

FINAL NARRATIVE AND FINANCIAL REPORT

EDUCATION FOR RECONCILIATION: CREATING A HISTORY CURRICULUM AFTER GENOCIDE

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Background

The work of this project built upon the findings from two prior grants to the Human Rights Center. The first, “Communities in Crisis: Justice and Social Reconstruction in Rwanda and Former Yugoslavia,” funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation was a project to examine the processes of social reconstruction and reconciliation in countries that had experienced ethnic cleansing and genocide. The principal focus of the project was to look at the role of retributive justice in the rebuilding of societies. During the course of this three-year study, we increasingly became aware of the importance of the schools, both in the events leading up to the violence and the possibilities inherent in education as one pathway to rebuilding communities that practice tolerance, respect human rights, and contribute to the development of a social identity that transcends ethnic group affiliations. This led to our second grant, funded by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, “Intrastate Conflict and Social Reconstruction: Education for Reconciliation” that focused specifically on how community stakeholders in the same countries – students, parents, teachers, school administrators – viewed the role of schools and the teaching of history. This work is described in detail in our book, “My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity”, published by Cambridge

University Press in February 2005. In 2003, we applied to the United States Institute of Peace to address the challenge of teaching history in Rwanda, a country that had placed a moratorium on teaching its youth about the past. As we indicated in our proposal, "Countries recovering from violence are often unable to reach consensus on how to interpret the catastrophic events that have befallen them. The teaching of history can become a focal point of political conflict and manipulation, as contending groups seek to promote their political agendas through the school curriculum."

The overall goal of this proposal was to initiate a process of restoring the teaching of history to Rwanda's schools by bringing the voices of the communities to the table with historians, government bureaucrats, international curriculum experts, and civil society. The principal objectives were:

1. to determine what was most needed for developing an effective history curriculum and for assisting teachers to deliver such a curriculum;
2. to form working groups to gather resource materials and make recommendations for their use in a history curriculum;
3. to write recommendations for the Ministry of Education and suggest structures for assisting teachers and schools as well as to create curricular guidelines and materials.

Project Partners

We had two project partners in Rwanda - the Faculty of Education at the National University of Rwanda (NUR), principally Innocent Mugisha, a lecturer with whom we had worked on the Hewlett grant and Deogratias Byanafashe, Professor and Chair of the Department of History, Dean of Humanities, and a senior historian in the country; the second partnership was with the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), part of the Ministry of Education

(MINEDUC) whose director was John Rutayisire. Mugisha and Rutayisire became the in-country project coordinators.

We invited as collaborators, the organization “Facing History and Ourselves” (FHAO), the Cambridge-based nonprofit group that has been teaching teachers how to incorporate the lessons of the Holocaust and other difficult histories into the teaching of history. Initially focused on US schools, FHAO has expanded its international focus to consider how to teach about contemporary genocides and ethnic cleansing. Currently, in their international programs they work in such countries as South Africa, Rwanda, Northern Ireland, and Colombia. In this project, we worked with Dr. Karen Murphy who is directs the international programs.

US Participants

In addition to working with our Rwandan collaborators, we sought to bring into the process the expertise of specialists in Rwandan history and politics as well as in curriculum development and democratic teaching methods. The project benefited from the contributions of a number of American scholars who were able to travel to Rwanda to share their expertise:

Sarah W. Freedman, Professor, Graduate School of Education, UC Berkeley and Human Rights Center Fellow

Harvey M. Weinstein, Clinical Professor, School of Public Health and Associate Director, Human Rights Center, UC Berkeley

Timothy Longman, Associate Professor, Political Science and Africana Studies, Vassar College and Human Rights Center Fellow

Karen Murphy, Director, International Programs, Facing History and Ourselves

David Newbury, Professor, African Studies, Smith College

Catherine Newbury, Professor of Government, Smith College

Jonathan Zimmerman, Professor of Humanities and Social Sciences, Director,
History of Education Program, New York University

Daniel Perlstein, Professor, Graduate School of Education, UC Berkeley

Project Development

We employed five strategies to reach our objectives. First, we focused on paying attention to and building support in the political arena; second, educating our Rwandan collaborators in the methods of FHAO; third, selecting participants who were broadly representative of the constituencies that we hoped to reach and also, who might serve as disseminators of the model; fourth, focusing on the need for critical thinking of the known facts about historical events that would allow for contested interpretations to emerge and finally, modeling classroom management strategies that encouraged dialogue and debate.

Year One

During the first few months of the project, we paid particular attention to the question of ownership of the curriculum. It was essential for the Rwandans to feel that this was their history and that our role was to assist in opening up a door to its restoration in the curriculum. It took a few months before a memorandum of understanding was signed between UC Berkeley and MINEDUC, but this was ultimately successfully completed. In the meantime, we spent significant time working with our Rwandan colleagues to develop an agenda and plan for a weeklong conference that would be held in Kigali in June 2004. The purpose was for the group to experience and understand democratic educational structures and then to form working groups which would create

curricular materials. The selection of participants was a critical issue e.g. assuring a representation of Hutu and Tutsi (a challenge when one cannot discuss ethnicity) and balancing the needs of MINEDUC staff with securing representation from relevant stakeholders. Curriculum development has historically been conducted by the Ministry of Education with little popular participation. Rwanda has not had a tradition of involving teachers, students, civil society, and other stakeholders, and it was important in our process to insist that such stakeholders be included.

We were fortunate to secure an additional \$22,000 from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation that allowed us to bring an additional historian from the United States and increase the stipend and improve accommodations offered our Rwandan colleagues who would attend the workshops.

As described in our progress report of 11/1/04, the first training conference began with a half-day program sponsored by MINEDUC at the Kigali Institute of Education. This was at the request of the Ministry and involved participation from local and international NGO's, government, international funders, school representatives, and the media. It was important to the government that this project be acknowledged widely. The project team was invited to spend an evening with the Minister of Education and the Deputy Minister who enthusiastically endorsed the project. Forty participants took part in the weeklong program, and we observed important changes in all the participants, who began to understand the purposes of "democratic" classrooms and the need to teach history in a way that was very different from the stand-up lecturing that had become the norm as a legacy of the Belgian system. Initial discussions focused on the most important elements to include in a Rwandan history curriculum that was based on a community perspective, appropriate means for the teaching of history, potential difficulties that could be encountered in curriculum development and in the teaching of history, and logistical arrangements for ongoing curriculum development. The program also included the modeling of a Holocaust curriculum developed by Facing History and

Ourselves as an example of the approaches to teaching history that we wished to encourage. At the end of the week, four Working Groups were formed, each with a facilitator and a recorder/writer. Each group would address a different historical period – pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and the 1990's, focused on a specific theme or event. The pre-colonial group chose the theme of “clans” and their relationship to myth; the colonial group selected the “Mortehan reform” of 1926, emphasizing the political, economic and social dimensions; the post-colonial group chose to examine the policy of regional and ethnic exclusion and the 1990s group selected three themes related to education – multilingualism, education policy and democratic access to education. A major concern was resource materials and teaching methods. Our goal was to deliver to the Ministry of Education a resource book that would contain the beginnings of a model history curriculum. Professor Deo Byanafashe agreed to coordinate the material from all of the groups and to be the Principal Writer of the resource book.

Following the June 2004 workshop, Professor Longman and Ms. Murphy of FHAO met with representatives of NCDC and the NUR to discuss how MINEDUC could seek additional funding for the project to help sustain the project after the completion of the USIP grant. We discussed with John Rutayisire and several others possible funders, how to prepare a grant application, and an appropriate timetable to prepare grants for the continuation of this project. We suggested a particular need for grants to cover additional curriculum development, the publication of teaching materials, and teacher training. We also offered to review grant applications as they were prepared.

From June 2004 through September 2005, each of the Working Groups met regularly, facilitated by the Project Coordinators. Facilitators and writers met regularly with the Project Coordinators (Rutiyasire and Mugisha) and the Principal Writer (Professor Byanafashe) to address such issues as translation of materials, choice of language for writing, group process issues, selection of a common format, action plans and incorporation of the FHAO methodology.

Coordinator Training

Mr. Mugisha made an initial visit to New York for an introduction to methods and curriculum development where he met with Freedman, Weinstein, Longman, Murphy and Perlstein. In addition, Mugisha and Rutayisire attended a “Facing History and Ourselves” workshop in Boston in July 2004 and also received intensive training on an individual basis from Ms. Murphy and Marc Skvirsky, the Director of the program. They also attended a FHAO global symposium in August 2005.

Year Two

During the week of January 31-February 5, 2005, Professor Byanafashe, principal writer for the four groups made a visit to UC Berkeley. The purpose of this visit was to review the materials gathered by each group and to assess their suitability both in content and in pedagogy. Byanafashe met with Professors Freedman and Weinstein and with Karen Murphy of “Facing History and Ourselves”. Meetings were scheduled daily. The major challenges were three-fold: to assess the content to see that it was unbiased and accurate, to create a consistent structure across groups for the presentation of materials, and to ensure that there were lesson plans that could be used readily within classrooms. We scheduled telephone conference calls with Timothy Longman, and with David and Catherine Newbury, our history and political science consultants to clarify the first and we worked extensively with Professor Byanafashe to illustrate what needed to be done to convert these materials into lesson plans and curriculum. Professor Perlstein also attended some meetings as did our Rwandan graduate student researcher, Jean-Pierre Karayege. We also prepared a summary of the deliverables that we expected to give to the MINEDUC by September. Professor Byanafashe saw the task clearly and used some of the time to write introductions to the modules and to determine how the materials (oral histories, archived documents, newspaper clippings etc) could be used.

What became clear during the course of the week was that further work needed to be carried out in the area of teaching. The pull to teach in the traditional manner was quite strong. We decided then to send Ms. Murphy to Rwanda to work intensively with the groups on pedagogy. She visited Kigali from April 13-20/2005.

During that week, Ms. Murphy and the groups reviewed the outline for the resource book that we had developed with Professor Byanafashe during his visit. They considered which materials still had to be collected as well as strategies for developing the lessons and activities. It was decided that each group would prepare two lessons for their case to present at the June workshop. The emphasis would be both on content and on the new pedagogy that Rwanda has adopted, i.e., with a focus on critical thinking and participatory learning. The eight lessons that would be facilitated by the group in June would be a useful assessment tool for the project partners. The presentations would allow us to understand more about the work that remained to be done as well as act as a barometer of sorts for understanding how well last year's workshop was understood and integrated into the four working groups' resource collection and practice. During the meetings Ms. Murphy was pleased to hear the participants discuss strategies for taking the materials they collected and using them to help students to think critically about the Rwandan past and to make connections to themselves and what is happening in Rwanda and the world today. Given that the four groups had been meeting separately, there was some potential for the groups to take different paths. They had not—the cases were clearly in conversation with each other, and they could be united through the lens of particular themes as well as through chronology.

By the time of the second workshop in June 2005, we had completed an initial version of the resource book for teachers, trainers, and curriculum developers.

The June 2005 workshop consisted of intensive work with the writers/facilitators of the Working Groups and of actual teaching of the sample lessons to all the

participants by a teacher/member of each Working Group. We had lively debates around the content of the lessons primarily because the underlying theme that emerged from each of the groups was that of “identity”, a very contentious subject in Rwanda. Surprisingly, the groups decided that while the label was unnecessary, no changes were indicated in the content of the group lessons. In fact, over the year, we had seen increasing openness on the part of the participants to exploring the construction of identity that led to the genocide. Thus, the group wholeheartedly accepted the content, methods, primary sources, and critical questions raised in the four modules.

The lesson for each group differed in structure and goals but the focus on learner participation and critical inquiry was uniform. The teachers were open to feedback as were each of the members of the group. Clearly, the teachers had put a great deal of effort into these presentations. As none of the groups were able to prepare a second lesson, each was asked to submit examples of other lessons that could be used to illustrate the themes of their module.

At the end of the four days we distributed evaluation sheets and also conducted four focus groups to ascertain how well we had accomplished our goals (please see attached forms). These are reviewed below.

Through the summer and autumn, the modules were modified based on the comments that the groups had received. Since the writing was in French, the manual required translation into English and significant editing. While our goal was to turn the materials over to the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) in September, Professor Byanafashe felt that more time was necessary, given the critiques of the principal investigators and the workshop participants.

The Formal Handover

In November 2005, we were asked by the Ministry of Education through the NCDC to formally handover in a public forum the materials that had been developed. We had known from the beginning that the Ministry was invested in

opening the door to the teaching of the country's history and we saw their request as their opportunity to demonstrate their commitment and success. Professor Weinstein attended the meeting, held at NCDC on February 24, 2006, as the project team representative. The ceremony was attended by more than 60 people and was broadcast on national television. On the dais, were Professor Byanafashe, the Dean of Humanities and head of the department of history at NUR, Professor Weinstein, Professor Mugisha, and Charles Gahima, the director of the National Curriculum Development Centre. Several of our workshop participants from Kigali attended as well. The MINEDUC was very positive about the resource book and materials and there was much excitement in the room from the attendees. It was apparent that the Rwandans themselves had taken ownership of the project and felt proud of the work product that we developed.

Project Results as of June 2006

The Education for Reconciliation successfully reached the objectives outlined in the initial proposal to USIP i.e. 1) clarifying what was needed for an effective history curriculum and assisting teachers to deliver it; 2) forming working groups to develop the model; and 3) writing recommendations for MINEDUC and creating curricular guidelines and materials.

The results include:

- Opening up the process for writing and teaching the history of Rwanda in the country – a process stalled for over a decade.
- Capacity building for teachers, and KIE, NUR and MINEDUC staff in
 - new methods for researching and writing history materials preparatory to curriculum writing
 - new teaching methods

- building a network of teachers, scholars, and other stakeholders for future work in Rwanda
- building a strong network connecting Rwanda scholars and other specialists with international counterparts
- contributed to the interest of participants to go on for higher degrees and further scholarly pursuits
- Materials development – the first step in modeling a curriculum development process
 - Drafted case materials for four periods of Rwandan history
 - Obtained primary and secondary source documents
 - Developed a model of collaboration among students, teachers, parents and scholars
- Pretesting of sample lessons for each case
- List of additional lessons for each case
- List of suggestions for further curriculum development
- Teaching strategies for each case, with an emphasis on critical thinking and debate
- Offered additional training through FHAO
- Plans for ongoing support for teacher training through FHAO

A copy of the resource book containing these materials was submitted to USIP in February 2006.

Future Development

Two distinct but related projects demand further development: 1) creation of additional history materials to develop a full history curriculum and 2) teacher training, with new history resources using methods that emphasize a student-centered, interactive approach. These methods will be applicable in other subject areas.

Curriculum

At the end of 2005, our colleague, John Rutayisire, the Director of the National Curriculum Development Center was promoted to a new position as Executive Director of the National Examinations Council. While his work on our project continued, the NCDC appointed a new director, Charles Gahima, who committed himself and his agency to the realization of the project. At the February 24 meeting, he outlined the next steps. He proposed that work on expanding the modules into a full history curriculum begin at once (Phase 2) with the goal of developing the curriculum by the end of the summer of 2006; Phase 3 would utilize groups similar to ours to develop teaching manuals using a participatory approach; Phase 4 would roll out teacher training and the commission of textbooks based on the curriculum. At the same time, the training of teachers using the FHAO approach would move ahead and the modules we developed would be tested in the schools. His goal was to have a full history curriculum in the schools by the end of 2007-8. How realistic this timeline is remains to be seen. However, the NCDC is to gain new independence this year with control over its budget and with an independent advisory board. At that time, it appeared that Mr. Gahima whose graduate degrees include advanced work in history and geography, would honor the commitments that were made by John Rutayisire.

Teacher Training

In January 2006, our collaborators, "Facing History and Ourselves", with support from USIP, initiated the training of teachers to utilize this curriculum and to adopt a more participatory style. Two of the participants of our project asked to

be facilitators, both historians and academics (one from the NUR and the other from the Kigali Institute of Education, KIE). One hundred and twenty teachers from around the country were selected representing the diversity of the country and from these, 20 will be trained as lead teachers. The training was quite successful and FHAO will be providing more details. Karen Murphy reported that “the two years of work that we (the facilitators) did with UCB made all the difference in terms of the trust among us, and a sense of shared goals.”

Professors Freedman and Weinstein continued to collaborate with Dr. Murphy in workshop design and planning.

In July 2006, Freedman returned to Rwanda to participate in the second FHAO workshop and to evaluate how the project was developing since February. This workshop funded through the USIP grant to FHAO, was to introduce 40 of the teachers from the UCB USIP-funded history curriculum project (all 40 had attended the January 2006 workshop and they represented every region in the country) to materials from FHAO and to help the teachers combine these materials with the materials the UCB-based project developed through the earlier USIP grant for developing materials on teaching Rwandan history. Professor Freedman specifically wanted to help with synthesizing the two projects and to observe how teachers understood the synthesis. Karen Murphy drafted an agenda for combining the Rwandan history curriculum materials with FHAO methods and materials and Freedman worked with her to refine the agenda. The agenda included portions of the workshop led by Murphy on the FHAO materials and approach interspersed with portions led by Rwandan facilitators, who were historians from the National University of Rwanda and who had played a major role in the material development through the Berkeley grant. Besides working on the agenda, during the workshops Freedman represented the Berkeley project and tape-recorded and documented the interactions during the workshop. She also conducted follow-up interviews with individuals who raised interesting issues with respect to implementation of the history materials. Gail Weldon, Deputy Chief Educational Specialist for History from Capetown, South Africa, was also present during the workshops and was documenting them for her dissertation; her presence was helpful in that we were able both to

participate and help Karen Murphy while also documenting. Freedman was particularly interested in noting any tensions the teachers experienced regarding implementation of the materials developed through the UCB USIP grant and then following up with teachers to understand issues of implementation they faced or expected to face.

Overall the workshop was extraordinarily successful; however, there was one major problem. The history materials had not been reproduced for the participants in spite of the fact that the funds had been given to NCDC for their production. Charles Gahima has refused to distribute the materials unless they can be published by his office under the sole copyright of NCDC. Neither NUR nor UCB feel comfortable with NCDC holding sole copyright of these materials, since they were produced not by NCDC but by those affiliated with the two universities. As of this writing the dispute has not been resolved.

In spite of the lack of available materials for the participants, Karen Murphy did an outstanding job of managing the entire workshop and teaching about Facing History and about participatory methods. The Rwandan facilitators were charged with (a) providing information about Rwandan history; (b) modeling participatory and democratic approaches to using the materials on Rwandan history; and (c) connecting the materials to concepts from Facing History, such as bystander and perpetrator behavior, ethical decision-making, threats to democracy. They suffered from the lack of materials and experienced some difficulty with participatory methods, but they are learning to play a leadership role both in guiding the substance of the teaching and the ways of teaching.

A third workshop is planned for winter, 2007 and Freedman and Murphy met with Brian George, Public Affairs officer from the U.S. Embassy about the possibility of additional funding for teacher training

FHAO will be an important resource for follow-up to the Education for Reconciliation Project by

- Offering training in new methods of teaching
- Training that supports teaching history using the case study approach
- Training that draws on new history materials
- Offering access to a large network of resources (including scholars, teachers, and community leaders around the world)
- Supporting participation in and access to on-line support – including courses, materials, and discussions on issues pertinent to MINEDUC's goals and those of the country at large.

Recommendations to MINEDUC

We made the following recommendations to the Ministry:

1. Apply for grants to support future curriculum development using the model designed by this project, including additional lessons for the materials we developed and for the development of future cases that would add coverage of each era;
2. Apply for grants to fund materials development, especially for creation of background materials for students to read;
3. Hire writers to continue the curriculum development work and form a panel of advisors from our participants and the MINEDUC textbook committee;
4. Collaborate with KIE/NUR to pilot a teacher training course based on methods and resources from the project and to assist with additional lesson development;
5. Maintain the community formed by the project by supporting on-going activities. In addition, individuals should be drawn on for their individual expertise in their subject areas and their role in the project. They can be used as mentors.
6. Develop teacher training in other subject areas so that all teachers benefit from the new methods and are in conversation with each other;
7. Develop resource centers to support curriculum development and to provide ongoing in-service support.

Project Evaluation

There was no external evaluation of the project, although we constructed a survey, which all participants completed at the time of the last workshop for creating materials in June 2005 (Attachment 1) and at the same time we held four focus groups, which discussed the following three questions:

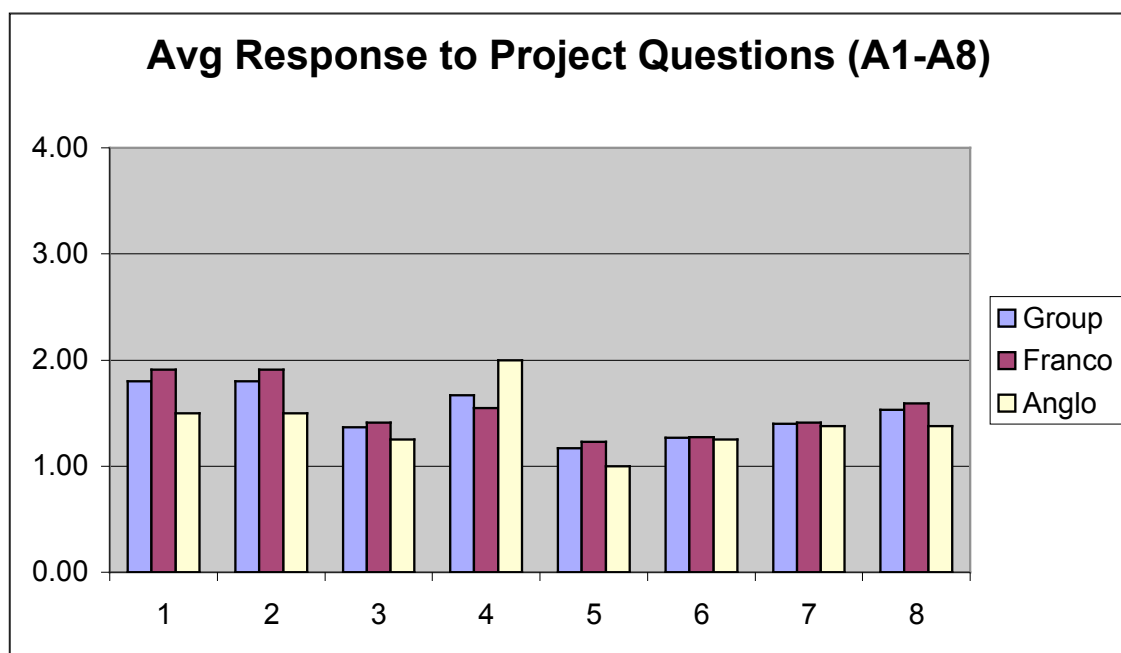
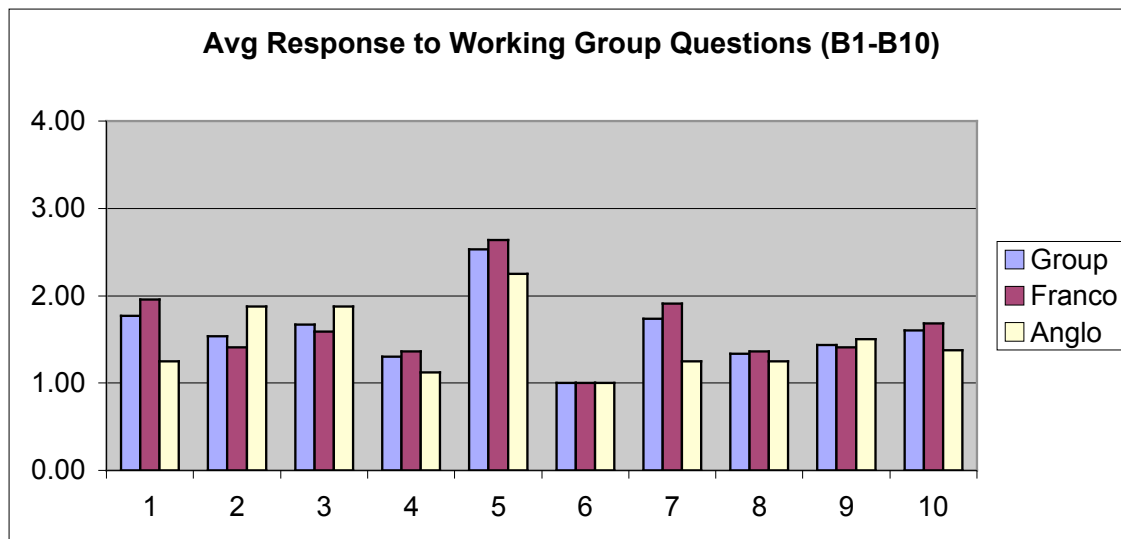
1. What did you think of the project overall?
2. What aspects of this project, if any, are most important for Rwandan schools?
3. What, if anything, in your thinking or your practice has changed as a result of this project?

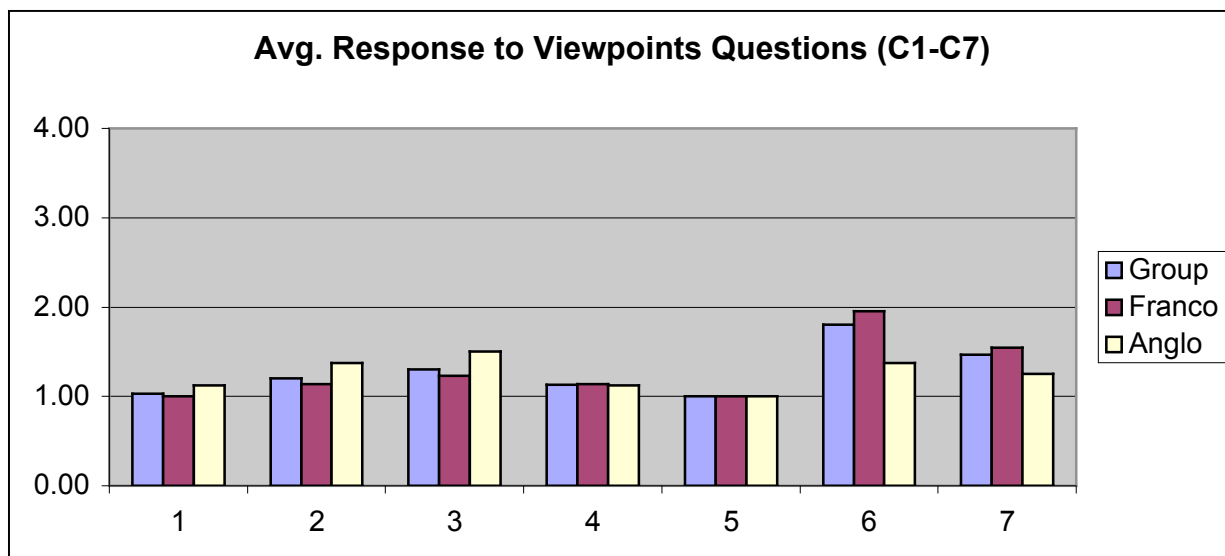
The first survey and focus groups included the producers of the history curriculum materials and explored their understanding about teaching history and the potential use of the materials. Of the four focus groups, one was held in English for the Anglophone participants, while three focus groups were in French. One French focus group included the Francophone university professors and MINEDUC officials, so that participants in the other two focus groups might feel free to speak. Through this structure, participants in the four working groups were distributed evenly across the four focus groups. The discussion in the focus groups allowed us both to obtain feedback from participants and also to see how well we were able to communicate the goals of the project

Freedman returned to Rwanda for the July 2006 workshop led by Murphy of FHAO for teachers who would use the materials with their students and who would become teacher-leaders in working with other teachers. At that time, she administered a similar survey to the 2005 survey with the participating teachers (Attachment 2). In addition to the surveys, Freedman recorded the workshops in order to study issues of implementation that surfaced during the workshop conversations. She further conducted follow-up, informal conversational interviews with participants who raised issues related to implementation. These recorded data have not yet been analyzed.

Generally across all evaluations, responses to the project in both years were overwhelmingly positive. The sections below provide detail on the responses.

June 2005 survey. The average responses, by language group, are reported in the charts below, with 1 being strongly agree and 4 strongly disagree. Everyone mostly agreed with all of the statements, with scores between 1 and 2. There is little variance in the average responses. Given the cultural constraints against disagreement, the difference between a 1 and 2 may be more significant than it would be in other contexts. Across the board there was positive response, however.





The Francophones reported learning more about teaching history (A1) and about developing materials for teaching history (A2) than the Anglophones. The Francophones also reported learning more about the importance of working with all Rwandan people.

Of all the questions, the only one evoking disagreement was the statement that resources were adequate (Question B5). This is not surprising, since there never are enough resources in Rwanda, and it is a fairly safe complaint. There also generally was more dissatisfaction among the Francophones with the dynamics of the working groups (B1, B4, B7, B10) than among the Anglophones. This is ironic since they reported learning more. Everyone reported feeling free to talk; there was no disagreement at all in B6. It seems that we were able to create a relatively safe community in the Rwandan context where all felt that they could voice their ideas and opinions.

Importantly, there was near total agreement about C5 (Schools are important for rebuilding Rwanda). In C1-C3, Anglophones were slightly more likely to express disagreement, but in C7, they were more likely to agree. Possibly the Anglophones, who are more likely to have political power or identify with the Anglophone government, have more jaded views of the benefits of critical thinking in history, but do feel that the project will be useful to the government.

The open-ended responses generally confirmed these responses. A more detailed analysis of these results is underway.

June 2005 focus groups. Participants in the focus groups were generally enthusiastic in their assessment of the project. Participants most commonly identified the opportunity to introduce new teaching methodologies to Rwanda as a positive contribution of the project. As one participant explained:

What I personally like most and that I find useful for Rwandan schools is the methodology that we applied, the way or manner of teaching. In the past ... the process of allowing a learner to feel free to think and criticize a lesson was rare. Teachers used to come in and dictate what they have prepared without any resistance. ... I liked very much this methodology [from the project]: allow a student time and a way of finding out himself and then criticize what he thinks should be criticized.

Another wrote that the workshop "provided us with means of involving students in finding answers to the questions during the lesson."

A second positive factor mentioned by a number of participants was the inclusion of various stakeholders in the process of developing curriculum materials. One participant stated:

What I have liked about this project is the way they tried to bring together different stakeholders of different categories: university teachers, students, secondary school teachers, all Rwandans from different backgrounds were invited to sit together and decide how to come up with a concrete tool. This makes me feel without doubt that the result from this workshop will be agreed on by all Rwandans.

Many participants expressed appreciation for the diverse source materials that they gathered to include in their lessons. They felt that this approach of including primary documents, interviews, and other sources would allow students to approach history in a more critical fashion. They also thought that it was good to bring in aspects of living history, interviews with Rwandans about their own history.

Finally, participants expressed appreciation that the foreign participants played a facilitating role, allowing the Rwandans to take control of the project themselves. As one said, "You are guiding us, but all ideas are ours." Another appreciated the German case study because it "helped us to avoid generalization of society in wrong doing."

Some concerns about the project were also expressed. A few people felt that the goals of the project were not spelled out as clearly as they would have liked and some commented on the late notice about the workshop. More substantial concerns were expressed over the applicability of the project in the classroom. Teachers expressed concern about the limited availability of textbooks and other resources, and some expressed concern about the amount of time that interactive teaching methods would take, given the requirements of preparing students to pass national examinations. The university professors were the most skeptical group about the project and how well it could actually be implemented in the classroom, while the secondary school teachers, students, and parents were quite enthusiastic on the whole.

In addition to the participants' assessments of the project, the focus groups allowed us to gain some insight into the impact of the project on the participants themselves. In this regard, the results were also quite positive. People spoke about “critical thinking” and “democratic teaching methods” in ways that demonstrated a good understanding of these principles. In fact, they spoke about the applicability of the methods in classes other than history class. A few people did speak about the project helping to develop a “true” Rwandan history in contrast to the “false” history previously taught, which does not reflect the approach to history that we were seeking to promote, but in general participants seemed to understand the importance of allowing discussion and not teaching a single “true” version of history. Many participants noted in this regard the importance of primary documents that allow students to make their own critical analysis.

An additional important factor that we can note from the discussion is the sense of ownership that the Rwandan participants had over the project. Several focus group participants spoke at length about how it was important that Rwandans were themselves developing the history curriculum. “In the past, foreigners could simply sit down and write whatever they want, according to their fantasy. But today, they have given a big role to nationals to actively participate in this project. ... Those who are representing this project are not dictating their points of view, but on the contrary, they want to hear first from the opinion of nationals.” Another added, “You never guided us by suggesting any key topics or facts that might lead our research or our work. You only gave us a methodology, a path to a good work, and we did the rest for ourselves as nationals, as Rwandans.”

June 2006 Surveys. On these surveys the scale was the reverse of the 2005 surveys, with 4 being strongly agree and 1 strongly disagree. There were only five Anglophones out of 33 who completed this survey; therefore, given the small numbers of Anglophones, results are combined for the two groups. The quantitative results follow:

1. I felt that I learned about the teaching of history	3.46
2. I understand the concept of a historical case study (as in the Facing History model).	3.33
3. I felt free to talk and express my opinions	3.76
4. I believe that history is open to interpretation.	3.33

5. I believe that disagreement about history is healthy.	3.52
6. I have learned methodologies that I can use in my classroom.	3.33

Across the board the participants said they felt free to express their opinions and that they learned about teaching history. Although they felt that they learned a great deal about methods they could use in their classrooms, they felt least secure about issues of methodology and application. Interestingly, although they felt that disagreement was healthy, they were a little less sure about how open to interpretation history actually is.

On the first of the more open-ended questions, participants wrote that they liked learning about participatory teaching methodology, in particular about how to use debate and brainstorming. As one wrote:

The workshop was very good because it has strengthened the importance of participatory method of teaching history. This method will benefit the Rwandan history learners to have a variety of historical facts from various people. For example, from fellow students, parents, community leaders and other teachers. Also the teacher is guided a way to teach a lot of things in few hours. This workshop has also led to interaction of various teachers from different provinces of the country. This will also help in the exchange of ideas.

Participants also felt that such methods meant "you have an opportunity to develop the democratic culture and its values in the mind of the children" and further that "that will bring after many or few years a great contribution in rebuilding the country." They further liked learning the substance of Rwandan history, including "the importance of clans" as well as "information of the world which I didn't know" [presumably about the Weimar republic which was the historical case we used with FHAO].

The main improvement they wanted was "more" documents, "sufficient" documents, "adequate" documents, "longer" documents. This finding highlights the importance of resolving the copyright issue and getting the documents to the teachers. Some also worried that there was not enough time for teaching using the methods we were advocating. Students now only have three hours a week devoted to history. Finally we were gratified that they asked for longer workshops. One said, that the "next workshop should be prolonged at least for two weeks. This will help the participants learn a lot of things." Several mentioned a need for regular workshops, "for example in three months" when after they had tried out the approach they could come in with samples. One requested that other places in the country be represented, such as Byumba, which is a largely Hutu area. Organizationally, they would have liked more advance notice for the workshop.

With respect to what they felt youth should learn, many mentioned the need to learn about history that led to the 1990-1994 wars and genocide. They hoped that students would learn about reconciliation and ethnic harmony as well as critical thinking. Several mentioned knowledge about the time of the "clans" especially because it was a time that models a society of Rwandans unified across ethnic divides, and they felt such a model could provide a base for reunification today. Finally, there was interest in focusing on the differences between pre- and post-colonial Rwanda. It is important to note that although participants generally seemed to understand notions of critical thinking and the role of multiple points of view and the complexity of varied actors in history and although they showed nuanced understandings of some issues, they might include somewhat propagandistic versions of a single truth alongside these more complicated remarks. For example, one wrote that students needed to learn nuances: "In Rwandan genocide just like anywhere else there were bystanders, perpetrators and people who chose to rescue others." That same person suggested that students should adhere to a mono-causal explanation what led to the Rwandan genocide: "The bad events . . . were initially initiated by colonialists who sewed seeds of divisionism and hatred." Finally they wanted students to come away with a spirit of "tolerance, solidarity, and patriotic values." Another mentioned students should also come away with a sense of "reconciliation, justice, and democracy."

With respect to advice for continued curriculum development, participants hoped more materials would be created and that those created would be made available to them. As one wrote, "make available the documentation which could help us to manage with the objectives of teaching history." Several also wanted a "small textbook" and they wanted a sequenced curriculum that took into account the levels of the students. They want the materials, as one said, to "aim to wipe out the old spirit of division" and to move toward a spirit of fraternity. This same writer also noted that it takes a long time to destroy old habits. Several wanted participatory methods to be taught to teachers in other subject matters. There was a request to follow up the workshops with visits to teachers in schools and for certificates given for completion of the workshop. A number emphasized the importance of including teachers in future material development.

Conclusions From the Evaluations

In sum all evaluations of this project have been extraordinarily positive, from the materials development to the follow up teacher education components. Although clearly there is a great deal of work yet to be done before a full history curriculum is developed and before a critical mass of Rwandan teachers have been trained in using new materials and implementing new methods, we have built a great deal of capacity in Rwanda through our collaborations. We hope that ongoing funding will continue to contribute to needed future development of materials and human resources, that the Rwandan team will begin to initiate activities and will be able to generate funding sources of their own, and that the Ministry of Education will assume a more positive leadership role. The main problem the project has faced is the slow distribution of the materials. We hope

that this problem is solved in the near future but even if problems internal to the NCDC are not solved, we still expect to distribute materials in the relatively immediate future and certainly before the FHAO January workshop.

Related Papers and Presentations

Stover, Eric and Weinstein, Harvey M. My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity, Cambridge University Press, December, 2004.

See especially:

Freedman, SW, Kambanda, D, Samuelson, Beth L et al. Confronting the Past in Rwandan Schools, pp. 248-265.

Freedman, SW, Corkalo, D, Levy, N et al. Public Education and Social Reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, pp. 226-247.

Pham, P, Weinstein, HM, and Longman, T. Trauma and PTSD Symptoms in Rwanda: Implications for Attitudes Toward Justice and Reconciliation. JAMA 292(5):602-612, August 4, 2004.

Weinstein, HM, Freedman, SW, and Hughson, H. School Voices: Education Systems After Identity-based Conflicts. In Press, Education, Citizenship and Social Justice.

Weinstein, HM. What is the contribution of justice to social reconstruction? Postwar Communities: Identity and Belief. Invited Rockefeller Foundation Conference, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, February, 2002.

Weinstein, HM. Where There Is No Body: Trauma and

- Bereavement in Communities Coping With the Aftermath of Mass Violence. International Committee for the Red Cross Conference on The Missing: Action to resolve the problem of people unaccounted for as a result of armed conflict or internal violence and to assist their families. ICRC, Geneva, June, 2002.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Trauma, Justice and Reconciliation: Lessons From Rwanda and Ex-Yugoslavia, Conference on Trauma and Transitional Justice in Divided Societies, United States Institute of Peace, Airlie House, VA, March, 2004
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Trauma, Justice and War, Annual Conference on International Health, Stanford University, February, 2004.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. War, Human Rights and Health, Invited Speaker, Payson Center for International Health, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, February, 2004.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Trauma, Justice, Reconciliation and History. Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, April, 2004.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Iraqi Voices: Attitudes Towards Justice and Social Reconstruction. International Peace Academy, New York, May, 2004.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Lessons from the Rwandan Genocide, Genocide Memorial, UC Berkeley, April, 2004.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Conflict and Social Reconstruction. Bay Area International Mental Health Group, September, 2004
- Stover, Eric and Weinstein, Harvey M. Lessons from the

- International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. International Criminal Court, The Hague, The Netherlands, November, 2004.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Transitional Justice and Reconciliation, Hubert Humphreys Fellows, University of Minnesota Human Rights Center, Law School, February, 2005.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Justice and Social Repair: Myths and Realities, Legacies of Nuremberg, Benjamin Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University, New York, March, 2005.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. and Freedman Sarah W. Discussants. Unite or Divide: The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging From Violent Conflict, An International Inter-Professional Conference. Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs and the United States Institute of Peace, Airlie House, VA, November, 2005.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Social Reconstruction: The Challenge of Reconciliation, Public Perceptions of the Past and Future. Social Reconstruction: The Challenge of Reconciliation Filling the Gaps Working Group Meeting, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, January, 2006.
- Weinstein, Harvey M. Stay the Hand of Justice: Whose Priorities Take Priority? Beyond the Toolkit: Rethinking the Paradigm of Transitional Justice, Rockefeller Study Center, Bellagio, Italy, November, 2006.
- Hughson, Holly with the assistance of the UCB Human Rights Center (2004). You, Me and Never the Twain Shall Meet: Perceptions of Education, History, Justice and Ethnicity in Kosovo. ADRA Denmark. Accessible at www.hrcberkeley.org.

- Freedman, S.W., & Ball, A. (2004). Ideological Becoming: Bakhtinian Concepts to Guide the Study of Language, Literacy, and Learning. In A. Ball., & S.W. Freedman (Eds.), *Bakhtinian Perspectives on Language, Literacy and Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- "Religion, Memory, and Violence in Rwanda," in J. Shawn Landers and Oren Stier, eds., *Recovering Memory: Exposing Religion, Violence, and the Remembrance of Place*, Indiana University Press, forthcoming.
- Timothy Longman and Theoneste Rutagengwa, "Memory and Violence in Post-Genocide Rwanda," in *States of Violence: Politics, Youth, and Memory in Contemporary Africa*, Edna G. Bay and Donald L. Donham, eds., University of Virginia Press, forthcoming.
- "Gacaca Trials in Rwanda: Justice at the Grassroots," in Naomi Roht-Arriaza and Javier Mariezcurrena, eds., *Beyond Truth Versus Justice: Transitional Justice in the New Millennium*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- "Rwanda," in Dinah L. Shelton, et al., eds., *Encyclopedia on Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, Macmillan Reference, 2005.
- "Racism," in Dinah L. Shelton, et al., eds., *Encyclopedia on Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, Macmillan Reference, 2005.
- "Memory, Justice, and Power in Post-Genocide Rwanda," American Political Science Association annual meeting, Philadelphia, September 2, 2006.
- "Transition and Democracy in Burundi and Rwanda," Development Policy Review Network meeting on Central Africa, University of Antwerp, December 1, 2005.
- "Violence by Other Means: the Exercise of Power in Rwanda Today," United States Institute for Peace, Washington, DC, November 18, 2005.
- "Civil Society and State Power in Post-Genocide Rwanda," African Studies Association, Washington, DC, November 17, 2005.
- "Life After Death in Rwanda: Seeking Justice and Reconciliation after Genocide," Lecture given at the Payson Center for International Development, Tulane University, New Orleans, April 21, 2005.
- "Rwandan Attitudes toward Post-Genocide Judicial Initiatives," paper presented at conference on Global Justice, Local Legitimacy, University of Amsterdam Law School, January 27-29, 2005.
- "Organizing Chaos: Government Responsibility for Ethnic Violence in Burundi, Rwanda, and Congo," Bellarmine Forum, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, November 10, 2004.

"Gacaca as a Transitional Justice Mechanism." Presented at conference on Multifaceted Transitions: The Next Phase, Notre Dame, April 30-May 1, 2004.

"Rwandan Conceptions of Justice and Reconciliation," presented at Reflection and Reconsideration: 10 Years After the Rwandan Genocide, Northwestern University Law and Journalism Schools, April 5, 2004.

"Conflicts Over Memory in post-Genocide Rwanda," lecture for African Studies Program, Columbia University, March 4, 2004.

Assessment and Dissemination

While the "Education for Reconciliation" project funded by USIP has ended, the project is continuing to a second phase that focuses on teacher training. As we have described above, FHAO led by Karen Murphy has begun the process of training master teachers and a representative group of teachers from around Rwanda in both using the history material modules and in teaching methods that reflect the FHAO model of teaching about genocide. With this additional USIP funding (and their own resources), our two-year project in developing resources and a model for history curriculum development will be disseminated to those who need it most – the teachers – and will be implemented in classrooms.

There is a caveat that we must address. When Weinstein was at the handover ceremony in February, he noticed that the printed resource book claimed copyright for the NCDC. This was unacceptable for several reasons – the most important of which was that we would not know how the materials were being used or changed and yet, our institution was listed as a co-project developer. Further, NCDC had not secured the funding, developed and organized the project, run the workshops, produced the resource book, or evaluated the success of the program. In March, we began a process of trying to find a solution to this problem, working through our University. Finally, we decided to offer to share copyright with both the National University of Rwanda (Mugisha and

Byanafashe) and with NCDC (because of the assistance of Rutayisire). The new director, Gahima, refused and cut off all contact with us. There has been a concerted effort on the part of the NUR to clarify the issue and an informal meeting was held with the new Minister of Education. During the winter of 2006, the previous minister who had supported our work had been moved to another post, likely a demotion. We were then asked to send a letter to the minister describing the situation that we sent six weeks ago. There has been no response.

Further, while Professor Freedman was in Rwanda in July, she learned that the money that we had sent to print the resource manuals had not been spent and the teachers being trained by FHAO lacked the necessary materials. They made do with copied handouts.

In September, we contacted Brian George, Public Relations Officer at the US Embassy in Kigali to see whether he could assist us in this matter. In an informal meeting that he had with the director of NCDC, Mr. Gahima reiterated his position. He was adamant that copyright must remain with NCDC.

Impact

There is no question that the workshops that we conducted had a significant positive effect on all the participants. Our evaluation data indicate that not only did the project impact skills and knowledge but also the attitudes of the participants towards pedagogy, tolerance and human rights. Given ongoing support, students will undoubtedly be the beneficiaries of these changes. At the level of higher education, one of the participants from the Kigali Institute of Education organized a conference on history teaching that brought even more academics to the table. Further, as several of Rwanda's senior historians have been involved in the project, and one (Byanafashe) is Chair of the History Department at the National University, a constituency has been built up that will support change.

In the United States, one of our research participants (Beth Lewis Samuelson), currently an Assistant Professor of English at Central Michigan University has been awarded a National Academy of Education/ Spencer Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship to study “Narratives of Educational Reform in Rwanda.”

There has been significant interest in this project as evidenced by three invitations to participate in meetings at USIP, to consult on a new book on the subject edited by Lili Cole, formerly of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, an overflow crowd at a presentation that we made at the American Educational Research Association meeting in 2004, and multiple requests from doctoral students who are pursuing issues related to reconciliation in Rwanda for curriculum materials

Professors Freedman and Weinstein (along with their colleague, Holly Hughson) have written a paper that examines the relationship of schools in Rwanda, Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo to social reconstruction and development that will appear this year in the journal “Education, Citizenship and Social Justice”. They currently are working on a second paper that will specifically describe the history curriculum project. These papers explore in greater detail the work that appeared first in the chapters cited above in the book “My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity.” Professor Longman, our Rwanda specialist, has also drawn on his participation in the project in his ongoing work on the construction of memory in Rwanda. He is currently writing a book manuscript tentatively titled, Life After Death: Memory, Justice, and Power in Post-genocide Rwanda that is informed by the experience of working on this project.

The project was successful in achieving its objectives. In Rwanda, the challenges of internecine politics ultimately will determine how successful we were in influencing the Ministry of Education itself. While touted as a success story – a country with a commitment to open government and democracy – scholars are

currently documenting a perilous descent into authoritarianism.¹ The challenges in working within a post-conflict environment are legion but we believe that for those whom our project touched, the experience was critical in demonstrating that the teaching of history can be an ally in building a new society.

¹ Please see Filip Reyntjens, "Rwanda, Ten Years On: From Genocide to Dictatorship," *African Affairs* 103 (2004): 177-210; Timothy Longman and Theoneste Rutagengwa, "Memory and Violence in Post-Genocide Rwanda," in *States of Violence: Politics, Youth, and Memory in Contemporary Africa*, Edna G. Bay and Donald L. Donham, eds., University of Virginia Press, forthcoming November 2006. and Barbara Oomen, "Donor-Driven Justice and Its Discontents: The Case of Rwanda," *Development and Change* 36(5) (2005): 887-910

