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Obtaining a Second Chance Education in Post-conflict Rwanda: Motivations and Paths

Miho Taka*

Abstract

There has been an increasing effort to deliver Education in Emergencies (EiE) from the international community since the 1990s because of protracted humanitarian situations. Despite the growing attention to EiE, many children in conflict-affected situations miss schooling, especially at the lower secondary level, without having the opportunity to receive a second chance education (SCE) or to voice their perspectives on this situation. Given the gaps within EiE, this paper focuses on the largely overlooked issue of out-of-school children and young people resulting from emergencies and the potential for a second chance education (SCE). As a case study, it examines how and this group of children lost their schooling in Rwanda before 1994 but achieved their SCE in the post-genocide period. Rwanda is a crucial case in considering the relationships between conflict and education and the implications for EiE due to the significant scale of destruction of life and infrastructure, including that of education, during and after the 1994 genocide.

The research referred to in this paper is qualitative and interpretive in its design to promote understanding of how learners in post-genocide Rwanda made sense of the complex education journey that they undertook and their motivations for it. Based on 23 life story interviews conducted in Rwanda in 2016, the research uncovers how education contributed to dividing the society throughout the political contest and illustrates the various barriers existed to exclude individuals from schooling before, during and after the genocide. Motivations for SCE in this situation include: intrinsic motivations, such as cognitive rewards, and extrinsic motivations relating to skills, qualifications and livelihood; the influence of normative value; and that of restoration.

The contributions of this research are two-fold. First, successful pathways to SCE can indicate some conducive conditions, including alternative routes to formal education at primary and secondary levels. Second, learners' motivations for the SCE vary, compared to the donors' focus on skills, qualifications and livelihood. Learner perspectives on education are largely missing in the EiE field but have important implications for the practice of EiE.

Keywords: Conflict, Education in Emergencies, second chance education, learner motivations, Rwanda

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1. Introduction

Since the 1990s the challenge of providing education during emergencies has been increasingly debated because of the existence of protracted humanitarian situations. There has been a growing effort to deliver Education in Emergencies (EiE) by various actors as a basic human right, enshrined in international laws.[1] The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and Education Cannot Wait[2] are a few such examples. However, despite the increasing awareness and effort, less than three per cent of global humanitarian funding is allocated to education (EU 2017). Thus, the impact of the humanitarian crisis on education is conspicuous: for example, more than half of the refugees between five and 17 years old missed schooling in 2016 (UNICEF 2017).[3] This impact is amplified in secondary education and above, often due to the donor focus on primary education (Human Rights Watch 2017, 51-59). Given the limited provision of EiE, this paper focuses on the largely overlooked issue of children and young people who missed their educational opportunities during emergencies and the potential for them to receive second chance education (SCE).

This research is part of a JICA five-country case study on 'Obtaining a Second Chance: Education during and after Conflict,'[4] which seeks to shed light on the impact of conflict on education and how it can be overcome through SCE. It aims to examine how and why the individuals achieved SCE as an adult, at least up to the lower secondary level (senior 3 or Ordinary level (O-level)), in post-genocide Rwanda where conflict and displacement disrupted

[1] The international laws include the Universal Declaration of Human Right (1948), the Refugee Convention (1951), the Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).
[2] Education Cannot Wait is the first global fund dedicated to support education in emergencies, founded by UN agencies and humanitarian donors in 2016. http://www.educationcannotwait.org/
[3] In addition, primary enrolment rates were only 61% for refugee children in contrast to the global figure of 91%, and only 23% of refugee adolescents attended secondary school, much less than the world figure, 84% (UNHCR 2017).
[4] Other countries include Bosnia-Herzegovina, Timor-Leste, Palestine, and Uganda.

educational opportunties for many. By doing so, it seeks to contribute to the growing study of EiE by adding to the evidence base on the complex educational paths and motivations of those whose education was affected by conflict and subsequent post-conflict reconstruction. The research is qualitative and interpretive in its design and gathers data mainly through life story interviews to uncover the circumstances around the achievement of SCE, as experienced and understood by the learners.

The research findings on Rwanda uncover how education contributed to dividing the society throughout the political contest and illustrate the various barriers existed to exclude individuals from schooling before, during and after the genocide. By focusing on the individuals, who managed to obtain an SCE, the findings highlight their understanding of the educational journey that they undertook and their motivations for it. The research makes contributions to the field of scholarship in EiE. Firstly, the successful pathways to the SCE can indicate some important conditions, including the existence of alternative routes to formal education at primary and secondary levels. Secondly, various motivations for the SCE can illuminate learners' perspectives of education which are largely missing in the EiE field. These contributions have important implications for the practice of EiE.

This paper is structured as follows. After this introduction, the second section provides a brief review of the EiE field. The third section explains the context and relevance of the Rwanda case in studying education during and after the conflict. The fourth explains the methodology used in this research. The fifth presents and discusses the findings on how individuals had missed out on education and achieved their SCE. Then, the sixth discusses these learners' motivations for education using self-determination theory (SDT). The last section concludes the paper by highlighting the key observations and findings from the subjective reality of learners in post-genocide Rwanda.

2. Emerging discourses on Education in Emergencies

The field of Education in Emergencies (EiE) was initiated by aid practitioners faced with the increasingly protracted and complex nature of conflict and resulting long-term displacement. The recognition of emergency situations as a major barrier to accessing education has been institutionalized through various frameworks. For example, the Education for All (EFA) was a global commitment made during the Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 to ensure 'all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality' by 2015 (UNESCO 2000, 8).

Subsequently, the EiE has become an academic sub-field within the wider area of comparative and international education (Lerch 2017). The advent of the EiE sub-field generated a dramatic shift in conceptual understanding of education, from a fundamental human right and essential for development, to include humanitarian notions. This shift to include humanitarian elements indicates the role of education in protection (Kagawa 2005; Sommers 2009). Within this conception, the EiE is considered to provide a safe space for children, physical protection (INEE 2004) and a sense of normality during emergencies (UN 2009), or 'physical, psychosocial and cognitive protection' (UN 2009, 1). Sommers (2009, 35-36) also highlights 'the array of protections' schools may offer for war-affected young people who may be traumatised, vulnerable to various exploitation and often affected by neglect.

Furthermore, the EiE field examines the intricate relationships between education and conflict: how education is influenced and shaped by the nature of conflict and interactions between global and local realities (Bengtsson and Dryden-Peterson 2016). It looks at changes in systemic

dimensions, including curriculum, language, the perceptions of families, and aid structures. More importantly, the EiE field sheds light on education development as an essential for post-conflict recovery to 'disrupt previous systems of inequality, injustice, and the potential for cyclical conflict,' rather than simply restoring service delivery (Bengtsson and Dryden-Peterson 2016, 328). Therefore, it tends to focus on factors that affect quality and equity, such as education policy and the role and characteristics of teachers, often through the lenses of inclusion and exclusion.

While the EiE field has been rapidly growing since the 1990s, there appears to be a gap 'between the theorising of the academic community and the more applied approaches of practitioner community' (Barakat et al. 2013, 127). Also, there is a need to enhance the evidence base to better understand the intricate course of educational reconstruction and the processes through which educational systems influence conflict. Despite worldwide efforts to address this challenge, mainly focusing on formal schooling at primary level, 'most war-affected youth are not in school and have little reasonable chance of ever gaining access to education of any sort' (Sommers 2009, 30-31). This means that the research need is becoming more urgent. The impact of exclusion on war-affected young people's lives is detrimental. Therefore, the attention to out-of-school young people, who are often alienated and have diverse needs, must be increased, and their voices need to be considered (Sommers 2009, 36). Baxter and Bethke (2009, 26) also acknowledge the scarcity of research on alternative education provision in emergency and post-conflict situations, such as SCE.

In summary, the EiE discourses have been largely led by the practitioner community, often focusing on formal schooling at primary education level, and approached from the perspectives of education providers. Thus, there are significant gaps in the scholarship, specifically about those who became out-of-school and then regained an education through SCE and their voices.

Given the existing research gaps, this research seeks to make contributions by exploring the complex learning paths and motivations of learners who were once out-of-school children and young people in Rwanda.

3. Education and conflict in Rwanda

This section explains why Rwanda is a crucial case in considering the issues around EiE and the attainment of SCE. The issue of the destructive impact of education is widely acknowledged especially after the work of Bush and Saltarelli (2000), *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a peacebuilding education for children*. There has been some research conducted on education in Rwanda, focusing on the relationship between conflict and education. The section illustrates how numerous barriers to access and making progress in education affected Rwandans before and after the 1994 genocide. By doing so, it provides a useful background to understand and corroborate the findings from this research in the subsequent sections.

Rwanda is a small landlocked country in East Africa, with a population of nearly 12 million people (NISR 2017), which gained independence from Belgium in 1962. Previously, the population was categorised in three ethnic groups: Hutus (approximately 85%), Tutsis (14%), and Twas (one percent) (UN n.d.). During the decolonisation process in the late 1950s, the democratisation movement was accompanied with a Hutu uprising against the historical domination by Tutsis, who were privileged by the Belgian administration (Gatwa 2005; UN n.d.). This struggle culminated in the 'social revolution' between 1959 and 1962 to remove Tutsis from the power, pushing them into exile in neighbouring countries like Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC, then Zaire). Following independence in 1962, there was institutionalised discrimination against Tutsis (Uvin 1999). There was also a regional power

struggle amongst Hutu politicians as the first President from the south of the country was ousted in a coup in 1973 by a military leader from the north, who became the second President. A civil war broke out in 1990 when the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA), formed mainly by Tutsis in exile in Uganda, started attacking the country, and this was followed by the genocide in 1994.

Thus, the relevance of Rwanda for this research can be summarised in the following three main points: first, education was used systematically to privilege particular groups of people and exclude others throughout Rwandan history (King 2014; Obura 2003; Schweisfurth 2006). During the colonial time, schools were introduced and managed by missionaries for the colonial administration and favoured Tutsis (Walker-Keleher 2006). The colonialists consolidated the political constructs of ethnic identity through the divisive education system in this period to divide and rule (King 2014). Hutus were only able to receive limited education to do unskilled jobs while Tutsis were encouraged to study further and occupy important political positions (Obura 2003). This was a process to develop the identity of Tutsis as outsiders, who had conquered and oppressed Hutus, who then sought solidarity against the supremacy of Tutsis (Gatwa 2005; King 2014). The formal education system was largely inherited when the country became independent in 1962 (Walker-Keleher 2006), and the identities and myths it promoted remained in post-independent Rwanda (King 2014).

However, the discrimination within the education system was reversed from the Belgian favour for Tutsis during the colonial period to the exclusion of Tutsis after independence (King 2014). The new government, led by President Kayibanda, visibly tried to unseat Tutsis from power and influence by introducing ethnic quotas in schools and employment (King 2014). Moreover, Tutsis were purged from universities and other public positions in 1973 as political scapegoats when there was a growing political pressure against Kayibanda's government, leading to a coup (Hilker 2010). When President Habyarimana established the second government, the

government codified the ‘policy of quota’ to control the progression from primary to secondary education on the basis of marks, averages and scores achieved in examination; continuous assessment or academic history of a child; region of origin; ethnicity; and gender (Rutayisire et al 2004). However, as the examination results were not published, the system was used rather arbitrarily to exclude Tutsis in reality (Rutayisire et al. 2004), while discrimination based on region was also becoming apparent (King 2014).

In addition to the school administration system, school curricula and practice are considered to have promoted ethnic divisions and fed social tensions (Rutayisire et al. 2004). For example, sensitive information about ethnic identity and place of birth were collected in schools (Walker-Keleher 2006). Moreover, the history curriculum fostered ethnic prejudice and hostility and is considered to have contributed to the conditions resulting in the genocide (King 2014). As such, discrimination and injustice were embedded in the overall education system which might have ‘failed the nation’ (Rutayisire et al. 2004, 345). King (2014, 18-20) explains that psycho-cultural factors, namely ‘categorization, collectivization, and stigmatization by ethnic group,’ and a social-structural factor like inequalities were dispersed through the education system and enabled intergroup conflict in Rwanda. Thus, education system can be manipulated to create fertile grounds for division and animosity in society although the causation between education and conflict is not linear. In Rwanda, education was an essential ingredient for structural violence to inculcate extreme inequality, social exclusion and humiliation.

Secondly, Rwanda underwent an unprecedented level of population displacement and movement, making the provision of humanitarian and other assistance enormously challenging. The above ‘social revolution’ forced mostly the Tutsi population of around 120,000 into exile in neighbouring countries by 1962 (UN n.d.). It was followed by recurring attacks against Tutsis to force waves of Rwandan refugees into mainly Burundi, Uganda, the DRC (then Zaire) and

Tanzania, amounting to some 480,000 Rwandan refugees by the end of the 1980s. Even worse, the genocide in 1994 led to an unparalleled level of destruction of life and infrastructure: an estimated 800,000 people died; approximately 1.5 million people were internally displaced; and an estimated 2.1 million Rwandan refugees fled from the advancing RPA to neighbouring countries, mainly the DRC (UNHCR 2000). This situation was described as 'the fastest and largest exodus of refugees in modern times' (Wilkinson 1997, para 4). While the repatriation of more than 200,000 refugees from the DRC started immediately after the genocide (UNHCR 2000), over 700,000 Tutsis were also about to return from exile, mainly from Uganda (Prunier 2009). In this devastation and chaos, about 38% of children aged between seven and 12 lost at least one parent in 2000 (World Bank 2005). Despite a large amount of aid flooding into the region,[5] the refugee crisis overwhelmed aid assistance, especially in education.[6]

Thirdly, despite the magnitude of destruction, Rwanda achieved a rapid and impressive reconstruction of the education sector after 1994. Schooling in Rwanda was halted in 1990 due to the civil war which preceded the genocide (King 2014, 111). In the period immediately after the genocide, about 75% of the teachers in primary and secondary schools were killed, fled or were in prison (Freedman et al. 2004, 250), 70% of children witnessed violent injury or death (Obura 2003, 50), and half of the school-aged children were not at school (Obura 2003, 136). Following this severe destruction, schools were reopened as early as September 1994, soon after the RPA took control of the country (Obura 2003, 56). Then, Rwanda showed impressive recovery and managed to get back to pre-genocide levels of enrolment within three years, by introducing flexibility in the admission age and timetable (World Bank 2005) and implementing a school rehabilitation programme and a re-enrolment campaign (Obura and Bird 2009).

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[5] More than USD 2 billion was allocated to Goma in eastern DRC, where a large number of Rwandese refugees went (Bird 2003).

[6] Education received less than one-six of the aid amount budgeted for heath (Bird 2003).

Furthermore, the post-genocide government has committed to reform the education sector to promote peace, unity and reconciliation in Rwanda (MINEDUC 2010: 1). They have banned any form of discrimination based on ethnic or regional identity (King 2014), prohibited ethnic categorisation, and eliminated the 'policy of quota' (Rubagizi et al. 2016). The new Education Sector Policy in 2003[7] was aimed at creating a knowledge-based society and providing quality basic education for all children by 2015. This was in line with the EFA and the former Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to achieve universal primary education by 2015.

The government introduced the following important initiatives to improve access to education: the 'Catch Up' Programme (2002) to target orphans and vulnerable children and adolescents who missed education in the 1990s; Capitation Grants (2003) to replace and abolish the RWF 300 primary school fee; Special Needs Education (2007) to support education for children with disabilities; Girls' Education (2008) to enhance self-esteem and confidence amongst girls, especially in rural areas; the Nine Years Basic Education Policy (2009) to ensure free access to nine years of primary and lower secondary education; and the Twelve Years Education Programme (2012) to extend the nine years' basic education to 12 years. The Capitation Grants resulted in almost universal enrolment in primary education (Rubagiza et al. 2016), making Rwanda one of the top-performing countries in education in sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF 2015). Based on this success, fee-free education was extended to lower secondary education in 2012 (World Bank 2013) although many secondary schools are boarding schools and students incur boarding costs. In addition, gender parity was achieved in primary education in 2001 and secondary education in 2009 (MINEDUC 2015). Currently, the education system in Rwanda

[7] It is underpinned by the country's development framework, including Vision 2020 and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies (EDPRS) I and II (MINEDUC 2015).

follows a 6-3-3-4 structure: six years of primary education (P1 - P6),[8] three years of lower secondary education (S1 - S3), three years of upper secondary education (S4 - S6), and an average of four years of higher education. National examinations are held at the end of primary education, lower secondary education (Ordinary level, O-level) and upper secondary education (Advanced level, A-level) (MINEDUC 2010).

As shown above, the post-genocide government demonstrated their commitment to 'leave no one behind'[9] and have made an impressive achievement in enhancing access to education, in contrast to the previous government. Access to education has been considered as the priority because many Rwandans blame the ignorance, resulting from a lack of education, to be a cause of the genocide (King 2014).[10] However, there seems to be a delicate tension in education reforms. On the one hand, there is a strong emphasis on the EFA by many donors, who approach education reforms in post-conflict countries in a technocratic manner (Hilker 2010) and view education as an investment measured by the calculation of costs and benefits (Ron-Balsera 2011). On the other hand, the focus on the EFA may overlook the complex social realities of Rwanda and the dialectic between promoting the right for education and achieving economic growth (Ron-Balsera 2011; Schweisfurth 2006, 698). To see education as an investment may neglect the 'importance of inclusiveness and cooperation […] emotional and cognitive rewards of community service […] despite the fact that they may never be used to create exchange value in the labor market' (Strober 2003, 130 cited in Ron-Balsera 2011, 276). It may also disregard the post-genocide government's objective of education to promote peace, unity and reconciliation.

[8] The duration of the primary education changed twice, from six to eight years in 1980–81 and back to six years in 1992–93 (World Bank 2004, 31).
[9] Interview with UNICEF donor coordination officer, Kigali, 4 November 2016.
[10] Close to 88% of Rwandans believe ignorance played a fundamental role in the genocide according to the Genocide Ideology Senate's interview results (King 2014).

4. Methodology

This research was guided by the question, 'how and why learners, who had lost their schooling due to conflict, obtained a second chance education (SCE) as adults in Rwanda?' It seeks to identify various conducive conditions for achieving the SCE and learners' views on education rather than those of education providers, as these are often overlooked. It is qualitative and interpretive in its design to understand how learners in post-genocide Rwanda make sense of their surroundings. The interpretive research is contextual and 'seeks to explain events in terms of actors' understandings of their own contexts, rather than in terms of a more mechanistic causality' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2011, 52). Therefore, it uses case study, drawing the main primary data from life story interviews with learners who managed to obtain the SCE in post-genocide Rwanda. Life story interview is 'a highly contextualized, highly personalized approach to the gathering of qualitative information about the human experience' (Atkinson 2002, 132). It is useful in following complex life patterns and learning paths in the Rwandan society to understand the circumstances around which the SCE is attained. It tells us how the interviewees made sense of their circumstances and their decisions to pursue an SCE, in other words their 'subjective reality.' Therefore, life stories can illuminate learners' agency in reclaiming lost educational opportunities and their perceived needs and motivations for formal basic education which might differ from how academicians, donors and practitioners view education. The life stories have the power to render these learners' voices heard and acknowledged (Atkinson 2002, 134).

To achieve the objectives above, the sampling criteria were set as: individuals who had passed school age (with the nine-year basic education, they are around 16 years old) without completing lower secondary education (S3) from any reasons related to conflict, including poverty resulting

from socio-economic marginalisation, and completed at least S3 level through a SCE. There is usually a long gap between when they had stopped schooling and obtained their SCE.

This research was conducted in 2016 including three field visits to Rwanda. A government research permit with a national affiliation organisation,[11] which provided a Research Assistant (RA), was obtained before commencing the research. The research collected the primary data from 23 life story interviews and 26 face-to-face semi-structured interviews with stakeholders concerned with the provision of education in Rwanda to understand the education system and its contexts. The stakeholders include government officials, implementation partners, school representatives and teachers as well as private education providers. The research also relied on secondary data to understand the education provided in Rwanda, including relevant research papers, policy documents, organisational reports and newspaper archives.

The research aimed to include a variety of life stories to identify the different reasons why individuals lost their education, the obstacles they faced in obtaining an SCE and motivations which drove them to pursue education. Diversity was sought regarding gender, religions, generations, geographical locations and personal circumstances, such as genocide survivors, prisoner's families, orphans, former child soldiers, disabled persons, refugees and returnees, although former child soldiers and disabled people were not identified. Ethnic diversity could not be pursued explicitly as the use of ethnic categorisation or identity is forbidden in Rwanda.

There were three main challenges in identifying interviewees in general and pursuing the diversity in sampling: Firstly, most of the programmes or supports by various organisations and individuals to serve education needs after the genocide had been discontinued, their staff had

[11] Faculty of Education, Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences (PIASS), in Rwanda.

already left their positions, and programme records were usually not kept. Thus, only two key government schemes that could support SCE were identified (and their information was still available during the fieldwork): namely, the catch-up programme for accelerated learning and the private candidate, who enters government accredited exams without enrolling at schools.

Secondly, it was incredibly difficult to find potential interviewees, because of the above lack of records and the general lack of statistics, especially on school dropouts and returns and educational attainment of learners with different personal circumstances above. Thirdly, many people have complex educational journeys because missing, repeating or dropping out from school several times is common in Rwanda. This results in intermittent education, as highlighted in the third section. Therefore, it was necessary to interview individuals to find out if they met the sampling criteria. In all, 41 individuals were interviewed. However, 18 had missed schooling for a relatively short period around the 1994 genocide and returned to school before the age of 16 through the support of the National Assistance Fund for the needy Survivors of Genocide (FARG), orphanages, and foster parents, hence did not meet the sampling criteria.

The catch-up programme (schools) and private candidate (private candidate exam preparation centres) formed the main source of life story interviewees while the personal contacts of the researchers and newspaper archives were also explored. From the list of catch-up schools provided by the Ministry of Education, we contacted two state schools each in Kigali, Southern province and one Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) school in Western province where most of the catch-up schools were run by ADRA. As for the private candidate, we managed to identify two preparation centres in Kigali and contacted their graduates from the lists provided by the centres. Thus, there is a potential issue of bias in the interviewee selection as the catch-up schools and private candidate preparation centres might have introduced successful students who have had a positive experience with them. In total, seven catch-up

graduates from Kigali, Southern and Western provinces, 13 private candidate graduates from Kigali and three individual graduates from Southern province were interviewed as seen in the table below. They included eight women and 15 men, ranging from 25 to 61 years old at the time of the interview.

Table 1 List of Life Story Interviews

No.[12]	Cause of lost education	Path to second chance education	Gender	Age	Location of Interview	Date of Interview
PC1	Discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Private candidate	F	51	Kigali	25/05/2016
PC2	Discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Private candidate	M	42	Kigali	14/09/2016
SELF1	Being refugee between 1994 and 1997	Self effort	M	38	Huye (Southern)	15/09/2016
CU1	Severe poverty after father's death	Catch-up	M	25	Kamonyi (Southern)	16/09/2016
CU2	Severe poverty after father was killed in the genocide	Catch-up	F	25	Kamonyi (Southern)	16/09/2016
CU3	Being a street child due to family problems and poverty	Catch-up	M	26	Kigali	17/09/2016
CU4	Orphanhood after losing parents and grandparents due to diseases	Catch-up	M	26	Kamonyi (Southern)	19/09/2016
CU5	Severe poverty after father's death in imprisonment	Catch-up	M	33	Kamonyi (Southern)	19/09/2016
PC3	Discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Private candidate	F	51	Kigali	19/09/2016
PC4	Discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Private candidate	M	47	Kigali	19/09/2016
SELF2	Discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Self effort	F	44	Huye (Southern)	16/10/2016
SELF3	Parents' unwillingness	Self effort	M	32	Huye (Southern)	19/10/2016
CU6	Parents divorced and remarried	Catch-up	M	27	Nyanza (Southern)	28/10/2016
CU7	Discouragement due to discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Catch-up	M	41	Karongi (Western)	02/11/2016
PC5	Discrimination in accessing secondary education before 1994	Private candidate	M	61	Kigali	03/11/2016
PC6	No means to continue education when returned to post-genocide Rwanda as an orphan born in exile	Private candidate	M	36	Kigali	03/11/2016
PC7	Poverty, discrimination and parents' ignorance while in exile	Private candidate	M	37	Kigali	04/11/2016
PC8	No means to pay exam fees to complete education while in exile	Private candidate	F	44	Kigali	05/11/2016
PC9	Poverty to access secondary education	Private candidate	M	53	Kigali	05/11/2016
PC10	Poverty due to father's death while in exile and after returning to Rwanda in 1997	Private candidate	M	37	Kigali	06/11/2016
PC11	Survived the genocide but the school was attacked in 1998	Private candidate	F	35	Kigali	07/11/2016
PC12	Discrimination (against Muslim) in accessing secondary education before 1994	Private candidate	F	59	Kigali	07/11/2016
PC13	Poverty due to father's death while in exile	Private candidate	F	40	Kigali	07/11/2016

Source: Author.

[12] Coding system: PC = Private Candidate; SELF = Self-Effort; CU = Catch-Up Programme.

At the start of each interview, informed research consent based on voluntary participation and confidentiality was sought from the interviewees. Having the government's research permit and pointing to the positive nature of the research on obtaining an education in post-genocide Rwanda seemed to facilitate research participation. However, the foreign researcher's visit in rural villages was considered likely to create unnecessary suspicion amongst neighbours and authorities, so the national RA conducted interviews in these areas. During the life story interviews, interview guides and timelines were used for consistency and efficiency. However, in some cases, teachers were present during the interviews in the catch-up schools and this could have influenced the interviews. The quality of the interview data could also vary as some interviews were conducted in English directly by the researcher, with or without RA language interpretation, and in Kinyarwanda by those RA who had local knowledge. Also, the ethnicity and gender of the RA could affect what and how the interviewees revealed their life stories to avoid gender or ethnicity sensitive issues.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed or noted, then analysed using thematic analysis, including the process of identifying the information relevant to the research questions, coding the data, organising patterns and themes, and reviewing and defining the themes (Braun and Clarke 2006). The quality and credibility of the research were sought through triangulation: combining different methods such as life story interviews, stakeholder interviews and document analysis to check the consistency of the findings; and having multiple analysts, as the interview data and interpretation were discussed and reflected with the RA. The 'internal coherence as experienced by' the interviewees (Atkinson 2002, 133-135) was also pursued by using a timeline as mentioned.

5. Pathways to second chance education

This section presents and discusses the findings on how individuals lost their schooling but obtained an SCE as an adult. The findings are organised according to the three different routes used to achieve their SCE, namely, the catch-up programme, as a private candidate, and other paths, as they demonstrate distinctive experiences of the interviewees.

5.1 Catch-up programme

The 'Catch-up' programme was implemented by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNICEF Rwanda, between 2002 and 2015, to provide accelerated primary education for the large number of orphans and other vulnerable children and adolescents who had missed some or all primary education in the 1990s (MINEDUC 2016). The main reason behind school dropout was considered to be the need to do paid work, and flexible schooling, like the catch-up programme, was thought to be a solution (Kanamugire and Rutakamize 2008). The catch-up programme combined two study years in one year, making the six-year primary education three years.[13] After a successful pilot implementation,[14] the programme was scaled up to the whole country and scaled down gradually after 2010, until its closure in 2015 (MINEDUC 2016). While there is no comprehensive data available on the entire programme, there were 52 schools providing the catch-up programme in 2012, including 22 local primary schools, delivering a programme of five hours a day by qualified and specially trained teachers, and other schools and centres owned by various organisations, including 25 schools run by ADRA Rwanda

[13] The three levels were divided into: Level 1 for children, who had dropped out during the first or second year of primary school and never attended school so that they could be integrated into primary 3 upon completion of the level; Level 2 for children, who had dropped out during the third or fourth year of primary school and did not want to attend mainstream schooling after completing Level 1 so that they could be integrated into primary 5 upon completion of the level; and Level 3 for children, who had dropped out during the fifth or sixth year of primary school and did not want to attend a mainstream school after completing Level 2 (Kanamugire and Rutakamize 2008).

[14] Three catch-up centres were set up in Kinihira and Nyarutovu in Northern Province and Ruyumba in Southern province for the pilot phase (MINEDUC 2016).

(MINEDUC 2012). While the Ministry of Education closed the catch-up programme because it had served its objective and was no longer needed with the introduction of free compulsory basic education (MINEDUC 2015), they might have also been cautious about the irregular inclusion of school-aged children in the catch-up schools as a shorter option for primary education.[15] However, other stakeholders and some life story interviewees advocated the continuation of the catch-up programme.[16]

The programme targeted the age group between nine and 16 and aimed to bring over 80% of out-of-school children back to formal primary education (Kanamugire and Rutakamize 2008). However, it also attracted older people, who wanted to go back to formal education through a flexible curriculum, and accepted them (Kanamugire and Rutakamize 2008).[17] According to the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC 2016), the performance of the students at the end of primary education national examinations in 2013 and 2014 was satisfactory. However, there is no data to track the destinations of catch-up school leavers, partly due to the limited administrative capacity of the local governments that monitor schools.[18]

In total, seven life story interviews and 14 stakeholder interviews were collected from the catch-up programme. All seven interviewees completed primary education (P6) through the catch-up programme and continued to mainstream lower secondary education. Four of them finished higher secondary education and received their A-levels. The interviewees joined the programme when they were relatively young, ranging from 16 to 25. Five interviewees cited financial difficulties for their dropout or intermitted schooling, related to the loss of their

[15] These incidents were reported in the monitoring in 2013 (MINEDUC 2016). Interview with MINEDUC primary education officer, Kigali, 19 September 2016.
[16] Interview with ADRA education programme manager, Kigali, 25 May 2016.
[17] Data from 2002-2010 was unavailable as the coordinator at the time did not archive the information. However, one source suggests that 4,160 students, ages from 15 years old to the mid-50s, participated in the programme in 2012 (MINEDUC 2015, 32).
[18] Interview with a Sector Education Officer, Kigali, 3 November 2016.

parent/s or family problems. One interviewee left home after the divorce and remarriage of their parents (CU6 2016); another interviewee felt discouraged to study due to political discrimination before 1994 as only a few students could continue to secondary education then (CU7 2016).

Most of the interviewees found out about the catch-up programme from the campaign to promote free education for older students. One catch-up school was run by a faith-based group and actively recruited street children by convincing them of the importance of education and assuring them of their support through to secondary education (CU3 2016). ADRA Rwanda delivers literacy classes and encouraged the students to join their catch-up programme by providing study materials and constant encouragement (CU7 2016). Regarding the support for successful completion, the interviewees mentioned that encouragement, often from family members, teachers, or their classmates, helped them to continue and complete their study (CU6 2016). One catch-up programme teacher provided the listening time for counselling and in some cases intervened in family issues which affected the students' study.[19] The interviewees' confidence in study performance was also attributed to the completion of their study (CU1 2016).

While students in the catch-up programme were mature and motivated to study, they encountered many challenges going through primary education and continuing on to secondary education. One interviewee explained that out of 47 students in his catch-up programme, 32 completed primary education, six continued to lower secondary education, three finished lower secondary (S3), and only two went on to upper secondary (CU1 2016). Five issues emerged from the interviews. First, time to study was a challenge as students also needed to work and earn a livelihood (CU7 2016). Second, the quality of teaching varied and was inadequate in some

[19] Interview with a former catch-up teacher, Gitarama, 14 September 2016.

cases.[20] While the Ministry of Education states that pre- and middle- programme training was given to qualified teachers (MINEDUC 2016), this training was not comprehensive (or not given) in some cases.[21] Third, when a new policy was introduced in 2009 to make English a medium of instruction from P5, the language caused difficulty for both teachers and students. Fourth, even when students completed primary education, they struggled to meet various costs to progress to secondary education (CU7 2016; Kanamugire and Rutakamize 2008; MINEDUC 2016). The lack of financial support for secondary education seems to have been a major discouragement to study at the catch-up school. Fifth, some interviewees spoke of the public shame of studying in primary school at an older age. They were ridiculed and shouted at by the public when they walked to school. Also, there seemed to be a misperception about the catch-up programme amongst the population as sub-standard education or literacy classes.[22] These may be explained by the general lack of adult education and lifelong learning opportunities in the country and developing countries in general.

5.2 Private candidates

Private candidate (*candidat libre*)[23] allows individuals who are not enrolled as a student in secondary school but meet the specified criteria set by the Rwanda Education Board (REB)[24] to take the advanced level (A-level) national examination. There was a surge of private candidate preparation centres in the post-genocide period as a large group of the population, who had

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[20] Interview with a MINEDUC primary education officer, Kigali, 16 September 2016.
[21] Interview with a former catch-up teacher, Gitarama, 14 September 2016; interview with the former catch-up teacher, Kigali, 16 September 2016.
[22] Informal conversation with the RA, Kigali, 16 September 2016.
[23] According to the Rwanda Education Board (REB), a private candidate, or *candidat libre*, is 'one who is not entitled to enter as a school candidate but is eligible to register and sit for the [advanced level national] examination in conformity with entry requirements stipulated by the Board' (REB n.d., 8).
[24] The three categories of individuals, who can sit for the A-level national examinations as a private candidate, are: those who sat for A-Level national examinations in Rwanda or equivalent examinations in other countries before the year in which they register as a private candidate; those who sat for O-level national examinations or equivalent examinations in other countries more than seven years ago, did not study for or dropped out of A-level and are at least 23 years old at the date of registering as a private candidate; and those who have specified qualifications from Rwanda in the past years (REB 2013, 4).

missed out on secondary education due to discrimination through the 'policy of quota' or being in exile during the previous government, sought secondary education. However, the number of private candidate preparation centres seems to have reduced dramatically following the tightening of the related regulations by the REB in 2013.[25] This research identified two providers in Kigali, who had started condensed teaching in the evenings for some fees in 1999 and 2000. The centres taught both lower secondary and upper secondary education levels until the regulation change in 2013, which limited private candidates without O-levels.

Three stakeholders from the private candidate preparation centres and 13 individuals who had studied there were interviewed. Most of the interviewees had lost their education opportunities before 1994 and studied for the private candidate when they were quite mature, ranging from 23 to 52 years old while the majority of them being in their 30s or 40s. Out of the 13 interviewees, six of them named discrimination before 1994, five mentioned difficulties associated with being in exile, one cited financial difficulty, and one was affected by the genocide as the reason to discontinue their education.

According to the six interviewees who attributed the pre-1994 discrimination to their disrupted education, they could not progress to secondary education because they did not receive the results of or did not pass the end of primary education national examinations. They claimed that their academic performance was strong, but they were discriminated against because of their ethnicity, place of birth, or religion. These people can be identified from their names, which they had to state in the examination forms. One interviewee did not receive her examination results even though she was the first in her class (PC3 2016). Another interviewee sat for the end of primary education national examinations for five consecutive years at different schools without

[25] The New Times (2013) 'REB sets tough conditions for private coaching schools,' 7 March 2013, http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2013-03-07/63595/, accessed 14 September 2016.

success and shifted to a private secondary school, only to be dismissed from the school when Tutsis were purged from universities and government offices (PC5 2016).

The five interviewees were in exile and returned from Uganda and the DRC in the post-1994 genocide period. They struggled financially because of the discrimination in their host country and had to discontinue their schooling. Their experience of schooling in the host country seems to vary from having to use a false name to access education (PC7 2016), to attending school classes only for Rwandan refugees (PC8 2016), depending on geographical areas. One returnee from Uganda recalled that they had been called Rwandans at school to show that they were nothing and were not welcomed by teachers and other students (PC10 2016).

Twelve interviewees studied from lower secondary to upper secondary level in private candidate preparation centres and received the A-level certificate. Upon completion of the A-level, 11 interviewees continued to study at university, including some with merit-based government scholarships, and a few of them pursued postgraduate study. Most of the interviewees now work for reputable employers, including banks and ministries, or run their own businesses successfully. They seemed to have been encouraged to study further because they enjoyed studying and felt confident with their academic performance. While these progressions are impressive, they are likely to be high achievers from the private candidate preparation centres that introduced them to the researcher.

Four factors appear to have enabled the successful completion of the SCE through a private candidate. First, most of the interviewees were able to pay the fees for the private candidate preparation classes as they had a decent income (they thought the fees were reasonable). Second, the evening classes were suitable for when the interviewees had work. One interviewee, who

returned from the DRC as an orphan, explained his decision to study at a private candidate preparation centre rather than in formal education in daytime:

> ‘Maybe I can save and go back to school. But, when I go back to school, when I have a good job here, I lose this. I lost it, and maybe I don't have a chance to go back there’ (PC6 2016).

Third, the interviewees were determined to complete their education and enjoyed having the long-desired opportunity to study. One female returnee was anxious not to waste any time to study because ‘many years have been wasted’ in her intermittent education because of her father’s death, poverty and her unplanned pregnancy (PC13 2016). Men were able to focus on education better because women could be affected by pregnancy and childcare. Two male interviewees (PC4 2016; PC7 2016) refrained from getting married until they achieved their education:

> ‘I didn’t want to get married because I knew if I got married and had children, it will tie me down and prevent me from going to school. Because it was my dream to go back to school one day' (PC7 2016).

Fourth, the encouraging environment of the private candidate preparation classes was indispensable. The interviewees enjoyed studying with many others, who shared the same experience and formed friendly and supportive relationships. The teachers were also capable and supportive. One interviewee recollected: it was like a family that had a good atmosphere and ‘a team spirit for supporting students’ (PC4 2016).

However, the interviewees faced three broad challenges to complete their studies as adult learners. First, many of them had to combine work and study in addition to their family responsibilities, leaving them very little time to study. Second, English was introduced as the medium of instruction in 2009 which disadvantaged the interviewees except for the returnees

from Uganda who speak English. The third is related to the private candidate policy. The eligibility for a private candidate was restricted to those with O-levels following the policy change in 2013, as mentioned earlier. This change caused uncertainty and anxiety among some interviewees, including the lack of O-level certificates and the suspension of private candidate preparation centres. Moreover, the requirement to provide previous certifications was a problem for some returnees as their certificates were lost when their family moved several times, or they used a different name to enter school in the host country. They had to take exams to be admitted to the school in Rwanda or to go back to Uganda to take the O-level national examinations there to qualify as a private candidate in Rwanda (PC8 2016).

5.3 Other pathways to second chance education

Three interviewees obtained their SCE through other means. Their schooling was significantly disrupted for various reasons and resumed at different ages. One interviewee listed the discrimination to continue to secondary education in the pre-1994 period and took vocational education (SELF2 2016). She attended a secondary school nearby at the age of 37 with her husband's encouragement and financial support. Another interviewee indicated unwilling parents who had no education themselves and did not see the point of getting an education as education did not save some of their family members who were killed during the genocide (SELF3 2016). As he dropped out from primary school, his primary school teacher, who understood his situation, encouraged him to return to school when he was 17, gave him stationary and allowed his absence when he had to work to earn some income. For secondary education, he managed to gather money and support from his church members, his mother and the school headmaster. The last interviewee fled to the DRC from the advancing RPA in 1994 and was not admitted to secondary school upon returning to Rwanda in 1997 because the mandatory reorientation programme to be accepted to school had been closed (SELF1 2016). When he was 20 years old, he attended a secondary school specially opened for children from

refugee camps, by earning the necessary fees and expenses during the holidays. This school was run by a Catholic sister, who became aware that many young people returning from refugee camps were losing education and negotiated with the authorities to open that school.[26]

6. Motivations for second chance education

This section focuses on the question of 'why' in the research: to identify the motivations to pursue SCE. The findings on 'why' indicate the meaning of education perceived by the interviewees in their particular context and reality. They are grouped into four categories: cognitive rewards; skills, qualifications and livelihood; normative value; and restoration. While there is no motivation theory developed specifically for education in conflict-affected situations, self-determination theory (SDT), which explains different types of motivation, is used to discuss these findings. According to the SDT, intrinsic motivation is about doing something because it is 'inherently interesting or enjoyable' and is thus to be distinguished from extrinsic motivations for doing an activity for some other separate outcome (Ryan and Deci 2000a, 55). The SDT explains further different forms of motivation and the contextual factors which influence the 'internalization and integration of the regulation for these behaviours' (Ryan and Deci 2000b, 72). Motivations range between 'amotivation' and 'intrinsic motivation,' according to 'the degree to which the motivations emanate from the self' (are self-determined). There are four categories in between these two poles: the least autonomous 'externally regulated' motivation 'to satisfy an external demand or reward;' an 'introjected regulation,' which takes in a regulation without fully accepting the regulation as one's own, a way 'to demonstrate ability (or avoid failure) in order to maintain feelings of worth;' a more autonomous 'regulation through identification,' which accepts one's actions as personally important through 'a conscious valuing of a behavioural goals or regulation'; and the most autonomous 'integrated regulation,' which

[26] Interview with the former school head, Kigali, 8 November 2016.

integrates regulations with one's other values and needs (Ryan and Deci 2000b, 72-73). Except for the first category of cognitive rewards, the other categories are extrinsic motivations that are used when seeking various separate outcomes and are externally regulated.

The first category of cognitive rewards as intrinsic motivation was mentioned by four interviewees. They simply liked to study (SELF1 2016; PC3 2016; PC6 2016; PC7 2016), for example:

> 'You learn things you don't know. And when you are learning, it opens your mind. It means [that] you grow up in your mind. That's why I like […] learning' (PC6 2016).

This motivation is felt regardless of potential benefits such as employment and income, or 'external regulations' like requirement (Ryan and Deci 2000b, 72). One interviewee stressed this nature of his motivation:

> 'Because I was a businessman and had some money, there was nothing that forced me to go back to school' (PC7 2016).

Some interviewees claimed to have had strong academic performance before they stopped schooling. Such a connection between competence and intrinsic motivation is also identified in the SDT (Ryan and Deci 2000b, 71). The intrinsic motivation theory recognises the natural motivational propensity in cognitive, social, and physical development (Ryan and Deci 2000a, 56) although donors tend to neglect these non-financial rewards by viewing education narrowly as an investment (Strober 2003, 130, as cited in Ron-Balsera 2011, 276).

Secondly, 12 interviewees desired to pursue SCE to obtain or enhance skills and qualifications for their livelihoods, as extrinsic motivations. They view education as a means to gain sufficient income to sustain themselves and their families. This externally regulated motivation as an option to survive appears to be particularly strong amongst orphans, as they have nobody to

depend on (CU4 2016; PC6 2016). One orphan (PC6 2016), who lost his parents in exile in the DRC, returned to Rwanda at the age of around 14 after the genocide but could not continue his secondary education without financial means. He patiently waited until he was 23 years old when he joined the private candidate preparation centre while working as a bank cashier. He expressed his survival motivation:

> 'As an orphan, I say "my god, thank you lord." And now, I am sure I survive in this country. Even outside of this country, I can defend myself. I can get even other jobs […] because I have my [A-level certificate].'

The motivation was also occasioned by the period of post-genocide recovery. There were growing job opportunities for educated and skilled individuals due to the shortage of these people immediately after 1994 (SELF3 2016; CU7 2016). However, the labour market changed after this period, requiring higher skills and qualifications, often A-level and English language skills (PC1 2016; PC6 2016). This change drove many individuals to seek A-level qualifications through private candidate (PC1 2016; PC6 2016; PC12 2016) as one interviewee testified that she lost her warehouse manager's job because she did not have an A-level at the time (PC12 2016). Another interviewee corroborated:

> 'My country was growing fast. Say, in a few days, when you don't have that [A-level certificate] I could [even] lose my job. And, it is what is happening now' (PC6 2016).

Also, some interviewees desired education to do their job better and fit with their chosen profession, which led to promotion in some cases (PC9 2016). Some others aspired for education based on their observation of educated people who demonstrate certain attributes, including analytical, organisational, leadership and problem solving skills:

‘I used to see the men and women who studied. They enjoyed [a] good life. They have jobs. They looked smart, you know. They can lead people and do things better, those things’ (PC7 2016).

‘I was feeling that I would have been like them if I had studied before’ (SELF3 2016).

Therefore, this extrinsic motivation can be ‘self-determined’ through ‘identification’ of a developmental goal(s) that is personally important (Ryan and Deci 2000b, 72).

Thirdly, the normative value of education was the most cited motivation by 14 interviewees. These respondents reiterated their desire to be useful to others and in society and considered that they could become useful by obtaining an education. The returnee from Uganda, who had intermittent education due to her father’s death, poverty, and unplanned pregnancy, said:

'If you are educated, you can be the help to yourself. You can be a useful person to the country, […] even to your family. You can get a good job and bring up other people in the family, to study to be what they want in the future, and to be what the government want in the future […] I wanted to study so that I can reach somewhere, where I can even […] help others in my hand. […] The reason why I persisted to go back to school is because I wanted to be someone else, who is able, at least, to bring up my young relatives, especially in studying’ (PC13 2016).

Moreover, the interviewees seem to consider that education enables personal development and this will make them useful. Many of them mentioned ‘opening their minds’ through education (SELF1 2016; PC4 2016; PC5 2016; PC6 2016; PC9 2016), which empowers them to change and improve things (PC1 2016; PC6 2016; SELF3 2016), solve problems (PC5 2016), and lead their lives for themselves (CU4 2016; SELF3 2016). One interviewee explained that (SELF1 2016):

> 'Education means to open the mind of someone, in order to be useful [in] his society. So, in my mind, I think education is an act of opening someone's mind for him to be useful [in] wherever he/she goes. […] I learned shortly that education for me is opening my mind and becoming useful’.

These interviewees explained how they perceived their usefulness to others and the society, ranging from helping their family and others, to engaging in community reconciliation or even in politics. One former street child was persuaded to study by the faith-based catch-up school when he was 14 years old and became a teacher at that school. He reflected on how his education made him able to help other children:

> ‘Because of the good things they [the school] did for me, I now have a purpose [in] helping other children’ (CU3 2016).

In contrast to being useful, those without education are viewed as being useless and shameful, especially because the country has been developing rapidly after the genocide and more people have been educated in the recent past. Two interviewees articulated how lack of education affected them in the past in this regard:

> ‘I used to walk along the road and think everything was useful, but only I was useless. I said, oh my goodness, even a dog can keep a house. What about me? […] The society I lived in especially motivated me. If you are not educated in Rwanda, you are something else. You are not even in a good position to fit into society. If you don’t have [academic qualification] papers, no one will recognise you. This was the major factor. […] Another thing was a shame. You know, to live in a Rwandan society when you are not educated, my friend, you are a shameful guy. In Rwanda, if you are not an educated man or boy, to get a good girlfriend is even difficult. Who will give you his girl or daughter when you are not educated? Those things sometimes drove me to go back to school. Because I am

a good guy, people love me, I am hard working, but I am not educated. It seemed like I was useless in society. So, that also drove me to go back to school' (PC7 2016).

> 'This period we are in, as the country is developing, and more people are getting education, I would have been lost with ignorance. I must be on the same level as others. The church members, in which I am a leader, were getting more educated than me. So, I realised that it would be difficult for me to keep leading them without being educated as they are' (SELF2 2016).

Without having an education, many interviewees also felt the shame of being dependent and a burden on others. Some (CU1 2016; CU2 2016; CU3 2016), who studied at the catch-up programme and continued to secondary education, believed that they would have been in negative situations and influence if they were not in education. The motivation for being useful can be seen as the most autonomous model of extrinsic motivation as it has been assessed by and integrated with the interviewees' perception of normative values (Ryan and Deci 2000b, 72-73). The interviewees often considered how others would see them in their society and if their existence had a meaning.

The fourth motivation is restoration, mentioned by nine interviewees. For some interviewees, who had been deprived of schooling due to systematic discrimination by the previous government, there was a very strong sense of injustice and they were determined to reclaim their right to education when the opportunity appeared (PC1 2016; PC2 2016; PC4 2016; SELF2 2016). This motivation is one of the enabling factors for the private candidates to be successful as discussed in the previous section. One interviewee, who lost schooling due to discrimination in this period, articulated his desire to retrieve what he had lost:

> 'I wanted to reach as far as I can. That was my target. I wanted to reach to where I missed because of the bad system we had before' (PC2 2016).

The desire to reclaim the missed educational opportunity was echoed by another male interviewee (PC4 2016), who completed secondary education even though he already had a job. He felt that:

> 'I was missing my proper chance by bad attitude of our leaders. […] This reason, I didn't forget. […] After liberation [of the country, it was] for the accomplishment of my ambition.'

Another interviewee (PC3 2016) emphasised her disappointment when she could not continue to secondary school; she felt like committing suicide by jumping into a lake. According to her, none of her siblings made it to secondary school. She also explained that there were only 10 Tutsis in the country who went to secondary school at that time, demonstrating a narrative perception, which might have been held by some people.

Two interviewees viewed obtaining an education as a way of restarting their life from past destruction and were anxious to complete their unfinished education (PC7 2016; PC11 2016). Similarly, others reflected that education restored their hope for the future and humanity and enabled them to pick up and continue with their life:

> 'The first [motivation for education] was the healing and reconciliation workshop I attended. I learnt that after the genocide, life has to continue' (SELF3 2016).

> 'This was the starting point of who I am today. Going back to a school built my hope for life and showed me that my dreams could come to reality' (PC13 2016).

> 'Education brought hope for me. I understood that things are possible. […] Education restored my relationships with others. […] Education helped me to know how to manage myself and others. There are also things I cannot do because I studied. Education built humanity in me - I cannot take revenge, for example' (SELF3 2016).

Restoration is also an extrinsic motivation as the interviewees' desired outcomes are formulated by integrating their perceived values, such as justice. In summary, the various motivations described above explain how the interviewees made sense of their experiences. They reflected on the disruption of their education and how they valued and aspired for the SCE in their subjective reality. It is crucial to note that the SCE was not desired simply because of the extrinsic motivation to improve their livelihood. There are other extrinsic motivations based on their understanding of normative values and need for restoration as well as the intrinsic motivation for cognitive rewards.

7. Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the context of education and conflict in Rwanda and analysed 23 life story interviews to identify how and why learners stopped their schooling then obtained SCE later as an adult. The learners faced various barriers for attaining education, not only during the genocide when schools were closed, but also from discrimination based on ethnicity, geography and religion or being in exile abroad before the genocide and vulnerabilities including family loss, illness and imprisonment after the genocide. Severely restricted access to secondary education before the genocide created a large number of young people whose educational opportunity was denied. It is important to highlight that the post-genocide education sector reform has opened education to all for the first time in Rwandan history although there are still some barriers to accessing education. Considering how education had been used to create and maintain the rift in society, as outlined in the fourth section, this was a significant transition for the Rwandans. While it is not possible to generalise learners' education paths and motivations for undertaking SCE, due to the small amount of data, the findings feature some intriguing observations and implications for further policy and academic contributions.

With regard to policy, flexible and affordable SCE pathways are crucial for adult learners who have other responsibilities. Most interviewees benefitted from the accelerated primary education (catch-up programme) or private candidate. However, the data from the programmes supporting education needs in the post-genocide period, including the catch-up programme, were too scarce to provide a comprehensive picture or trend. Moreover, there is a huge gap in our knowledge of the educational journeys of those who were affected by conflict and had intermittent education.

Nonetheless, the findings from the small samples suggest three key issues from these provisions. It was noticeable that continuing to study at the lower secondary level poses a challenge to many because of the costs for materials, and, in some cases, the need for boarding. Moreover, private candidate is not available for O-levels. The lack of support to obtain lower secondary education was a discouraging factor for the catch-up programme students. The second issue was the recognition of education received previously. As discussed in the sixth section, those who had returned from exile encountered the challenge of providing appropriate certificate papers or studying in a different language. Finally, the stigma attached to the catch-up programme for adult learners, in general, was observed. While there seems to be shame attached to adults needed to study at the primary education level, there is an indication that a catch-up programme can change people's perception of studying as they see that it is possible to study and benefit from education at an older age.[27] This change of perception can be potentially significant because of the implementation of the catch-up programme throughout the country, mainly in rural areas.

For the academic community, the analysis of the motivations for the SCE presents both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, although intrinsic motivations are not often considered in the EiE

[27] From a stakeholder interview with a former Catch-up teacher.

circle. Regarding extrinsic motivations, there are different levels of internalisation and various outcomes desired by the learners. The externally regulated motivation for skills and qualification for livelihood was often attributed to the status of being an orphan or poor and the changing labour market in Rwanda. The most cited motivation, that of becoming useful in society may be because of the great need to help others on the one hand and the rapid development of the country which they feel they need to go along with, on the other. This motivation indicates their appreciation of personal development, often quoted as opening their minds that enabled them to become useful in society. The motivation for restoration may resonate with the EiE's rationales of education as a right and a protection. Many learners wished to reclaim the rightful education they had been denied before. For many, going back to education was to start their lives where they left their education and where they can restore hope and humanity. This may be related to the psychosocial and cognitive protection of the EiE. In this sense, the desire to become useful in society is also related to psychosocial protection as it improves their relationship with society. In addition, some learners are aware of education's 'array of protections' (Sommers 2009, 35-36) from negative behaviours and influence which impact on their lives.

This research has illustrated the significance of the SCE for adults whose education was halted due to conflicts and emergencies. The SCE complements the principle of EiE through ensuring education as a human right and protection. There is a need for further research on the SCE, at different education levels, in different circumstances and in different periods to enhance the evidence base. This research can be combined with different methods including a survey, to incorporate a wider range of people.

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Abstract (in Japanese)

要約

1990 年代以来人道危機状況が長期化する傾向が顕著になり、国際社会は緊急時教育(EiE)に対する支援を加速しています。こうした EiE 分野の成長にもかかわらず、紛争影響下では、多くの就学年齢の子どもたちが就学機会（特に中等教育レベル）を失った上、セカンドチャンス教育（SCE）を受ける機会を得たり、自分たちの視点を訴える場を持つことができていません。この論文では、EiE 分野で見過ごされてきた、紛争に起因した非就学児童や若者の問題と、セカンドチャンス教育の可能性に焦点をあてています。紛争と教育の関係を考慮する上で非常に重要なルワンダの事例を分析し、1994 年以前の時点で非就学児童となった人々が、教育機会を失った過程、虐殺後のルワンダで SCE を達成した経由、そして SCE を望んだ動機を検証します。

この研究は、定性的研究手法、特に解釈的手法を用いて、上記の人々が、虐殺後のルワンダで SCE を達成するまでの複雑な経過や、SCE への動機をどのように解釈しているのかを検証しています。2016 年の現地調査で行った 23 件のライフストーリー・インタビューからは、虐殺以前のルワンダで、政治闘争に利用された教育が如何に社会や人々を分断し、人々の教育機会を奪ってきたかが明らかになりました。SCE への動機に関しては、コグニティブ・リウォードといった内的動機や、技術・資格・生計取得や規範的価値、修復といった外的動機が浮き彫りになりました。

研究成果は、まずはじめに、SCE を達成できた人々のライフストーリーの検証により、SCE によって正規小中学校教育を修得するための必要条件や経路を示唆したことです。次に、技術・資格・生計取得といったドナーが焦点を置く教育の目的は、知の探求や社会の役に立ちたい、という多様な動機のうちの一つでしかないということにあります。このような SCE 修了者の経験や視点は、これまで EiE 分野では大きく見落とされており、今後の EiE の実践に重要な意義と示唆を持つと考えられます。

キーワード：紛争、緊急時教育、セカンド・チャンス教育、学習者の動機、ルワンダ

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