included as its own sub-category here because of research topic • Keywords: conflict prevention, genocide prevention, never again
	Recovery	Education positioned as a way to recover from the genocide	• Keywords: healing, recovery, reconciliation, reconstruction • Decision rule: when sentences explicitly reference for recovery or reconstruction they are coded as "Recovery" over Specific or Broad.
	Specific issues or populations (other than conflict or genocide)	Education positioned as a solution for a specific issue or population, such as economic, social, environmental, or health issue	• Specific issue which education can solve (e.g., economic, social, ecological, health) • Specific group of people who will be served by education system (e.g., girls, vulnerable youth, physically disabled) • Connection may be implicit (e.g., assumed, unquestioned, taken for granted connections between education and economy, employment, or career) • Keywords: cultural, economic, ecologic, entrepreneurial, health, peace, poverty reduction, prosperity
	Broad cure-all	Education positioned as a solution for broad, overarching issues facing society	• Education as a cure-all, over the top optimism, education as an input into an equation for sweeping success • Includes sentences which list multiple issues which education will fix, (e.g. socio-economic reconstruction and human resources) • Keywords: life chances, life outcomes, foundation for the future, education as a solution

	Other	Any sentence related to education as a panacea but which does not align with the existing subcategories	
Development of a shared identity (10/18) (Dierkes, 2007; Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006)	National	Develop a shared history by focusing on national commonalities, shared experience	• Includes national effects of genocide on entire population, not just a group or segment of Rwandan population, which means it may be a shared negative or positive history • Includes past experiences and potential future experiences • Includes broad, descriptive historical statements to intentionally create a shared past • Can recognize or deny group differences as long as the overall message focuses on one national community • Focuses on relationship between the citizens and the nation • Observed in post-Holocaust education (Hein & Selden, 2000), but to a lesser extent than internationalism (Freedman et al., 2008) • Keywords: nation, reunite, redevelop, Rwandan, unity,
	International	Develop a shared history by positioning the country in the larger regional or international community	• Positions the nation, and by extension its citizens, as members of an international community • Focuses on foreign relations • Includes international and regional positioning (e.g. Germany as European or Rwanda as African) (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006) • Observed in post-Holocaust education (Dierkes, 2007; Hein & Selden, 2000; Soysal, 2006) • Keywords: African, international, global, world
	Other	Any sentence related to the development of a shared history but which does not align with the existing subcategories	
Timeline of post-genocide education (10/18)	Emergency	Immediate post-genocide situation	• Any discussion about the education system in the time immediately following the genocide before significant formal policy revisions have been made

(Freedman et al., 2008; Hein & Selden, 2006; Jones, 2006; Ngo, 2014; Pingel, 2006) Must reference system of education, schools, curriculum, etc. in relationship to 1994. genocide, conflict, etc.	Elimination (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Elimination of offensive or triggering material	• Discussion of or descriptions about removing offensive or triggering material • May include reference to ethnic groups in Rwanda (e.g. Hutu, Tutsi, Twa) • Keywords: eliminate, remove (when pertaining to curriculum content)
	Violence as history (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Genocide as part of or a side effect of war	• Information which presents the genocide as a side-effect or component of warfare or briefly situates the genocide as an element of Rwanda's internal conflict • Keywords: side effect, strategy, tactic
	Blame to others (Hein & Selden, 2006; Ngo, 2014; Pingel, 2006)	Limited to no national responsibility for conflict, violence, or genocide as the fault is placed on past leadership or external influences	• Puts blame for conflict, violence, or genocide on previous leadership (e.g., one leader, small group of leaders, or ruling party) or external influences (e.g., colonialism, France, UN forces) • May include attempts to distance current leadership from previous leadership • May highlight positive aspects of national involvement • Keywords: Belgium, colonialism, France, United Nations
	Individual perspectives (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	Inclusion of individual stories or experiences, both positive and negative	• Focus on individual experiences, including suffering and responsibility • Keywords: bystander, victim, responsibility, suffering, trauma
	Collective responsibilit	Placing responsibility	• Focus on responsibility of larger population to prevent any future conflicts

	y (Jones, 2006; Pingel, 2006)	for past and future on society-at-large	• Keywords: collective, prevention, responsible (especially when looking forward)
	Other	Any sentence related to the post-genocide education development timeline but which does not align with the existing subcategories	
Education strategies (Banks & Banks, 2009; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Bromley & Russell, 2010; Davies, 2007; Freedman, Weinstein et al., 2008; Levstick & Tyson, 2008; Totten, 2012; Waller, 2016)	Social justice-oriented (Banks & Banks, 2009; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Davies, 2007; Waller, 2016)	Descriptions of pedagogy or content which aligns with social justice approaches to education	• Pedagogy and content designed to teach about injustices in the local and global communities • Broadly encompasses other educational approaches focused on social development (e.g. human rights education, peace education) • Keywords: cultural development, critical thinking, human rights, inclusive injustice, interdependent, justice, multiculturalism, participatory, peace, racism, reconciliation, self-determinant, sexism, social development, social inclusion, social responsibility
	Civic-oriented (Freedman, Weinstein et al., 2008; Levstick & Tyson, 2008)	Descriptions of pedagogy or content which promote developing students' civic identities	• Pedagogy and content teaching about civic rights and responsibilities • Broadly encompasses other educational approaches focused on civic development (e.g. citizenship education, democracy education) • Keywords: civic duty, civic identity, civic responsibility, critical thinking, democracy, participatory, government, rights, voting
	Holocaust education (Bromley & Russell, 2010;	Explicit use of the Holocaust as a teaching tool or model	• Pedagogy and content focused on teaching about the Holocaust • Keywords: Germany, Hitler, Holocaust, Nazis, World War II

	Totten, 2012)		
	Language education	References to English or language instruction	Keywords: Langauge education, English education, Kinyarwanda
	Genocide education	References to genocide education	Keywords: comparative genocide, genocide
	Other	Any sentence related to education strategies but which does not align with the existing subcategories	
Context Related to understanding Rwandan context, but not directly linked to genocide or secondary social studies curriculum	Students	Sentences which describe students' characteristics, demographics, etc. but are not directly related to genocide	
	Teachers	Sentences which describe teachers' characteristics, demographics, experiences, training, etc. but are not directly related to genocide or research questions	
	Schools/system	Sentences which describe schools' or school systems' characteristics, demographics, experiences, training, etc. but are not directly related to genocide or research questions	
	School fees	Sentences which describe teachers' characteristics, demographics, experiences, training, etc. but are not directly related to genocide or research questions	
	History	Sentences which describe the Rwandan history related to the genocide but not related directly to the education sector. Includes pre-genocide Rwandan history, including colonialism.	
	Other	Any sentence related to the Rwandan context, but which does not align with the existing subcategories.	

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Irrelevant		Any sentence in an included section (including summary) that does not pertain to the research questions or their components is referred to as irrelevant. Includes tangents that may seem off topic, such as sentences that don't relate to secondary education, general education, compulsory education, social studies education, but are in the general text (Included sections), even if they appear to meet other coding categories. For example, the statement. "Early childhood education is the best way to develop a country" would be irrelevant, not education as a panacea. Other examples include: school to work transition, private education, technical and vocational education, budgets with itemized ledgers, estimates, or outlines, history of the Holocaust. Sentences which are self-referential or introduce the format of the document are also coded as irrelevant.
Excluded		These are not coded, but when these sections occur in a document, take note (i.e. in the table of contents, ECE is not even considered). Only include sections designated by early childhood education, higher education, technical education, vocational education

Document Descriptions

Document Name	Year Published	Publishing Organization(s)	Authors or Contributors	Document Intent or Purpose
UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda and Education				
Within the Reform Process of 9-year Basic Education in Africa	2007	IBE-UNESCO	Contributors include more than 120 participants, including policy representatives from African nations and representatives from UNESCO and other international organizations who attended the Africa Working Session on Inclusive Education	Describes discussions outcomes from the International Conference of Education's regional workshop "What Basic Education for Africa" by "identify[ing] common challenges related to development of inclusive education, principally in terms of visions, strategies and practices for the region" (p. 2)
Education Marginalization in Post-Conflict Settings: A Comparison of Government and Donor Responses in Burundi and Rwanda	2009	IIEP/UNESCO	Anna P. Obura and Lyndsay Bird with members from the "Technical Assistance and Sector Planning team of IIEP/UNESCO" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. ii)	Background paper prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010, presenting a "comparative analysis of the education situation prior to, during and after the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi" (Obura & Bird, 2009, p. 1)
The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace – The Case of Rwanda	2010	IIEP/UNESCO	Lyndsay McLean Hilker	Background paper prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011 which "considers the relationship between education, conflict and peacebuilding in

				Rwanda over the last few decades" and describes three remaining challenges: "(1) ongoing inequalities of educational opportunity in the post-primary sector…(2) tensions over history teaching…(3) teaching methods remain largely teacher-centered" (Hilker, 2010, p. 2)
Kigali Statement: Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Ministerial Conference on Education Post-2015	2015	UNESCO	Attendees to the Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Ministerial Conference on Education Post-2015, including ministers of education, senior government officials, representatives from the UN and its agencies, civil society representatives, professors, teachers, parents, and youth	Outline the resulting commitments from the Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Ministerial Conference on Education Post-2015, including continuing to follow leadership from UNESCO and the African Union and promoting partnerships between national governments, civil society, and international organizations
UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education				
Combating Intolerance, Exclusion and Violence through Holocaust Education	2009	UNESCO	Conference presenters, including representatives from numerous NGOs affiliated with post-genocide and Holocaust Education	Document the proceedings of the conference, where the primary aim was "to present, reflect, exchange, discuss and strategize how best to envision the implementation of Holocaust education in Sub-Saharan Africa" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 5)

UNESCO Regional Consultation in Latin America on Holocaust and Genocide Education	2013	UNESCO	Latin American UN Member States	Report on the outcomes of a meeting to identify how Latin American UN Member States "can contribute to the prevention of genocide" and introduce Holocaust Education into the curriculum (UNESCO, 2013, p. 5)
The Impact of Holocaust Education: How to Assess Policies and Practices	2014	UNESCO	Drafted by Doyle Stevick, University of South Carolina; contributors include conference presenters, including UNESCO officials and international policy makers and academics	Report on seminar focused on moving from advocacy to policy to practice (UNESCO, 2014, p. 3)
Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide	2017	UNESCO	Drafted by Karel Fracapane and "…commissioned by UNESCO and produced in consultation with a wide range of Holocaust and genocide related organizations…and a distinguished international group of academics, educators, and other experts" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 5)	Guide for policy makers to justify the inclusion of Holocaust education, review evidence-based learning objectives, present implementation strategies, and provide additional resources.
Rwanda Policy Documents				

Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda *(Translated from French)*	1997	UNESCO & UNDP	Created by representatives from the Rwanda Ministry of Education with technical assistance from UNESCO	Summarize the current state of the Rwandan education system, with a particular emphasis placed on areas of inadequacy and malfunctioning; includes all components of education, from early childhood to higher education
Plan of Action for Education in Rwanda (1998-2000): Recovery and Development *(Translated from French)*	1998	UNESCO & UNDP	Contributors include representatives from the Ministry of Education and UNESCO as well as representatives from national partners in education	Outline the government's "process for reformulating and implementing the country's education policy" by presenting "priority, objectives, and actions to redress the education system and establish the basis for its development in the long term" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 3)
Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda: Revised Edition *(Translated from French)*	1998	UNESCO & UNDP	Written by representatives from the Rwanda Ministry of Education and other affiliated ministries with UNESCO's technical assistance	Updated description of the Rwandan education system to "provide perspectives for the development of the education system as well as areas of intervention" (Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, 1998b); study is both a description of the current state of education in Rwanda and a description or potential areas of intervention and how donors can support these efforts
Education Sector Policy	2003	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education,	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned	Details the adoption of a sector wide approach to "achieve international development targets, notably Universal Primary Education (UPE) and

		Science, Technology and Scientific Research		Education for All (EFA)" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research, 2003, p. 3)
The Teaching of History of Rwanda: A Participatory Approach	2006	The Human Right Center, University of California, Berkeley	Principal Investigators: Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Harvey M. Weisnstein, and Timothy Longman from the Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley; Chief Author and Facilitator: Professor Byanafashe Deo, Dean Faculty of Social Science, National University of Rwanda; additional contributors include Rwandan coordinators, international consultants, and numerous Rwandan representatives for each historic period	Presents historic sources and materials to be used in a participatory teaching of history from the pre-colonial to post-colonial Rwanda, up to 1994; although the document was meant to be adopted and distributed nation-wide in order to inform classroom instruction and move toward more participatory pedagogy
Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2008-2012 (DRAFT).	2008	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned; foreword written by the Minister of Education	Developed as an update to a prior (unavailable) document in response to the Education Sector Policy, this document guides implementation and monitoring and evaluation across the education sector.

Nine Years Basic Education Implementation: Fast Track Strategies.	2008	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned	Presents a case study of a school where the fast track strategy of double shifting was used and discusses how this strategy would impact education across Rwanda, district by district
Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2010-2015	2010	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned; foreword written by the Minister of Education which thanks the Ministry of Education and district staff and development partners	Updated version of the Education Sector Strategic Plan: 2008-2012; aligns education development with Rwanda's Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy; continues to promote the implementation of 9 years of basic education
Education Sector Strategic Plan 2013/14-2017/18	2013	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned; foreword written by the Minister of Education which thanks the staff of the Ministry of Education, affiliated agencies, district-level staff, and development partners	Updated strategic plan because of significant changes in the Rwandan education sector, especially in higher education; focuses on "expanding access…, improving quality..., and strengthening the relevance of education and training to meet labour market demands" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 9)
Competence-Based Curriculum: Curriculum Framework Pre-Primary to Upper Secondary 2015	2015	Rwanda Education Board & Ministry of Education	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned; foreword written by the Minister of Education which thanks the Rwanda Education	Presents a framework for shifting from a standards-based approach to education to a competence-based approach by "indicating how the curriculum vision is translated into practice at school level and reflected in the learning

			Board's staff and consultants as well as development partners	experiences, assessment and in monitoring and evaluation" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015a, p. 1)
Competence-Based Curriculum: Summary of Curriculum Framework Pre-Primary to Upper Secondary 2015	2015	Rwanda Education Board & Ministry of Education	No specific authors or contributors are mentioned; foreword written by the Minister of Education which thanks the Rwanda Education Board's staff and consultants as well as development partners	Summarizes the larger competence-based framework to serve as a "point of reference for all decision-making relating to the curriculum and guide the work of curriculum developers, school principals, teachers, textbook developers, school inspectors, examiners and teacher trainers" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015b, p. 1)
Education for All 2015 National Review Report: Rwanda	2015	UNESCO	"relevant national authorities in view of the World Education Forum" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 1)	Describe the "achievements and progress made in the education sector since 2000" and consider future "strategies to address issues and challenges that have been raised through the review" (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2015, p. i)
Rwanda Curriculum Documents				
History Program for Ordinary Level	2008	National Curriculum Development Centre	Acknowledgements given to Rwandan curriculum developers, teachers, and consultants	Guide classroom history instruction for students in the Ordinary Level (Senior One, Two, and Three) in order to achieve goals set by Vision 2020 and Education for All (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2008b)
History Program for Advanced Level	2010	National Curriculum	Acknowledgements given to Rwandan	Guide classroom instruction for students in all combinations which include

		Development Centre	curriculum developers, teachers, and consultants	history at the Advanced Level (Senior Four, Five, and Six) in order to achieve goals set by Vision 2020 and Education for All (Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2010)
History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level S1-S3	2015	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education	Acknowledgements to the Rwanda Education Board, Rwandan lecturers and teachers, education partners at Rwandan and international NGOs, a national consultant, and numerous editors	Present classroom implementation content and practices of a competence-based history curriculum for students at the Ordinary Level (Senior One, Two, and Three); merge the subjects of political education and history; "guides the interaction between the teacher and the learners in the learning processes" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015c, p. 1)
History Syllabus for Advanced Level S4-S6	2015	Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education	Acknowledgements to the Rwandan Education Board, Rwandan lecturers and teachers, education resource partners at Rwandan and international NGOs, a national consultant, and numerous editors	Aid in the transition to competence-based history education for students in the Advanced Level (Senior Four, Five, and Six); assist teachers as "they make the schedules and lesson plans" through the document's "sequence…and organiz[ation] to promote the learner centered approach" (Rwanda Education Board, 2015d, p. 1)

Appendix C

Pilot Coding Document and Page Selection

UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education						
Title	**Year**	**Total Pages**	**Relevant Page Numbers**	**Relevant Page Total**	**Pilot Coded Pages**	**Number of Coded Pages**
IBE-UNESCO. (2007). *Within the reform process of 9-year basic education in Africa.* Geneva: IBE-UNESCO.	2007	63	1-23, 34-62	51	18-23	5
Obura, A.P. & Bird, L. (2009). *Education marginalization in post-conflict settings: A comparison of government and donor responses in Burundi and Rwanda: Background paper prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010.* Paris: IIEP/UNESCO.	2009	38	1-33	33	18-20	3
Hilker, L.M. (2010). *The role of education in driving conflict and building peace – The case of Rwanda: Background paper prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.* Paris: IIEP/UNESCO.	2010	23	1-19	19	11-12	2
UNESCO. (2015b). *Kigali statement: Sub-Saharan Africa regional ministerial conference on education post-2015.* Kigali, Rwanda: UNESCO.	2015	6	1-6	6	4	1
	TOTAL	130		109		11

UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education						
Title	Year	Total Pages	Relevant Page Numbers	Relevant Page Total	Pilot Coded Pages	Number of Coded Pages
UNESCO. (2009). *Combating intolerance, exclusion and violence through Holocaust education: Proceedings*. Paris, France: UNESCO.	2009	149	1-5, 10-12, 29-49, 62-69, 73-78, 111-149	93	29-30, 62-63, 73-76	9
UNESCO. (2013). *UNESCO regional consultation in Latin America on Holocaust and genocide education report.* Buenos Aires, Argentina: UNESCO.	2013	28	1-14	14	5	1
UNESCO. (2014). *The impact of Holocaust education: How to assess policies and practices.* UNESCO, IBE, George Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, and Permanent Delegation of Hungary to UNESCO. Paris, France: UNESCO.	2014	14	1-13	13	9	1
UNESCO. (2017). *Education about the Holocaust and preventing genocide: A policy guide.* Paris, France, UNESCO.	2017	72	1-67	67	15-21	6
	TOTAL	279		187		17

Rwandan Policy Documents Included in Study						
Title	**Year**	**Total Pages**	**Relevant Page Numbers**	**Relevant Page Total**	**Pilot Coded Pages**	**Number of Coded Pages**
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education. (1997). *Study of the education sector in Rwanda.* (ED-98/WS/17). Kigali, Rwanda: UNESCO & UNDP.	1997	249	1-74, 100-114, 128-131, 136-139, 148-170	119	1-13, 18-19	16
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education. (1998a). *Plan of action for education in Rwanda (1998-2000): Recovery and Development.* (ED-98/WS/20). Kigali, Rwanda: UNESCO & UNDP.	1998	102	1-19, 24-27, 42-49, 57, 60-61, 66-69, 74-80	44	66-69	4
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education. (1998b). *Study of the education sector in Rwanda: Revised edition.* (ED-98/WS/17). UNESCO & UNDP: Kigali, Rwanda.	1998	228	1-67, 74-75, 101-113, 129-132, 137-139, 149-170	112	103-113	10
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research. (2003). *Education sector policy.* Kigali, Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda.	2003	25	1-8, 11, 14-25	21	11, 18	2
Human Rights Center. (2006). *The teaching of history of Rwanda: A participatory approach: A resource book for teachers for secondary schools in Rwanda.* Berkeley, CA: Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley, The Regents of the University of California.	2006	282	1-282	282	15-18, 65-68 103-108, 197-202, 231-234, 271-274	28

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2008a). *Education sector strategic plan: 2008-2012 (DRAFT)*. Kigali, Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education.	2008	52	1-15, 28-50	38	10-11, 23-24	4
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2008c). *Nine years basic education implementation: Fast track strategies*. Kigali, Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education.	2008	44	1-44	44	4-5, 34-35	4
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2010). *Education sector strategic plan: 2010-2015*. Kigali: Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education.	2010	69	1-69	69	3-5, 21-22, 55-56	7
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2013). *Education sector strategic plan 2013/14-2017/18*. Kigali, Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education.	2013	137	1-137	137	9-11, 45-48, 86-89, 118-120	14
Rwanda Education Board. (2015a). *Competence-based curriculum: Curriculum framework pre-primary to upper secondary 2015*. Rwanda Education Board/Ministry of Education: Kigali, Rwanda.	2015	341	1-77, 188-193, 254-255	85	10-12, 30-34	8
Rwanda Education Board. (2015b). *Competence-based curriculum: Summary of curriculum framework pre-primary to upper secondary 2015*. Kigali, Rwanda: Rwanda Education Board/Ministry of Education.	2015	32	1-32	32	29-32	3

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015). *Education for all 2015 national review report: Rwanda*. Paris, France: UNESCO.	2015	162	1-33, 44-60, 75-128	102	50-55, 84-88	10
	TOTAL	1723		1085		110

Rwandan Curriculum Documents Included in Study						
Title	**Year**	**Total Pages**	**Relevant Page Numbers**	**Relevant Page Total**	**Pilot Coded Pages**	**Number of Coded Pages**
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2008b). *History program for ordinary level.* Kigali, Rwanda: National Curriculum Development Centre.	2008	81	1-81	81	16-19, 75-78	8
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2010). *History program for advanced level: Secondary school.* Kigali, Rwanda: National Curriculum Development Centre.	2010	65	1-65	65	2-4, 53-55	6
Rwanda Education Board. (2015c). *History and citizenship syllabus for ordinary level S1-S3.* Kigali, Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education.	2015	88	1-84	84	27-31, 79-81	8
Rwanda Education Board. (2015d). *History syllabus for advanced level S4-S6.* Kigali, Rwanda: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education.	2015	80	1-76	76	7-8, 45-48, 56-57	8

	TOTAL	314		306		30

Appendix D

Pilot Phase Coding Coefficients

Pilot Phase Coding Coefficients

Document	Total Sentences	100% Consistent Coded Sentences	Percentage	Partially Consistent Coded Sentences	Percentage	Full & Partially Consistent Sentences	Percentage	0% Consistent Coded Sentences	Percentage
Rwandan Policy Documents									
IBE-UNESCO (2007)	42	17	40.5%	22	52.4%	39	92.9%	3	7.1%
Obura & Bird (2009)	46	27	58.7%	9	19.6%	36	78.3%	10	21.7%
Hilker (2010)	42	18	42.9%	10	23.8%	28	66.7%	14	33.3%
UNESCO (2015)	14	7	50.0%	4	28.6%	11	78.6%	3	21.4%
TOTAL	144	69	47.9%	45	31.3%	114	79.2%	30	20.8%
Holocaust Education Documents									
UNESCO (2009)	104	53	51.0%	29	27.9%	82	78.8%	22	21.2%
UNESCO (2013)	6	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
UNESCO (2014)	30	23	76.7%	6	20.0%	29	96.7%	1	3.3%
UNESCO (2017)	63	42	66.7%	15	23.8%	57	90.5%	6	9.5%
TOTAL	203	120	59.1%	54	26.6%	174	85.7%	29	14.3%
Rwandan Policy Documents									
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	44	26	59.1%	10	38.5%	36	81.8%	8	18.2%

Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998a)	23	16	69.6%	0	0.0%	16	69.6%	7	30.4%
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998a)	138	91	65.9%	4	2.9%	95	68.8%	43	31.2%
Republic of Rwanda (2003)	24	15	62.5%	0	0.0%	15	62.5%	9	37.5%
Freedman, Weinstein, & Longman (2006)	369	324	87.8%	0	0.0%	324	87.8%	45	12.2%
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008a)	8	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	8	100.0%	0	0.0%
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008b)	27	23	85.2%	1	3.7%	24	88.9%	3	11.1%
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	39	12	30.8%	18	46.2%	30	76.9%	9	23.1%
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2013)	79	47	59.5%	20	25.3%	67	84.8%	12	15.2%
Rwanda Education Board (2015c)	107	59	55.1%	23	21.5%	82	76.6%	25	23.4%
Rwanda Education Board (2015d)	38	20	52.6%	7	18.4%	27	71.1%	11	28.9%
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015)	151	97	64.2%	16	10.6%	113	74.8%	38	25.2%
TOTAL	1047	736	70.3%	101	9.6%	837	79.9%	210	20.1%

Rwandan Curriculum Documents

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008c)	35	28	80.0%	1	2.9%	29	82.9%	6	17.1%
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	44	32	72.7%	3	6.8%	35	79.5%	9	20.5%

Rwanda Education Board (2015a)	120	65	54.2%	48	40.0%	113	94.2%	7	5.8%
Rwanda Education Board (2015b)	64	25	39.1%	27	42.2%	52	81.3%	12	18.8%
TOTAL	263	150	57.0%	79	30.0%	229	87.1%	34	12.9%

Total Sentences:	**1657**
Coding Coefficient:	**81.7%**
Total Correct:	**1354**

Partially consisted coded sentences include sentences which coders agreed on the larger category, even if there were some discrepancies in the subcategories selected. This approach aligns with acceptable methods (Neuendorf, 2002).

Appendix E

Coding Scheme Results by Category and Document

Mechanisms of Institutional Interaction by Document Set and Document

	Financial Support	Professional Oversight	Normative Beliefs	Implementation	Accountability Measures	TOTAL
UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education						
IBE-UNESCO (2007)	10	29	43	12	34	128
Obura & Bird (2009)	36	21	6	4	9	76
Hilker (2010)	25	43	15	4	19	106
UNESCO (2015b)	9	9	7	2	15	42
SUBTOTAL	80	102	71	22	77	352
UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education						
UNESCO (2009).	5	58	23	0	3	89
UNESCO (2013).	0	16	9	1	0	26
UNESCO (2014).	0	10	11	1	20	42
UNESCO (2017).	3	51	50	12	29	145
SUBTOTAL	8	135	93	14	52	302
Rwanda Policy Documents						
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	73	71	6	4	57	211
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	57	34	6	4	57	158
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998b)	74	71	6	6	60	217

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research (2003)	19	46	34	5	38	142
Human Rights Center (2006)	2	3	2	1	8	16
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008a)	32	106	51	15	105	309
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008c)	5	1	1	1	5	13
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	86	148	64	18	104	420
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2013)	70	195	115	38	202	620
Rwanda Education Board (2015a)	13	27	130	17	137	324
Rwanda Education Board (2015b)	2	14	20	5	37	78
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015)	80	128	72	32	172	484
SUBTOTAL	513	844	507	146	982	2992
Rwanda Curriculum Documents						
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008b)	1	1	8	15	19	44
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	1	3	5	11	15	35
Rwanda Education Board (2015c)	6	30	58	64	220	378
Rwanda Education Board (2015d)	1	27	56	42	203	329
SUBTOTAL	9	61	127	132	457	786
TOTAL	610	1,142	798	314	1,568	4,432

Education as a Panacea by Document Set and Document

	Recovery	Prevention	Specific Issues or Populations	Cure-All	TOTAL
UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education					
IBE-UNESCO (2007)	0	0	11	8	19
Obura & Bird (2009)	4	7	5	2	18
Hilker (2010)	10	2	1	1	14
UNESCO (2015b)	0	2	3	4	9
SUBTOTAL	14	11	20	15	60
UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education					
UNESCO (2009).	1	2	0	6	9
UNESCO (2013).	0	1	1	0	2
UNESCO (2014).	0	7	1	1	9
UNESCO (2017).	2	21	5	11	39
SUBTOTAL	3	31	7	18	59
Rwanda Policy Documents					
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	21	0	13	8	42
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	10	0	7	7	24
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998b)	20	0	12	8	40
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research (2003)	2	0	12	12	26
Human Rights Center (2006)	1	0	0	0	1
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008a)	2	0	7	5	14
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008c)	0	0	1	0	1
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	1	0	12	4	17
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2013)	0	0	28	12	40
Rwanda Education Board (2015a)	0	2	14	18	34
Rwanda Education Board (2015b)	1	1	3	6	11

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015)	0	2	3	4	9
SUBTOTAL	58	5	112	84	259
Rwanda Curriculum Documents					
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008b)	0	2	0	2	4
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	0	0	0	3	3
Rwanda Education Board (2015c)	0	1	19	12	32
Rwanda Education Board (2015d)	4	3	6	10	23
SUBTOTAL	4	6	25	27	62
TOTAL	79	53	164	144	440

Development of a Shared Identity by Document Set and Document

	National Identity	International Identity	TOTAL
UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education			
IBE-UNESCO (2007)	1	0	1
Obura & Bird (2009)	6	2	8
Hilker (2010)	8	0	8
UNESCO (2015b)	0	2	2
SUBTOTAL	15	4	19
UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education			
UNESCO (2009).	1	0	0
UNESCO (2013).	0	0	0
UNESCO (2014).	0	0	0
UNESCO (2017).	2	0	1
SUBTOTAL	3	0	1
Rwanda Policy Documents			
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	16	1	17
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	7	0	7
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998b)	15	1	16
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research (2003)	9	1	10
Human Rights Center (2006)	0	0	0
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008a)	2	0	2
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008c)	0	0	0
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	1	0	1
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2013)	5	0	5
Rwanda Education Board (2015a)	22	2	24
Rwanda Education Board (2015b)	13	0	13

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015)	3	1	4
SUBTOTAL			
Rwanda Curriculum Documents			
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008b)	2	0	2
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	7	0	7
Rwanda Education Board (2015c)	83	2	85
Rwanda Education Board (2015d)	95	1	96
SUBTOTAL			
TOTAL	280	9	289

Timeline of Post-Genocide Education Development by Document Set and Document

	Emergency	Elimination	Violence as History	Blame to Others	Individual Perspectives	Collective Responsibility	Other	TOTAL
UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education								
IBE-UNESCO (2007)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Obura & Bird (2009)	2	2	0	0	0	0	23	27
Hilker (2010)	0	4	0	0	0	0	44	48
UNESCO (2015b)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
SUBTOTAL	3	6	0	0	0	0	67	76
UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education								
UNESCO (2009)	0	2	0	0	43	5	6	56
UNESCO (2013)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
UNESCO (2014)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
UNESCO (2017)	0	2	0	0	1	0	14	17
SUBTOTAL	0	4	0	1	45	5	20	75
Rwanda Policy Documents								
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	12
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998b)	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	8
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research (2003)	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	10
Human Rights Center (2006)	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008a)	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008c)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	9
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2013)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rwanda Education Board (2015a)	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	18
Rwanda Education Board (2015b)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015)	13	0	0	0	0	0	45	59
SUBTOTAL	32	0	0	0	0	2	96	131
Rwanda Curriculum Documents								
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008b)	0	0	0	0	1	0	34	35
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	14
Rwanda Education Board (2015c)	0	0	0	0	0	0	235	235
Rwanda Education Board (2015d)	0	0	0	0	0	0	176	176
SUBTOTAL	0	0	0	0	1	0	459	920
TOTAL	35	10	0	1	46	7	642	742

Education Strategies by Document Set and Document

	Social Justice-Oriented Education	Civic-Oriented Education	Holocaust Education	Language Education	Genocide Education	Other	Critiques of Rwandan System	Competence-Based Education	TOTAL
UNESCO Policy Documents: Rwanda AND Education									
IBE-UNESCO (2007)	19	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Obura & Bird (2009)	13	2	0	11	0	0	0	0	26
Hilker (2010)	12	3	0	13	0	0	11	0	39
UNESCO (2015b)	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	7
SUBTOTAL	48	9	0	25	0	0	11	0	93
UNESCO Policy Documents: Holocaust Education									
UNESCO (2009).	22	5	142	0	4	7	0	0	180
UNESCO (2013).	2	3	28	0	3	4	0	0	40
UNESCO (2014).	1	0	71	0	0	0	0	0	72
UNESCO (2017).	10	22	200	0	42	4	0	0	278
SUBTOTAL	35	30	441	0	49	15	0	0	570
Rwanda Policy Documents									
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	8
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1997)	6	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	9
Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education (1998b)	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	8
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of	4	3	0	13	0	1	0	0	21

Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research (2003)

Human Rights Center (2006)	6	0	0	31	0	34	0	0	71
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008a)	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008c)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	2	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	18
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2013)	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Rwanda Education Board (2015a)	33	6	3	8	12	11	0	49	122
Rwanda Education Board (2015b)	9	2	0	1	5	2	0	24	43
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2015)	3	2	0	13	0	1	0	0	19
SUBTOTAL	78	16	3	95	17	49	0	73	331

Rwanda Curriculum Documents

Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2008b)	8	0	0	0	16	2	0	0	26
Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education (2010)	6	2	0	0	12	8	0	0	28
Rwanda Education Board (2015c)	158	73	1	0	25	1	0	15	273
Rwanda Education Board (2015d)	90	25	2	0	51	3	0	17	188
SUBTOTAL	262	100	3	0	104	14	0	32	515
TOTAL	297	130	444	0	153	29	0	32	1,085

Rwanda Curriculum Outlines

Rwanda-C-1: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2008c). History Program for Ordinary Level. National Curriculum Development Centre: Kigali, Rwanda.

Senior One:
1. General Introduction (4 periods)
2. First Part: History of Ancient Rwanda
   a. Chapter 1: The sources of history of Rwanda (2 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: The pre-history and the population of Rwanda (3 periods)
   c. Chapter 3: Origin, formation, and expansion of the Kingdom of Rwanda until the 19th Century (8 periods)
   d. Chapter 4: The civilisation of ancient Rwanda (10 periods)
3. Second Part: History of Africa
   a. Chapter 1: Africa, cradle, land of humanity (4 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: The Egyptian civilisation (6 periods)
   c. Chapter 3: Other major important civilisations (6 periods)
   d. Chapter 4: Africa of the 7th and 18th centuries (12 periods)

Senior Two:
1. First Part: History of Africa
   a. Chapter 1: Exploration of Africa in the 15th Century and its Consequences (4 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries (8 periods)
2. Second Part: History of Colonial Rwanda
   a. Chapter 1: Rwanda during German colonisation (1897-1916) (14 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: Rwanda under Belgian colonisation (1916-1962) (16 periods)
3. Third Part: History of North America and Europe in the 19th Century
   a. Chapter 1: The century of enlightenment (15 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: North America in the 2nd half of the 19th century (6 periods)

Senior Three:
1. First Part: Aisa in the second middle period of the 19th century
   a. Chapter 1: Japan (3 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: China (3 periods)
2. Second Part: The World Wars and their consequences
   a. Chapter 1: The First World War (8 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: Between Two Wars (6 periods)
   c. Chapter 3: The Second World War (8 periods)
   d. Chapter 4: The decolonization (8 periods)
3. Third Part: The Independent Rwanda
   a. Chapter 1: The first republic (1962-1973) (6 periods)
   b. Chapter 2: The second republic (1973-1994) (8 periods)
   c. Chapter 3: The War of 1990-1994 and the genocide of the Tutsi (10 periods)

Rwanda-C-2: Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education. (2008d). History Program for

Advanced Level. National Curriculum Development Centre: Kigali, Rwanda.

Senior Four
The Detailed Programme
1. Chapter 1: World Civilisations (35 periods)
2. Chapter 2: European Middle Age (5th-15th century) (10 periods)
3. Chapter 3: Modern Times (10 periods)
4. Chapter 4: Ancient history of Africa up to 1870 (102 periods)
5. Chapter 5: Rwanda in the 19th Century (20 periods)
6. Chapter 6: The Great Revolution of the 18th Century (40 periods)

Senior Five
1. Chapter 1: The Vienna Congress and the re-arrangement of Europe (35 periods)
2. Chapter 2: Italian and Germany unification (20 periods)
3. Chapter 3: The Eastern Question (20 periods)
4. Chapter 4: The First World War (20 periods)
5. Chapter 5: Inter-War Period (20 periods)
6. Chapter 6: The Second World War (20 periods)
7. Chapter 7: Post World War II Period (10 periods)
8. Chapter 8: The Rise of Super-Powers in World (20 periods)

African History from 19th to 20th Century
9. Chapter 9: Pre-Colonial Africa (7 periods)
10. Chapter 10: European Activities in Africa (25 periods)
11. Chapter 11: Rwanda under German Colonial Rule (1897-1916) (20 periods)

Senior Six
1. Chapter 1: The Scramble and partition of African Continent (20 periods)
2. Chapter 2: African reactions towards colonial rule (40 periods)
3. Chapter 3: Colonial administrative policies (18 periods)
4. Chapter 4: Colonial economic policies (18 periods)
5. Chapter 5: The rise of African nationalism and the process of decolonisation (38 periods)
6. Chapter 6: Rwanda under Belgian colonial rule (1916-1962) (30 periods)
7. Chapter 7: The First Republic (1962-1973) (14 periods)
8. Chapter 8: The second republic (1973-1994) (25 periods)
9. Chapter 9: The liberation war of 1990 and the Tutsi genocide of 1994 (14 periods)

Rwanda-C-3: Rwanda Education Board. (2015a). History and Citizenship Syllabus for Ordinary Level S1-S3. Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education: Kigali, Rwanda.

5.2.2. History and Citizenship units for senior one (103 total periods)
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.
- Describe Rwandan and Egyptian civilizations.
- Describe the rise and organization of Trans-Saharan and triangular trade.
- Explain the concepts of dignity, family personal and family values and self-reliance.
- Explain the concepts of disability and inclusive education;

- Describe forms and principles of democracy and individual identity.

1. Unit 1: Historical Sources - 6 periods
   - To be able to analyse the definition of History, appreciate its importance and critique methods used to collect historical information
2. Unit 2: Advantages and Disadvantages of historical Sources - 10 periods
   - To be able to research and analyse the advantages and disadvantages of historical sources.
3. Unit 3: Origin, organization and expansion of Rwandan kingdom. - 12 periods
   - To be able to explore the origin, organisation and expansion of Rwandan kingdom in the intrelacustrine region.
4. Unit 4: Civilisation of pre-colonial Rwanda. - 12 periods
   - To be able to analyse the civilization of pre-colonial Rwanda
5. Unit 5: Genocide and its features - 8 periods
   - To be able to differentiate between genocide and other mass crimes
6. Unit 6: Evolution of mankind - 10 periods
   - To be able to analyse how mankind evolved, developed and settled in different parts of Africa.
7. Unit 7: Egyptian civilization. - 10 periods
   - To be able to explain the elements and the importance of early Egyptian civilization.
8. Unit 8: Trans-Saharan trade - 10 periods
   - To be able to identify factors for the development and decline of Trans-Saharan trade.
9. Unit 9: Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Triangular trade). - 7 periods
   - To be able to analyse the origin, growth, organization, effects and decline of the transatlantic slave trade.
10. Unit 10: Concept of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities and ways of preventing human rights violations - 3 periods
    - To be able to explain the concepts of human rights, citizen duties and responsibilities, and suggest ways of preventing human rights violations.
11. Unit 11: Forms and principles of democracy. - 3 periods
    - To be able to explain forms and principles of democracy.
12. Unit 12: Identify oneself differently in reference to Rwanda. - 2 periods
    - To be able to identify oneself differently in reference to Rwanda.
13. Unit 13: Forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence. - 3 periods
    - To be able to analyse forms, causes and consequences of conflict and violence.
14. Unit 14: Dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society. - 2 periods
    - To be able to explain dignity and self-reliance and their implications for Rwandan society.
15. Unit 15: Concept of disability and inclusive education. - 2 periods
    - To be able to understand the concept of disability, types of disability and explore attitudes towards people with disability in Rwanda.
16. Unit 16: Family and Personal Values. - 3 periods

- To be able to examine the various sources of sexual learning, the relationship between values and behavior, and make decisions consistent with individual values.

5.2.2. History and Citizenship units for senior two (108 total periods)
At the end of S.2 a learner will be able to:
- • Describe German and Belgian colonisation of Rwanda.
- • Explain the causes and effects of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.
- • Describe the exploration and colonisation of Africa by the Europeans.
- • Explain the origin, rise, organisation of kingdoms in both East and Central Africa.
- • Describe the causes and the consequences of industrial and American revolutions.
- • Describe in detail the concepts of social cohesion, personal values, family, disability and self-reliance in reference to nation building.

1. Unit 1: Collecting and analysing historical sources. - 4 periods
   - To be able to examine the complementarities of material, immaterial and electronic sources of history.
2. Unit 2: German and Belgian colonization. - 10 periods
   - To be able to explain the causes and impact of German and Belgian colonisation.
3. Unit 3: Causes and course of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi - 6 periods
   - To be able to describe the causes and the course of genocide against the Tutsi (Planning, execution and how genocide was stopped)
4. Unit 4: Kingdoms of East and Central Africa. - 10 periods
   - To be able to describe the origin, rise, organisation and decline of kingdoms in East and Central Africa: case study of Buganda and Kongo kingdoms.
5. Unit 5: Long distance trade. - 8 periods
   - To be able to explain the rise, organisation, effects and decline of long distance trade.
6. Unit 6: Ngoni migration. - 8 periods
   - To be able to explain the origin, causes and effects of Ngoni migration.
7. Unit 7: Exploration of Africa. - 8 periods
   - To be able to explain the causes and consequences of exploration of Africa.
8. Unit 8: European colonisation of Africa. - 8 periods
   - To be able to evaluate causes and consequences of European colonisation of Africa.
9. Unit 9: African response to colonial conquest. - 10 periods
   - To be able to analyse the reactions of Africans to colonial conquest.
10. Unit 10: Industrial revolution. - 10 periods
    - To be able to explain the causes and consequences of the industrial revolution, technical inventions and their inventors.
11. Unit 11: Causes and impact of the American revolution. - 6 periods
    - To be able to explain the causes and impact of American revolution.
12. Unit 12: Rights, duties and obligations. - 3 periods
    - To be able to analyse how rights are balanced by obligations and duties and relate this to the situation in Rwanda.
13. Unit 13: State and government. - 2 periods

- To be able to explain the role and functions of the state and government.
14. Unit 14: Interdependence and unity in diversity. - 3 periods
    - To be able to explain the interdependency and unity in diversity
15. Unit 15: Social cohesion. - 3 periods
    - To be able to analyse how people can live together in harmony.
16. Unit 16: Hindrances to dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society. - 3 periods
    - To be able to identify the hindrances to dignity and self-reliance in Rwandan society.
17. Unit 17: Concept of disability and inclusive education. - 3 periods
    - To be able to analyse causes and effects of disabilities and determine measures to prevent disability.
18. Unit 18: Family and Personal Values. - 3 periods
    - Examine the concept of Human Rights related to sexual and reproductive health (from unit overview)

5.2.2. History and Citizenship units for senior three (106 total periods)

At the end of senior three a learner will be able to:
- Explain the consequences of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.
- Describe the colonial administrative system as applied by different colonial powers and colonial reforms.
- Describe the causes and effects of decolonization of Africa.
- Explain the origin, causes and impact of the French revolution.
- Examine the causes and effects of both First and Second World War.
- Explain national and international human rights instruments and how they have been respected and violated in different situations.
- Describe national interdependence and national laws in conflict transformation.
- Explain the concepts of tolerance, respect, disability and inclusive education in reference to Rwanda.

1. Unit 1: Independent Rwanda. - 11 periods
    - To be able to explain the political, economic and socio-cultural changes in the first and the second Republic and the causes, consequences of the Liberation war in Rwanda (1990-1994).
2. Unit 2: Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. - 8 periods
    - To be able to examine the consequences of genocide against the Tutsi and how society has been re-built.
3. Unit 3: Colonial administrative systems and colonial powers - 8 periods
    - To be able to identify different colonial administrative systems and colonial power
4. Unit 4: Colonial reforms and their consequences on African societies. - 8 periods
    - To be able to evaluate political, economic and socio-cultural colonial reforms and their consequences on African societies.
5. Unit 5: Causes of decolonisation in Africa: Case Study, Ghana and Kenya. - 8 periods
    - To be able to examine causes and consequences of decolonisation in Africa (Case Study; Ghana and Kenya).
6. Unit 6: Analyse the 1789 French Revolution. - 8 periods

- To be able to explain the origin, causes and consequences of the 1789 French Revolution.
7. Unit 7: Causes and effects of the first world war. - 12 periods
    - To be able to explain the causes and effects of the first World War.
8. Unit 8: Between two wars. - 12 periods
    - To be able to explain the causes and effects of the 1929 economic crisis and the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe (Fascism and Nazism).
9. Unit 9: African response to colonial conquest. - 10 periods
    - To be able to analyse the reactions of Africans to colonial conquest.
10. Unit 10: National and international human rights instruments and the protection of human rights. - 3 periods
    - To be able to analyse the effectiveness of national and international human rights instruments and ways in which human Rights can be protected in the context of democracy.
11. Unit 11: Democratisation process. - 3 periods
    - To be able to compare the democratisation process in Rwanda and the sub region.
12. Unit 12: Identify Rwandans in reference to regional groupings. - 3 periods
    - To be able to evaluate Rwandans in reference to regional groupings.
13. Unit 13: National laws in conflict transformation. - 3 periods
    - To be able to assess how national laws leads to conflict transformation.
14. Unit 14: Factors for national independence. - 4 periods
    - To be able to examine the factors for national independence
15. Unit 15: Concept of disability and inclusive education. - 3 periods
    - To be able to differentiate special needs education and inclusive education and appreciate the impact of inclusive education.
16. Unit 16: Tolerance and respect - 2 periods
    - To be able to recognise and respond to the effects of bias, prejudice, intolerance and stigma on individual and family.

Rwanda-C-4: Rwanda Education Board. (2015b). History Syllabus for Advanced Level S4-S6. Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education: Kigali, Rwanda.

5.2. History Syllabus for Senior four (253 total periods)
At the end of Senior 4, a learner will be able to:
- Locate Rwanda in time and space.
- Compare and contrast different genocides that occurred in different parts of the world;
- Describe the origin, rise, organisation and the collapse of the different empires in West and South Africa.
- Explain the role of the different colonial agents during the colonisation process.
- Examine the contribution of the ancient civilisations to the modern societies.
- Explain the main political, economic and intellectual developments in the medieval and the modern times.
- Describe the causes, course and the effects of the major European events from 1789-1835.
- Describe the concepts of the human rights codification and its impact.
- Explain the concepts of national cohesion, identities, Gacaca and Abunzi especially in

conflict solving.

- Describe the forms, causes and the effects of interdependence with reference to Rwanda.

1. Unit 1: History of Rwanda - 14 periods
   - The learner should be able to assess the performance of the Belgian rule, the 1959 crisis and the process of the independence in Rwanda.
2. Unit 2: Comparison of the Genocides - 8 periods
   - The learner should be able to compare different genocides in the 20th century.
3. Unit 3: Origin, rise, organisation and decline of the Empires in West and South Africa - 36 periods
   - The learner should be able to describe the origin, rise, organisation and the decline of the various empires in West and South Africa.
4. Unit 4: Role of the agents of the colonial conquest - 14 periods
   - The learner should be able to discuss the role of the agents of the colonial conquest.
5. Unit 5: African response to the colonial rule - 14 periods
   - The learner should be able to assess the African reactions towards the European colonisation.
6. Unit 6: Contribution of the main ancient civilisations to the development of the modern society - 38 periods
   - The learner should be able to explore the contribution of the main ancient civilisations of the world to the development of the modern society.
7. Unit 7: Analyse the political, economic and intellectual developments in the medieval and modern times - 32 periods
   - The learner should be able to examine the political, economic and intellectual progresses in the medieval and modern times.
8. Unit 8: Major European events from 1789 and 1835 - 52 periods
   - The learner should be able to evaluate the major events that took place in Europe from 1789 and 1835; their causes, course and its effects.
9. Unit 9: Human Rights codification and its impact - 10 periods
   - The learner should be able to explain how the Human Rights have been codified since second World War and the impact this has had in Rwanda and the other countries.
10. Unit 10: National cohesion, identities and the respect of Human Rights - 12 periods
    - The learner should be able to survey the factors affecting the national cohesion, identities in terms of Culture, History and the economic activities, and respect of the Human Rights.
11. Unit 11: Role of Gacaca and Abunzi in conflict solving - 12 periods
    - The learner should be able to examine the role of Abunzi and Gacaca jurisdictions in solving the conflicts in the Rwandan society.
12. Unit 12: Various forms of interdependence - 10 periods
    - The learner should be able to analyse the causes and the effects of the various forms of interdependence.

5.3. History Syllabus for Senior Five (252 total periods)
At the end of Senior 5, a learner will be able to:

- Explain the major changes that took place in Rwanda during the first and second republics.
- Evaluate different forms of genocides ideology and how the genocide has been denied in Rwanda and in other
- societies.
- Assess the impact of colonial in Africa by giving concrete examples from the great lakes region.
- Examine the origin, causes and the consequences of the major European events that occurred from 1836 to 1878.
- Evaluate the roles of the national duties, national and international judicial systems in nation building.
- Discuss the concepts of dignity and self-reliance in reference to Rwanda.

1. Unit 1: First and the Second Republics of Rwanda - 12 periods
   - The learner should be able to examine the achievements and the failures of the First and the Second Republics of Rwanda.
2. Unit 2: Genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad - 14 periods
   - The learner should be able to analyse different forms of genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad.
3. Unit 3: Origin of Islam and its impact in West Africa - 20 periods
   - The learner should be able to explain the origin of Islam, its role in the expansion of West African empires and its impact.
4. Unit 4: European domination and the exploitation of Africa in the19th century - 22 periods
   - The learner should be able to describe the European domination, exploitation in Africa and its consequences in the 19th century.
5. Unit 5: Impact of the colonial rule on the African societies - 18 periods
   - The learner should be able to assess the political, economic and social transformations brought by the colonial rule in Africa.
6. Unit 6: Major European events from 1836 to 1878 - 90 periods
   - The learner should be able to evaluate the major events that took place in Europe from 1836 to 1878; their causes, course and the effects.
7. Unit 7: The national duties and obligations - 32 periods
   - The learner should be able to analyse the national duties and obligations.
8. Unit 8: National and international judicial systems and instruments - 20 periods
   - The learner should be able to analyse the national, international judicial systems and instruments, and how the justice has been delayed and denied in the Rwandan society.
9. Unit 9: Dignity and self-reliance - 24 periods
   - The learner should be able to identify the lessons that can be learnt from the successful self –reliance policies of the African leaders.

5.4.1. Key Competencies for Senior six (252 total periods)
At the end of Senior Six, a learner will be able to:
- Assess how the genocide can be prevented in Rwanda and elsewhere in the World.
- Assess the origin, rise, organisation and decline of the different forms of slavery in

Africa.

● Examine the causes and the impact of neo colonialism in Africa with special attention to Rwanda.
● Evaluate the major changes /reforms that took place in the Medieval, Age of Enlighten and the modern times.
● Evaluate the types of national service in the nation building.
● Discuss the role of unity and reconciliation in the transformation of the Rwandan society and other societies.
● Describe the concept of dignity, self-reliance and resolution of conflicts in various societies including Rwanda.

1. Unit 1: Post-colonial Rwanda - 20 periods
   • The learner should be able to assess the causes, course and the consequences of the Liberation war of 1990-1994; the achievements and the challenges of the government of Rwanda after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.
2. Unit 2: Prevention of Genocide - 22 periods
   • The learner should be able to explain the measures of preventing genocide from happening again in Rwanda and elsewhere.
3. Unit 3: Forms of slave trade - 34 periods
   • The learner should be able to analyse the emergence, organisation and the impact of slave trade in Africa.
4. Unit 4: African nationalism and the acquisition of independence - 24 periods
   • The learner should be able to analyse the causes of the African nationalism, the means used to acquire the independence in Africa and its impact on the African societies.
5. Unit 5: Causes and the impact of neo colonialism - 30 periods
   • The learner should be able to examine the causes and the effects of neo colonialism in Africa.
6. Unit 6: The performance of the Age of Enlightenment - 10 periods
   • The learner should be able to assess the impact of the ideas of enlightenment.
7. Unit 7: Causes, course and the effects of the first and second World Wars - 24 periods
   • The learner should be able to examine the causes, course and the effects of the first and the second World Wars.
8. Unit 8: Different types of national service in the various societies - 18 periods
   • The learner should be able to explain the different types of national service in Rwanda and other countries.
9. Unit 9: The role of democracy, unity and reconciliation in the transformation of the Rwandan society - 22 periods
   • The learner should be able to examine the role of democracy, unity and reconciliation in the transformation of the Rwandan society.
10. Unit 10: Dignity and self-reliance - 26 units
    • The learner should be able to critique how the home-grown solutions contribute to self-reliance (Girinka, Ubudehe, Kuremera, Umuganda, Agaciro, Imihigo, Itorero and Community Policing).
11. Unit 11: Prevention and resolution of the conflicts - 22 periods
    • The learner should be able to explore the ways of preventing and resolving

conflicts and violence at the national and international levels

Biography

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EDUCATION

Ph.D. (May 2018): Comparative and International Education, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.
> <u>Dissertation:</u> Secondary social studies curriculum in post-genocide Rwanda as mediated by UNESCO and post-Holocaust education in Germany

Doctoral Coursework (2013-2014): Curriculum Studies, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK.

M.S. (2013): Teaching, Learning, and Leadership in Curriculum and Instruction, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK
> <u>Creative Component:</u> Multicultural Texts in Advanced Secondary English Literature Courses

B.A. (2009, **Magna Cum Laude): English and Education,** The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, OK.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant (2016-Present), Office of International Affairs (OIA), Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

Research Associate (2014-Present), Comparative and International Education (CIE), Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.

Senior Expert (2014-Present), Lehigh Education Advancement and Development (LEAD) Team, Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.

Editorial Assistant, *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education* **(2014-Present),** Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.

Research Fellow, CADRE3 Mountaintop Project & Iacocca Internship (2016), Lehigh University, Bethlehem PA.

Facilitator, EvoLUtion Seminar (2015, 2016, 2017), Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.

Testing Consultant (2013-2014), Oklahoma End of Instruction English III Exam, Oklahoma City, OK.

Secondary English Language Arts Instructional Specialist (2013-2014), Broken Arrow Public Schools, Broken Arrow, OK.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.
Teaching Assistant, CIE 409: Teacher Quality in Comparative Contexts (2016).

Teaching Assistant, CIE 407: Grant Writing & Fundraising in International Education (2016).

Teaching Assistant, EDUC 403: Research (2015-2016).

Broken Arrow Public Schools, Broken Arrow, OK.
Advanced Placement English III Teacher/Head Cross-Country & Assistant Track Coach (2011-2013), Broken Arrow High School.

English III Teacher/Assistant Cross-Country & Assistant Track Coach (2010-2011), Broken Arrow High School.

Tulsa Public Schools, Tulsa, OK.
English II & III Teacher/Head Cross-Country & Track Coach (2009-2010), Central High School.

PUBLICATIONS AND SCHOLARSHIP

Refereed Journal Articles

Al-bakr, F., Bruce, E.R., **Davidson, P.M**., Schlaffer, E., & Kropiunigg, U. (2017). Empowered but not equal: Challenging the traditional gender roles as seen by university students in Saudi Arabia. *FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education, 4*(1).

Wiseman, A.W., Al-bakr, F., **Davidson, P.M.**, & Bruce, E. (2017). Using technology to break gender barriers: Gender differences in teachers' information and communication technology use in Saudi Arabian classrooms. *Compare*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2017.1301200

Journal Article Manuscripts in Preparation

Davidson, P.M. The influence of time on the appearance and frequency of mass ethnic-based human rights violations in secondary social studies curricula. In preparation for submission to *Journal of Curriculum Studies.*

Wiseman, A.W., Al-bakr, F., & **Davidson, P.M.** Gender differences in ICT-based instruction in Saudi intermediate schools. In preparation for submission to *Computers & Education.*

Wiseman, A.W., & **Davidson, P.M.** A Cross-national analysis of the impact of preservice teacher training on teacher quality. In preparation for submission to the *Journal of Teacher Education.*

Book Chapters

Davidson, P.M., Taylor, C.S., Park, M., Dzotsenidze, N., & Wiseman, A.W. (forthcoming 2017). Reflecting on trends in comparative and international education: A three year examination of research publications (page numbers forthcoming). In A.W. Wiseman (Ed.) *Annual Review for Comparative and International Education 2017.* Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Group Limited.

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Wiseman, A.W., **Davidson, P.M.**, & Brereton, J. (2017). Teacher certification reforms in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (pp. 218-238). In G.K. LeTendre & M. Akiba (Eds.), *International Handbook on Teacher Quality and Policy.* New York: Routledge.

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Wiseman, A.W., Damaschke-Deitrick, L., Bruce, E., **Davidson, P.**, & Taylor, C.S. (2016). Transnational scientized education discourse: A cross-national comparison (pp. 121-146), in J. Schmid, K.S. Amos, J. Schrader, & A. Thiel (Eds.), *Internationalisierte Welten der Bildung – Bildung und Bildungspolitik im globalen Vergleich (Internationalized Worlds of Education - Education and Training Policies in Global Comparison).* Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Wiseman, A.W., Anderson, E., **Davidson, P.**, & Taylor, C.S. (2015). Building a foundation for reflecting on comparative and international education: A synthesis of published comparative education research (pp. 1-16). In A.W. Wiseman & E. Anderson (Eds.), *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education 2015* (International Perspectives on Education and Society, Volume 27). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Chapter Manuscripts in Preparation

Davidson, P.M., Park, M., Dzotsenidze, N., & Wiseman, A.W. (2018). The osmosis of comparative and international education: Where, how, and why CIE research appears in non-CIE journals. In A.W. Wiseman (Ed.), *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education 2018.* Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Davidson, P.M., Bruce, E., Damaschke-Deitrick, L. (2018). The Intricate Web of Educational Influence: The International Cyborg Dialectic and Corporate Funding. In T. Jules & F. Salajan (Eds.), *The Educational Intelligent Economy: Big Data, Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning and the Internet of Things in Education.* Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Edited Volumes in Preparation

Wiseman, A.W., & **Davidson, P.M.** (Eds.). *Cross-nationally Comparative, Evidence-based Educational Policymaking and Reform*. Forthcoming volume in the International Perspectives on Education and Society Series (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing).

PRESENTATIONS

Scholarly Presentations

Davidson, P.M. (March 2017) A Review of UNESCO's Involvement in Education in Post-Genocide Contexts. Presented at Comparative and International Education Society, Atlanta, GA.

Novak, C., **Davidson, P.M.,** Ridgard, T., & Telesford, A. (March 2017) Calculated Actions to Deliver Racial and Ethnic Equity in Education (CADRE$_3$): A Cross-Cultural Exploration of Segregation and Desegregation in the United States and Czech Republic. Presented at Comparative and International Education Society, Atlanta, GA.

Wiseman, W.W., Damaschke-Deitrick, L., **Davidson, P.M.**, Bruce, E. (March 2017) Education as a Panacea: International Scientization Discourse in Education. Presented at Comparative and International Education Society, Atlanta, GA.

Novak, C., **Davidson, P.M.,** Ridgard, T., & Telesford, A. (October 2016) Calculated Actions to Deliver Racial and Ethnic Equity in Education (CADRE$_3$): A Cross-Cultural Exploration of Segregation and Desegregation in the United States and Czech Republic. Presented at Northeastern Educational Research Association, Trumbull, CT.

Wiseman, A.W. Damaschke-Deitrick, L., **Davidson, P.M.**, Bruce, E., & Taylor, C.S. (June 2016) Scientization Discourse in Education: Globalization and Contextualization. Presented at The Scientization of the World: A Global Cultural Cognitive Pattern of Late Modernity, Tübingen, Germany.

Davidson, P.M. (December 2015) The Curricular Appearance of Mass Ethnic-Based Human Rights Violations: An Examination of Formal Curriculum in Rwanda and South Africa. Presented at the Lehigh-Tübingen Colloquium, Bethlehem, PA.

Davidson, P.M. (December 2015) The Curricular Appearance of Mass Ethnic-Based Human Rights Violations: An Examination of Formal Curriculum in Rwanda and South Africa. Poster presentation at Academic Discovery Showcase, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

Davidson, P.M. (March 2015) Examining the 'Fit' of World Culture Theory to Comparative Education Research: The Influence of Time on the Curricular Appearance of Mass Ethnic-Based Human Rights Violations. Presented at the Comparative and International Education Society, Washington, DC.

Davidson, P.M. (April 2014) Redefining a Community of Difference: Multicultural Education and Community across Difference. Presented at the annual Oklahoma Educational Studies Association (OESA) conference, Stillwater, OK.

GRANTS

Research Funding and Training Grants

Refugees Locally and Globally: Providing Support through Thoughtful Dialogue & Mindful Actions. (2016). $2,500 *(funded)*. Lehigh University bLUeprint Grant. Principal Investigator: Lisa Damaschke-Deitrick, Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

Evaluation of the Agahozo-Shalom Youth Village Monitoring and Evaluation System, Rwanda. (2015). $21,518 (*funded*). Agahozo-Shalom Youth Village Foundation. Principal Investigator: Alexander W. Wiseman, Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

A Cross-national Analysis of the Impact of Preservice Teacher Training on Teacher Quality. (2015). $500 (*funded*). Teacher Education and Development Study in Mathematics (TEDS-M), Michigan State University, Lansing, MI. Principal Investigator: Alexander W. Wiseman, Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

Advanced Placement Training Grant for Broken Arrow Public Schools. (2013). $24,945 (*funded)*, Oklahoma State Department of Education, Oklahoma City, OK. Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

Submitted

Project Technology, Education, and Database (Project TED). (2017). Microsoft Philanthropies. In partnership with Agahozo-Shalom Youth Village. Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

Project Empowerment through Agricultural Training (Project EAT). (2017). Presbyterian Hunger Program. In partnership with Agahozo-Shalom Youth Village. Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

Beyond Books, Beyond School Walls: Expectations and Realities of Education's Role in Assisting Refugee Youth Resettlement. (2016). Spencer Foundation. Principal Investigators: Alexander W. Wiseman & Lisa Damaschke-Deitrick. Team Member: **Petrina M. Davidson.**

AWARDS AND HONORS

Graduate Student Life Leadership Award (2017), Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

College of Education Graduate Student Leadership and Service Award (2017), Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

University Fellowship (2014-2015), Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.

Magna Cum Laude (2009). The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, OK.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Committee Member (2016), ACE Internationalization Laboratory, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

President (2015-2016), CIE Club, Lehigh University, College of Education, Bethlehem, PA.

United Nations Youth Representative (2014-2016), Peacebuilding Solutions, Atlanta, GA.

Committee Member (2015), Vice President & Vice Provost of International Affairs Search Committee, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA.

Ad Hoc Reviewer
Teachers College Record: 2017
Sustainability: 2016
Educational Researcher: 2015, 2016
Teaching and Teacher Education: 2015
International Journal of Educational Development: 2015
American Educational Research Association
Comparative Education: New Perspectives on the State, the Global, and the Local
Comparative Education Review: 2015
Educational Development: 2014
Frontiers in Education in China: 2014
Journal of International Organizations Studies: 2014

Professional Affiliations
Comparative and International Education Society (CIES)
American Educational Research Association (AERA)
Northeast Educational Research Association (NERA)
National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE)
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD)