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High school teachers' perceptions of the qualities of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda: A Q-methodological approach

Nzahabwanayo, Sylvestre

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University of the Witwatersrand

School of Human and Community Development

High school teachers' perceptions of the qualities of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda: A Q-Methodological Approach

A research submitted in partial fulfilment for the MA in Social and Psychological Research

October, 2018

Student: Dr. Sylvestre Nzahabwanayo (721727)

Supervisor: Prof. Gillian Finchilescu

ABSTRACT

This study investigates high school teachers' perceptions of the qualities of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda. It contributes to the existing literature around conceptions of good citizenship in conflict-affected contexts. The research engages with Q-Methodology conducted among a sample of 58 Rwandan high school teachers. It is revealed that the high school teachers cluster into four groups representing four perspectives about good citizenship. The first perspective describes good citizenship as being mindful or considerate of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi and promoting unity as well as reconciliation among Rwandans. Good citizenship is seen as avoiding any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the genocide, and fighting divisionism, genocide ideology as well as hate speech. It also involves contributing towards programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.

The second perspective, held by the majority of teachers, characterizes good citizenship as being morally upright and demonstrating a strong sense of patriotism. This account appears as the primary and dominant definition of good citizenship. The third perspective depicts good citizenship as being politically enthusiastic. For this group, good citizenship is perceived in terms of political literacy coupled with active political commitment. The fourth perspective conceives good citizenship in terms of promoting justice. Good citizenship is seen as denouncing what is wrong and fighting all forms of corruption, nepotism and discrimination.

The study shows that the vast majority of teachers tend to associate good citizenship with good character and patriotism. A very limited number of teachers conceptualize good citizenship in terms of fighting injustices prevailing in society and participating actively in politics. Against such an imbalance, this study advocates a shift towards more critical forms of citizenship. It also argues for the reinforcement of democratic and participatory skills among teachers. This research argues that conceptions of good citizenship are context dependent. Hence, there is a need to broaden citizenship concepts.

Key words

Good citizenship, high school teachers, post-genocide Rwanda, Q- Methodology

DECLARATION

I, **Sylvestre Nzahabwanayo**, declare that this is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters in Social and Psychological Research in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university, nor has it been prepared under the aegis or with the assistance of anybody or organization or person other than the University of the Witwatersrand.

Signed at Wits School of Human and Community Development on this 24th day of October 2018.



Sylvestre Nzahabwanayo

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my wife Alphonsine Imanishimwe, my son Arnaud-Pallotti Nzahabwanayo and my daughter Alicia-Sandra Nzahabwanayo for their continued love and support.

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The generosity of high school teachers who volunteered to participate in this study despite their heavy schedule cannot be overlooked. Finally, I thank the Wits School of Human and Community Development Lecturers for their support during my studies.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

NISR : National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda.

MINEDUC : Rwanda Ministry of Education.

EDPRS : Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy.

RPF : Rwandan Patriotic Front.

RPA : Rwandan Patriotic Army.

ICCS : International Civic and Citizenship Education Study.

IEA : International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement.

NIC : National *Itorero* Commission.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction and rationale

It would not be off the mark to argue that the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda stemmed from a misconception of citizenship. This claim is made chiefly because citizenship was established on the basis of one's ethnic belonging. A number of studies (e.g. Adejumobi, 2001; Kabwete Mulinda, 2002; Prunier, 1995) show that the colonial rule (both Germans and Belgians) considered Tutsi to be of Hamitic origin. As a result, Tutsi were perceived by other Rwandans as invaders, as foreigners and not genuine citizens. In this context, Rwanda cannot promote reconstruction, social cohesion and peace building while turning a blind eye to issues pertaining to citizenship, let alone perceptions of 'good citizenship'.

Research indicates that half of the population of Rwanda is below 20 (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda [NISR], 2012), and the vast majority of these young people are in high schools (Rwanda Ministry of Education [MINEDUC], 2016). Against this backdrop, drawing on Quaynor (2015) I argue that ways in which these young people are taught directly or indirectly to conceptualize, understand and enact citizenship will most likely influence the future of the political landscape in Rwanda. It is therefore crucial to investigate ways in which young people's conceptions of good citizenship are nurtured.

Given that school absorbs a large part of the day, youth spend much of their time interacting with teachers. As a result, teachers influence students' behaviours and conceptions in many ways. As Sutherland (2001) argues, citizenship is not only taught; it is also 'caught'. This 'caught' citizenship happens at home, at workplaces, through media, and more importantly at school. Hence it is important to investigate teachers' conceptions on a wide a range of important issues to ensure the well-being of the future generation.

In fact, research indicates that citizenship and values education learnt in school is more influential than what is received at home (Hess & Torney, 1967). The present

study seeks to investigate high school teachers' conceptions of 'good citizenship' in the context of post-genocide Rwanda. The assumption here is that teachers will tend to communicate implicitly and/or explicitly the image of a 'good citizen' that they themselves uphold. In other words, their conception of good citizenship will be 'caught' by students whom they interact with on a daily basis.

In short, the reason for focusing on high school teachers lies in the significance of adolescence in political socialization. High school teachers play a pivotal role in this socialization process. A number of studies (e.g. Flanagan, 2009; Osborne et al., 2011; Sears & Valentino, 1997; Yates & Youniss, 1998) have shown that political orientations crystallize in adolescence and become more stable with increasing age.

The present research contributes to the existing literature around high school teachers' conceptions of good citizenship particularly in conflict-affected societies. Most of previous studies conducted on 'good citizenship' in post-genocide Rwanda sought to scrutinize the 'model citizen' advanced by the current leadership of Rwanda through national civic/citizenship education platforms mainly *Ingando*[1] and *Itorero* (e.g. Mgbako, 2005; Purdekovà, 2011; Sundberg, 2014; Turner, 2014). In contrast to these studies, the present research seeks to interrogate conceptions of 'good citizenship' entertained by high school teachers. I argue that conceptions of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda have serious implications for the realization of current national development programs mainly Vision 2020, and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy I and II (EDPRS I & II). The

[1] *Ingando* is one of home-grown solutions adopted by the Rwandan post-genocide leadership. The concept *Ingando* stems from the verb "*Kugandika*", which means to 'take a retreat' (Beraho, 2007, p. 7). In post-genocide Rwanda, there are two categories of *Ingando*: (i) *Ingando* re-education camps, which mainly target people perceived as potentially harmful such as former combatants (ex-soldiers), confessed *génocidaires, and* released inmates; (ii) *Ingando* solidarity camp, which gathers the educated elite and the youth (Purdeková, 2011); it targets people like politicians, religious leaders, community leaders, women's associations, secondary school teachers, and high school leavers (Mgbako, 2005; Turner, 2014). The teaching of both categories of *Ingando* focuses on defined topics like unity and reconciliation, history of Rwanda, Vision 2020, and cultural activities. According to Mgbako (2005) the duration of *Ingando* varies between few days and few weeks. In 2007 *Ingando* solidarity camps were substituted by the revived *Itorero*. *Itorero* comes from the verb '*gutoza*' which means to 'train for the best'. It is important to note that *Itorero* took the *Ingando* 'solidarity camp' wing only.

latter are development programs meant to uplift Rwanda from poverty to a middle income country by 2020.

1. 2. Research aim and question

The present research aims to investigate high school teachers' conceptualization of the qualities of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda. It seeks to answer the following research question: What is the image of a 'good citizen' entertained by Rwandan high school teachers?

1.3. Citizenship narratives in Rwanda

In this subsection, I offer a brief historical overview of citizenship narratives that marked Rwanda before colonialism, under colonialism, with independence, and after the genocide. In doing this, the intention is to demonstrate that the 1994 genocide is deeply rooted in distorted conceptions of citizenship. This approach stems from the view that one cannot research properly citizenship in Africa without considering historical and contemporary contexts (Quaynor, 2015).

1.3.1. Citizenship narratives in the pre-colonial Rwanda

There is a narrative that before colonialism (Germans from 1899 to 1919, and Belgians from 1919 to 1962), Rwandans maintained a national identity; they understood themselves as Rwandans and not along ethnic lines, i.e. Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. This unitary discourse dominates a number of studies on pre-colonial Rwanda (Hintjens, 2001; Kabwete Mulinda, 2002; Lemarchand, 1996; Ndangiza, 2003; Prunier, 1995). It is believed that the so-called ethnic groups, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa designated social classes and were only defined on the basis of one's wealth, i.e. the number of cattle that one owned. Tutsi were understood as those with more cows, Hutu owned less, and Twa owned much fewer (Hintjens, 2001; Lemarchand, 1996; Ndangiza, 2003).

Additionally, some studies (e.g. Czekanowski, 1917; Hintjens, 2001; Honke, 1990; Lemarchand, 1996; Ndangiza, 2003) show that social mobility (moving from one class to the other) was a common phenomenon. In this regard, losing cattle could

lead one to move from a Tutsi class to Hutu or Twa clusters. Equally, according to Lemarchand (1996) one could be both a Tutsi in relation to his own servants and a Hutu in relation to his patron. Put differently, before colonialism Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa did not refer to crystallized or fixed identities.

1.3.2. Citizenship narratives under colonialism

Research shows that the division among Rwandans might have started with German colonialists who, drawing on the dominant anthropology of the time, advanced the idea that the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa were three different ethnic groups. In this regard, the Tutsi were seen as Ethioped, the Hutu as Bantu, and the Twa as Pygmoid (Kabwete Mulinda, 2002; Prunier, 1995). Germans also engineered the narrative according to which the Tutsi are superior to the rest of Rwandans by virtue of three characteristics: (i) their racial features (expressed in their stature and nobility); (ii) economic welfare (their wealth through cattle herding), and (iii) political skills ('men born to command like Romans') (Louis de Lacger, 1959).

Belgians perpetuated the divide between Rwandans by inscribing their alleged ethnic belonging into official identity cards (Mamdani, 2001). Additionally, in 1926 they initiated an administrative reform (commonly known as Mortehan reform) in the course of which the Tutsi were unjustifiably allocated high positions while other categories were relegated to lower posts. It is worth noting that Belgians also limited the access to school to Tutsi children only as a way of preparing would-be administrative elites.

Some studies (e.g. Harroy, 1984; Human Rights Watch, 1999; Kagame, 1972; Mamdani, 2001; Prunier, 1995; Shyaka, n.d.) suggest that the Tutsi subscribed and internalized their superiority over the rest of Rwandans. They collaborated with the colonial master in oppressing the Hutu and Twa. It is argued that this collaboration between Tutsi and Belgian colonialists lasted until 1950 when Belgian officials and Catholic European clergy discovered that the Tutsi were claiming for independence against the knowledge of their colonial master (e.g. Hintjens, 2001; Shyaka, n.d.). In other words, much as the Tutsi offered to collaborate with Belgians, at the same time they were requesting the United Nations to liberate Rwanda from the bondage of the colonial rule. Belgians became aware of this plan in 1950 only.

In response, Belgians changed the narrative about the Tutsi. The latter were portrayed as foreigners, invaders, and not really *bona fide* Rwandan citizens. Belgians, on the other hand, depicted the Hutu as 'real Rwandans' and 'owners of the land'. They also propelled the Hutu to take over leadership positions which were previously occupied by the Tutsi. This resulted into a bloody conflict between Hutu and Tutsi, which is commonly known as the 1959-1962 'Social Revolution'. In essence, the revolution was a call launched by Hutu elites for liberating Rwanda from both 'Hamites' (Tutsi) and 'Bazungu' (whites). The discrimination against the Tutsi gained momentum in 1959. At this time many of them were expelled from Rwanda and forcibly fled to neighboring countries such as Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and Kenya.

In short, it is understood that Belgians applied the 'divide and rule policy'. They rendered support to either group (Hutu or Tutsi) because of the intended purposes. Their citizenship discourse was quite instrumental. What is distressing though is that the Hutu and the Tutsi allowed themselves to be manipulated; they subscribed to citizenship narratives that were coined by both Germans and Belgians. As a result, they failed to maintain their unity and national identity against the colonial master (Harroy, 1984).

1.3.3. Citizenship narratives after independence

Rwanda obtained political independence in 1962 with leadership positions placed in the hands of Hutu elites. Unfortunately, the star of Hutu regime rose on a culture of anger and discrimination against the Tutsi. The after independence period saw two regimes which had a lot in common: the regime of Grégoire Kayibanda (1962-1973) and the regime of Juvénal Habyarimana (1973-1994). Research shows that under Kayibanda leadership, citizenship and Hutu identity were indistinguishable (Mamdani, 2001; Newbury, 2002). It is argued that Kayibanda hated the Tutsi and sought to systematically exclude them from all sectors of life. Furthermore, he grounded his legitimacy on his promises to retrieve dignity for the Hutu group, whom he constantly referred to as a 'people' who have been offended, humiliated, and despised by the Tutsi 'invader'. His regime lasted until 1973 when he was overthrown by Juvenal Habyarimana in a coup d'état.

Although Habyarimana instituted the quota system[2], upon seizure of power, he seemed tolerant towards the Tutsi (Hintjens, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 1999; Mamdani, 2001; Newbury, 2002). Under his regime, the Tutsi could occupy some posts in the private sector, local teaching, medical, and agricultural domains (Newbury, 2002). His alleged tolerance was viewed by many as a kind of Tutsi rehabilitation. In fact, Tutsi were represented in parliament, embassies, in the cabinet, even in the army (Mamdani, 2002).

The presumed rehabilitation, however, was slowed down and even shut down very quickly. In fact, Habyarimana declined fiercely the return of thousands of Tutsi who had fled the country following pogroms in 1959, 1962 and 1973 on the pretext that the country was small (Human Rights Watch, 1999; Mamdani, 2001). Dissatisfied by their living conditions in exile, Tutsi initiated a liberation struggle under the political organization known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) with a military wing called Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) chiefly based in Uganda.

A new citizenship discourse appears with the liberation war initiated by the RPF on 1 October 1990. At this time, inside Tutsi groups who enjoyed some kind of rehabilitation and calm, were again depicted as of Hamitic origin, invaders, immigrants, and outsiders (Mamdani, 2001). Tutsi were again tortured and denied citizenship. They were seen as enemies and foreign invaders who, supported by colonialists, illegally occupied the land. The regime of Habyarimana sought support from local masses. Hutu were repeatedly reminded that they are ‘owners of the land’. At the same time, they were called upon to rise up and defend their nation, which resulted in the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.

1.3.4. Few words about the Rwanda genocide

The 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi is a complex event which goes beyond simplistic accounts. My intention here is not to provide an exhaustive account of this tragedy. This has been done elsewhere (e.g. Caplan, 2007; Des Forges, 2007; Hewit, 2004; Lemarchand, 2009; Mamdani, 2002). As someone who witnessed the genocide (I was 15 then), my focus is to highlight briefly key elements,

[2] The quota system followed the formula according to which “9% was for Tutsi and 90% was for Hutu in areas, such as civil service and education” (Hintjens, 2001, p. 34).

and this is done by fairly answering the following questions: Who was killed? When were they killed and why? Who killed them? How and when did the genocide end?

Victims of the genocide were primarily Tutsi although the moderate Hutu, who opposed Habyarimana's ideology or who offered a hiding place to Tutsi were also massacred. The genocide lasted three months from 6 April to mid-July 1994; it took the lives of more than a million of people: children, men, women, elderly, elite and uneducated, rich and poor, those in good health and disabled (Caplan, 2007; Des Forges, 2007).

Following the liberation war launched by RPF on 1 October 1990, the international community asked Juvenal Habyarimana to initiate talks with RPF. These negotiations took place in Arusha, Tanzania, and reached an agreement of sharing power with RPF. The elite Hutu - mainly in the army - were not happy with this agreement though (Lemarchand, 2009; Mamdani, 2002). As a result, the aircraft carrying Habyarimana and his Burundi counterpart Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down in Kigali as they were coming from Arusha on 6 April 1994. All people on board died. Although there are various accounts around the mastermind behind the downing of the plane, the Tutsi were immediately depicted as the culprits, an accusation they rejected. The genocide kicked off the very same evening of the plane incident.

It is commonly understood that extremist Hutu engineered and carried out the killing. The latter involved mainly soldiers, police and militia (called *Interahamwe*). However, other Hutu civilians were also armed with traditional weapons and machetes and were encouraged to kill Tutsi as a way of 'defending the nation' (Mamdani, 2002). The genocide took various forms: killing, raping, mutilating the Tutsi, destroying and stealing their belongings, etc. In the meantime, the struggle to end genocide was launched by RPA and the genocide saw an end on 5 July 1994. The post-genocide Rwanda has been introduced to a new citizenship narrative.

1.3.5. Citizenship narratives in post-genocide Rwanda

The post-genocide government (the government of unity and reconciliation) is wholeheartedly dedicated to promote an inclusive citizenship discourse (Hintjens, 2001; Sundberg, 2014). It seeks to foster national identity at the expense of

potentially dividing ethnic affiliations. In this regard, citizenship is no longer attached to one's ethnic belonging or affiliations. Citizenship is rather anchored on Rwandanness [*Ubunyarwanda*]. The discourse that is promulgated by the leadership of Rwanda is that it is far more beneficial for Rwandans to put aside their differences and focus on their similarities, being a Rwandan.

The idea of an inclusive citizenship echoes the unity that characterized Rwandans before colonialism. As seen previously, before the arrival of colonialists, Rwandans understood themselves and lived as one people. The pre-colonial period or traditional Rwanda is seen as the Golden Era (Sundberg, 2014) precisely because it was characterized by unity, social harmony and patriotism.

Bearing in mind this historical introductory note, the importance of good citizenship for development and reconstruction in post-genocide Rwanda cannot be overstated. Rwanda is committed to the view that its people constitute its first asset. But for this asset to bear expected fruit, there is a need that people learn and internalize qualities required for a good citizen. Development, social reconstruction, and peace building cannot take place in the absence of good citizens. Although education for good citizenship takes place in various settings, schools are privileged spaces to impart values and skills for good citizenship because they absorb a large part of the day of young people.

1.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, the scene of the study was set by outlining the rationale and the research question at stake in this research. I have also attempted to show that the genocide stemmed predominantly from the distorted understanding of citizenship which largely dominated the colonial era as well post-independence periods. I argued that the current Rwandan Government of unity and reconciliation has inaugurated a new era characterized by an inclusive citizenship discourse where national identity (Rwandanness) prevails over other affiliations. In what follows, I turn to consider the theoretical literature and the theoretical framework informing the present study. Some empirical studies conducted on conceptions of good citizenship are also briefly reviewed. This will be followed by the methodology, results, and discussion chapters.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

2.0. Introduction

This section provides a brief theoretical literature around the concept citizenship. Basic features of the theoretical framework guiding the study are also highlighted. Finally, the section gives a review of some empirical studies conducted on teachers' perceptions of good citizenship.

2.1. The meaning of citizenship

Citizenship is a contested, ambiguous and complex concept (Oliver & Heater, 1994; Ramphele, 2001; Riesenberg, 1992; Wayne, 2004). In fact, disagreement is rife on what the construct 'citizenship' refers to. In the present study, the following definition will be relied upon: citizenship is "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed" (Marshall, 1950, pp. 28-29).

Given the intricacies linked to the concept of citizenship, there is no common agreement as to what 'good citizenship' means. Here contextual factors, i.e. historical, political and cultural, come into play.

Research shows that studies around good citizenship generally fall into two categories: pedagogical and theoretical (Theiss-Morse, 1993). The pedagogical orientation seeks to investigate the best ways and means of teaching good citizenship. A large number of studies have taken this orientation (e.g. Anderson, Avery, Rederson, Smith & Sullivan, 1997; Jeliazkova, 2015; Lowham & Lowham, 2015; Sklarwitz, 2016). The theoretical strand, on the other hand, strives to unpack the meaning of good citizenship according to various respondents, for example teachers, students, and parents, etc. A huge body of literature has been produced in this regard (e.g. Dejaeghere & Hooghe, 2009; Groth, 2006; Sim, 2008; Torney-Purta

et al., 2001; Tupper & Cappello, 2012; Yesilbursa, 2015). The present study takes the theoretical orientation, i.e. providing the meaning or conceptions of 'good citizenship'. It seeks to unveil high school teachers' conceptualization of a 'good citizen' particularly in the context of post-genocide Rwanda.

In investigating theoretically the meaning or conceptions of good citizenship, studies tend to go in two ways: either they define 'good citizenship' *a priori* and ask respondents to fit into predefined categories, or they leave the definition of good citizenship completely open to respondents (Theiss-Morse, 1993). Research has shown that both approaches have limitations. In the first approach, by providing *a priori* definitions, the researcher runs the risk of misinterpreting people's beliefs by not accurately categorizing them or by missing other orientations altogether. In the second approach, a researcher who refrains from predefining the qualities of good citizenship may discover wide variation(s) in people's conceptualization.

Against this backdrop, the present research takes a middle position. It relies on predefined categories drawn from the theoretical framework, empirical literature, and interviews with 10 Rwandan students enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand. It also leaves room for respondents, i.e. high school teachers, to define good citizenship. A place was provided on the questionnaire where high school teachers could write their own definition(s) of the good citizen or ascertain their own understanding of good citizenship.

2.2. Historical evolution of the concept of citizenship

In this subsection, I examine briefly ways in which the construct citizenship has evolved during antiquity, middle ages, and modern times. This approach will allow to see that the meaning attached to citizenship is deeply influenced by circumstances prevailing in a given context.

2.2.1. Greek and medieval citizenship: Sparta, Athens and Rome

When considering citizenship education in Sparta, one realizes that it consisted in teaching young people about brave achievements of their forefathers. Young children also had to undergo a rigorous military training and physical exercises for

fitness purposes. Additionally, through moral education they were taught to lead a virtuous life (Heater, 2004; Oliver & Heater, 1994). It is worth noting that military training took precedence over moral education. In other words, more emphasis was placed on physical fitness in view of preparing fit-for-purpose warriors. In the Spartan context, a good citizen was primarily an excellent warrior (ready to defend the integrity of the city) and a morally upright person. Heater (2004) argues that contrary to Sparta, Athens emphasized not only military, physical and moral excellence, but also political wisdom. A good Athenian citizen was expected to be physically fit, morally upright and more importantly politically literate and active.

In the Republican Rome, physical and military fitness were considered as of little importance. Rather, political participation was seen as a critical aspect of good citizenship (Faulks, 2000). During the Roman imperial age, there is a shift in emphasis. Good citizenship is equated with the knowledge of the law. Citizens were encouraged to know the law in order to enjoy its protection (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 2004).

During the middle ages, religion dominated all spheres of life. In this context, the focus is no longer on political participation nor on physical training. At this time, people were more interested with the salvation of their souls. A good citizen was depicted as the one who cares for his/her own salvation, which was achieved by contemplation and prayer (Faulks, 2000). Here religious piety becomes an important aspect of citizenship.

2.2.2. Modern citizenship: From the French Revolution to date

The modern times were characterized by a series of events. These include the separation between church and state, the separation between religion and politics, the development of the liberal state, the struggle of social movements (women, ethnic minorities, the disabled, sexual minorities), and the triumph of capitalism (Parker, 2003; Riesenberg, 1992). These dynamics led to a different orientation in defining citizenship. This view of citizenship became associated with relating directly to the state, promoting freedom and equality, and recognizing people's rights (Faulks, 2000; Oliver & Heater, 1994; Parker, 2003; Riesenberg, 1992). Good

citizenship is no longer understood in terms of attachment to religion. Instead, good citizenship takes place through contributing to the well-being of the community, for example, by financial contribution via taxes.

2.3. Theoretical framework

The present study is informed by five current conceptions of good citizenship: civic republicanism, liberalism, communitarianism, cosmopolitanism, and radical democracy. In fact, there is a huge body of literature around conceptions of citizenship. These include, for instance, thin and thick, passive and active citizenship (Bubeck, 1995; Faulks, 2000; Isin & Turner, 2002); minimal and maximal citizenship *(*McLaughlin, 1992); parochial/subject/participant citizenship (Almond & Verba, 1963); abandonment/activity citizenship (Cohen, 2013); the personal responsibility/participation/justice driven citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004); state-based/liberal/cosmopolitan/social justice citizenship (Sears & Hughes, 1996); and autarchic/autonomous citizenship (Galston, 1989). Providing an exhaustive review of these conceptions is far beyond the scope of the present study.

Although it is feasible to engage with some of these conceptions as a theoretical framework, in the present study I prefer to use broad citizenship concepts (civic republicanism, communitarianism, liberalism, cosmopolitanism and radical democracy) particularly because these large concepts assume, accommodate and incorporate other citizenship conceptions outlined above. In other words, engaging with broad citizenship concepts leads to a richer and deeper analysis. Furthermore, these five citizenship concepts are well known in the citizenship scholarship and have been used in other studies (e.g. Honohan, 2017; Stuteville & Johnson, 2016; Ververi, 2017).

2.3.1. The civic republican notion of citizenship

Civic republicanism holds the view that a ‘good citizen’ demonstrates a strong sense of active political participation or civic engagement, and selfless dedication to the good of the political community (Honohan, 2002). Additionally, it is believed that the good of the public community should be prioritized at the expense of private interests (Heater, 2004; Honohan, 2002; Sandel, 1999; Van Steenbergen, 1994).

More importantly, according to civic republicanism, a good citizen entertains the conviction that individual rights should be subordinate to ones' duties and responsibilities (Heater, 2004; Sandel, 1999). In short, under the civic republican tradition, good citizenship is equated with placing the public above the private, subordinating personal interests to the common good, and being courageous as well as patriotic. There is also an emphasis on discharging one's duties at the detriment of enjoying ones' rights and privileges (Sandel, 1999; Heater, 2004). It is sound to say that the civic republican notion dominated Sparta and Athens.

The civic republican notion of citizenship has been vehemently criticized by various scholars. According to some, it sacrifices individual rights (Mouffe, 1992), and ignores the private sphere as an important domain (Heater, 2004). According to others, the notion is "inherently oppressive, moralistic, exclusive, militaristic and masculinist" (Honohan, 2002, p. 6). Notwithstanding these problems, it is fair to say that civic republicanism deserves credit because it represents a bridge point between liberalism and communitarianism (Honohan, 2002; Van Steenbergen, 1994), which I turn to consider in the paragraphs to follow.

2.3.2. The liberal notion of citizenship

Fundamental to the liberal notion of citizenship is the recognition of the value of the individual. A number of studies (e.g. Galston, 1988; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Sandel, 1999; Tomasi, 2001) have suggested that when considering liberalism and citizenship, it is essential to bear in mind the existence of two models: procedural or anti-perfectionist liberalism, and perfectionist liberalism.

Procedural liberalism maintains that the existence of virtuous citizens is of little importance to ensure the smooth functioning of the society, (Sandel, 1999). A view is held that check and balance mechanisms (a strong legal system, for example) would be enough to counteract oppression (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). It is suggested that 'good citizenship' amounts only to exercise one's rights and discharge one's duties (Tomasi, 2001). The procedural-liberal notion of citizenship is dominant during modernity.

On the other hand, perfectionist liberalism believes that virtue is essential for the success of the polity (Galston, 1988; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). It follows that 'good

citizenship' entails the possession of certain liberal virtues such as courage, law-abidance, loyalty, independence and tolerance (Galston, 1988), public spiritedness or public reasonableness, a sense of justice, and civility (Kymlicka, 1997). For the purposes of the present study, liberalism is understood principally in the more common procedural sense.

Procedural liberalism has been challenged on several grounds: its conception of the person as separate from and prior to community, its acceptance of competing conceptions of the good, and the requirement of state neutrality (Faulks, 2000; Kartal, 2002; Mulhall & Swift, 2007). The communitarian notion of citizenship is often seen as an attempt to address the limitations of liberalism (Kymlicka, 1997).

2.3.3. The communitarian notion of citizenship

The following elements are critical to the communitarian concept of citizenship: a conception of the person as a social being, the priority of the community over the individual, and emphasis on the common good as well as the common perception of the 'good' (Carney, 1992; Etzioni, 1993; Mulhall & Swift, 2007; Sandel, 1982; Van Steenbergen, 1994). Communitarianism locates the person within the community where she is expected to receive identity, self-understanding and the 'good'. This depiction of the person is in sharp contrast with liberalism, which perceives the person as an isolated self, privately modelling and pursuing her own conception of the 'good'. Furthermore, while the liberal citizen upholds the dualism between the public and the private, communitarian citizens value the common good and common bonds at the detriment of their self-interests. In a nutshell, according to communitarianism, giving value to the community's ethos and preserving the common good are important aspects of good citizenship.

Overemphasizing the authority of the community has raised serious concerns. In this regard, communitarianism is criticized as very conservative (Avineri & De-Shalit, 1992), and as a soft totalitarianism (Mulhall & Swift, 2007). For Arthur (1998), through its emphasis on our attachment to community, communitarianism stifles individual freedom and autonomy.

2.3.4. The cosmopolitan notion of citizenship

The cosmopolitan notion of citizenship advances the idea that a 'good citizen' has distinctive values. These include openness to the world, respect for human diversity, recognition of our common humanity, and having a sense of solidarity with others (Appiah, 2008; Audi, 2009; Davies, 2005; Gutmann, 2002; Heater, 2004; Koutselini, 2008; Nussbaum, 1994; Osler & Starkey, 2005, 2003; Reilly & Niens, 2014; Staeheli & Hammett, 2010; Taylor, 1989; Tuomi et al., 2008; Waghid, 2007). According to cosmopolitanism, all human beings should be seen as equal in dignity and rights (Osler and Starkey, 2005).

The idea of openness to world or being a 'citizen of the world' has been the focus of much criticism. In this regard, Miller (1998) argues that cosmopolitanism dilutes the very notion of citizenship; it does not have a real ground or a tangible concrete community. Another contention is that cosmopolitanism lacks a legal backing either in the natural law or positive law (Neff, 1998).

2.3.5. The radical democratic notion of citizenship

Two important features characterize the radical democratic notion of citizenship: strong and direct political participation (Delanty, 2000), and expansion of the terrain of the political (Isin & Turner, 2002). According to this notion, as a way of exercising their sovereignty, citizens are to participate in politics extensively and with no intermediary. However, for participating meaningfully, communication and deliberative skills are required.

In this context, 'good citizenship' is associated with the possession of knowledge, skills, values and dispositions towards strong political participation (Isin & Turner, 2002; Gutmann, 1996; Mouffe, 1992), public deliberation (Benhabib, 2002; Habermas, 1994), and acceptance of differences based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexual orientation and socioeconomic status (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Phelan, 2001; Young, 1989).

The radical democratic idea of associating 'good citizenship' with direct and strong political participation has been severely criticized. The main argument is that a good number of public matters call for special skills from experts, which the common

demos or populace does not have. For this reason, it is argued radical democracy is inattentive to real and material power relationships (Isin & Turner, 2002).

The citizenship concepts that I have just described were very instrumental in developing a pool of 50 statements on good citizenship. These statements were also drawn from the empirical literature on good citizenship.

2.4. Empirical literature

The present section provides a brief review of some empirical studies conducted on perceptions of 'good citizenship' and citizenship education. One study on 'good citizenship' in post-genocide Rwanda is also reviewed.

2.4.1. Good citizenship in USA using Q methodology

Theiss-Morse (1993) sought to investigate perceptions of good citizenship in the USA. A set of 40 statements was given to 49 people from the Minneapolis-St Paul metropolitan area for ranking these statements on a grid ranging from -5 (most unacceptable citizenship behavior) to +5 (most acceptable citizenship behavior). The study revealed four perspectives about good citizenship. The 'representative democracy' perspective affirmed that good citizens should be informed about politics in order to vote intelligently based on their knowledge of candidate and issues. This perspective rejects the idea that people do not need to think about politics much because there are other more important things to worry about. The 'political enthusiast' perspective puts emphasis on active participation. It affirmed that good citizens should be involved whenever an important decision is to be made. This perspective rejects political apathy and opposes the belief that good citizens should simply trust political leaders.

The 'pursued interests' perspective viewed good citizenship in two ways. First, it affirmed that a good citizen does not need to be involved in politics. Secondly, it emphasized group activity. In other words, a view is held that good citizens should be involved only in decision making in the family, on the job, in the community, and in organizations they belong to. There is a strong trust towards elites.

The ‘indifferent perspective’ agreed that the citizens should vote and be informed about politics. However, it rejected the use of other forms of participation. This perspective believes that politics is not important because there are more important things about which to worry.

This study shows that there is a controversy as to whether good citizenship should involve political commitment or not. The representative democracy and politically enthusiast perspectives support the view that good citizenship goes hand in hand with political literacy and activism, which is denied by the pursued interests and indifferent perspectives.

2.4.2. Citizenship education in Bulgaria and Croatia using Q methodology

Jeliakova (2015) sought to scrutinize high school social science teachers’ perceptions of citizenship education. The study engaged with Q methodology with a Q set comprising 41 statements among a sample of 17 teachers in Bulgaria and Croatia, respectively.

In relation to Bulgaria, five perspectives corresponding to five categories of teachers emerged. These include pragmatic conservatives, deliberative liberals, local social guardians, personal growth facilitators, and global future debaters. Upon close scrutiny, one realizes that beneath each conception of citizenship education, there was an assumption of what ‘good citizenship’ means.

In this regard, pragmatic conservatives hold the view that good citizenship involves knowing and adhering to social behaviour. A good citizen is seen as the one who is capable of finding a place in society, obeys laws out of conviction, and safeguards personal rights as well as freedoms. According to deliberative liberals, good citizens should be independent, critical and able to defend as well as extend their freedom through engagement in the democratic debate. Local social guardians hold the view that good citizens should know their rights and duties. More importantly, a view was held that good citizenship involves following moral standards set by role models in society. Personal growth facilitators associated good citizenship with participation, action, and involvement in community groups. As for global future debaters, good citizens are thinking people, focusing on universal human values and capable of living within the global dynamic world.

In relation to Croatia, four perspectives appeared. These include reflective humanists, patriotic conservatives, liberal democracy mentors, and personal growth coaches. Reflective humanists advanced the view that good citizenship involves having intellectual and critical thinking skills. They hold the opinion that although good citizens should be open minded and independent, they should also obey laws as well as rules. Patriotic conservatives described good citizenship in terms of being loyal to the state, knowing laws, and being conversant with state procedures as well as institutions. Liberal democratic mentors conceived of good citizenship as being an independent thinker and being democratically engaged. Finally, personal growth coaches depicted good citizens as independent, responsible, accountable with a strong dedication to the common good.

Notably, it is evident that in their description of good citizenship, teachers in both countries acknowledge the importance of being independent and having strong critical skills. The study (Jeliazkova, 2015) also revealed that in Bulgarian teachers did not associate good citizenship with political engagement.

2.4.3. Preservice teachers and good citizenship in USA

Fry and O'Brien (2015) sought to investigate conceptions of good citizenship among preservice teachers in the USA. A total of 846 teachers participated to this study, which employed a mixed-method approach. Using the theoretical framework developed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), the study revealed that the vast majority of respondents' views (N= 606, 71.6%) were aligned with the *personally responsible* orientation towards citizenship. The core assumptions of this orientation are that "citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible, and law-abiding members of the community" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 240). The most common themes were helping others, volunteering, following rules and laws, and respecting others.

In the second instance, teachers (N= 240, 28.3%) understood good citizenship in *participatory* terms. The participatory orientation is framed by the assumption that to improve society, "citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 240). Here teachers emphasized attributes such as voting, keeping informed of current issues, and participating in elections. In the third place, a few teachers (N=

27, 3.2%) entertained a *justice-oriented* view of good citizenship. According to this perspective good citizens “question, debate, and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 240). The study (Fry & O’Brien, 2015) recommended that teachers be initiated to move from the personally responsible to the justice-oriented citizenship conception.

A number of studies conducted among pre-service teachers on conceptions of good citizenship (e.g. Marri, Michael-Luna, Cormier & Keegan, 2014; Yesilbursa, 2015) came to the same conclusion that teachers tend to entertain a personally responsible orientation at the expense of participatory and justice-oriented conceptions.

2.4.4. Perceptions of good citizenship in Singapore

Sim, Chua, and Krishnasamy (2017) sought to investigate how high school social studies teachers in Singapore conceptualized citizenship. Interviews (14) and classroom observations were conducted. The study found that teachers’ conceptions could be categorized into three perspectives of citizenship: character-driven, social-participatory, and critically-reflexive. Character-driven citizenship was described as citizenship exemplified by being a person of good character and high morals. Most teachers (9 out of 14) subscribed to this type of citizenship. These teachers strongly associated good citizenship with being nationalistic, loyal, and patriotic. Social-participatory citizenship was seen as active participation in the social life of the community. A view was held that to be a good citizen is to be active and do something within the existing social and political structures. Two teachers only were found in this category. Critically-reflexive citizenship involved deep political awareness, a strong belief in fairness and justice, and a critical examination of not just the systemic structures and relationships in society, but of the self as part of this system. Three teachers hold this belief.

Given the importance of critically-reflexive citizenship in addressing forms of injustices prevailing in society, and granted the limited number of teachers holding this view (3 teachers only), the study (Sim, Chua, & Krishnasamy, 2017) recommended that a greater emphasis be put on this citizenship concept.

2.4.5. Good citizenship in Canada

Tupper and Cappello (2012) conducted a study on Saskatchewan high school students' understandings of the good citizen in Canada. The study was conducted among grade 10 students at two high schools (MacKenzi and Jackson high school), and it targeted one group of students enrolled in a Social Studies 10 class and another group of students enrolled in a Native Studies class. The study engaged with image analysis (visual sociology) coupled with focus groups. Students were requested to construct the image of a 'good' citizen based on collages from existing photographic images in the newspapers and magazines available to them. At Jackson school, five collages were created and at MacKenzie four collages and one free-hand image were created. When these images were completed, students were asked to explain deeply their choices and the meaning those choices suggested about their understanding and perceptions of good citizenship.

The analysis revealed that students entertained four perspectives about good citizenship. Firstly, students affirmed that 'good' citizens display a sense of nationalism and national pride. Here good citizenship was associated with patriotism and love of the country. Secondly, it was stated that good citizens respect relationships and display a communal ethos. This understanding of citizenship referenced respect for people, fairness, and helping others in need as essential aspects of good citizenship. Another theme which emerged from the analysis is that 'good' citizens embrace a socially sanctioned concern for the environment. Finally, the analysis revealed that good citizens embrace official multiculturalism. Given that Canada is a nation with all colours, good citizenship was described as celebrating the diversity and doing away with racism, sexism and the like.

2.4.6. South African teachers' perceptions of good citizenship

Schoeman (2005) conducted a study meant to investigate South African teachers' perceptions of good citizenship. To this effect, the researcher interviewed 15 teachers from five primary schools and 15 teachers from five secondary schools on the East Rand in the Province of Gauteng. South African teachers identified the following eight attributes of a good citizen: "responsibility, morality, tolerance, participation, critical thinking, patriotism, obedience, and knowledge" (Schoeman, 2005, p. 281).

The researcher (Schoeman, 2005) classified these qualities in three categories: communitarian characteristics (including responsibility, morality, tolerance and participation); public characteristics (obedience and patriotism); and knowledge characteristics (knowledge of political issues and concepts, knowledge of political structures and systems, and critical thinking). The study concluded that "teachers saw communitarian characteristics (M = 5.5) as more important than the other two categories" (Schoeman, 2005, p. 282).

2.4.7. Good citizenship according to high school students in Rwanda

Russell and Quaynor (2017) conducted a broader multi-level and mixed quantitative and qualitative study among 536 secondary students across 15 randomly selected schools in three districts of Rwanda (in the East, Western, and Central provinces) in both urban and rural areas. The study engaged with a survey, which was complemented with classroom observations, individual and group interviews with students, teachers, and head teachers in seven purposively selected schools across three districts. Among other things, the study sought to investigate student conceptions of a 'good' citizen using the civic education items from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA) in different countries.

The study revealed that students viewed the notion of good citizenship in terms of moral behavior and support to their country and government rather than active political engagement. The study also showed that the vast majority of students strongly agreed or agreed (98%) with the statement that 'good citizens should obey the law', with no significant variation by gender or school type. The majority of students also concurred with the statement that 'good citizens should vote in elections' (72%), although 19.78% also strongly disagreed. In addition, the vast majority of students (97.57%) strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that 'good citizens should participate in activities to help the community' with no significant variation by gender, age, school type, or socio-economic status. Using the framework of Osler and Starkey's (2005) three dimensions citizenship, Russell and Quaynor (2017) concluded that secondary students in Rwanda conceptualize good citizenship more as status and feeling, and less as a practice.

2.5. Conclusion

The conceptions of good citizenship reviewed in the theoretical framework and the empirical literature were used to develop the population of statements presented to high school teachers who participated in the present study. I now turn to the methodology informing this research.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter highlights features of the methodology informing the present study. In this regard, basic steps of Q-Method such as the concourse, Q-set, P-set, and Q-sort are explained. The chapter also shows ways in which these steps have been followed. In the last instance, the process of data collection, data analysis and interpretation is clarified.

3.1. Justification: Why Q-Method to understand conceptions of 'good citizenship'?

The empirical literature has shown that much of the research conducted in the area of conceptions of good citizenship engaged with quantitative methods extensively (e.g. Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Riley, 1996; Russell & Quaynor, 2017; Shelly, 1996; Yesilbursa, 2015). The use of a mix of quantitative and qualitative approach (which is the corner stone of Q-Methodology) has received comparatively little attention (Theiss-Morse, 1993). However, a number of studies (e.g. Anderson et al., 1997; Jeliazkova, 2015; Lowham & Lowham, 2015; Sklarwitz, 2016) explored teachers' views on citizenship education using the Q-Method.

I find the Q-Method appropriate to investigate teachers' conceptions of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda because this method allows the subjectivity of respondents to emerge and provides a multidimensional view of the problem under investigation (Kitzinger, 1999). Q-methodology is a kind of inverse factor analysis. It correlates participants rather than questionnaire items, which results in factors that consist of clusters of people who share similar perspective on the issue under investigation (Finchilescu & Cooper, 2017). Now the question arises: What are the main features of Q-Methodology? What are the steps involved in this approach?

Q-Methodology is usually described as a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. For this reason, it is sometimes referred to as a 'qualiquantological' research method (Stenner & Stainton Rogers, 2004). William

Stephenson is credited to have developed this method during the 1930's. Overall, Stephenson's target was "to bring science into subjectivity" (Stephenson, 2014, p. 38). In this regard, Q-Method was initiated as a "scientific, objective approach to the investigation of self" (Stephenson, 2011, p. 218). In the present study, what is at issue is the investigation of the 'self of teachers' in relation to their conceptions of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda.

A number of steps are recommended to conduct a Q study. These include the development and validation of a population of statements (concourse); the selection of key statements representing the concourse, i.e. Q-set; the selection of participants, i.e. the P-set; data collection using the Q-sort; and analyzing as well as interpreting results. In paragraphs to follow, I turn to explain these steps and show ways in which they have been followed in the course of this research.

3.2. Concourse

The concourse represents a set of statements around the construct under investigation. In general terms, the concourse refers to "the common coinage of societies large and small, and is designed to cover everything from community gossip and public opinion to the esoteric discussion of scientists and philosophers" (Brown, 1998, p.7). Items included in the concourse are generated in various ways. They might originate from the academic literature, academic theory and research, expert opinion, interviews or focus group discussions with relevant stakeholders, public opinion, media, policies, or a combination of these.

In the present study, the pool of items depicting 'good citizenship' (i.e. the concourse) drew from the depiction of good citizenship outlined in the theoretical framework and empirical literature. However, in order to have statements which are relevant to the current Rwandan context, 10 individual interviews with Rwandan students enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand were conducted. Participants (students) were requested to briefly describe the image of a good citizen required for the post-genocide Rwanda. Interviews were recorded and analyzed using thematic content analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). In the

analysis, the focus was to extract key statements depicting the image of a ‘good citizen’ expected in the post-genocide Rwanda.

The concourse comprising 70 statements was considered saturated when no new conception of good citizenship appeared to emerge. In other words, repetition and redundancy were used as criteria to establish saturation. The 70 statements were sense-checked by an expert in citizenship from the Department of Politics at the University of the Witwatersrand.

3.3. Q-set

The Q-set comprises statements selected carefully to represent the concourse. For the sake of face and content validity, these statements should have a wide coverage and sufficiency of meaning. The rule of thumb is to have 40-60 statements (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

In the present study, once the concourse had been completed and sense-checked, the definition of the Q-set followed. At the final stage, 50 statements representing the concourse were retained. The next step involved translating the statements in Kinyarwanda language in order to allow high school teachers to get adequate understanding. The Q-set items were translated in Kinyarwanda because this is the only official medium of instruction in addition to English. All teachers are fluent in Kinyarwanda. I developed the first translation and asked a colleague (expert in translation) from the University of Rwanda, College of Education to review and refine my translation. The final Q-set, which is placed in the Appendix A, had two versions: firstly, statements were in Kinyarwanda and next in English.

3.4. P-set

The P-set represents the people or participants expected to perform the Q-sort, i.e. the activity of ranking statements on a grid. Usually a sample of 40-60 participants is recommended (Stainton Rogers, 1995) although a fairly low number is also acceptable (Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012).

As far as this study is concerned, for convenience purposes, 58 high school teachers were selected from three districts of Kigali City: Kicukiro, Gasabo and Nyarugenge. Convenient or purposive sampling was used for accessibility reasons. In relation to the recruitment strategy for selecting schools, I relied on records available in the office in charge of education in each district. In choosing schools, socio-economic factors, i.e. rural versus urban, were considered. The list of selected schools is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Selected schools

Districts	Schools	Number of high school teachers
Kicukiro	G.S. Masaka	12
	APAPE	7
Gasabo	FAWE	10
	Glory Secondary School	10
Nyarugenge	APACE	14
	LDK	5
Total		**58**

In selecting teachers, gender, age, and teaching experience were also taken into consideration. Table 3.2 provides details about characteristics of the active sample, i.e. teachers who loaded significantly on one of the four factors.

As it is shown in Table 3.2 the sample is relatively young. More than the majority of the active sample (27 participants) is located within the age category of 25-34. The age of 11 participants is situated between 35 and 44. There is a fairly high number of respondents who did not indicate their age for unknown reasons (4 participants). In relation to gender, it is shown that males outnumber slightly females (28 against 17).

In terms of teaching experience, nearly half of the active sample (24 teachers) has been in the teaching profession for a period of 4 to 10 years, and 10 participants have an experience of more than 10 years. This suggests that the study engaged with well-seasoned teachers. In relation to marital status, married participants (23) outnumber slightly single ones (18).

As far as the highest education level is concerned, more than the majority of the active sample has got a bachelor's degree while 11 teachers hold an advanced diploma. A few teachers have got a master's degree (4 only). This finding suggests that all teachers had access to higher education. In terms of area of study, a high

number of teachers have done sciences (13), economics and business studies (10), languages (8) and computer science (7). A limited number of teachers have done social sciences and tourism.

Table 3.2. Characteristics of the active sample in frequency

Factors		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Total
Age	25-34	9	12	3	3	**27**
	35-44	2	8	1	0	**11**
	Above 45	1	0	2	0	**3**
	Missing	4	0	0	0	**4**
Gender	Male	8	16	3	1	**28**
	Female	8	4	3	2	**17**
Teaching Experience	1-3 years	5	3	1	1	**10**
	4-6 years	4	6	2	1	**13**
	7-10 years	2	8	0	1	**11**
	+ 10 years	4	3	3	0	**10**
	Missing	1	0	0	0	**1**
Marital status	Single	5	8	4	1	**18**
	Married	8	12	1	2	**23**
	Missing	3	0	1	0	**3**
Education	Diploma	4	6	1	0	**11**
	BA	12	10	4	2	**28**
	MA	0	4	1	1	**6**
Area of Study						
	Languages	3	1	3	1	**8**
	Economics	3	4	2	1	**10**
	Tourism	1	2	0	0	**3**
	Sciences	4	8	1	0	**13**
	Social Sciences	3	0	0	0	**3**
	Computer Science	2	4	0	1	**7**
	Missing	0	1	0	0	**1**

3.5. Q-sort

This is the task of sorting statements. Respondents can complete the Q-set manually although there is also a possibility of presenting statements and grid on computer using a freeware program known as *FlashQ* (Hackert & Braehler, 2007). The task involves ranking the Q-statements by placing them on a grid usually shaped like a normal curve. The columns of a grid are a dimension such as ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

In the present study, high school teachers conducted the Q-sort manually at their respective schools during break time. During the sorting activity, I stood nearby to provide explanations whenever necessary. I had devised two grids along with two sets of cards, which enabled me to administer the task to two teachers at once.

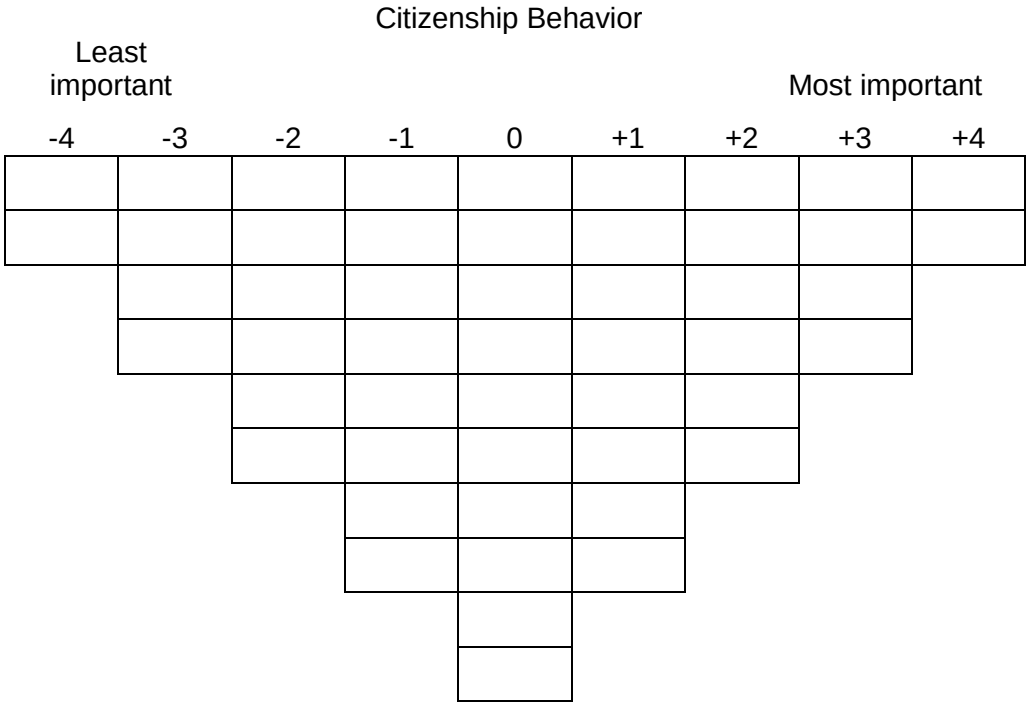
In Q-Method, cards bearing statements are given to respondents. Participants are first requested to take the cards and divide them in three piles: those they strongly agree with, disagree with and those that they find neutral. Next, participants select two statements they most agree with (most descriptive) and two other statements they most disagree with (less descriptive). These cards are placed at the extreme ends of the matrix (+4 and -4).

The placing of the cards continues in this manner until the whole matrix is filled. After placing all the cards, the participant is asked to explain why he/she placed the cards in that order. This takes the form of a brief interview. More importantly, participants have to explain why they have selected statements placed at the extreme of the grid.

These guidelines related to Q-sort were followed carefully in the present study. I used a Q sort grid ranking from -4 to +4 whereby -4 means ‘least important citizenship behavior’ and +4 stands for ‘most important citizenship behavior’. The format of the Q sort grid informing the present study is provided in figure 3.1.

After completing the Q sort, some teachers were interviewed. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and analyzed. Since interviewing teachers proved time consuming, other teachers were asked to summarize in writing the overall pattern of good citizenship they had produced. The summary was written on the questionnaire where their sorting was recorded. These written descriptions were analyzed and used to aid in the interpretation of factors. It is worth noting that only 7 people were purposively interviewed verbally while the rest (51) were interviewed in writing. This procedure was used because, as indicate, verbal interviews proved to be time consuming.

Figure 3.1. The Q sort grid design



3.6. Data collection

The data collection took place in Kigali (Rwanda) during the month of September 2017. As indicated previously, data were collected in three districts of Kigali city which includes Kicukiro, Gasabo and Nyarugenge. Selected schools were contacted in advance to take part in the study. An official letter was sent to the head of the school who provided assistance in identifying teachers to participate in the study. The only challenge encountered in the data collection process was to meet teachers because they have a heavy workload. Sometimes the researcher had to visit one school several times, which was time consuming.

3.7. Data analysis and interpretation

In Q-Methodology, statements with scores are entered in the freeware PQ method programme (Schmolck, 2014). However, other softwares are also being developed like the package PCQ for Windows (Stricklin & Almeida, 2001). A factor analysis of the participants is run with the appropriate rotation: orthogonal or oblique. The

number of factors to be extracted is defined based on some criteria. These include (a) the Kaiser-Guttman criterion according to which only factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 are to be retained (Guttman, 1954); (b) Humphrey's rule (Brown, 1980), which suggests that extracted factors should be retained if the cross-product of their two highest factor loadings exceeds the standard error; (c) examining the scree test or scree plot, which involves graphing the eigenvalues of the factors from largest to smallest, linking the eigenvalues with straight lines, the point at which the slope of the lines changes is taken as the ideal number; and (d) examining whether the factor contains at least two participants with significant loadings.

In the present study, I used the freeware PQ method programme, version 2.35 (March 2014). In terms of factor analysis, I used Principal Component Analysis. Principal Component Factor Analysis was used because it allows to come up with clear factors. In the present study, Principal Component Factor Analysis generated clusters of teachers sharing the same perspective on good citizenship. The advantage of Principal Component is also that it shows the weight of each factor, i.e. the eigenvalue and the amount of variance explained. A factor rotation was run using varimax. The decision on how many factors to extract was taken based on the Kaiser-Guttman criterion according to which only factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 are to be retained. I also examined whether the factor contains at least two participants with significant loadings (>0.40). The initial rotation indicated five factors but four factors were preferred because the fifth factor had an eigenvalue of lesser than 1. The four factors accounted for 53% of the study variance. The next chapter describes the four factors which were retained. Table 3.3 provides characteristics pertaining to each factor.

Table 3.3. Factor characteristics

SN	Factor	Number of defining variables	Composite reliability	% of variability explained	Eigenvalue
1	Factor 1	16	0.985	15	8.70
2	Factor 2	20	0.988	14	8.12
3	Factor 3	6	0.960	7	4.06
4	Factor 4	3	0.923	7	4.06

As it is shown in table 3.3 all factors achieved the required composite reliability (>.90) and have eigenvalues greater than 1. It is worth noting that the Q sorts of 45 teachers only were significantly associated with one of these factors. An estimate of 9 Q sorts cross-loaded (confounded sorts) and 4 Q-sorts did not load significantly on any of the factors (with a factor loading of ±.40 or above indicating significance at $p < .01$). Tables 3.4 and 3.5 provide not loading sorts and confounded sorts, respectively.

Table 3.4. Not loading Q sorts

Q Sorts	Loadings			
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**
1. 28 D2S1P28	0, 3022	0, 2305	0, 2049	-0, 0299
2. 34 D2S2P34	0, 0563	0, 3013	0, 0653	0, 3010
3. 43 D3S1P43	0, 0177	0, 1048	-0, 0273	0, 1548
4. 48 D3S2D48	0, 3719	0, 1976	0, 3738	0, 2943

Table 3.5. Confounded sorts

Q Sorts	Loadings			
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**
1. 9 D1S2P9	0, 1982	0, 4614	0, 0084	0, 5008
2. 17 D1S2P17	0, 4873	0, 6005	0, 2210	0, 3239
3. 18 D1S2P18	0, 4595	0, 2135	0, 2252	0, 4905
4. 20 D2S1P20	0, 4571	-0, 0861	0, 2657	0, 3977
5. 32 D2S2P32	0, 3530	0, 4518	0, 3281	0, 2432
6. 36 D2S236	0, 4737	-0, 0355	0, 2939	0, 4208
7. 40 D3S1P40	0, 5226	0, 3195	0, 2565	0, 4283
8. 55 D3S2P55	0, 4395	0, 2312	0, 4599	0, 1375
9. 57 D3S2P57	0, 4409	0, 3034	0, 4084	0, 4122

3.8. Correlation between factors

The Q method output shows the extent to which the four factors are related. Correlation coefficients are provided in table 3.6.

Table 3.6. Correlation between factors

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1	1	0.62	0.40	0.41
Factor 2	0.62	1	0.48	0.43
Factor 3	0.40	0.48	1	0.20
Factor 4	0.41	0.43	0.20	1

As Table 3.6 indicates, all the four factors are positively correlated. It is worth noting that the highest correlation exists between Factor 1 and Factor 2 (r = 0.62). The weakest correlation is between Factor 3 and 4 (0.20). Other pairs, i.e. Factor 2 and Factor 3, Factor 2 and Factor 4 are moderately correlated (r <.40).

3.9. Ethics

Issues such as informed consent to complete the Q-sort and being interviewed, confidentiality of the information supplied by participants and their identities, as well as the freedom to remove oneself from the study, were given due consideration. The anonymity of respondents was also observed in the research report by the use of pseudonyms.

Before collecting data, as required, I obtained ethics clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand's Human Research Ethics Committee (School of Human and Community Development). The Wits ethics clearance is placed in the Appendix B. As outlined earlier, given that this research was conducted in the three districts of Kigali City, permission to conduct research was sought timely and obtained from the Rwanda Ministry of Education (MINEDUC). The research permit and authorization letter issued by MINEDUC are placed in Appendices C and D, respectively.

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter explained key features and steps of the Q methodology which informs the present study. I also indicated way in which these steps have been followed. I now turn to consider the four factors generated by the analysis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS: DESCRIPTION OF FACTORS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter explains the factor interpretation process. More importantly, it gives the description of each factor, which is preceded by the crib sheet and the factor array. The interpretation process starts by characterizing each factor. In the second instance, an attempt is made to establish the extent to which the five citizenship concepts of the theoretical framework inform the factor under discussion.

4.1. Factor interpretation process

In the present study, factor interpretation draws from the factor Q-sort values for each statement. The interpretation is also based on the crib sheet describing each factor. As Watts and Steiner (2013, p. 150) argue, the crib sheet "is no more than a security blanket; it is a way of ensuring that nothing obvious gets missed or overlooked". The choice of the crib sheet is motivated by the fact that it allows "a wider system of organization for the interpretative process and encourages holism by forcing engagement with every item in a factor array" (Watts & Steiner, 2013, p. 150).

The crib sheet comprises four parts: (1) Items ranked with the highest score, i.e. in our case +4; (2) Items ranked higher in a factor array 'x' than in other factors arrays; (3) Items ranked lower in factor 'x' array than in other factor arrays; (4) Items ranked with the lowest score, i.e. -4 in the present study.

Furthermore, the interpretation is also based on the representation of each factor on a grid, i.e. the factor array. The choice of this approach was motivated by the fact that the array captures the specific and distinct configuration of each factor. It provides the distinct definition of good citizenship pertaining to each factor.

4.2. Factor array for the four factors

Drawing from the PQ output, Table 4.1 presents the factor array for the four factors. The factor array shows scores of each statement on each factor. It highlights the extent to which each statement loads on factors or clusters of teachers.

Table 4.1. Factor array for the four factors

Item number and wording		*Factor Arrays*			
		F1	*F2*	*F3*	*F4*
01.	Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.	0	-1	-1	-4
02.	Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	2	0	3	-4
03.	Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology.	-1	-1	3	2
04	Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos.	1	2	-1	-1
05.	Being guided by the truth and telling the truth.	0	2	1	0
06.	Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.	3	4	-2	1
07.	Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.	-4	-4	-4	0
08.	Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion.	-1	-3	0	1
09.	Having the ability to question ideas and think critically.	-2	-1	-1	-3
10.	Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.	-3	-2	-4	-3
11.	To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies.	0	-3	-2	-2
12.	Taking part in activities to protect the environment.	-1	-2	-2	0
13.	Joining a political party.	-2	-4	-2	-2
14.	Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion.	3	2	1	3
15.	Showing respect for government representatives.	-3	0	1	0
16.	Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice.	0	0	-1	1

(*continued*)

Item number and wording		*Factor Arrays*			
		F1	*F2*	*F3*	*F4*
17.	Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.	1	4	1	4
18.	To have competences required by the labor market.	-3	0	1	-2
19.	Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.	-4	-2	-1	-1
20.	Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.	3	0	0	2
21.	Placing public interests above private ones.	-2	-1	-3	-2
22.	Fighting human rights violations locally.	2	1	0	-1
23.	Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet.	-3	-3	-3	0
24.	Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development.	3	1	2	-1
25.	Preserving the community's common good.	-1	-1	-2	-1
26.	Doing the best for yourself and others.	0	1	0	1
27.	Defending one's own dignity.	0	2	2	-3
28.	Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.	-1	1	0	2
29.	Knowing and respecting laws.	-2	0	0	-2
30.	Participating in elections organized by the government.	-1	-2	4	-2
31.	Participating in activities like "Umuganda" to improve the welfare of the community.	1	-2	-1	1
32.	Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities.	0	2	-1	1
33.	Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans.	2	3	-3	2
34.	Being tolerant towards views of others.	0	-1	-1	0
35.	Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	2	0	1	-1

(*continued*)

Item number and wording		*Factor Arrays*			
		F1	*F2*	*F3*	*F4*
36.	Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.	-1	0	4	-1
37.	Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work.	1	3	3	0
38.	Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on.	2	0	1	1
39.	Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members.	2	1	2	1
40.	Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended.	-2	-3	-2	0
41.	Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary.	1	3	0	2
42.	To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination.	1	1	2	3
43.	To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	4	2	2	3
44.	Being a person of integrity: 'doing to others what one would like them do for him/her.	1	3	1	0
45.	Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs.	0	0	0	2
46.	Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.	4	1	3	3
47.	Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.	-1	1	0	4
48.	Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies.	-2	-1	2	-1
49.	To engage in discussions about how to improve the world.	0	-2	-3	-3
50.	Fighting human rights violation globally.	1	-1	0	0

4.3. Analysis and interpretation of Factor 1

4.3.1 Crib sheet for Factor 1

Items ranked at +4

43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.
46. Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.

Items ranked higher in Factor 1 array than in other factor arrays

1. Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights: 0.
11. To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies: 0.
13. Joining a political party: -2.
14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion: +3.
25. Preserving the community's common good: -1.
31. Participating in activities like "Umuganda" to improve the welfare of the community: +1.
34. Being tolerant towards views of others: 0.
39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members: +2.
20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives: +3.
22. Fighting human rights violations locally: +2.
24. Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development: +3
35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: +2.
38. Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on: +2.
49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world: 0.
50. Fighting human rights violation globally: +1.

Items ranked lower in Factor 1 than in other factor arrays

3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology: -1.
5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth: 0.
15. Showing respect for government representatives: -3
17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government: +1.
18. To have competences required by the labour market: -3.
23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet: -3.
26. Doing the best for yourself and others: 0.
28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare: -1.
29. Knowing and respecting laws: -2.
36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country: -1.
42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination: +1.
45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs: 0.
47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life: -1.

48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies: -2.

Items ranked at -4

7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.
19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.

4.3.2. Distinguishing statements for Factor 1

Factor 1 has the following distinguishing statements which are not part of the crib sheet:

27. Defending one's own dignity: **0** 2 2 -3[3].
8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion: **-1** -3 0 1

[3] These are the rankings of the statement for the four factors in order, with the present factor in bold font.

4.3.3. Array for factor 1

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.	10. Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.	9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically.	3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology.	1. Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.	4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos.	2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.	43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.
19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.	15. Showing respect for government representatives.	13. Joining a political party.	8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion.	5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth.	17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.	22. Fighting human rights violations locally.	14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion.	46. Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.
	18. To have competences required by the labour market.	21. Placing public interests above private ones.	12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment.	11. To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies.	31. Participating in community activities like "Umuganda" meant to improve the welfare of the community.	33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans.	20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.	
	23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet.	29. Knowing and respecting laws.	25. Preserving the community's common good.	16. Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice.	37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work.	35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	24. Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development.	

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
40. Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended.	28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.	26. Doing the best for yourself and others.	41. Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary.	38. Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on.
48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies.	30. Participating in 1elections organized by the government.	27. Defending one's own dignity.	42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination.	39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members.
	36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.	32. Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities.	44. Being a person of integrity: 'doing to others what one would like them do for him/her.	
	47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.	34. Being tolerant towards views of others.	50. Fighting human rights violation globally.	
		45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs.		
		49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world.		

4.3.3. Factor 1 description: Genocide mindful and unity-driven teachers

Factor 1 explains 15% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 8.70. A total of 16 participants are significantly associated with this factor. They are 8 males and 8 females. In terms of age, the majority of participants are young because 9 participants (out of 16) belong to the age category of 25-34. The age of 2 participants is located between 35 and 44, and one participant's age is above 45. Four participants did not indicate their age for unknown reasons.

The field of study of Factor 1 participants is diverse. It includes areas such as languages (English-French-Kinyarwanda with education; Kinyarwanda-English with education; English-geography with education); economics and business studies (marketing and finance, entrepreneurship with education, economics with education); tourism (hotel and restaurant management); sciences (chemistry, electronics and telecommunication, biology and chemistry with education); social sciences (geography, history, education); and computer sciences (computer science with education). The majority of teachers in Factor 1 have done sciences (4), languages (3), economics and business studies (3), and social sciences (3).

Factor 1 teachers consider fighting genocide ideology and being considerate to the victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi as critical aspects of good citizenship. In this regard, they describe good citizenship in terms of avoiding any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the genocide (43: +4)[4]; fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech (46: +4); participating in programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives (20: +3); knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the genocide (2: +2); not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the genocide (35: +2); and promoting justice for all people without discrimination (42: +1)

Another important component of good citizenship highlighted by Factor 1 teachers is the promotion of unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. The link between good

[4] The first number is the statement number and the second the ranking.

citizenship and these constructs is apparent through the relative high ranking of the following items:

> Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations (6: +3).
> Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development (24: +3).
> Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on (38: +2).

Furthermore, Factor 1 teachers seem to argue that the promotion of unity and reconciliation among Rwandans goes hand in hand with eliminating all forms of discrimination and respecting human rights. In line with this view, good citizenship is characterized as fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation, i.e. based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion (14: +3); fighting human rights violations locally and globally (22: +2; 50: +1); promoting security and living peacefully with other Rwandans (33: +2).

Factor 1 teachers seem not to perceive good citizenship with the lens of political engagement. They are wary about being conversant with state institutions and their functions (19: -4); showing respect for government representatives (15: -3); following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, TV or the internet (23: -3); joining a political party (13: -2); being knowledgeable about democracy (40: -2); attending meetings organized by local leaders (48: -2); being loyal to the state leadership and ideology (3: -1); and engaging in political space as well as taking part in political discussion (8: -1). Additionally, good citizenship is not so much perceived in terms of participating in elections organized by the government (30: -1); and participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country (36: -1). It is worth noting that Factor 1 teachers also attach little importance to defending one's dignity (27: 0)

At this juncture, a question arises: To what extent do conceptions of good citizenship outlined in the theoretical framework (civic republicanism, communitarianism, liberalism, cosmopolitanism, and radical democracy) inform perceptions of Factor 1 teachers?

Findings from the present study suggest that the civic republican concept of good citizenship does minimally influence Factor 1 teachers. Reference is made here to the relatively low ranking attributed to the following civic republican items:

Placing public interests above private ones (21: -2)
Knowing and respecting laws (29: -2).
Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice (16: 0).
Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities (32: 0).
Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology (3: -1).
Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it – in case it becomes necessary (41: +1)

The ranking of these statements confirm that Factor 1 teachers seem not to associate good citizenship with active political participation and selfless dedication to the good of the political community. These teachers do not subscribe to the view that the good of the public community should be prioritized at the expense of private interests (21: -2). Neither do they agree that individual rights should be subordinate to ones' duties and responsibilities (32: 0). Here good citizenship is not so much perceived in terms of being patriotic (41: +1).

Results also show that the communitarian conception of good citizenship is to a limited extent emphasized by Factor 1 teachers. This stance is apparent in the relatively moderate ranking of the following communitarian attributes:

Preserving the community's common good (25: -1).
Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare (28: -1).
Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs (45: 0).
Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos (4: +1).
Participating in activities like "Umuganda" to improve the welfare of the community. (31: +1).

On close scrutiny of the ranking of these statements, one realizes that a limited emphasis is placed on giving value to the community's ethos and preserving the common good as aspects of good citizenship.

With regard to the liberal notion of citizenship, findings from the present study indicate that Factors 1 teachers hardly subscribe to such a citizenship concept. Consider the ranking of the following liberal attributes:

Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges (7: -4)

Having the ability to question ideas and think critically (9: -2).
Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life (47: -1).
Being tolerant towards views of others (34: 0).
Defending one's own dignity (27: 0)

As seen previously in the theoretical framework, the liberal conception of good citizenship revolves around the promotion of individual freedom and autonomy, the pursuit of one's definition of the good, and enjoying one's rights as well as privileges. These ideals seem to be disregarded by Factor 1 teachers in their characterization of good citizenship (7: -4).

The cosmopolitan notion of good citizenship is rejected by Factor 1 teachers. This is evidenced by the low ranking of the following cosmopolitan ideals:

Viewing oneself as a member of the world community (10: -3)
Taking part in activities to protect the environment (12: -1)
To engage in discussions about how to improve the world (49: 0)

As outlined in the theoretical framework, being open to the world and viewing oneself a member of the world community are key aspects of the cosmopolitan understanding of good citizenship. This depiction seem to be rejected by Factor 1 teachers (10: -3).

Factor 1 teachers' conception of good citizenship seem not to align with the democratic/political concept. Consider the ranking of the following political items:

Being conversant with state institutions and their functions (19: -4)
Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet (23: -3).
Joining a political party (13: -2)
Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended (40: -2).
Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion (8: -1)
Participating in elections organized by the government (30: -1).
Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights (1: 0)
To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies (11: 0)

Since Factor 1 teachers do not perceive good citizenship with political lens, there is little to wonder that they do not endorse the radical democratic notion of good

citizenship. In their views, good citizenship has little to do with active political engagement.

In conclusion, I argue that Factor 1 teachers' conception of good citizenship does not sit comfortably or rather neatly with any of the citizenship concepts constituting the present study's theoretical framework. In essence, Factor 1 teachers' characterization of good citizenship takes predominantly a historical, unitary and humanitarian direction. It focuses on fighting genocide ideology, promoting unity and reconciliation, respecting human rights, and promoting peace among Rwandans. This stand point is confirmed by comments of the following participants:

> In my opinion, a good citizen in the context of post-genocide Rwanda should strive towards the development (progress) of his/her country. A good citizen should banish genocide ideology and all that which would resemble to it. A good citizen should also do his/her best so that the genocide may not happen again [D1S1P7].
>
> In my view, a good citizen in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi should be characterized by the following attributes: Not to entertain hatred but rather promote love among people; fighting genocide ideology worldwide; and avoiding discrimination based on region [D1S2P12].
>
> Most importantly, a good citizen should avoid divisionism and ethnic affiliations because these issues destroyed our country. We should cherish unity and reconciliation, which will lead us to development and well-being. We are one and we have to work together [D1S2P19].

The above characterization of good citizenship re-emphasizes the importance of fighting genocide ideology, hatred, divisionism, and ethnic affiliations. Good citizenship is again depicted as promoting unity and social cohesion among Rwandans.

4.4. Analysis and interpretation of Factor 2

4.4.1. Crib sheet for Factor 2

Items ranked at +4

6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.
17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.

Items ranked higher in Factor 2 array than in other factor arrays

4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos: +2.

5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth: +2.
9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically: -1.
10. Viewing oneself as a member of the world community: -2.
21. Placing public interests above private ones: -1.
25. Preserving the community's common good: -1.
27. Defending one's own dignity: +2.
29. Knowing and respecting laws: 0.
32. Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities: +2.
33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans: +3.
37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work: +3.
41. Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary: +3.
44. Being a person of integrity: doing to others what one would like them do for him/her: +3.

Items ranked lower in Factor 2 than in other factor arrays

3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology: -1.
8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion: -3.
11. To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies: -3.
12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment: -2.
20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives: 0.
23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet: -3.
30. Participating in elections organized by the government: -2.
31. Participating in activities like "Umuganda" to improve the welfare of the community: -2.
34. Being tolerant towards views of others: -1.
38. Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on: 0.
39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members: +1.
40. Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended: -3.
42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination: +1.
43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: +2.
45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs: 0.
46. Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech: 1.
50. Fighting human rights violations globally: -1.

Items ranked at -4

13. Joining a political party.
7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.

4.4.2. Distinguishing statements for Factor 2

Factor 2 has the following distinguishing statements which are not part of the crib sheet:

2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: 2 **0** 3 -4.
28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare: -1 **1** 0 2.
35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: 2 **0** 1 -1.
36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country: -1 **0** 4 -1.
47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life: -1 **1** 0 4.

4.4.3. Array for factor 2

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
13. Joining a political party.	8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion.	10. Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.	1. Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.	2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	22. Fighting human rights violations locally.	4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos.	33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans.	6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.
7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.	11. To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies.	12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment.	3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology.	15. Showing respect for government representatives.	24. Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development.	5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth.	37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work.	17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.
	23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet.	19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.	9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically.	16. Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice.	26. Doing the best for yourself and others.	14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion.	41. Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary.	
	40. Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended.	30. Participating in elections organized by the government.	21. Placing public interests above private ones.	18. To have competences required by the labour market.	28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.	27. Defending one's own dignity.	44. Being a person of integrity: 'doing to others what one would like them do for him/her.	

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
31. Participating in community activities like “Umuganda” meant to improve the welfare of the community.	25. Preserving the community’s common good.	20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.	39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members.	32. Fulfilling one’s duties and responsibilities.
49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world.	34. Being tolerant towards views of others.	29. Knowing and respecting laws.	42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination.	43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.
	48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies.	35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	46. Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.	
	50. Fighting human rights violation globally.	36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.	47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.	
		38. Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on.		
		45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs.		

4.4.4. Factor 2 description: Morally upright and nationalistic teachers

Factor 2 explains 14% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 8.12. A total of 20 teachers are significantly associated with this factor. They are 16 males and 4 females, which suggests that this factor is predominantly male. In terms of age, majority of Factor 2 teachers are young given that 12 participants (out of 20) belong to the age category of 25-34. The age category of 8 participants is located between 35 and 44, and none of the participant is aged above 45.

The field of study of Factor 2 participants is quite diverse. It comprises areas like languages (French – Kinyarwanda with education); economics and business studies (business administration, management and administration, business studies with education, accounting and finance); tourism (hospitality, travel and tourism management); sciences (mathematics, mathematics with education, chemistry, biology, alternate energy, biology-chemistry with education); and computer science (Information Technology, computer engineering, computer science with education). The majority of teachers come from the area of sciences (8), economics and business studies (4), and computer science (4). Factor 2 comprises the majority of all active participants, i.e. those who loaded significantly on one of the four factors.

Factor 2 teachers perceive good citizenship in two important ways. Firstly, they describe good citizenship in moral terms. In their view, a good citizen is the one who has an upright moral behavior. In this regard, they believe that a good citizen should be able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government (17: +4). More importantly, an emphasis is placed on specific moral attitudes. These include being a person of integrity (44: +3); respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos (4: +2); being guided by the truth and telling the truth (5: +2); defending one's dignity (27: +2); fighting all forms of discrimination, corruption and injustices (14: +2; 43: +2; 42: +1; 47: +1); doing the best for yourself and others (26: +1); protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare (28: +1); and fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life (47: +1).

In the second instance, Factor 2 teachers perceive good citizenship along nationalistic categories. They associate good citizenship with promoting and preserving national interests. In fact, they are committed to the view that a good

citizen cherishes national identity; she perceives herself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic affiliations (6: +4). These teachers also advance the view that good citizenship involves patriotism to some extent. It calls for loving the country to the extent of being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary (41:+3); working hard to rebuild the country (37: +3); and fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities (32: +2). A view is held that sometimes good citizenship involves participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country (36: 0); and occasionally putting public interests above private ones (21: -1).

Like their counterparts in Factor 1, Factor 2 teachers have a sensibility towards the genocide. In this regard, to some extent they associate good citizenship with knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi (2: 0), and not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the genocide (35: 0).

Although Factor 2 teachers describe good citizenship in nationalistic terms, they seem reluctant towards being directly involved in politics. These teachers are politically distant. They do not endorse the view that being a good citizen implies joining a political party (13: -4; 11: -3). Here little importance is attached to attributes related to political engagement, such as being knowledgeable about democracy and its principles (40: -3); following political issues in the media (23: -3); engaging in political space and taking part in political discussion (8: -3); being conversant with state institutions and their functions (19: -2); participating in elections organized by the government (30: -2); exercising civil, social and political rights (1: -1); and being loyal to the state leadership and ideology (3:-1).

I now turn to show the extent to which civic republican, communitarian, liberal, cosmopolitan, and radical democratic citizenship concepts inform perceptions of Factor 2 teachers. Findings of the present study show that the civic republican conception of good citizenship is strongly at work within Factor 2 teachers. However, some precision is needed here. In fact, as mentioned previously, while Factors 2 teachers attach strong importance to national ideals and goals, at the same time they seem disinterested with being involved in politics. In view of this, they entertain

a kind of ‘apolitical civic republicanism’ or ‘politically disinterested civic republicanism’. Consider the high ranking of the following civic republican attributes:

> Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it – in case it becomes necessary (41: +3).
> Fulfilling one’s duties and responsibilities (32: +2).
> Knowing and respecting laws (29: 0).
> Placing public interests above private ones (21: -1).

Here good citizenship is associated with developing an attachment to one’s homeland (41: +3). It is seen as discharging one’s duties at the detriment of enjoying ones’ rights and privileges (32: +2). However, little importance is given to active political participation, and selfless dedication to the good of the political community

Results of the present study show that the communitarian concept also informs to a large extent Factor 2 teachers. The communitarian notion is apparent through the relatively high ranking of the following statements:

> Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or any other affiliations (6: +4).
> Promoting peace and security, and living peacefully with other Rwandans (33: +3).
> Being a person of integrity: doing to others what one would like them do for him/her (44: +3).
> Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos (4: +2).
> Being guided by the truth and telling the truth (5: +2).
> Promoting unity, reconciliation and social development (24: +1).
> Protecting one’s own family and caring for its welfare (28: +1).
> Preserving the community’s common good (25: -1).

The ranking of these statements shows an emphasis on the common good as well as the common perception of the ‘good’. There seems to be a belief that good citizenship entails an endorsement of the ethics of the community (4: +2). The value of common bonds (6: +4; 33: +3) is also highlighted.

The cosmopolitan notion is hardly discernible in Factor 2 teachers’ conceptions of good citizenship. This relative absence is evident through the low ranking of the following statements:

> To engage in discussion about how to improve the world (49: -2)
> Taking part in activities to protect the environment (12: -2).
> Viewing oneself as a member of the world community (10: -2).
> Fighting human rights violation globally (50: -1).

Drawing on the ranking of the above items, it is noticeable that key ingredients of the cosmopolitan depiction of good citizenship are denied by factor 2 teachers. These include mainly openness to the world (10: -2), and participation in the improvement of the world (49: -2).

It is worth noting that the liberal notion does not inform significantly Factor 2 teachers' conceptions of good citizenship. Consider the ranking of the following liberal attributes:

> Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges (7: -4)
> Having the ability to question ideas and think critically (9: -1).
> Being tolerant towards the views of others (34: -1).

Results of the present study indicate that Factor 2 teachers do not consider democratic/political attributes as important for good citizenship. This stance is evidenced by the low ranking of the following radical-democratic attributes:

> Joining a political party (13: -4).
> Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works, and why it is worthy being defended (40: -3).
> Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion (8: -3).
> To challenge views of ones' political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies (11: -3).
> Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, TV, or internet (23: -3).
> Being conversant with state institutions and their functions (19: -2).
> Participating in elections organized by the government (30: -2).
> Having information about and exercising civil, social, and political rights (1: -1).

The low ranking of the above items confirms that factor 2 teachers do not associate good citizenship with strong and direct political participation. Additionally, little to no attention is given to communication and public deliberation skills as aspects of good citizenship.

In a nutshell, I conclude that Factor 2 teachers are committed to an 'apolitical civic republican-communitarian' notion of citizenship. Liberal, cosmopolitan and radical democratic notions of citizenship seem not to inform significantly Factor 2 teachers' conceptions. This orientation is supported by the following comments from participants:

> A good citizen should be worried about the vision that her country has not yet achieved. As a result, she should take part and work with others in meeting pending projects [D1S1P3].

> A good Rwandan citizen should be characterized by the following attributes: (1) working towards the dignity of her country Rwanda in whatever she does; (2) striving for all that can advance the welfare of a Rwandan wherever the latter is located; and (3) contributing in the reconstruction process of Rwanda [D1S1P4].
>
> A good citizen should avoid joining or getting involved into political parties; politics should be left to the top leadership. A good Rwandan citizen should also rediscover the Rwandan traditional culture, and respect its core teaching and values [D1S2P10].

When one examines closely this characterization of a good citizen, one realizes that it is strongly skewed towards civic republican and communitarian concepts given the relative emphasis placed on striving to achieve the national vision, working towards the dignity of one's country, and respecting Rwandan cultural values.

4.5. Analysis and interpretation of Factor 3

4.5.1. Crib sheet for Factor 3

Items ranked at +4

30. Participating in elections organized by the government.
36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.

Items ranked higher in Factor 3 array than in other factor arrays

2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: +3.
3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology: +3.
9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically: -1.
13. Joining a political party: -2.
15. Showing respect for government representatives: +1.
18. To have competences required by the labour market: +1.
19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions: -1.
27. Defending one's own dignity: +2.
29. Knowing and respecting laws: 0.
37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work: +3.
39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members: +2.
48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies: +2.

Items ranked lower in Factor 3 than in other factor arrays

4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos: -1.
6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations: -2.
12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment: -2.

14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion: +1.
16. Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice: -1.
17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government: +1.
20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives: 0.
21. Placing public interests above private ones: -3.
23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet: -3.
25. Preserving the community's common good: -2.
26. Doing the best for yourself and others: 0.
32. Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities: -1.
33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans: -3.
34. Being tolerant towards views of others: -1.
41. Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary: 0.
43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: +2.
45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs: 0.
49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world: -3.

Items ranked at -4

7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.
10. Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.

4.5.2. Distinguishing statements for Factor 3

Factor 3 has the following distinguishing statements which are not part of the crib sheet:

28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare: -1 1 **0** 2
35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: 2 0 **1** -1
47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life: -1 1 **0** 4

4.5.3. Array for Factor 3

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.	21. Placing public interests above private ones.	6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.	1. Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.	8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion.	5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth.	24. Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development.	2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	30. Participating in elections organized by the government.
10. Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.	33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans.	11. To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies.	4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos.	20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.	14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion.	27. Defending one's own dignity.	3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology.	36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.
	23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet.	12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment.	9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically.	26. Doing the best for yourself and others.	15. Showing respect for government representatives.	39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members.	37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work.	

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world.	13. Joining a political party.	16. Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice.	28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.	17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.	42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination.	46. Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.
	25. Preserving the community's common good.	19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.	28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.	18. To have competences required by the labour market.	43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	
	40. Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended.	31. Participating in community activities like "Umuganda" meant to improve the welfare of the community.	41. Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary.	35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies.	
		32. Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities.	45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs.	38. Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on.		
		34. Being tolerant towards views of others.	47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.	44. Being a person of integrity: 'doing to others what one would like them do for him/her.		
			50. Fighting human rights violation globally.			
			22. Fighting human rights violations locally.			

4.5.4. Factor 3 description: Politically enthusiastic teachers

Factor 3 explains 7% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 4.06. A total of 6 participants are significantly associated with this factor. They are 3 males and 3 females. In terms of age, 3 participants belong to the age category of 25-34; the age of 1 participant is located between 35 and 44, and 2 participants are aged above 45. The field of study of Factor 3 participants covers languages (literature in English with education, and English-French with education), economics and business studies (statistics applied to economics), and sciences (mathematics and physics). The majority of teachers have done languages (3 out of 6).

Unlike Factor 1 and Factor 2 teachers who are politically skeptical, Factor 3 teachers describe being a good citizen in strong political terms. They associate good citizenship with political engagement. In other words, for these teachers, political literacy and commitment are critical to good citizenship. In this regard, being a good citizen involves participating in elections organized by the government (30: +4), participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country (36: +4), demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology (3: +3), working hard to rebuild the country (37: +3), and attending meetings organized by local leaders (48: +2).

Given the Rwandan context where more than a million of people were killed during the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, Factor 3 teachers (like their counterparts in Factor 1 and Factor 2) hold the view that a good citizen is the one who supports the country's leadership in curtailing ills generated by this tragedy. Hence a good citizen draws thoughtful lessons from the genocide (2: +3); fights divisionism, genocide ideology and hate speech (46: +3); promotes unity and reconciliation (24: +2); takes into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members (39: +2); and avoids any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the genocide (43: +2). The good citizen also participates in the healing process where people forgive each other and move on (38: +1); opposes all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion (14: +1); and does not engage in revenge if she/he is a victim of the genocide (35: +1).

Factor 3 teachers attach little importance to protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare (28: **0**), and fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment as well as all sectors of life (47: **0**). Although politically active, Factor 3 teachers do not perceive good citizenship in terms of placing public interests above private ones (21: -3). These teachers seem to suggest that being politically active does not necessary imply promoting national interests. As a matter of fact, despite their political enthusiasm, Factor 3 teachers seem not to associate good citizenship with being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice (16: -1). Equally, little importance is given to loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary (41: 0).

What is noticeable is that the political interest of these teachers is lacking in civic engagement; it does not go with self-sacrifice and patriotism. It is also important to note that Factor 3 teachers do not describe good citizenship in terms of being open to the world (10: -4; 49: -3; 33: -3). The focus is put on the local context.

In short, drawing from the theoretical framework informing the present study, it is noticeable that Factor 3 teachers' conceptions of good citizenship tend towards the democratic concept. This stance is evidenced in the ranking of the following items:

> Participating in elections organized by the government (30: +4).
> Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country (36: +4).
> Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology: (3: +3).
> Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies (48: +2).
> Showing respect for government representatives (15: +1).
> Knowing and respecting laws (29: 0).

The ranking of the above items suggests that for Factor 3 teachers being a good citizen entails strong and active political commitment as well as dedication to the political community (30: +4; 36: +4). There seems to be no room for political apathy.

Although the civic republican concept surfaces at some point through the relative emphasis placed on being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology: (3: +3), a fairly high number of civic republican attributes are ranked low by Factor 3 teachers. Consider the following exemplary ranking:

Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice (16: -1).
Placing public interests above private ones (21: -3).
Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities (32: -1).
Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary (41: 0).

The low ranking of the above civic republican items suggests that despite their political drive, Factor 3 teachers do not associate good citizenship with patriotism and self-sacrifice (16: -1; 41: 0), being nationalistic (21: -3), and being duty-bound (32: -1).

The communitarian concept is not emphasized by factor 3 teachers. This is apparent in the ranking of the following sample items:

Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans (33: -3).
Preserving the community's common good (25: -2).
Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos (4: -1).

The importance accorded to the promotion of the community, the common good, and common perception of the good is limited (33: -3; 25:2; 4:-1).

The presence of liberal and cosmopolitan notions of citizenship is very minimal. With regard to liberalism, reference is made to the low ranking of the following items:

Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges (7: -4).
To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies (11: -2).
Being tolerant towards views of others (34: -1).

As for cosmopolitanism, consider the ranking of the following items:

Viewing oneself as a member of the world community (10: -4).
To engage in discussions about how to improve the world (49: -3).
Taking part in activities to protect the environment (12: -2).
Fighting human rights violations globally (50: 0).
Fighting human rights violations locally (22: 0)

There is a rejection of cosmopolitan ideals mainly the openness to the world (10:-4), working towards the improvement of the world (49: -3), protecting the environment (12: -2), and dedication to the promotion, respect and preservation of human rights (50: 0).

Overall, I conclude that Factor 3 teachers are committed vehemently to a democratic notion of citizenship. This stance is illustrated by a comment from the following participant:

> A good citizen should respect government leaders, and participate in the implementation of government policies. She should also be attentive to genocide survivors. Additionally, a good citizen should embrace the unity and reconciliation philosophy. She should volunteer her contribution to build up the country. A good citizen should reject attitudes related to divisionism [D3S1P42].

The emphasis placed on respecting government representatives, participating in the implementation of national policies, and the readiness to build the country confirm the political orientation of Factor 3 teachers.

4.6. Analysis and interpretation of Factor 4

4.6.1. Crib sheet for Factor 4

Items ranked at +4

17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.
47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.

Items ranked higher in Factor 4 array than in other factor arrays

7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges: 0.
8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion: +1.
12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment: 0.
13. Joining a political party: -2.
14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion: +3.
16. Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice: +1.
19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions: -1.
23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet: 0.
25. Preserving the community's common good: -1.
26. Doing the best for yourself and others: +1.
28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare: +2.
31. Participating in activities like "Umuganda" to improve the welfare of the community:+1.
33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans: +2.
34. Being tolerant towards views of others: 0.
40. Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended: 0.
42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination: +3.
45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs: +2.

Items ranked lower in Factor 3 than in other factor arrays

4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos: -1.
5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth: 0.
9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically: -3.
22. Fighting human rights violations locally: -1.
24. Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development: -1.
27. Defending one's own dignity: -3.
29. Knowing and respecting laws: -2.
30. Participating in elections organized by the government: -2
35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: -1.
36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country: -1.
37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work: 0.
44. Being a person of integrity: doing to others what one would like them do for him/her: 0.
48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies: -1.
49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world: -3.

Items ranked at -4

1. Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.
2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.

4.6.2. Distinguishing statements for Factor 4

Factor 4 has the following distinguishing statements which are not part of the crib sheet:

6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations: 3 4 -2 **1**.
18. To have competences required by the labour market: -3 0 1 **-2**.
39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members: 2 1 2 **1**.
43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi: 4 2 2 **3**.

4.6.3. Array for Factor 4

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
1. Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.	9. Having the ability to question ideas and think critically.	11. To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies.	4. Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos.	5. Being guided by the truth and telling the truth.	6. Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.	3. Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology.	14. Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion.	17. Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.
2. Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	10. Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.	13. Joining a political party.	19. Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.	7. Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.	8. Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion.	20. Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.	42. To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination.	47. Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.
	27. Defending one's own dignity.	18. To have competences required by the labour market.	22. Fighting human rights violations locally.	12. Taking part in activities to protect the environment.	16. Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice.	28. Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.	43. To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	

-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
49. To engage in discussions about how to improve the world.	21. Placing public interests above private ones.	24. Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development.	15. Showing respect for government representatives.	26. Doing the best for yourself and others.	33. Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans.	46. Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.
	29. Knowing and respecting laws.	25. Preserving the community's common good.	23. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet.	31. Participating in community activities like "Umuganda" meant to improve the welfare of the community.	41. Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary.	
	30. Participating in elections organized by the government.	35. Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.	34. Being tolerant towards views of others.	32. Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities.	45. Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs.	
		36. Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.	37. Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work.	38. Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on.		
		48. Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies.	40. Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended.	39. Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members.		
			44. Being a person of integrity: 'doing to others what one would like them do for him/her.			
			50. Fighting human rights violation globally.			

4.6.4. Factor 4 description: Justice oriented teachers

Factor 4 explains 7% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 4.06. A total of 3 participants are significantly associated with this factor. They are 1 male and 2 females. In terms of age, all participants belong to the age category of 25-34. The field of study of Factor 4 participants comprises areas like languages (literature and geography), social sciences (education planning and management), and computer sciences (computer engineering).

Factor 4 teachers characterize good citizenship along categories of justice and transparency. They associate good citizenship with denouncing what is wrong (in the public domain) and fighting all forms of corruption, nepotism and discrimination. This picture of good citizenship is exemplified in the positive ranking of the following items:

> Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that wrong is being defended by the government (17: +4).
> Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life (47: +4).
> Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion (14: +3).
> To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination: (42: +3).
> To avoid any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi (43: +3).
> Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech (46: +3).

Considering the nature of statements on the negative end of the grid, it is safe to say that Factor 4 teachers do not define good citizenship along direct political involvement, hence the absence of the democratic notion. This stance is apparent through the low ranking of the following statements:

> Having information about civil, social and political rights (1: -4).
> Joining a political party (13: -2).
> Knowing and respecting laws (29: -2).
> Participating in elections organized by the government (30: -2).
> To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies (11: -2).
> Being conversant with state institutions and their functions (19: -1).
> Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies (48: -1).

Like their counterparts in Factor 1, 2 and 3, Factor 4 teachers have a sensibility towards the 1994 genocide. In this regard, they associate good citizenship with avoiding any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi (43: +3), and taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members (39: +1).

On a different note, Factor 4 teachers put a limited emphasis on the promotion of national identity (6: +1), and do not describe good citizenship in terms of having competences required by the labour market (18: -2). Furthermore, Factor 4 teachers reject the view that being a good citizen means being a member of the world community, hence the absence of the cosmopolitan notion. In their opinion, this would amount to lose focus on national interests and being subsumed by the global trend. Consider the ranking of the following statements:

> Viewing oneself as a member of the world community (10: -3)
> To engage in discussion about how to improve the world (49: -3)
> Fighting human rights violations locally (22: -1)

Overall, it is noticeable from the above characterization that Factor 4 teachers' conception of good citizenship is informed by the communitarian citizenship concept with a specific focus on promoting justice and transparency. Civic republican, liberal, cosmopolitan and radical democratic notions are comparatively highly minimal. This stance of Factor 4 teachers is illustrated by the following comment of a participant:

> In my opinion, a good citizen in post-genocide Rwanda should be characterized by the following attributes: fighting all forms of discrimination, working well and timely, and avoiding genocide [D2S2P38].

In this excerpt appears again the idea of commitment to justice by eliminating all forms of discrimination. Another aspect of good citizenship which surfaces is the dedication to work. The eradication of genocide ideology is also highlighted.

4.7. Consensus statements

Drawing on the Q-methodology output, it is worth noting that despite their differences, the four perspectives on good citizenship have a couple of things in

common: (i) Being tolerant towards views of others (item 34); and (ii) having a pro-justice attitude/promoting justice for all people without discrimination (item 42).

The idea of tolerance towards other people's opinion might be motivated by the fact that during the genocide some people were killed simply because their convictions did not align with the ideology of the leadership of the time. High school teachers are arguing that in post-genocide Rwanda, a good citizen should respect views of others, which in some instances might be at odds with his/her own convictions.

The emphasis placed on promoting justice for all people without discrimination might be understood within the context of past historical marginalization which characterized Rwanda, i.e. from colonial period until the genocide. By highlighting the promotion of justice as an essential component of good citizenship, high school teachers are suggesting that good citizenship implies breaking away with past discriminations mainly based on region and ethnic affiliations. It is a wake-up call for the enhancement of the rule of law, the culture of transparency and accountability.

It is also important to note that in the description of good citizenship all the four perspectives highlight the importance of avoiding genocide ideology. In other words, although being mindful of the genocide is the corner stone of Factor 1 teachers, this aspect pervades all the four perspectives.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, it was shown that there are four categories of teachers with four corresponding conceptions of good citizenship: genocide mindful and unity-promoters teachers; morally upright and nationalistic teachers; politically enthusiastic teachers; and justice-oriented teachers. In what follows, I turn to the discussion of key findings.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The present study set out to answer the following research question: What is the image of a 'good' citizen entertained by high school teachers in post-genocide Rwanda? This question was answered using Q Methodology conducted with a sample of 58 Rwandan high school teachers. In this chapter, I provide a summary of key findings and show ways in which these findings confirm, qualify, extend, oppose or contradict results from other studies. The chapter also attempts to highlight implications for significant results. More importantly, the desirability as well as defensibility of the four perspectives of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda are critically interrogated. Finally, the chapter outlines limitations pertaining to this study and indicates areas for further research.

5.1. Summary of key findings and their relationship with other studies

The Q analysis conducted in this study produced four perspectives about good citizenship. The first perspective saw good citizenship as being mindful or considerate of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi and promoting unity as well as reconciliation among Rwandans. Good citizenship is described here as avoiding any form of verbal/behavioral discrimination against victims of the genocide, and fighting divisionism, genocide ideology as well as hate speech. It also involves participating in programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.

Although the aspect of taking into account the genocide pervades nearly all the four perspectives, it is the main focus of Factor 1 teachers. I argue that such a conception goes beyond citizenship concepts informing the present study, i.e. civic republicanism, liberalism, communitarianism, cosmopolitanism, and radical democracy. It is a historical conception deeply anchored in the evils that befell upon Rwanda in 1994. This finding corroborates other studies (e.g. Quaynor, 2015; Russell & Quaynor, 2017) which maintain that citizenship conceptions and practices derive from their historical and contemporary contexts.

The second perspective, held by the majority of teachers, describes good citizenship as being morally upright and demonstrating a strong sense of patriotism. This account appears as the primary and dominant definition of good citizenship. It is believed that good citizenship involves having a good character and promoting national interests. This finding is consistent with other studies (e.g. Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Jeliazkova, 2015; Russell & Quaynor, 2017; Schoeman, 2005; Sim, Chua, & Krishnasamy, 2017; Tupper & Cappello, 2012) which found that high school teachers tend to associate good citizenship with moral integrity and nationalism. For instance, Sim, Chua, and Krishnasamy (2017) have also found that majority of teachers in Singapore (9 out of 14) view the notion of good citizenship in terms of high morals and loyalty to their country and government.

Although the second perspective associates good citizenship with patriotism, it seems reluctant towards being involved directly in politics. In other words, a view is held that good citizenship has comparatively little to do with political literacy and commitment. For this reason, I argue that this conception of good citizenship might be called 'apolitical civic republicanism' or 'politically disinterested civic republicanism' insofar as it encourages nationalism while being politically detached. This finding joins other studies (e.g. Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Jeliazkova, 2015; Marri, Michael-Luna, Cormier, & Keegan, 2014; Sim, Chua, & Krishnasamy, 2017; Theiss-Morse, 1993; Yesilbursa, 2015) which show that there is a tendency among teachers to elevate personally responsible citizenship (improvement of one's character) at the expense of participatory citizenship. As a matter of fact, in Theiss-Morse's (1993) study, it was found that teachers who hold the view of 'the pursued interests' and 'indifferent perspective' entertained the conviction that a good citizen does not need to be involved in politics because there are more important things about which to worry.

The third perspective saw good citizenship as being politically enthusiastic. At this point, good citizenship is perceived in terms of political literacy coupled with active political commitment. I argue that such a perspective coincides to a large extent with the radical democratic notion of citizenship. This finding is consistent with a number of studies (e.g. Cohen, 2013; Faulks, 2000; Jeliazkova, 2015; Theiss-Morse, 1993) which show that while describing good citizenship, there is a tendency to put more

emphasis on the active political participation. Here the belief that good citizens should simply trust political leaders is rejected.

The fourth perspective conceives good citizenship in terms of promoting justice. Good citizenship is seen as denouncing what is wrong and fighting all forms of corruption, nepotism and discrimination. I argue that this conception coincides with the communitarian concept centered on transparency. This finding corroborates with Westheimer and Khane's (2004) particularly in the description of the 'justice-oriented citizen' where good citizenship is seen as questioning and changing systems as well as structures that reproduce patterns of injustice. According to Westheimer & Kahne, (2004, p. 240) unlike character-driven and participatory citizens, justice-oriented citizens "question, debate, and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time", hence they constitute the best form of citizenship.

Overall, the present research has shown that the perspective according to which good citizenship amounts to having a good character and being patriotic is dominant compared to other orientations (20 out of 45 participants). This finding is corroborates other studies (e.g. Faden, 2012; Logan, 2011; Patterson, Doppen & Misco, 2012) which show that there is a tendency to describe good citizenship predominantly in moral and patriotic terms. Similarly, among teachers there is a proclivity towards the moral and patriotic orientation at the expense of other perspectives.

This study shows that in depicting good citizenship there is a preponderance towards character driven, patriotic or nationalistic conceptions of good citizenship. This tendency might be attributed to past and current political history of Rwanda characterized by authoritarian rule where good citizenship and unqualified loyalty and uncritical obedience to authority are conflated. The political history of Rwanda provides little to no space for constructive criticism and open debate. For this reason, good citizenship is not so much perceived in terms of eradicating all forms of injustices existing in society. I now turn to highlight the implications of the four perspectives of good citizenship which emerged in this study.

5.2. Implications for the findings

This study reveals four conceptions of good citizenship among high school teachers in post-genocide Rwanda: genocide mindful and unity-promoters teachers; morally upright and nationalistic teachers; politically enthusiastic teachers; and justice-oriented teachers.

The idea of taking into consideration the genocide as an essential aspect of good citizenship entails that there is a need to continuously raise awareness about this tragedy specifically among young people. Additionally, programs put in place to improve the welfare of genocide survivors should be strengthened. Equally, it is vital to reinforce existing unity and reconciliation mechanisms and practices. The creation of new spaces for promoting these ideals (i.e. unity and reconciliation) among Rwandans is also encouraged.

The emphasis placed on good character and patriotism as essential aspects of good citizenship suggests that there is a need to instill moral principles and reinforce the patriotic spirit among Rwandans with a specific focus on youth. In this regard, activities of the Rwanda National *Itorero* Commission (NIC) whose mission is to bring up a patriotic citizen who has values and taboos of the Rwandan culture should be strengthened (NIC, 2014).

This study reveals that the third perspective describes good citizenship in terms of political literacy and commitment. This perspective tends to suggest that in post-genocide Rwanda it is important to devise political literacy programs and create spaces for more political involvement.

Some teachers describe good citizenship along justice categories. This finding suggests that there is a need to educate people about identifying forms of injustices rooting the Rwandan society. Equally, it is crucial to educate the same people about denouncing publicly those forms of injustices. In other words, the justice-oriented perspective calls for the continued eradication of the culture of impunity, the promotion of the rule of law, and the reinforcement of extant mechanisms to counteract corrupt practices, nepotism and discrimination where these ills might be rampant. It is a wake-up call towards transparency, equity, fairness and social justice.

Unlike other studies conducted in the area of good citizenship which simply focus on establishing the level of support for different citizenship orientations, using Q-Methodology the present study uncovers different layers of thinking good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda. It is shown that although Rwandans have experienced the 1994 genocide, remembering the lessons from this human tragedy is very important (understandably) but it is not the foundation of how most Rwandans construct 'good Rwandan citizenship'. Other perspectives emerge compellingly where good citizenship is described as being morally upright and demonstrating a strong sense of patriotism; being politically enthusiastic; and more importantly denouncing what is wrong and fighting all forms of corruption, nepotism and discrimination.

5.3. Are teachers' conceptions of good citizenship desirable and defensible in post-genocide Rwanda?

This study has shown that high school teachers in post-genocide Rwanda entertain four conceptions of good citizenship: being mindful of the genocide and promoting unity as well as reconciliation, being morally upright and patriotic, being politically literate and active, and promoting justice. What follows is a discussion of whether those conceptions and their distribution are desirable and/or helpful in post-genocide Rwanda.

In the first instance, it is noticeable that high school teachers' conceptions of good citizenship feature prominently the local context. In other words, in depicting good citizenship teachers focus much less on qualities required to live responsibly in the global community. In teachers' description there is a proclivity towards national citizenship at the expense of the post-national orientation. In this regard, missing from teachers' understandings of 'good' citizenship is any concerns for the environment, living in a multicultural contexts, and being open to the world. I argue that there is a need to broaden teachers' conceptions towards global concerns such as climate change, global warming, tolerance, pluralism, and acceptance of diversity.

Additionally, this study shows that teachers' depiction of good citizenship tends towards moral integrity and patriotism. Here lies a well-established assumption that 'good people' are 'good citizens'. Little attention is given to liberal qualities such as

being critical for the sake of establishing a more just society. At this juncture, I turn to highlight potential dangers of such an imbalance.

It is deeply problematic to reduce good citizenship to good character. In fact, a number of scholars have come to the conclusion that equating good citizenship with moral integrity as well as patriotism is to commit oneself to a citizenship conception which is at best minimalist (McLaughlin, 1992), and at worse passive (Faulks, 2000). The major concern raised about this concept is that it sanctions existing social, economic and political structures, and leaves them unexamined. This citizenship orientation turns a blind eye to issues of injustices prevailing in society and creates little space for initiating social change. In other words, the minimalist citizenship concept perpetuates dominance for certain social groups and marginalization for others. It allows the status quo to be maintained for the sake of moral integrity and patriotism. Here lies an absence of the meaningful social analysis for positive change.

Given that in this study the vast majority of teachers (20 out of 45) tend to associate good citizenship with moral integrity and patriotism, and three teachers only describe good citizenship in terms of fighting injustices prevailing in society, I advocate a shift towards more critical forms of citizenship. Using categories of Westheimer and Khane (2004), I am arguing for the 'justice-oriented citizenship' where citizens critically assess established structures to effect systemic change. Justice-oriented citizens question, debate, and interrogate established systems in order to address social injustices.

The shift among teachers from a character-driven citizenship to a justice-oriented citizenship is critical and urgent particularly because teachers play a pivotal role in nurturing students' civic values. As mentioned previously, citizenship is not only 'taught'; it is also 'caught'. If the justice-oriented concept is absent among a huge number of teachers, it is highly likely that in the 'catching process' students will miss out this citizenship orientation. In fact, research (e.g Castro, 2013; Faden, 2012; Sim & Print, 2009) has shown that teachers' citizenship conceptions influence to a great extent their actual teaching practices. In essence, what this means is that since the vast majority of teachers entertain a character-driven citizenship notion, there is a high risk of transmitting exclusively this orientation to students.

Given various forms of injustices that marked the history of Rwanda, it is imperative to instil in young people knowledge, skills, values and attitudes which will enable them to conduct a critical social analysis. The latter remains a prerequisite for eradicating systemic injustices that might be rampant in post-genocide Rwanda.

Another point of concern is that only a few teachers characterize good citizenship in political terms. In fact, the present study has shown that six teachers only were committed to the view that good citizenship involves being politically literate and active. This finding suggests that among Rwandan teachers there is a limited emphasis placed on democratic participation skills as essential aspects of good citizenship. The implications for this finding is that there is a need to reinforce participatory skills among teachers so that in return they can inculcate the same skills to students. By undermining participatory and democratic skills, there is a high likelihood of producing passive, docile, and inactive citizens in post-genocide Rwanda.

5.3. Limitation of the present study

This study has some limitations that I wish to acknowledge. It is quite uncontroversial that the four viewpoints of good citizenship cannot be taken as exhaustive of all possibilities. Additionally, in order to clarify further conceptions of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda, there is a need to replicate this study in alternative samples of teachers. Notwithstanding these limitations, the present study provides valuable insights about good citizenship in conflict-affected communities like Rwanda.

5.4. Suggestion for further studies

Citizenship education and conceptions play a crucial role in shaping the future of any nation. In this regard, it is vital to investigate the citizenship notion informing Rwanda official civic and citizenship curriculum. It would also be useful to investigate high school students' perceptions of good citizenship. More importantly, it is crucial to establish the extent to which student and teacher conceptualizations of citizenship mirror or deviate official narratives expressed in the curriculum. Put differently, it is worth highlighting curricular constructions of citizenship, values that underlie these

and establish the extent to which these constructions align or deviate with both students' and teachers' understandings.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has indicated ways in which major findings of the present research speak to other studies. The implications of key findings were also highlighted. In assessing the desirability of the four perspectives, it was shown that there is a need to effect a shift from character-driven citizenship to participatory and justice-oriented concepts. The chapter pointed out limitations pertaining to this research and indicated possible areas for further research.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The present research shows that there are four categories of teachers with four corresponding conceptions of good citizenship: genocide mindful and unity-promoters teachers; morally upright and nationalistic teachers; politically enthusiastic teachers; and justice-oriented teachers. Although these categories can be distinguished, they share some aspects in common. In this regard, the theme of fighting genocide ideology runs across the four conceptions.

The first category of teachers conceive of good citizenship as being mindful of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi and working towards unity and reconciliation. A special emphasis is placed on fighting genocide ideology, promoting unity and reconciliation, respecting human rights, and promoting peace among Rwandans. The second category of teachers describe good citizenship in moral and nationalistic terms. Teachers in Factor 3 describe good citizenship in political terms while teachers in Factor 4 take a justice-oriented perspective.

The present research argues that conceptions of good citizenship are context dependent. They are deeply under the influence of the prevailing local contexts. Additionally, some of these conceptions cannot be assimilated into citizenship concepts dominating the academic literature, such as civic republicanism, liberalism, communitarianism, radical democracy, and cosmopolitanism. Hence, there is a need to broaden citizenship concepts or conceptions.

Given that the vast majority of teachers tend to associate good citizenship with moral integrity and patriotism, and three teachers only describe good citizenship in terms of fighting injustices prevailing in society, the present study advocate a shift towards more critical forms of citizenship. This study has also shown that only a few teachers characterize good citizenship in political terms. It was observed that among Rwandan teachers there is a limited emphasis placed on democratic, deliberative and participatory skills as essential aspects of good citizenship. Thus, the present study argues for the reinforcement of democratic and participatory skills among teachers so that in return they can inculcate the same qualities into students.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Q-set on good citizenship

1. *Kumenya no guharanira uburenganzira bwawe bwo kugira imibereho myiza, ubwo kugira uruhare mu buyobozi bw'igihugu no gutanga ibitekerezo bya politiki* / Having information about and exercising civil, social and political rights.
2. *Gukura inyigisho zihamye ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu w'1994* / Knowing and drawing thoughtful lessons from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.
3. *Kubaha Leta, ubuyobozi n'icyekerezo cyashyizweho* / Being loyal to the state, demonstrating loyalty to the state leadership and ideology.
4. *Kubahiriza indangagaciro na kirazira by'umuco nyarwanda* / Respecting Rwandan cultural values and taboos.
5. *Kurangwa n'ukuri no kuvugisha ukuri* / Being guided by the truth and telling the truth.
6. *Kwiyumva nk'umunyarwanda mbere y'ubwoko n'ibindi byose /* Perceiving oneself as a Rwandan and not along ethnic or other affiliations.
7. *Guharanira inyungu zawe bwite gusa no kuryoherwa n'uburenganzira ufite n'ibindi wemererwa n'amategeko* / Pursuing one's private interests, and enjoying one's rights and privileges.
8. *Kugira uruhare muri politiki no gutanga umusanzu w'ibitekerezo* / Engaging in the political space and taking part in political discussion.
9. *Kugira ubushobozi bwo gusuzuma no kunonosora ibitekerezo* / Having the ability to question ideas and think critically.
10. *Kwiyumva nk'umuturage w'isi yose* / Viewing oneself as a member of the world community.
11. Gusuzuma no gushyungura ibitekerezo by'ishyaka rya politiki ubarizwamo aho kuba imbata yaryo / To challenge views of one's political party instead of subscribing blindly to its set of ideologies.
12. *Kwitabira ibikorwa bigamije kurengera ibidukikije* / Taking part in activities to protect the environment.
13. *Kuba umunyamuryango w'umutwe wa politiki* / Joining a political party.
14. *Kurwanya akarengane gashingiye ku moko, igitsina, uturere, n'idini* / Fighting all forms of discrimination and segregation based on race/ethnicity, gender, region and religion.
15. *Kubaha abayobozi bahagarariye guverinoma* / Showing respect for government representatives.
16. *Kugira ubutwari n'ubwitange* / Being courageous and having the spirit of self-sacrifice.

17. *Kurwanya ikibi cyose n'ubwo icyo kibi cyaba gishyigikiwe n'ubutegetsi buriho* / Being able to denounce what is wrong even though that 'wrong' is defended by the government.
18. *Kugira ubumenyi n'ubumenyingiro bukenewe ku isoko ry'umurimo* / To have competences required by the labour market.
19. *Kumenya inzego zitandukanye za Leta n'inshingano zazo* / Being conversant with state institutions and their functions.
20. *Kugira uruhare mu bikorwa bigamije gufasha imfubyi n'abapfakazi ba Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu w'1994* / Participating in policies/programs meant for helping genocide orphans and widows to improve their lives.
21. *Kurutisha inyungu rusange izawe bwite* / Placing public interests above private ones.
22. *Kurwanya akarengane gakorerwa ikiremwamuntu aho utuye* / Fighting human rights violations locally.
23. *Gukurikirana amakuru ku buzima bwa politiki mu itangazamakuru, isakazamajwi, isakazamashusho na murandasi* / Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV or on the internet.
24. *Guharanira ubumwe, ubwiyunge no kubana neza* / Promoting unity, reconciliation, and social development.
25. *Kubungabunga ibikorwa rusange by'aho utuye* / Preserving the community's common good.
26. *Guharanira gukora icyiza ugamije iterambere ryawe n'iry'abandi* / Doing the best for yourself and others.
27. *Kwihesha agaciro* / Defending one's own dignity.
28. *Gusigasira umuryango wawe n'iterambere ryawo* / Protecting one's own family and caring for its welfare.
29. *Kumenya no kubahiriza amategeko* / Knowing and respecting laws.
30. *Kwitabira amatora yose yateguwe na guverinoma* / Participating in elections organized by the government.
31. *Kwitabira imirimo rusange (nk'umuganda) igamije guteza imbere umuryango nyarwanda* / Participating in activities like "Umuganda" to improve the welfare of the community.
32. *Kuzuza neza inshingano cyangwa imirimo ushinzwe* / Fulfilling one's duties and responsibilities.
33. *Guharanira amahoro n'umutekano, kubana neza n'abandi banyarwanda* / Promoting peace and security; living peacefully with other Rwandans.
34. *Kubaha ibitekerezo by'abandi bantu nubwo byaba bitandukanye n'ibyawe* / Being tolerant towards views of others.

35. Kutihorera niba waracitse ku icumu rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu w'1994 / Not engaging in revenge if you are a victim of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.
36. *Kugira uruhare mu gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda zigamije kubaka igihugu* / Participating in the implementation of national policies and programs put in place to rebuild the country.
37. *Gukora cyane kugira ngo wubake igihugu; gukunda umurimo no kuwunoza* / Working hard to rebuild the country; having love for a well-done work.
38. *Kugira uruhare mu isanamutima ry'igihugu aho abanyarwanda bishe basabwa gusaba imbabazi, abaciwe bagasabwa kubabarira* / Participating in the national healing process where people forgive each other and move on.
39. *Guha agaciro ububabare bw'imiryango yabuze abayo muri Jenosie yakorewe Abatutsi mu w'1994* / Taking into account the suffering of Tutsi families who lost their members.
40. *Kumenya uko demokarasi ikora, ibyo isaba, n'ibyiza byayo* / Being knowledgeable about democracy, how it works and why it is worth being defended.
41. *Gukunda igihugu no kwitegura kucyitangira bibaye ngombwa* / Loving the country and being ready to sacrifice oneself for it - in case it becomes necessary.
42. *Guharanira ubutabera ku bantu bose nta vangura* / To have a pro-justice attitude; promoting justice for all people without discrimination.
43. *Kwirinda amagambo cyangwa imyitwarire isesereza abashegeshwe na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu w'1994* / To avoid any form of verbal/behavioural discrimination against victims of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.
44. *Kuba inyangamugayo; gukorera abandi icyo wifuza ko wakorerwa* / Being a person of integrity: 'doing to others what one would like them do for him/her'.
45. Kumenya neza ibyo igihugu gikeneye no kugifasha kubigeraho / Knowing the needs/priorities of the country and contributing in meeting those needs.
46. *Kurwanya amacakubiri, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside n'andi magambo cg imvugo zisesereza* / Fighting divisionism, genocide ideology, and hate speech.
47. *Kurwanya ruswa n'icyenewabo mu kazi no mu zindi nzego zose* / Fighting all forms of corruption/nepotism in employment and all sectors of life.
48. *Kujya mu nama z'abayobozi b'ibanze no kugira uruhare mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda z'igihugu* / Attending meetings organized by local leaders and contributing in the implementation of national programs and policies.
49. *Kugira uruhare mu biganiro bigamije kureba uko isi yagirwa nziza kurushaho* / To engage in discussions about how to improve the world.
50. *Kurwanya akarengane gakorerwa ikiremwa-muntu ku isi hose* / Fighting human rights violation globally.

Characteristics of respondents:

Code: D S P

Izina ry'usubiza / Name of the respondent (optional):
……

Ishuri / School: ……

Akarere / District

Imyaka / Age: 18-24 25-34 35-44 45 and above

Igitsina / Sex: *Gabo* / Male *Gore* / Female

Imyaka umaze wigisha / Years of teaching experience:
……

Ibyo wigisha / Subject taught:
……

Urushako / Marital status: *Ingaragu* / Single Uwashatse / Married

Abatandukanyijwe n'amategeko / Divorced

Abatabana ariko batatandukanyijwe n'amategeko / Separated

Amashuri makuru wize / Education level:
……

Ibyo wize / Area of study: ……

APPENDIX B: Wits Ethics Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MASPR/17/005 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	High school teachers' perceptions of the qualities of good citizenship in post-genocide Rwanda: a Q-Methodological approach
INVESTIGATORS	Nzaliabwanayo Sylvestre
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	28/06/17
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 28 June 2017

CHAIRPERSON G. Finchilescu
(Prof. Gillian Finchilescu)

cc Supervisor:

Prof. Gillian Finchilescu
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and one copy returned to the Secretary, Room 10X015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2019

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX C: Research permit from MINEDUC

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, 21/07/2017
N°...1536.../12.00/2017



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
P.O.BOX 622 KIGALI

Re: Permission to Carry out Research in Rwanda - No: MINEDUC/S&T/454/2017

The Permission is hereby granted to **Mr. Sylvestre Nzahabwanayo**, MA student in the School of Human and Community Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, to carry out research on**: "High School Teachers' Perception of the Qualities of Good Citizenship in Post-Genocide Rwanda: A Q-Methodological Approach".**

The research will be carried out in selected High Schools (Secondary Schools) located in Gasabo, Kicukiro and Nyarugenge Districts. The researcher will need to interview 60 selected High School Teachers in charge of civic/citizenship related subjects.

The period of research is from **21st July, 2017 to 28th February, 2018**. It may be renewed if necessary, in which case a new permission will be sought by the researcher.

Please allow the **above mentioned researcher**, any help and support he might require to conduct this research.

Yours sincerely,

21/07/2017

Marie-Christine GASINGIRWA, Ph.D
Director General of Science, Technology and Research

APPENDIX D: Authorization letter from MINEDUC

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, 21/07/2017
N°.../1535.../12.00/2017

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
P.O.BOX 622 KIGALI

Mr. Sylvestre Nzahabwanayo
MA Student
University of Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: +250788548057
Email: nzahabwanayo@yahoo.fr

Re: Approval to conduct research in Rwanda under the project title: "High School Teachers' Perception of the Qualities of Good Citizenship in Post-Genocide Rwanda: A Q-Methodological Approach".

I am pleased to attach a copy of research clearance, which has been granted to you to conduct research on the above title.

I wish to remind you that the research permit number should be cited in your final research report; the research should be carried out under affiliation of the University of Rwanda-College of Education, under supervision of **Prof. Wenceslas Nzabalirwa,** School of Education, UR-CE.

You are requested to submit the final report after completion of your research activities to the Ministry of Education of Rwanda.

I wish you success in your research.

Sincerely,

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
GASINGIRWA
Director General of Science, Technology & Research
21/07/2017

Marie-Christine GASINGIRWA, Ph.D
Director General of Science, Technology and Research

Cc.
- Minister of Education
- Minister of State in Charge of TVET
- Minister of State in Charge of Primary and Secondary Education
- Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education
- Prof. Wenceslas Nzabalirwa, School of Education, UR-CE