

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**LIVING TOGETHER AFTER GENOCIDE: A CASE STUDY OF
RECONCILIATION EFFORTS IN BURGESERA DISTRICT AFTER 1994
RWANDA GENOCIDE**

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**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Commerce**

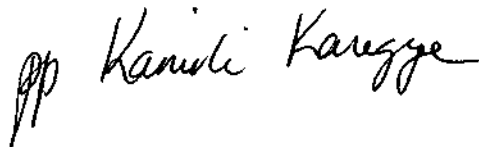
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DECLARATION

I declare that the contents of this dissertation are my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of Master of Commerce in the field of Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies in the University of KwaZulu-Natal – Westville. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at this or any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Kamili Karegye". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "K".

Kamili Karegye

July 2008

ABSTRACT

The overall objective of the research was to evaluate the achievements of reconciliation process in Bugesera district after the Rwandan 1994 genocide. Bugesera district lost over 62,000 Tutsi during genocide, being the most hit in the country. Today, the survivors and perpetrators are living together in the same district. The study is aimed at evaluating the impact of reconciliation mechanisms in place and how these mechanisms can be enhanced to get better results.

The research was conducted in Bugesera district and qualitative research methods were adopted where by thirty respondents were interviewed; ten from the survivors , ten from released perpetrators of genocide, five district officials, three from NGOs and two church leaders. The research was based on both primary and secondary data, but primary data was used mostly. Most of the key concepts used in the research were explained in the literature review.

From the research, it was revealed that efforts are in place to reconcile the survivors and perpetrators but people are still suspicious of one another. That a gap between survivors and perpetrators still exists, irrespective of government and patterns' efforts in bringing them together. The research suggested a number of recommendations, which would enhance reconciliation in the district.

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ABBREVIATIONS

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations.

UNESCO: United Nations of Education, Science and Culture Organization.

UNDP: United Nations Development Program.

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo.

HIV/AIDS: Human Immuno Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome

FARG: Fond d'Assistance pour les Rescapes du Genocide.

NURC: National Unit and Reconciliation Commission.

EX-FAR: Former Rwandan Army.

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

ANC: African National Congress.

ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

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Chapter 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

After the 1994 genocide, tremendous efforts were needed to restore peace and security, to mend gaps in the social fabric and to establish the rule of law. To this end, various commissions of the state apparatus were established with an aim of reconciling the people of Rwanda.

Bugesera district is among the most affected districts of Rwanda by the genocide since earlier indicators of the genocide could be traced here. One of the underlying reasons is that the district had a considerably big population of Tutsi. The district hosted a number of displaced Tutsi from other areas of the country as early as 1959.

By the end of the 1994 genocide, the district had lost 62,000 Tutsis, becoming the worst hit District in the whole of Rwanda. Today, Bugesera District is in the aftermath of social and economic problems, with thousands of child headed homes, orphans obliged to work for their survival, there are homeless communities that suffer occasional trauma, as well as a high number of single - parent families. The infrastructures were destroyed and the District was left with a desperate people and tough times a head.

It therefore became imperative that the government and her partners direct efforts to reconcile the Hutu and Tutsi communities in the district. To date, both communities live side by side in villages called 'imidugudu'. People are being encouraged to join and participate in common developmental programs as association. Bugesera district 'draft vision paper 2012' captures of the future district as "a community characterized by social harmony equipped with basic suitable infrastructure and offering fast and varied services stemming from innovation and modern technologies".

This study seeks to establish the effectiveness of reconciliation methods that are being used in Bugesera district. The researcher explores the role played by government and other actors in bringing about reconciliation among the communities of Bugesera and proposes strategies which may enhance reconciliation and healing in the district.

1.2 Background

Colonialism created cultural distortions and brought false racial and ethnic divisions which led to tensions and later, genocide in Rwanda. There is evidence that before colonialism, Rwandans lived in harmony as noted by Mugabe (2007:5) that, “oral tradition as well as many other written documents in Rwanda highlight that, Rwanda has been characterized by strong unity for centuries. Given the fact that culture is the mirror of the people, Rwanda has always stood out as one of the most eloquent testimonies of cultural homogeneity through times”.

Apart from cultural unity, the most irrefutable proof of the Rwandan people’s unity during the pre-colonial period was the development of national consciousness. Tutsi, Hutu and Twa lived in perfect harmony, aware of being one and unique people, descendants of Gihanga (god) to whom the myth attributes the foundation of Rwanda. According to Ugeux (1975:14), the uniqueness of the national language underlies this homogeneity. Kinyarwanda as a language is not only a communication tool but also a genuine vehicle of same wisdom, same vision of the world and same perception of the political world”.

According to Rwandan oral history on culture and religion, the cult of Lyangombe (supreme spirit to whom the Rwandese used to confide) was an integrating and unifying factor for Rwandans of different social strata in pre-colonial era. Colonialists failed to interpret this homogeneity as a Rwandan character and set out to see it in a different mirror.

The Germans were the first colonialists to arrive in Rwanda and created the first system of “ethnic classification among Rwandan tribal groups, based on nineteenth

century racial typologies. The Germans could not believe that the Tutsi and Hutu were of the same tribe, or even that the Tutsi were Africans”. However, it was the Belgians who – after taking over colonial responsibility from the Germans after First World War, that further accentuated the false ethnic division among Rwandese. According to Ndayambaje (1995:58), “despite scientific proof that Hutus and Tutsis are of the same genetic stock, the Belgians insisted, well into the 1950s that Tutsis were Hamites, descendants of Cham and members of an ancient race which blended white and black”. He further observes that, “the false racial classification put the Tutsis in the position of being foreign invaders in their own country and exposed them to an eventual ethnic backlash from Hutus who were classified as the aboriginal population of Rwanda”.

The Belgian colonialists further aggravated the ethnic factor by institutionalizing it in form of identity cards as noted by Jean Mutabaruka (1995:58) that, “in 1933, a system of identity cards which listed the bearer’s of ethnic group: Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. As they had little other basis upon which to make a distinction, the Belgians used arbitrary economic criteria of cattle ownership to determine an individuals ethnic group”. This made the false ethnic groupings into hereditary than transitory social groups thereby creating irreparable cleavages in the Rwandan society.

Before colonialism, Rwandan society was very coherent, and had achieved its own nation state. Berry (1995:109) observes that, “in Rwanda, Hutus, Tutsis, and Twa have shared a common language, customs, and beliefs. The people who comprise these three categories, which originally represented social rather than ethnic or racial distinctions, were never separated in any lasting way and have always lived together without any kind of ethnic grouping”. Upon their arrival in Rwanda the colonialists used a divide and rule system rather than focusing on the similarities all Rwandans shared.

Indeed, Staub (2006:870) notes that, “starting with a so-called the white paper in 1916, the Belgians developed a racist ideology of Tutsi superiority and used the Tutsi to govern the country. In 1959 a Hutu rebellion, in which about 50,000 Tutsis were killed, brought Hutus to power”. Colonization brought about inequalities and differences among Rwandans by creating conflict structures. The colonial heritage as one of the sources of conflict in Rwanda was also hinged on ideological axis based on the myth that Tutsis were Hamites. This created divisionism and ethnic awareness which exposed the Tutsis as foreign invaders.

In 1959, just before independence, Rwanda experienced an identity-based conflict; a Hutu-Tutsi cleavage that was unprecedented in her history. Since then, this conflict became part and parcel of the social-political life of Rwandans and prevailed as a major determining factor. It is in its name that power was exercised and claimed, that injustices were committed and suffered, all this led to legitimized successive coups d’etat and massacres.

After independence from the Belgian rule in 1962, there was Hutu violence and discrimination against Tutsis. This was followed by mass killings in mid 1960s and 1970s. An ideology of Hutu power developed and a “Hutu ten commandments” which propagated violent actions against Tutsis were established and were even taught in schools. Instead of transcending the ethnic based colonial system, the ruling elite of the first and the second republic tapped into and prolonged the same political system founded on exclusion and ethnic divisionism.

Three decades later, a painful identity-based transformation had been entrenched with in the Rwandan society and indeed the result was the 1994 Tutsi massacres. The 1994 Genocide was planned, organized and executed by Rwanda government in the name of the Hutu majority against the Tutsi minority. This was the root cause of the disintegration of the nation and democratic structures.

Bugesera district knows the true meaning of loss and bloodshed. As Rwanda went through the 100 horrific days of the genocide, Bugesera had already suffered perhaps the worst and most consistent massacres in earlier years. Decades before the genocide, Tusti from other regions of the country had been forcefully transferred to Bugesera - then a forested and mosquito – ridden swampy area, where the authorities reasoned, that the Tusti would die of natural calamities. As the newly settled communities tended to cope with the harsh environment, the then government found other scapegoats; they serially targeted Bugesera Tusti whenever political crisis arose. Bugesera thus became the epicenter of the 1994 genocide.

Soon after the genocide, the country had an acute form of social disintegration. Neighbors had killed neighbors, families were broken up and thousands of widows, orphans and other victims of various atrocities were brutally plunged into utter misery. There was need to stop escalation of violence, to restore peace and security, to reorganize administrative, economic and social structures and initiate reforms based on the rule of law.

Like anywhere else in Rwanda, Bugesera District has made some progress in establishing an effective justice system, conducted community sensitization programs, training of community mediators, enhancing peace building activities hence promoting unity and reconciliation among the Bugesera communities.

1.3 Study Rationale

In Rwanda, genocide ideology continues to exist even after the heinous crime. Rwandan society still bears the scars of identity based conflicts, genocide and its hate ideology. The survivors of genocide are targets of people and groups who still pursue the genocide agenda, eliminating witnesses to the *Gacaca traditional courts* and fueling an atmosphere of insecurity. The persistence of the genocide ideology in the country is aggravated by guilt, pain and loss which were experienced during genocide period.

According to Bugesera police annual evaluation report dated 15 Jun 2008 (Police Report covering Year 2007-2008) on people killed in relation to 'acts of killing evidence', the following statistics paints the grim picture: 3 were killed in Gashora Sector, 5 were killed in Nyamata Sector and 4 were killed in Mayange Sector. The same report indicates a total of 35 others who reported having received threats from released perpetrators of genocide in the district.

The persistent menace against genocide survivors and witnesses propagated by perpetrators of genocide is an indication that reconciliation has not yet fully taken place at all societal levels. If violence and insecurity still prevails, reconciliation may not effectively take place. Such a state of affairs is likely to undermine cooperation of the survivors whose role is crucial for the Gacaca justice system to be successful.

The fundamental reason for undertaking this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of reconciliation among the communities of Bugesera District and propose to durable solutions. The study will highlight the efforts made by the Rwandan government and other stakeholders in the quest to reconcile Rwandese and the challenges that they face.

1.4 Overall Objective

The overall objective of this study is to evaluate the achievements of the reconciliation process among the communities of Bugesera District in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide.

1.5 The Specific Aims

The specific aims of this study will be the following:

- (1) To clarify the meaning of reconciliation, the necessary conditions for reconciliation to be achieved and other key concepts in relation to conflict and conflict resolution.
- (2) To examine the activities of Government, churches and NGOs in promoting reconciliation in the district.

- (3) To evaluate the effectiveness of the reconciliation efforts in the community basing on opinions of survivors, released perpetrators and NGOs.
- (4) To propose the ways of enhancing unity and reconciliation processes among the communities of Bugesera District

1.6 Scope of the study

The study will evaluate reconciliation efforts that are in place, their effectiveness and make recommendations to enhance appropriate reconciliation mechanisms in the district. The study will seek to analyse problems embedded in the reconciliation processes.

The study will be conducted in Bugesera District in Rwanda. The researcher will conduct interviews with 5 District authorities, 3 from Non governmental Organizations, 2 from Church leaders, 10 from the survivors and 10 from released perpetrators based on criteria of being knowledgeable and having been in the district since 1994. District officials will include district police commander, officers in charge of District unity and reconciliation activities, district education officer and two others, one from Mayange sector and one from Gashora sector since these two sectors were the most affected by genocide. Three respondents will be selected from the three NGOs which have been in the district for a long time and are involved in community developmental activities. Two survivors and two released perpetrators will be selected from each sector of the district. The study will cover the period 1998 – 2008 for purposes of providing adequate scoping.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study is worth undertaking because it may contribute to peace, unity and reconciliation in the district of Bugesera in particular and Rwandan society in general. Given the fact that Bugesera district was the most affected by genocide and other acts against humanity and the fact that government and her partners have put in place reconciliation efforts, the study will illuminate this fact in Bugesera district and consequently enable the policy makers to know whether or not reconciliation efforts have performed well in which case areas of improvement will be brought to light.

1.8 Research methods

The persistence of genocide ideology in Bugesra district has determined the research methods used. Indeed it is based on both primary and secondary data, but primary data is used mostly. A semi-structured questionnaire comprise of open-ended questions. In this research, key informants were selected and at times focus group discussions were held and their views were recorded on condition of secrecy. The secondary data from various publications pertaining to conflicts, peace building and reconciliation were used, especially from text books, government policy papers and NGO's publications. Most of the key concepts used in the study are explained in the literature review as secondary data material.

This research employed qualitative method because it involved face to face interaction with the respondents whose messages were recorded in detail. As defined by Straus (1990:17), that, "qualitative research, broadly defined, means any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification and instead, the kind of research, that produces findings arrived from real-world settings where the phenomenon of interest unfold naturally". It was also used because it uses non-mathematical procedures in the process of data collection and interpretation. Indeed Patton (2001:39), notes that, "qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as real world where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest".

In qualitative research method, the researcher has a closer relationship with the respondents than in quantitative research method and therefore clears any ambiguity. This methodology was considered to be appropriate enough in as far as collection, processing and analyzing of information was concerned. A questionnaire was given to the sample categories of people in the district. These will include ten (10) survivors of genocide from Tutsi community, ten members from released perpetrators of genocide, five from district authorities (including a member of National unity and Reconciliation Commission at district level), and three from non governmental

organizations (NGOs). And two church leaders. The sample population was thirty members. The sample was selected on the understanding that they were conversant with all the issues in their district. Primary data and secondary data collected enabled the researcher to get Bugesera community's views on issues concerning the effectiveness of reconciliation process in their district.

1.9 Overview of the study

This study will have five chapters. Chapter one covers, Introduction, Background to the study, the study rationale, the overall objectives of the study, the research questions, the scope of the study, significance of the study, the research methods and the overview of the study. Chapter two will review relevant literature. Chapter three will cover the research methodology chosen and justification of their choice, the sample chosen, size and their representative and the methods of analysis to be used. Chapter four will present and interpret the study findings; it will analyze the results obtained after data collection. Chapter five will provide the conclusion and recommendations from the stud

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the explanations of key concepts applied in conflict resolution with special emphasis on peace building and reconciliation. These concepts will include; conflict and all forms of violence, nonviolence, conflict management, mediation, conflict transformation, conflict resolution, forgiveness and reconciliation. It will outline the essential conditions for reconciliation to take place. In this chapter, the governments' and other stakeholders' efforts in reconciliation will be highlighted.

2.1.1 Conflict Analysis

Conflict is a relationship between two or more interdependent parties who have or think they have incompatible goals. When incompatible goals are pursued simultaneously by individuals, groups or states, conflict is said to exist. Human interaction or interdependence makes conflict an inevitable phenomenon in society. Fisher (2000:4) notes that, "conflicts arise from imbalances in these relations-i.e. unequal social status, unequal wealth and access to resources, and unequal power leading to problems such as discrimination, poverty and oppression". Since nobody is an island then dependence is a must and therefore conflicts will always be there as long as we live. Since conflict is inevitable, it is important that people learn how to control it so that it does not erupt into violence. Indeed, Bloomfield (1999:32) notes that, "conflict is one of the most powerful positive factors for change in a society. Conflict tells us that something is wrong: conflict is the generator of change and improvement. Without conflict we would have stagnation"

Analysts have come out with several causes of conflicts. There are the human needs theory assumes that deep rooted conflict is caused by unmet or frustrated basic needs. Indeed Isenhardt and Spangle (2000:8) note that conflict from this perspective involves identifying the needs and values of each party to create a satisfying set of trade-offs." The imbalance over sharing a society's' economic, social and political

resources. There is also the identity theory which assumes that conflict is caused by feelings of threatened identity. Bloomfield (1998:9) notes that, identity based conflict involves “the mobilization of people in communal identity groups based on race, religion, culture, language, and so on”. He further observes that, where perceived imbalance in distribution coincides with identity differences we have the potential for conflict”.

Conflicts arising from identity and distributive issues have been a major threat to peace and stability in the world, and indeed Bloomfield pointed out that, “of the 27 conflicts in 1998 classified as “major armed conflicts”, 22 had a clear identity component to them. These included conflicts in Russia (Chechnya), Northern Ireland, Iran and Iraq (with the Kurds), Israel, Afghanistan, Indonesia (East Timor), Sri Lanka, Burma Algeria and else where”.

In most African states the underlying causes of conflicts have been identified as; incomplete nation-building processes and differences in identities derived from complex internal factors such as ethnicity, religion, culture, social-economic and competition over limited resources. There are also external causes which range from regional rivalries or global political and economic trends which may perpetuate violent conflicts. Adebayo (1999:107) observes that, “in Africa today, violent conflicts proceeds from a crisis in governance, identity, legitimacy, distribution of resources and participation”. In political motivated conflicts, particularly in the third world, the causes of conflict include the illegitimacy of governments and regimes and conflicts of constitutionalism as these regimes resist challenges to their legitimacy and authority.

Rwanda has been devastated by identity based conflict whereby one group was wrongly convinced that it is threatened by another group or where two dominant groups have been suspicious of each other. This conflict broke out between communities that have been living together in harmony ever since time memorial. The identity based conflict in Rwanda was crystallized on the basis of belonging to

an ethnic group (Hutu-Tutsi) and different political affiliations. Identity-based conflict is intensified by a state in crisis, when it fails to assume its duties and responsibilities and instead, supports one group in frustrating the other. This aspect has characterized Rwanda under the first two Republics whereby the state machinery would not only give support to but institutionalized hate against Tutsi by the Hutu.

Ethnic differences have been politically manipulated by ethnic entrepreneurs, who seek to mobilize and capitalize on ethnic differences for their personal or political gains, these become a reality in communities who fear activities of other communities and perceive their economic and social status to be inferior as compared to others. This becomes a reason to mobilize for a social change which may result into intimidation and violence. Several communities from different parts of the world have faced violent conflicts, which generated gross violations of human rights and left a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and a desire for revenge. Revenge knows no boundaries and has no time limits, it may pass on from one generation to another, but as Gandhi put it, “an eye for an eye will leave the whole world blind”. Forgiveness and reconciliation is the only hope to bridge the gap that threatens to destroy our communities.

2.1.2 Violence

Violence is doing harm to others in pursuit of ones’ interests. Reyhler (2004:4) notes; “the term violence refers to a situation in which the qualitative and quantitative life expectance is intentionally reduced”. On the other hand Kent (1993:378) points out that, “Violence is sometimes viewed as a rapid application of physical energy that disrupts established patterns and structures”. Violence consists of actions, words, attitudes, structures or systems that cause physical, psychological, social or environmental damage or prevent people from reaching their full human potential. Indeed there are varieties of violence. This study will discuss three types; Physical violence, structural violence and cultural violence.

Physical violence involves direct application of force with an intention of killing and inflicting injury to human beings and destruction of their property as a result of unresolved conflicts like in war. In physical violence as in war, there are identified groups who have an issue in contention and decide to solve their conflicts using maximum force at their disposal. More often, the military is used to deliver direct violence against those who threaten the interests of those who are in control. Indeed Francis (2004:56) notes that, "Military violence is currently the means for imposing Western hegemony on the rest of the world and in the past it was the means to build and extend European and other empires". A good example to day is the attack of Iraq by both America and Britain. The unending wars between Eritrea and Ethiopia, the military dictatorship in Burma, and many others.

The most current armed violence is taking place in the Darfur region of Sudan where Thousands have been killed and millions displaced. The government is using armed violence as means of controlling the oppressed population with in their own country, constituting low intensity warfare against them. Other cases of armed violence include; the killings of over one million Tutsi in 1994 genocide where the killers used all sorts of weapons to murder their fellow innocent Rwandese, the extermination of six million Jews by Nazis using gas chambers, the war in Kosovo which claimed thousands, all these are examples of physical violence. Physical violence as noted by Kent "is designed to overpower or physically eliminate the victim rather than influencing the victim's behavior".

Structural violence as described by Kent "is harm imposed by some people on to others indirectly, through the social system as they pursue their own preferences". Structural violence is accomplished by political repression, depriving people of their freedoms, exploitation, segregation and marginalization. To Galtung (1990:145), structural violence involves "a quiet process, working slowly in the way misery in general, and hunger in particular, erodes and finally kills human beings". He further notes that, "the term 'structural violence', then, describes the structures which maintain the dominance of one group at the centre of power over

another group at the periphery”. This means that the group at the periphery is denied all political and legal rights and should they try to change this situation, they will be dealt with in a violent manner. As observed by Francis (2004), that, “if people rise up against cruelty and injustice in the system of control with in which they are forced to live, their opposition is crushed by the violence of the state, or by private armies or company militias”. A good example is what is happening in Zimbabwe to day, where the state uses the police and party militia to suppress the opposition.

Economic violence and political violence are interwoven into a web of calculated power struggles which are backed by military might of governments. Francis (2004:56) asserts that, “It is through this military capacity and its personnel and mechanisms, economic and political systems that violet the rights and needs of others are enforced”. Kent observes that, “the idea of structural violence goes further in that it recognizes that premature death does not strike people randomly but systematically affects certain groups of people much more than others. Children, the poor and certain ethnic groups suffer high losses of potential life years”. He considers that during the period 1979-81 blacks and other minorities in the United States averaged 58,942 deaths each year in excess of what would be expected based on death rates for whites”. These deaths are attributed to poor health and poor living conditions.

Then there is cultural violence, in which one group feels more superior to another group and this is justification enough to apply physical or structural violence over them. A good example is the case of Rwanda where the majority Hutu took the minority Tutsi to be secondary citizens; they convinced themselves that they were more ‘Rwandan’ than the Tutsi. The Tutsi were denied equal opportunities. Cultural violence reduces the value and quality of life of those who are alienated. Kent asserts that, “cultural violence refers to manipulation of the meaning framework within which individuals and communities live. For example, a prevailing view that

certain classes of people are less worthy and thus deserve less pay and other amenities would be a manifestation of cultural violence”.

Whether direct, cultural or structural violence, the root causes lie in human greed such as prosperity, power and prestige. It is worthy noting that, where as conflict is inevitable, violence is a choice.

2.1.3 Conflict management

Since conflict is inherent in man and inescapable, then the challenge is how to manage it constructively. Conflict management aims to limit and avoid future violence by promoting positive behavioral changes in the parties involved. A good example is the United States involvement in trying to bring about peace between Israel and Palestine. It is important that early warning mechanisms are in place to detect pending conflicts so that preventive diplomacy may be applied. In an Agenda for peace , Boutros- Ghali defined preventive diplomacy as “actions to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur”. The aim is to contain conflicts or disputes from escalating into violence and eventually solve it.

When conflict is not well managed, it may turn into violence. Conflict management involves the control, limitation and avoidance of future violence by promoting positive behavioral changes in the parties involved. Conflict management is intended to make the on going conflict more beneficial and less damaging to all parties involved. For example sending peacekeeping forces into a region like Darfur enmeshed in strife may help calm the situation and limit casualties but will not resolve the conflict. Therefore conflict resolution will be necessary to end hostilities for good.

2.1.4 Conflict Resolution

Wallensteen (2007:8) defines conflict resolution as “a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other’s continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other”. Conflict resolution focuses on addressing the underlying root causes of a conflict and seeks to build a new and lasting relationship between hostile groups. Like what is going on in Rwanda, after the 1994 genocide the Rwandan government is trying to address the root causes of the violent conflicts which claimed a million people so that it does not reoccur. To resolve a conflict, the solution must go beyond satisfying the parties’ interests, but must also find a way to respect their underlying values and identities. Conflict resolution requires more analytical, problem-solving approach - otherwise the underlying causes of the conflict may not be addressed. Lederach (1997) notes that, “often, the underlying causes of a conflict are embedded in the institutional structure of society, therefore, achieving complete conflict resolution will require making significant social economic and political changes that restructure society in a more just and inclusive manner”. Some conflicts have been successfully resolved, these include among others; in Angola, the war which lasted for 27 years is now over, the once enemies are struggling to rebuild their country. In Mozambique, the conflict between RENAMO and FRELIMO is no more; the once antagonistic parties are now living together. After solving such conflicts which involved loss of human beings in big numbers, there are likely to remain some residuals of conflict like lack of confidence, hate and fear of the opponent. Therefore conflict transformation may bridge the gap.

2.1.5 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation focuses on addressing the wider social and political sources of a conflict and seeks to transform the negative energy of war into positive social and political change. Lederach (1997:65) observes that, “change will require a rebalancing of power in the relationship by which all those involved recognize one another in new ways”. This implies that, the destructive outcomes of a conflict can

be transformed so that the relationships and social structures are improved. The overall objective of conflict transformation is replacing hate and fear of the opponent through forgiveness and reconciliation. Indeed, Reyhler (2001:12) notes that, “transforming a conflict goes beyond problem solving or managing a conflict. It addresses all the major components of the conflict: fixing the problems which threatened the core interests of the parties; changing the strategic thinking; and changing the opportunity structure and the ways of interacting”.

Some countries have managed to deal with their painful past by instituting truth and reconciliation commissions which are conflict transformation activities in form. Such countries are; South Africa, Chile, Argentina and Rwanda to mention a few. After the apartheid regime, South Africa had to choose a method that would bring about tolerance in the country. Indeed Rigby (2001:126) notes that, “they had to choose a method that would not provoke bloodbath that many feared, but that would acknowledge the competing historical narratives within a divided society and facilitate reconciliation”.

2.1.6 Peace building

The term peace building as noted by Reyhler (2001) “refers to all the efforts required on the way to the creation of a sustainable peace zone: imagining a peaceful future, conducting an overall needs assessment, developing a peace plan and implementation of the plan”. The overall aim of peacebuilding is to transform conflicts in such a way that a sustainable peace environment is created. Peacebuilding involves reconstructing and supporting political and social-economic infrastructure in order to facilitate reconciliation and normalization of relations. The former UN secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992) rightly said that, “peacebuilding is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationship”. A good example is in Rwanda where the government and her partners are doing their best to improve the economic welfare of the communities through profit making projects, these

include; modernizing agriculture, and other income generating projects. There are improved justice systems, unity and reconciliation programs at all levels and good governance activities are being put in place. All these are peace building mechanisms that will enhance togetherness among Rwandese and hence reconstruction of their nation.

2.1.7 Educating for peace

The persistent social and political conflicts in the world are caused by a range of issues. These have resulted into death and displacement of humanity and destruction of infrastructure. Faced with these challenges, education for peace is now the only remedy and a necessity especially in African communities. Peace education will contribute to a better awareness of the root causes of conflicts and violence and will at the same time cultivate values and good attitudes which will encourage individuals and societies to build more peaceful environment and ultimately build a peaceful world.

Educating for peace is necessary because the poor and marginalized would be able to develop the awareness of their rights. Toh and Tawagas (1987:29) noted that, “a peace centered curriculum, therefore needs to raise the consciousness of poor citizens regarding the roots of their poverty. They further stressed that peace education empowers ordinary people to seek greater social justice and a fairer distribution of national wealth and income”. Peace education prepares the society to exercise basic political rights and citizenly responsibilities with an aim of enabling them to contribute to national policy making and national building. It is necessary to encourage people to explore the roots of violence and to enable them to build a society which is based on a peaceful foundation. Peace education should be encouraged and sustained at all levels of education, in civil services, religious organizations and mass media. It is through peace education that the nations will realize their dreams of nonviolent societies and will cultivate a culture of peace in their future generations.

2.1.8 Demilitarization and disarmament

Harris (2004:3) defines demilitarization as “a significant and sustained reduction in the power and influence of the military indicated by reduction in military expenditure, military personnel and force projection. Second demilitarization is a process of working towards a society which emphasizes the nonviolent resolution of conflicts and personal and social justice”. The rising militarization and the continuous military intervention in economic and political activities has always been accompanied by poor economic performance, poverty, deprivation, and escalating wars and conflicts. In some countries military expenditures are more than expenditures on education and health combined. It is in this regard that demilitarization should be considered in order to shift human and material resources for developmental purpose. In Costa-Rica and Panama their human development index ranks high because the country’s resources are used to build human development instead of spending on military. Costa Rica abolished its military in 1948 after a civil war.

Harris then argues that, “our way of thinking about security, then, needs to move from an emphasis on territorial security based on strong military towards broader human security, based on improving levels of human development”. History has proved that, there are better ways of managing and resolving conflicts other than applying the military. Conflicts have been resolved nonviolently and this method has been proven to be cost effective in terms of human and material resources. But as noted by Maxwell (2004:123), “pursuing demilitarization in any context requires changing people’s orientation: from an orientation towards military solutions as the only solution, to one in which it is understood that there are alternatives which are not only more moral, but also more effective and less costly”. We should observe the well known UNESCO statement that, “since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.

2.2 Reconciliation

Reconciliation focuses on the restoration of trust in a relationship after trust has been violated. Reconciliation can be extremely pain full because it involves meeting the perpetrators face to face and talk about the past. It is very painful to see the perpetrators walk free and move around with impunity but as Lederach (1997:26) puts it, “reconciliation must find ways to address the past without getting locked into a vicious cycle of mutual exclusiveness inherent in the past”. The past should not determine the future and people should respect one another as human beings. The essence of reconciliation is to have a changed psychological orientation between the victims and the perpetrators of violence.

Reconciliation is a long term process which must be owned by the parties seeking to be reconciled and must take place at all societal levels. Reconciliation is a social and political process, it takes place in a unique social political environment and therefore, it has to be planned and implemented on the basis of a clear conflict analysis and according to the cultural, social, economic and political context of the affected communities. It can not be enforced from outside.

2.2.1 The necessary conditions for reconciliation

A major condition for reconciliation is a peaceful environment with acceptable level of security and stability. It needs self evaluation on the part of individuals and the society as a whole. If violence and insecurity still exists then it will not take place. Human security which involves protection of humanity against any forms of violence, reduction of poverty, hunger, prevention of diseases and illiteracy are important conditions for reconciliation.

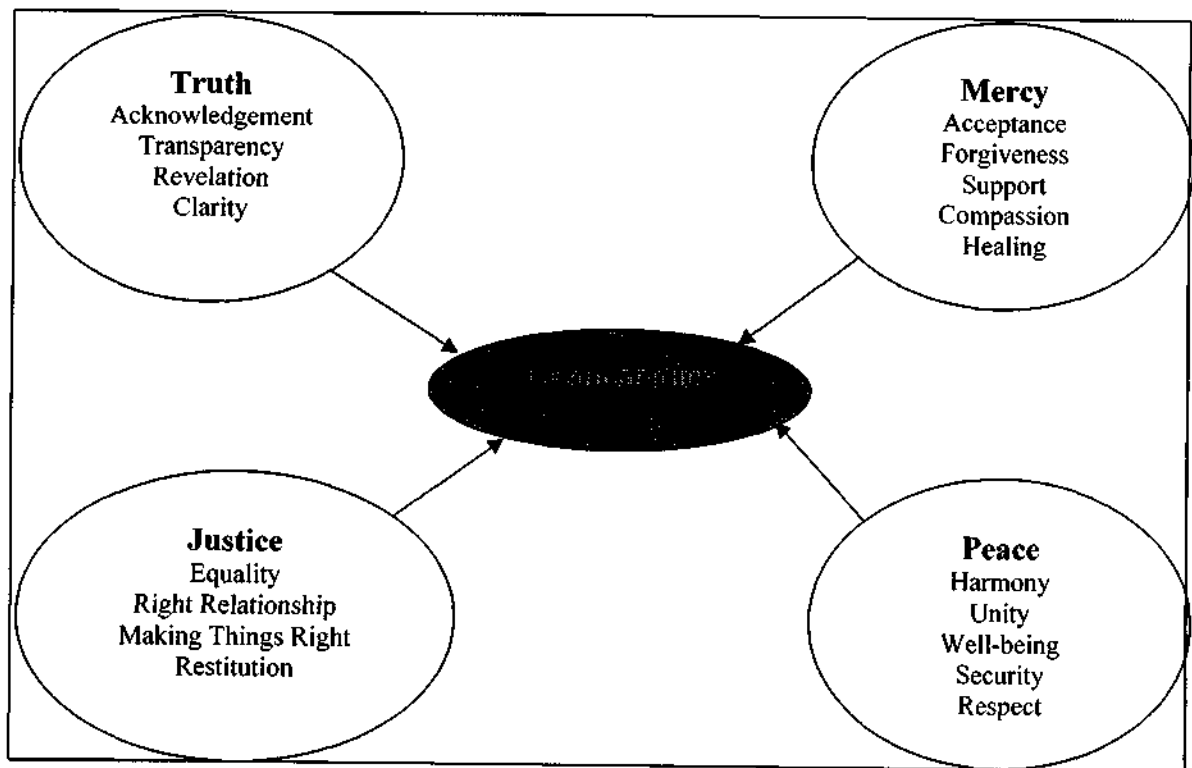


Figure 1: The place called Reconciliation. Lederach (1977:30)

Justice is another important condition for reconciliation, as noted by Lederach (1997:28), “it involves making things done right, creating equal opportunities, rectifying the wrong and restitution”. Both retributive and restorative forms of justice may be applied to advance reconciliation in post conflict situations. Indeed Zorbas (2004:30) informs that, “Silence makes us complicity bystanders to the perpetrators of yesterday. Secondary, inaction is unacceptable because it leaves grievances, fears of reprisals, and cultures of impunity to fester encouraging cyclical outbursts of violence by the perpetrators of tomorrow”.

Truth is a condition for reconciliation in that the victims and perpetrators find some benefit from expressing what happened. Chapman (2001:256) believes that, “the discernment of the truth about the dimensions, causes, and perpetrators of the conflict, violence, and abuses in the past, preferably by a body with official status, is the first requirement. He further observes that, without truth a society remains

infected with past evils that will inevitably break out in the future. It is an important aspect of healing because in the form of documented atrocities and crimes, truth may be a precondition for justice. Truth is a bitter medicine for a society recovering from the trauma of violence. Truth is also a deterrence mechanism because it undermines the mental foundation of future human rights abuse.

Another requirement is acknowledgement of injuries suffered and losses experienced by victims, acknowledgment of moral responsibility by those who inflicted injuries and caused heavy losses to the victims and those who were complicit by their silence and failure to oppose the wrong doing. Indeed Lederach (1997:26) asserts that, "it is one thing to know, it is yet a very different social phenomenon to acknowledge. Acknowledgement through hearing one another's stories validates experience and feelings and represents the first step toward restoration of the person and the relationship". Those who suffered the injury should also acknowledge by accepting the apology and forgive their offenders.

Mercy is another condition for reconciliation to take roots, because mercy amends the broken relationship and helps to shape and sustain a shared future. Mercy creates a healthy relationship between victims and perpetrators. Acknowledgement and acceptance of the offender and the victim create an atmosphere for mercy.

Forgiveness is a voluntary and deliberate act which involves a compassionate embrace of our enemies in spite of the feelings of bitterness, animosity and fear due to the hurt inflicted on us. It is through the invisible force of forgiveness which keeps the humanity together, that all the pains, the hurt and injuries we inflict on each other will be healed.

When one forgives, he or she gets free from the bondage of anger and is free from the control of the pain full past. Forgiveness heals our emotional wounds and enables people to be in control of their future. However, forgiving does not mean forgetting, because we can't forget the scars left on our bodies. The Rwandese

cannot forget the 1994 genocide. We need to forgive but remember so that the genocide will not happen again. Shriver cited in Chapman (2001:254) asserts that, “forgiveness has four elements: moral truth, forbearance, empathy, and a commitment to repair a fractured human relationship”. Indeed truth from both parties is the basis of forgiveness which would eventually lead to reconciliation.

Smedes (1996:2) notes that, “forgiveness is in four stages. If we can travel through all four, we achieve the climax of reconciliation. These are: the first is hurt, the second is hate, the third is healing and the fourth is coming together”. Forgiveness is a personal event and one will forgive because he was hurt unfairly. Once hurt, one will certainly hate the offender which is natural human behavior. Letting go of anger in spite of unjust injury requires behavioral transformation and involves acknowledging wrong doing and making amends. Therefore one needs to go through the entire process and phases of forgiveness with patience, commitment and flexibility.

2.3 Governments’ efforts in the reconciliation process

2.3.1 Good governance

Good governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage the nation’s affairs and the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions as well as leadership behavior through which citizen articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. The universally accepted principles of good governance include among others; the separation of powers, rule of law, participation in decision making, dedicated leadership, transparency and accountability and efficiency and equity. In good governance the processes and structures that guide political and social economic relations are well defined. The state creates a conducive political and legal environment; the private sector creates jobs, income, and wealth while the civil society contributes to political, social and economic development.

Participation by both men and women needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association, freedom of expression and fully participation in the state affairs. This can be realized through decentralization which supports good governance by emphasizing the need for local autonomy, collective action and bottom-up decision making process. Indeed Bloomfield, et al (1998:36) asserts that, “to retain its legitimate position of power, a state must ensure the participation of all groups in the affairs of the state as well as equity in the sharing of its resources”.

Good governance requires democracy that opens a perspective to achieve progress toward economic and social development with particular emphasis on efficient fight against poverty. According to UNDP (1997:118), efficient eradication of poverty, “requires a democratic environment where individuals can express their claims, act collectively and fight for fair redistribution of power”.

After the 1994 genocide, the government of National Unity considered that, good governance was the only solution for social, political and economic recovery. The government then adopted a number of principles for political action and envisaged a set of efforts for economic and social development. These include; involvement of the population in decision making processes, empowering the citizens with their rights to elect and dismiss their representatives in various bodies, promoting equality for all, establishing the rule of law, promotion of human rights, encourage mass education, transparency and accountability and fight against poverty.

The government has undertaken the above peace building measures in order to create an atmosphere and environment that favour durable peace. All these were established to fight against injustices and conflict by fostering social equilibrium. Institutions like National human rights, National Unity and reconciliation commission, the Gacaca courts and many others take part in the normalization of the Rwandan social political environment and contribute to the reconciliation process.

2.3.2 Security

Security for all is a precondition which has to be fulfilled before thinking about reconciliation. Tranquility and stability provide fertile grounds for reconciliation. The Rwandan security organs put up measures to provide state security especially from negative forces that were causing insecurity from their hideout in DRC. The government has now concentrated on human security, which complements state security, enhances human rights and has strengthened human development. The government has established institutions which addresses insecurities in ways that are preventive not reactive.

The government is concentrating her efforts in the eradication of poverty, infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and bring to an end to oppression and deprivation. The government is putting up a supportive infrastructure for development in all districts and provides assistance to genocide survivors and other needy groups.

Reconciliation can not take place when genocide survivors live in sheer misery. It is in this regard that the government has put up moral obligations to seek reparations for the past injustices as the inevitable way to national reconciliation. The government created a fund for assisting the 1994 genocide and massacres survivors in Rwanda, FARG. The principal aim of FARG is to assist the needy survivors of genocide and massacres until they position themselves at the same socio-economic conditions as the other Rwandese. This involves paying for education, housing, provision of health care and the creation of small income generating projects for the survivors.

In Bugesera district over 1800, houses have been constructed for survivors and 9142 Student survivors benefit from FARG arrangement. This assistance at times meets the survivor's fundamental needs and thus contributes to the reconciliation process.

2.3.3 National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

The idea of establishing a commission for national unity and reconciliation was first thought of by the Arusha Peace Accord of 1993. The main objective for a such commission was to assist the government of national unity then anticipated, to foster unity and reconciliation among the people of Rwanda who had experienced long periods of bad governance characterized by divisions, discrimination, human rights abuse and acts of violence.

Unfortunately, the Peace Accord did not hold at all. Instead the then government organized and executed genocide in 1994. Genocide made the establishment of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission even much more necessary. In March 1999 the Rwanda government of National Unity established the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and charged it with the responsibility of using all available means to mobilize and sensitize Rwandans for this noble task. Indeed, Staub and Pearlman (2001:196) asserts that, “when one group has victimized another, or when there has been mutual victimization by two groups, if the groups continue to live near each other, reconciliation is essential to stop a potential continuing cycle of violence and to facilitate healing”. It is in this regard that Rwanda took this pass and established NURC to facilitate the healing of the Nation after the 1994 genocide.

At the beginning, the first mandate of NURC was rather broader and not so well defined, but the National Constitution, in its Article 178, gave the Commission a clear and more precise seven mandate, these are:

- To prepare and coordinate the National program for the promotion of national Unity and reconciliation.
- To put in place and develop ways and means to restore and consolidate unity and reconciliation among Rwandese.
- To educate and mobilize the population on matters relating to national unity and reconciliation.
- To carry out research, organize debates, disseminate ideas and make publications relating to peace, national unity and reconciliation.

- To make proposals on measures that can eradicate divisions among Rwandans and to reinforce national unity and reconciliation.
- To denounce and fight acts, writings and utterances which are intended to promote any kind of discrimination, intolerance or xenophobia.
- To make annual report and such other reports as may be necessary on the situation of national unity and reconciliation.

The NURC organizes National Summit every year; this Summit is chaired by the President of the Republic of Rwanda, and attended by community representatives drawn from all levels of Rwandans, the Rwandan Diaspora, Friends of Rwanda and International Communities working in the country. It reviews progress and accomplishment in regard to unity and reconciliation and adopts recommendations in relation to people's wishes. The recommendations so adopted are made public in the same forum and stakeholders commit themselves to undertake the responsibility and accountability of those recommendations relating to their various mandates.

The overall mandate of the commission is to coordinate and advance reconciliation, unity and tolerance as essential prerequisites to justice, peace and development in Rwanda. The commission has three institutional programmed units; these are civic education, peace building and conflict management and communication and information. The commission has taken the lead in mobilizing and training communities on unity and reconciliation.

The Commissioner General of NURC, Madam Fatuma Ndangiza, points out that, "the NURC recognizes that the Rwandan problems have been unique and peculiar in relation to her history, consequently, solutions also require unique and peculiar approach that relate to Rwanda's Culture. Our approach to national reconciliation, therefore, has been steered by ideas from Rwandans at all levels of the community and this is what made it popular in Rwanda and beyond". Cultural tools such as *Ingando, Abakangurambaga, Abunzi, Inyangamugayo, Umuganda and Gacaca courts are now in use.*

3.3.4 Civic education

Ingando, (solidarity camps or peace and reconciliation workshops), is a civic education activity that has facilitated the reintegration of EX-FAR armies and provisionally released prisoners back to their communities. Women, youth groups, students joining universities and leaders also benefit from Ingando. Ingando has also provided forums to Rwandans to embrace their past by facing history and forging a vision for a common future. This traditional approach has enhanced social cohesion and is critical to enhancing citizen participation and inclusion in national developmental programs. The aims of Ingando are to correct historical distortions that lead to the disintegration of Rwandan society and to expose the participants to national peace building strategies, among many others.

The main objectives of *Ingando* is to revisit culture in order to correct all historical distortions that led to the disintegration of Rwanda society by raising and enhancing political awareness of the population on local, regional, and international trends. It is also intended to help local elected officials transcend petty thinking into a new level of competence and altered view of public service in the best interests of Rwandans. It is also intended to inculcate into the youth a health liberated mind with a clear vision about issues of national interest and development.

The process of Ingando aims at; exposing participants to national socio-political and economic challenges and how these relate to regional and global trends of events. It is also aimed at generating debate amongst participants on the way forward with regard to the challenges. In its syllabus, it provides tools of analysis to enable participants to approach issues more objectively and dialectically.

The NURC coordinates regular exchange programs between communities from different regions. These programs are intended to enhance exhaustive analysis and joint solving of problems, and activities including sports cultural dances and competitions. They are intended to eradicate the mistrust created by previous regimes and administrations.

2.3.5 Conflict Mediation

Mediation is a process of conflict resolution in which a third party known as the mediator assists disputants to reach a mutually agreed solution. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000:71) assert that, “when problem solving or negotiations break down, disputants frequently seek help of a third party to help them resolve their differences”. Unlike arbitration where the solution is binding and the winner is determined, mediation is rather flexible and does not force any decision on the disputants.

The commission has emphasized on traditional forms of conflict management skills known as *Abunzi* (mediation committees) in each sector. The mediation committee members are responsible for mediating between parties to disputes before filing the case to the court of first instance. The *Abunzi* comprise of twelve residents of the sector who are persons of integrity and acknowledged by the residents of their mediating skills. The NURC also supports the National service for the Gacaca courts in training the *Inyangamugayo* (persons of integrity), who preside over Gacaca trials. It is worth noting that 80 percent of the conflicts at local level are handled by the *Abunzi*, thereby freeing up the legal system which is understaffed, and enhancing reconciliation at grassroots level.

The *Abakangurambaga*, these are, “peace volunteers” who intercede in disputes and are charged with mobilization of communities to address problems. They work voluntarily for the NURC, which trains them and equips them with any relevant materials and means of transport. All these are conflict management strategies which promote the development of peace building capacities within communities.

After the establishment of the NURC, the commission sent its staffs to witness and study how South Africa has done it. South Africa set up a Truth and Reconciliation commission (TRC) to facilitate the healing of the nation during its transition from apartheid to democracy. The TRC was to emphasize on reconciliation and restorative justice rather than retribution. Desmond Tutu who was charged with the

TRC clearly stated that, “no future without forgiveness”. The TRC was mandated to establish the truth, about the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights in the country between 1960 and 1994.

The use of truth commissions after collective violence has become a common practice; from South American countries to South Africa because, truth provides a base for healing, forgiving and reconciliation. The TRC emphasizes on the use of reconciliation committees so that people may express their views without fear. Slabbert (2000:62) notes that, “the aim of reconciliation committees was for people to speak directly and frankly about the past so that people are informed about what had happened, with the aim of ensuring that these mistakes would never be made again”. Indeed De Klerk confessed and asked for forgiveness in public. He acknowledged that, “there can be no reconciliation without forgiveness. But there can also be no forgiveness without confession”.

Rwanda like South Africa, forgiveness is given as a return for the truth and there is nothing like collective amnesty; it had to be applied for on individual basis and it would only be granted in exchange for a full disclosure of the details relating to the crimes for which the amnesty was being sought.

From even before its inception, Hayner (2001:204s) asserts that, “TRC was presented as a means to reconcile a fractured nation and heal the wounds of its troubled soul”. It is clearly stated that, there were several examples of forgiveness and reconciliation from the local population, apartheid regime and former freedom fighters as a result of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

After political power was handed over to ANC in South Africa, it marked the end of overt violence, but political violence or the threat of it remained. As earlier stated, a peaceful environment is a precondition for reconciliation to take place. This means that security and stability for all must prevail. There must be supporting structures for human security, which would include protecting communities against violence, poverty, disease and establishing the rule of law.

For true reconciliation to take root, the South African government will have to address the question of economic inequalities which are a product of the past oppression. As observed by Hayner, that, “in South Africa, many have stressed the importance of addressing the economic disadvantages suffered by blacks if there is to be any hope for National unity”. The black community as clearly stated by the TRC, suffered inequalities and dehumanizing poverty. No wonder crime and social violence have become the order of the day. This is not because South Africans are naturally violent, it’s because the government has failed to provide reparations to the victims of the past apartheid violence to cover up their basic needs and hence live in perpetual poverty.

2.3.6 Memory of Genocide

Remembrance of genocide serves people to identify themselves with and to express moral recognition of the victims. The policy of remembrance, while backward looking and at the same time addressing the present, has to harmonize the collect tools that may enhance the understanding of historical events in order to achieve definite and current objectives. Such harmonization is especially necessary for countries that experienced civil wars and genocide. However, collective memory is likely to meet fierce opposition, because the purpose of commemoration, far from being the rallying point, may rather arouse ambivalent feelings.

In countries where genocide is not recognized by the government, winning the population to the commemoration of genocide seems to be a challenge. Take an example of Turkey which, since 1915, has refused to accept the Armenian genocide, striving to wipe off all the traces of that genocide. Remembrance can therefore contain seeds of division that should be destroyed by ascribing to it an educational purpose, in other words, by getting the population to see the need of living in harmony and of building a united society. The purpose of remembrance is indeed to spare present and future generations the repetition of the evil committed in the past.

In the case of Rwanda, The Senate (2006:188) notes that “conservation of the memory of genocide is designed to fulfill a range of salutary functions for the society, namely conservation of memories, moral recognition and justice which will contribute to people’s repentance and forgiveness which will bring about reconciliation and national harmony”. Indeed memory refers to the past to correct the present and secure a better future. Since past mistakes do not automatically serve subsequent generations, memory should be for future a permanent reminder of what should never be done again.

Staub and Pearlman are of the view that, “testimonies as to what has happened, memorials and ceremonies in which people grieve together can help people experience and acknowledge the pain and losses of traumatic events in a supportive context. Survivors and members of perpetrator group joining together can facilitate mutual healing and reconciliation”. They further argue that, “such events can be destructive as well as constructive. Rather than healing, they can maintain woundedness and build identity through enmity and nationalism”. Memory is the ultimate form of justice which should be used in adapting the past to the ever changing present.

In Rwanda, remembrance of genocide is aimed at eradication of the genocide ideology by means of preventive mechanisms and, national reconciliation, which is a prerequisite for the reconstruction of national unity. The purpose of official remembrance as explained to the population by NURC through formal and informal education about the national history in schools, at memorial sites and during commemorative ceremonies will contribute to shaping the social relationships distorted for decades first by ethnic divisions and then ethno-political divisions. The overall objective of remembrance as explained by the Senate (2006) is “to prevent genocide and fight against the ideology of genocide in all its forms so that “never again” should such a tragedy reoccur and the Rwandan society to get back its cohesion and unity”.

2.4 Restorative Justice versus Retributive Justice

Justice is indispensable for reconciliation. Justice is served, in part, by punishing perpetrators; it acknowledges the harm done to victims in order to discourage future wrongdoing. However, punishment may focus on a limited number of people but as noted by Staub (2006), genocide and mass killings are societal processes that have deep societal, cultural, and psychological roots. Punishment alone, without addressing those roots, is unlikely to inhibit violence". It is in this regard that Rwanda chose other forms of justice along with the western system in order to satisfy the psychological needs of society and the harm done to victims to advance reconciliation. Indeed, Braithwaite notes that, "when the community of Nations shies away from responsibility for bringing to justice the authors of crimes against humanity, it subverts the rule of law. If the victimized see no one being held accountable, they may seek revenge on their own and continue the cycle of violence".

Retributive justice is punitive in setting, conflictual and state centered system of justice. It is likely to encourage the denial of responsibility. Therefore applying it where mass killing has taken place like in the case of trying perpetrators of Rwandan genocide may not bring a desired outcome. Indeed Zehr (2001:330), argues that, "retributive justice leaves victims out, ignoring their needs. Instead of discouraging wrongdoing, it often encourages it. It exacerbates rather than heal the wounds. In fact, retributive justice often assumes that justice and healing are separate issues, perhaps even incompatible". Retributive justice is most likely to encourage revenge which has no time limit; it passes on from generation to generation.

In contrast, Chapman (2001:257) notes that, "restorative justice seeks to repair an injustice, to compensate for it and to effect corrective changes in relationships and in future behavior". Restorative justice is an alternative form of justice to the Western form of justice, because the victims' needs and rights are central, not peripheral. Perpetrators acknowledge the harm they inflicted on the victims and

take the responsibility for it. Restorative justice is an old African customary law which promotes healing of individuals and society through the participation of perpetrators and the victims. It encourages dialogue and mutual agreement.

Drumbl (2002:9) observed that, "In a restorative justice paradigm, criminal violence is viewed primarily as an injury to individuals and communities, and only secondarily as an injury to the state or international order. Under this paradigm, the purpose of legal intervention is to establish peace in local communities by repairing injury, encouraging atonement, promoting rehabilitation, and, eventually, facilitating reintegration". The focus is on needs, responsibility and community involvement.

The way that Western legal systems handle crime compounds the disempowerment that victims feel, first at the hands of offenders and then at the hands of a professional, remote justice system that eschews their participation. On the other hand restorative justice is deliberative justice; it is about people deliberating over the consequences of a crime, how to deal with them and prevent their recurrence Braithwaite (2003:87). Restorative justice aims to restore harmony based on a feeling that justice has been done. It settles for the procedural requirement that the parties talk until they feel that harmony has been restored on the basis of a discussion of all the injustices they see as relevant to the case.

Restoration is also relevant to offenders because they need their dignity restored after being ashamed of what they are accused of. Indeed Braithwaite rightly notes that, "dignity is generally best restored by confronting the shame, accepting responsibility for the bad consequences suffered by the victim and apologizing with sincerity". It's a task of restorative justice to institutionalize such restoration of dignity for offenders.

For Vicencio (2000:69), “restorative justice is a process where by all the parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future”. He further asserts that, “at political level it involves former adversaries seeking to deal with the past as a basis for creating a better future for all involved. It includes the restoration of the moral worth and equal dignity of all people, while striving for the establishment of some measure of social equality between all sectors of society”. The conventional forms of justice are punitive in nature and no wonder they can not promote restoration of both victims and perpetrators.

Staub and Pearlman (2000:300) argue that, “restorative justice implies trying to show through actions that perpetrators are sorry, understand the pain they have caused, and want to make amends. In Rwanda and other countries affected by genocide, restorative justice would require the victims and the large community to agree on reparations that the perpetrators would make to the community”. Unlike retributive justice which applies punitive measures and causing pain to the perpetrators, restorative justice seeks to benefit both victims and perpetrators so that an enabling environment for healing, forgiving, and reconciliation is created.

2.4.1 Local versus International methods of Justice in Rwanda

In 1994 between April and July, Rwanda went through unforgettable events in the history of humanity: the genocide in which more than one million Tusti and moderate Hutu perished. The genocide left the country with countless and very complex challenges. One of these challenges is justice. Bearing in mind that the ordinary legal system is overburdened with regard to justice needs subsequent to genocide, the government of Rwanda decided to embark on a tripartite judicial framework for justice and reconciliation, combining approaches at the global, national and local level.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by a United Nations Security Council Resolution in November 1994 with the intention of prosecuting high level genocidaires for violation of international humanitarian law committed between 1st January and 31st December 1994. At the national level, a genocide law was passed in 1996 in order to try more than 800,000 suspected perpetrators who were in prison. Faced with this big Number of suspects, the government passed a law in 2001 which introduced the Gacaca court system based on traditional form of conflict resolution.

There are currently three types of efforts to deal with the perpetrators of genocide in Rwanda, and all receive significant international support: The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the formal domestic justice system and Gacaca court system. Betts argues that, “the ICTR can supposedly provide neutrality by being a non-partisan, international body which stands outside of a polarized society, just as was the case in the El Salvadoran TRC administered by the UN”. He further observes that, “its legitimacy has been called into question by the Rwandan Government with allegations of corruption, being very slow, inefficient, ‘fee-splitting’ between attorneys and defendants, and by the UN office of internal investigations into mismanagement”.

The first two Western inspired systems are accused of being very slow, corrupt and inefficient and are therefore incapable of addressing the needs of Rwandese. Indeed Drumbl (2002) notes that, “after spending nearly \$ 200 million over six years of work, thus far, the ICTR has heard nine cases resulting in eight convictions and one acquittal”. As a result, the genocide survivors and indeed most of the Rwandese have lost faith in the ability of the tribunal to deliver justice. However, the members from the perpetrator group would rather see the major perpetrators taken to the international tribunal, because they feel that it is more impartial than the judicial at home.

Despite all these shortcomings, the fact remains that the ICTR has made a significant impact on the African continent as a whole, which has been afflicted by a culture of impunity for several decades. It is also true that the work of the ICTR is a maiden example of prosecution of senior members of governments in Africa for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. To day a similar court is trying those who committed crimes against humanity in Sierra Leone. This is an important contribution of the ICTR to the development of accountability in Africa.

After the genocide, the government of national unity made justice a cornerstone of its policy. It argued that unless the culture of impunity was ended in Rwanda through full retributive justice, the vicious cycle of violence would never cease. Uvin and Mironko (2003:222), point out that, “the almost total destruction of the Rwandan judicial system- in terms of people and infrastructure, the enormity of the crime, and the massive popular participation in it created enormous legal and social challenges”. They further inform that, “before the genocide, for example, there was no bar association. Judges and layers were politically appointed and often incompetent and corrupt”. To day the government and International community have invested heavily in the justice system. But still the quality of justice is lacking. Many judges are still incompetent; corruption remains high because of law salaries and then biases a long ethnic ground still prevails. Based on these short comings and the big number of suspected perpetrators to be tried, The Rwanda government resorted to the traditional court system known as *Gacaca*.

The third system of justice known as Gacaca offers a promising alternative to achieve not only justice but reconciliation and grassroots empowerment. The creative justice system built on indigenous Gacaca has encouraged unity and reconciliation through full and voluntary disclosure of role in genocide, justice , fighting impunity on one hand while at the same time offering large benefits to perpetrators who join the full disclosure program such as reducing prison sentence by half and reintegration with family.

According to Gacaca national service the Gacaca jurisdiction aims at:

- Disclosing the truth and other crimes
- Accelerating the proceedings of the genocide and massacres,
- Eradicating the culture of impunity
- Gearing towards reconciliation of the Rwandan people and developing Rwandan abilities to resolve their own problems via justice hinged on their cultural genius.

It is public knowledge in Rwanda that Gacaca courts have done a lot and the prisons which were once full of suspects are now holding those who have been convicted. Some perpetrators have been set free, while others have been convicted depending on the gravity of their participation. Indeed Drumbl observes that, “gacaca might be more successful in attaining the goals of building justice, a shared sense of citizenship, reconciliation and reconstruction than the other trials”.

Gacaca has its challenges: sometimes perpetrators collude amongst themselves for one person to take the blame for a group of people thus acknowledge responsibility on their behalf. People may not testify for fear of revenge and where there are a few survivors or none at all, people might give false testimony without fear of being exposed by other witnesses.

I agree with Mironko that, “perhaps the strongest element in favor of Gacaca is the lack of an alternative, Neither the ICTR nor the formal justice system seems capable of providing the basis for justice or reconciliation in Rwanda”. Therefore, Gacaca reliance on Rwandan cultural mechanisms of conflict management gives it an upper hand and adds to its appeal among the Rwandan population.

2.4.2 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the necessary literature with emphasis on reconciliation and key concepts related to the topic under study. It examined reconciliation in general and reconciliation processes in Rwanda in particular. It is important to review literature in related conflict resolution studies to avoid any misunderstandings and to gain grounds for argument.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the research methodology used in this study. It discusses the Methods of data collection and procedures, data analysis, validity and reliability, ethical considerations and limitations of the study. The research relied on the research design which provided conditions for collection and analysis of data in such way that the research purpose was achieved. The study used qualitative methods of data collection using in-depth personal interviews with 30 interviewees.

3.2 The overall Research Objective

The overall objective of this research is to evaluate the achievements of the reconciliation process in Bugesera district after the Rwandan 1994 genocide. Since the establishment of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission in 1999, reconciliation processes have been going country wide; this research seeks to find out their impact in Bugesera district, especially that it was most devastated district by the genocide.

3.3 The methods of data collection and procedure

This research has used primary mostly primary data and to some extent used secondary data. Kothari (1990:117) notes that, "The primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. The secondary data, on the other hand, are those which have already been passed through the statistical process". Primary data was obtained through observation and personal interviews through well organized questionnaires.

Given the nature of the situation that is being investigated, the researcher employed a qualitative research method and a descriptive research design. Qualitative research method was considered appropriate because it provides a means through which the researcher can judge the effectiveness of particular policies, practices or innovations. Another reason is that, the whole process involves observations and interpretation of

smaller group obtained from the accessible population. Each member in the sample is referred to as a respondent or interviewee". He further says that, sampling is the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they were selected. The individuals selected form the sample and the large group from which they were selected is the population.

Since my focus is on in-depth information and not making inferences or generalizations, I preferred non-probability sampling. I therefore used Purposive sampling. Mugenda states that, "purposive sampling is a sampling technique that allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study". This criterion was used to select the thirty under listed informants. This method helped a great deal to get the required data.

3.5 The interviews

The interviews were conducted in the local language which is Kinyarwanda. They were later transcribed from Kinyarwanda language to English language. It is worth noting that the translation was not all that easy, it is time consuming and difficult. I at times had to get assistance from friends who are very conversant with Kinyarwanda. In all cases the researcher guaranteed all respondents anonymity; no names of individuals would therefore be disclosed. The respondents were briefed as to the purpose of the interview and contrary to what I anticipated especially the researcher being a military officer, the majority of the respondents freely expressed themselves. They were cooperative and suggested some constructive approaches to the on going reconciliation process in the district.

This sub group was carefully selected so as to be representative of the whole population with the relevant characteristics. It was drawn from the following categories of people:

- (1) Ten from survivors of genocide
- (2) Ten from released perpetrators of genocide

- (3) Five from district authorities
- (4) Three from NGOs
- (5) Two from the church

The interview targeted the key informants. The questionnaires for each sample are included in Appendix was scheduled to take twenty minutes with each respondent. Before the actual data collection was carried out, I had to seek appointments with relevant respondents. Conducting the interviews was easy for me since I work from the same district. The respondents were interviewed on condition of confidentiality and not to mention their names anywhere in the text.

3.6 Reliability and validity of the Data

The quality of a research study depends to a large extent on the accuracy of the data collected and collection procedures. The tools used to collect the data must yield the type of data required for the researcher to accurately answer the research question. Data must be reliable and valid if objectives, conclusion and recommendations are to be made from the research findings. Mugenda and Abel Mugenda (1999) noted that, "Reliability and validity are measures of relevance and correctness. They further note that "reliability in research is influenced by random error. As random error increases, reliability decreases. Random error according to Mugenda is the deviation from a true measurement due to factors that have not been addressed by the researcher. These errors are such as; interviewer's fatigue, interviewee's fatigue or interviewer's bias.

The data which was collected is reliable because it was collected from well selected samples and the interviews were conducted in a cooperative environment. The respondents were willing to provide required information and were informed of the interview in advance and the interviews were conducted in a cordial atmosphere with all samples selected. Since qualitative data collection method relies mostly on the quality of primary source of data than the quantity, and then I have all the reasons to believe that the data is reliable.

Olive Mugenda and Abel Mugenda (1999) contend that, validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results". They further state that, "In other wards, validity is the degree to which the results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study". Validity depends on how the accurately the data obtained in the study represents the variables of the study. Validity in this study was achieved because the variety of the data that were collected offers an opportunity to select the most needed and relevant information for the research. Being a face to face interviews, responses from interviewees were always clarified and repeated verbatim to the respondents for further confirmation. This also provided an important opportunity to select the most relevant data thus reinforcing the position that the data are valid and reliable.

The researcher also used careful observation of the respondents in order to verify or nullify the information provided while conducting face to face interview. The validity and reliability was reinforced by the secondary data from relevant materials on the reconciliation process in the country as seen in the literature revive. This information was important in planning the interviews and conducting them.

In this research the choice of qualitative methods of data collection lead to good interpretation of observations, phenomena, facts and views from the respondents. I felt that the impact of reconciliation will be well assessed through analysis and interpretations of explanations. Considering the reliability and validity of the data collected in this study, and then the data and observations in this study may be used to make generalizations beyond the situation in Bugesera district to other districts in Rwanda. This is justified by the fact that the data are collected in the same setting and of the same subject under investigation and from a variety of respondents.

3.7 Data analysis

Data obtained from the field is in raw form so it is difficult to interpret. Therefore it must be analyzed. It is from such analysis that the researchers are able to make sense of the data. Mugend stresses that, "The data after collection, has to be processed and analyzed in accordance with the outline laid down for the purpose at the time of

developing the research plan". Processing implies editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that they are amenable to analysis. Analysis of data involves a number of closely related operations which are performed with the purpose of summarizing the collected data and organizing these in such a manner that they answer the research question. This involves organizing what was seen, heard and read so that an organized sensible material is conveyed to the reader.

The first step was to collect data from a series of interviews. The data was edited by carefully examining the collected raw data in order to detect errors and omissions and to correct these when possible. This was done to ensure that the data are accurate and consistent with other facts gathered. The data was also organized to look for patterns, such that those which have similarities were put together while those which were considered to be irrelevant were discarded. At this stage the entire data were carefully examined for consideration.

The second stage was to identify general categories or themes and combine them into related patterns. Themes are derived from conversations, peoples' feelings about a situation, folk sayings and so on. It is at this stage that classification of fragmented pieces of data were brought together in order to arrive at a general sense of patterns. Lastly, the data were integrated and summarized. The researcher's opinions were based on the reliability and validity of the data analyzed.

3.8 Ethical considerations

In any research under taken, ethical considerations are important. These are issues that the researcher must be aware of before starting the research since this awareness will protect the integrity of the researcher and respect for the rights and security of the respondents. It is through ethical considerations that the researcher will get honest results.

Ethics have been defined by Olive Mugenda and Abel Mugenda (1999) as “that branch of philosophy which deals with one’s conduct and serves as a guide to one’s behavior”. Respondents must be protected by keeping the information provided confidential. The ethical concerns in this study were taken care of by undertaking privacy and confidentiality of the information from the respondents, especially that confidentiality was promised from the beginning of the interviews. Considering the mass killings that happened in Bugesera district, confidentiality is a necessity. In this situation, lack of confidentiality and mishandling of information provided may cause respondents physical harm. Before conducting the interviews, the researcher had to seek consent from the respondents and assured them of keeping their information confidential and that, the tapes used in recording the interviews would be destroyed after retrieving the required information.

Prior to conducting the research, the research proposal was submitted to the Commissioner General of NURC for her approval and the researcher had also to seek permission from the district authorities who gave me a go a head. The respondents were also informed of the purpose of the research and consent was sought for their participation. The researcher being a military officer still in service, some respondents were not very free to express themselves. The researcher however, assured them of confidentiality and hence their security.

3.9 Limitations of the study

In any research undertakings, there are always certain limitations, both in methodologies, time, logistical and access to data sources. Access to primary data was not limited since the respondents were available but there was time factor which was not enough to exhaust discussions and observations. The logical limitations were experienced but not much. Logistics in research refers to all those processes, activities or actions that a researcher must address to ensure successful completion of a research project. At times the researcher had problems in reaching the participants on agreed time due to lack of transport and of course at times - funds to support him in purchases of necessary materials. Although some limitations were experienced, they were not insurmountable. The limitations did not negate the findings of the research.

3.10 Conclusion.

The overall objective of this study is to evaluate the achievements of reconciliation process in Bugesera district after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. This constitutes the fundamental reason for undertaking this research. In other words the research is interested in establishing whether reconciliation process has really had any impact in the district.

To achieve my objective, this chapter has outlined the research methodology used. The methods of data collection applied, samples taken and sampling techniques used and the procedure of data analysis. This study used qualitative method using in-depth interviews. The chapter also discussed the issues related to validity and reliability of the data collected. All precautions to ensure reliability and validity of data were put under consideration. This included allowing the respondents freedom and time while presenting their views.

The chapter also brought out ethical considerations in research, which were adhered to through out the study. It discussed the importance of privacy and confidentiality and finally it discussed the limitations to the study. A number of limitations like time, funds and methodology were highlighted. This informs the reader that the findings and conclusions of the research are to be viewed with in the framework of some limitations, though not insurmountable.

CHAPTER 4. Presentation and Analysis of the data collected/Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the data collected from various samples will be presented and analyzed with an aim of analyzing the impact of reconciliation efforts by different parties in Bugesera district. Thirty respondents were interviewed, ten survivors, ten released perpetrators, five district officials, three NGOs and two church leaders. The study assessed the nature and extent of reconciliation activities in Bugesera district and their effectiveness to the community.

4.2 The nature and extent of reconciliation activities in Bugesera

In order to deal with the above problems and consequences brought about by the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, policies and structures were put into place to enhance the reconciliation process. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) is a principle player in the area of reconciliation. It was established by law No: 3/1999 of March, 1999 amended and confirmed by law No: 35/ 2002 of November 14, 2002. The NURC in Rwanda is a cornerstone to all National efforts and a basis for combating all forms of discrimination and exclusion that have characterized Rwandans for decades.

4.2.1 National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) and other government agencies.

The government of Rwanda recommended the institutionalization of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), which was highly considered as the only option for the survival for Rwanda that has emerged from a divided past, genocide and moving to a reconciled and Democratic Nation. Reconciliation will be achieved through; Truth, justice, confessions and forgiveness. Indeed, The Executive Secretary of NURC said, that, “reconciliation, we believe will not come through forgetting the past, but in understanding why the past led to genocide and taking measures, however, painful and slow, which will make our ‘never again’ a reality”.

The overall mandate of NURC is to coordinate and advance Unity, Reconciliation and Tolerance as essential prerequisites to Justice, Peace and Development in Rwanda. In an effort to achieve her objectives, NURC has employed home grown traditional approaches to unity and reconciliation. It developed *Ingando* (solidarity camps) which is a civic education activity. Civic education seeks to create a culture of tolerance, unity and reconciliation in Rwanda by training all levels of Rwandans via workshops, seminars, discussions and media; in the interest of unity and reconciliation.

In Bugesera district, ex-prisoners, local leaders, secondary school teachers and students at secondary and tertiary levels and other social groups including genocide survivors, prisoners and Church leaders have undergone civic education and more solidarity camps are organized according to need and availability resources.

Through district authorities NURC created what is known as *Abakangurambaga* these are 'peace volunteers' at sector and cell levels who mobilize communities to address problems. Through out the country, NURC has decentralized her activities through *Abakangurambaga* and District authorities. In Bugesera district like any where else in Rwanda, community sensitization is people driven, people centered and people owned.

According to one survivor respondent, "the NURC programs and activities have gone along way to establish a basis for reconciliation to take root and might in eventually overcome the divisions and hatred that have affected our society". The research identified some of the NURC programs to include community based Associations that have received grants from the NURC since 2001. Most of them comprise released perpetrators and survivors and their activities range from promoting reconciliation in communities to income generating activities. It was noted that NURC encourages people to be self reliant; it promotes ownership and empowerment of these activities. It also encourages people to see themselves as stakeholders in the process of resolving their problems.

In Bugesera district, it was found that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission supported an Association called *Ukuri Kuganze*, the objective of which association is to bridge the gap between released genocide perpetrators (ex-prisoners released in year 2003 on a Presidential decree) and genocide survivors. The Association was established in Bugesera district in August 2003 with the objective of fostering unity and reconciliation through promoting community works. This Association has branches in the sectors of Bugesera district and members are expected to be truthful to one another, narrate what happened in 1994 genocide because this is the only channel through which trust and confidence will be cemented between ex-Prisoners and genocide survivors. The Association has constructed more than one hundred houses for the homeless through their community works.

Making reconciliation work community based and owned, has started bearing fruits. This can be seen through the number of community initiatives of unity and reconciliation emerging every year. Such initiatives include:

1. Students clubs for unity and reconciliation in Bugesera secondary schools.
2. Association of secondary schools Teachers who combat genocide ideology.
Training of primary schools' teachers has also started.
3. Faith and various culture based organizations to sensitize Bugesera community on unity and reconciliation are found in various parts of the district and are encouraged to operate without any hindrance.

The NURC at district level in Bugesera district recognizes that mainstreaming reconciliation work through activities of community based partners as the only way to speed up the process. One district NURC staff who was interviewed informed that, "the NURC is also engaged in extensive research work to ensure that reconciliation process is conducted along realistic and scientific foundations".

The Gacaca Traditional Court system which is a national service has used culture – based justice methods whose nature is reconciliatory and restorative. The Gacaca traditional courts make justice more accessible and participatory, it builds confidence and people are proud of their own judgment. The traditional courts operate at Sector Level throughout the district. According to the head of Gacaca Courts in Bugesera district, “the Gacaca courts have tried 51981 cases and 3981 have been released. Those whose sentences are categorized as light or have admitted and confessed their crimes are given a conditional release from prison and participate in public interest work for development”.

Though a lot has been achieved in the unity and reconciliation process, according to the Mayor of Bugesera District, “there still exists some set backs especially in the Gacaca courts where some witnesses deliberately refrain from telling the whole truth about some defendants involvement in the genocide on the grounds that they share the same ethnic background”, a view the Mayor shares with other respondents from local leadership. This, the Mayor points out, “fuels distrust and suspicion between the survivors and perpetrators and threatens to undermine values on which Gacaca as a reconciliatory and restorative justice system is anchored”.

The head of Gacaca Courts in the district confirmed that, “there are cases where Judges in Gacaca courts have been bribed to influence the judgment process which is also very detrimental to the objectives of Gacaca as a tool of reconciliation”. The Mayor however reported that, “the local authorities are dealing with this problem and those judges found guilty of corruption are punished according to the law governing Gacaca courts”. Irrespective of these set backs the local authorities continue to educate and sensitize the people on the need to harness and consolidate the prospects of Gacaca courts as a reconciliatory and restorative system of justice.

The head of Gacaca Courts in the district informed the researcher that, “out of 51981 people who were charged of genocide, more than 3981 have been released by Gacaca courts”. He believes that tension, mistrust and suspicion among the

community is reducing with the reduction of perpetrators in prison. The authorities continue to focus on poverty reduction and continue to support the vulnerable people like genocide orphans and other orphans, genocide survivors and other poor people in this way we shall build trust and confidence in the Bugesera community.

Another benchmark used by the researcher to evaluate achievement of the reconciliation process is the 'Collective Security' program which is based on community policing. This security program is intended to protect both survivors and perpetrators who have volunteered information during trials or appear as witnesses during Gacaca sessions. This program by nature mitigates conflict among survivors and perpetrators hence enhancing reconciliation. Collective security patrols are by extent carried out at the most basic community level which is a Cell (Akagari). This program provides conducive environment for reconciliation to take place.

The other government initiated and district executed policy is the 'Mutual Health Insurance Scheme'. According to the Mayor, "this is a community based program which promotes health for all in the district and largely helps the very poor to access health care as much as the medium earners. This promotes reconciliation within the community through collective medical facilitation and equal health service".

The government has initiated and sponsored a 'Survivors Scholarship Fund' which is decentralized to district level and this by nature promotes education for the survivor youth who are basically disadvantaged. The District Education officer stated that, "in Bugesera district, 9142 students at all levels of education have benefited from this scheme". In this way the genocide survivors are given equal opportunities to access education hence lessening ethnic tensions resulting from historic inequality factors that characterized the pre-genocide regimes.

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The respondents from district authorities are very optimistic that unity and reconciliation in the district is possible. They pointed out that, in 1995, in the aftermath of 1994 genocide; the Bugesera communities were widely divided between the Survivors and the perpetrators. That, there was a clear demarcation, which meant no social interaction or any form of communication. These included places like markets, schools and health centers; there was total distrust and suspicion. With sensitization and putting other mentioned reconciliation measures in place the gap is to some extent bridged and there is sense of togetherness and mutual trust among the community of Bugesera district.

4.2.2 Churches

Despite churches having been sites of genocide massacres in Bugesera especially the Ntarama and Nyamata Catholic Churches and some church leaders having fully participated in the Tutsi massacres in Bugesera, today these churches are generally carrying out spiritual healing processes amongst Hutu and Tutsi. One church leader interviewed indicated that, “more liberal churches have sprung up in the district and seem to spearhead the reconciliation and tolerance programs than the traditional Catholic Church which has lost a lot of credibility in the eyes of Tutsi community”.

4.2.3 Non-government organizations (NGOs)

The Director of Millenium (NGO), operating in Bugesera district informs that, “NGO’s have widely initiated and carried out reconstruction of survivors homes and supported the collective Villagization projects”. This provides conducive atmosphere for restoring confidence among the Hutu and Tutsi communities who are encouraged to live together after the genocide. The collective village system entails sharing of social amenities like Schools, Medical Canters and Water Pump Plants. Collective Villages exist in almost each sector in the district.

Poverty reduction schemes are another area that has been promoted by different NGOs in support of District programs. According to the welfare officer of (NGO) operating in Bugesera district, among these schemes, is the “Peace Basket project which brings together women from all walks of life in Bugesera to weave locally made crafts”. In Bugesera District, the Peace Basket project, widows of genocide survivors weave baskets alongside wives of imprisoned genocidaires which strengthens a mutual path towards reconciliation and economic recovery.

An NGO known as World Vision operates in Bugesera district supports government programs of combating HIV/AIDS in the district through it’s ‘Area Development Programs’. According to the Officer-in-charge Bugesera branch, the NGO “has formed Associations of infected and affected people in all sectors of the district. These associations are empowered to support income generating activities”. He further informs that, “they give the people vocational training and provide equipment and starting capital after training. So far there are thirty six such clubs in the district”. The NGO also trains the local population on matters concerning conflict resolution. Since year 2000, he continues, “one thousand six hundred and eighty (1680) community members have been trained on healing peace building and reconciliation matters. These include both survivors and released perpetrators alike”.

The other activities that have been put into place to enhance reconciliation include, according to the district Officer in-charge Welfare “NGO organize workshops for sensitization of district communities on the right of the child and other injustices in the community such as rape, defilement, child labor, denial of education to female children and domestic violence against women”. Trained participants disseminate information from such training through out the community hence supporting government programs of combating sexual and domestic violence. The World vision Bugesera branch continues to join hands with the local Police force in curbing all forms of violence against women and child sexual violence.

The Millennium villages project (NGO) has endeavored to reconcile the Bugesera community by providing assistance aimed at eradication of poverty. They sponsor community economic activities such as basket weaving, provision of hybrid seeds and cross breed cattle to community cooperatives which are shared by both survivors and released perpetrators. They have constructed health facilities and health posts and provide essential drugs and medical equipment and human resources through out the district. They teach people on rain water harvesting in households, in business centers and in schools. They have constructed a number of boreholes in the district and constructed extension of water pipe lines close to peoples' settlements. The NGOs in the district have tried to bring people together through encouragement of cooperative schemes where by all affected communities meet and forge their future.

Bugesera district is an area that is prone to both natural and artificial disasters. Among these may include long droughts that lead to destruction of the vegetation, shortage of food, water and pasture resulting into hunger and death of people and animals. Other disasters are disease epidemics and manmade like conflicts.

To mitigate any future disasters, NGOs have facilitated the formation of early warning disaster committees in five sectors of the district; the NGOs train these committees on disaster mitigation and awareness. These committees are responsible for monitoring and reporting of any disaster indicators so that appropriate action is taken in time.

4.3 The effectiveness of reconciliation activities in Bugesera

Data collected and presented in the above section indicates that most reconciliation activities – whether initiated and supported by government or NGO's, are in the form of long term processes. They are therefore geared at redressing the root causes of the conflict/genocide as well as addressing immediate effects of both.

Data collected from district authorities indicates that 8 out of 10 respondents affirm that government reconciliation activities are achieving intended objectives. They drew comparison on the difference in levels of hostilities that were evident in 1995 before the establishment of the NURC compared to today. During the 1994-1999 periods, the Hutu and Tutsi relationships were very tense. This was evidenced by the fact that most genocide survivors could not live amongst or alongside the Hutu communities. Survivors tended to group together in distinct localities. This habitation pattern was a product of both lack of shelter as well as suspicion of their neighbours. According to District mobilization officer, “this trend of affairs has changed due to various reconciliation activities especially the sensitization programs by NURC, collective economic activities sponsored by government agencies and NGOs, participation in traditional hearings by Gacaca Courts”.

4.3.1 The Survivors

However, data collected from survivors indicate that the reconciliation process still requires more effort to bring about harmonious relations between the Hutu and Tutsi communities of Bugesera District.

The ten sampled survivors were less optimistic about the effectiveness of the reconciliation activities in the district. Among this group, three survivors of advanced age stated that, “people are living together not as a totally reconciled community but rather due to the existence of the rule of law”. All interviewed survivors point out that, “there are indicators of persistent genocide ideology among the Hutu community and especially those released by Gacaca courts”. They pointed out rampant cases of refusal to tell the truth, sitting on the fence, refusing to plead guilty, confessing partially, and protecting kinsmen who committed genocide during the Gacaca hearings. They point out that some big people seek to interfere with Gacaca courts by bribing or intimidating judges or witnesses.

The respondents supported their opinion with evidence of murders, attempted murder of survivors, threatening, ridiculing and stigmatizing witnesses during testimonies, as indicators of reconciliation having not yet become effective. They reiterated the fact that in certain localities of Bugesera where Tutsi had been wiped out, the perpetrators of genocide go unpunished due to lack of witnesses or un-upright judges handling the cases. The respondents pointed out instances of bribery in Gacaca courts and local leaders who are indifferent towards helping survivors to solve their problems thus, the issue of injustice is still prevalent in some parts of the district.

Out of the 10 survivor' respondents, 8 pointed out that the released perpetrators of genocide, "confessed of their genocide activities while in prison and testified in Gacaca proceedings for the sake of getting out of prison". A few have taken their time to apologize to those whose families they killed. They asserted that, if a person who perpetrated genocide asked for forgiveness, genocide survivors were ready to forgive them, as forgiving soothes their hearts. They pointed out that only a few released perpetrators have genuinely apologized and have decided to tell the truth and denounced genocide ideology. It is some of these apologetic perpetrators who have taken the lead to show mass graves where genocide victims were thrown, in order for them to be buried in dignity.

All respondents are concerned with the issue of compensation and reparations. They are concerned with the delays in implementing the verdicts related to belongings which were destroyed during the genocide. They blame the local authorities who are in charge of executing the judgments.

However, those representing the young generation; 7 out of 10 respondents ranging between 25 - 35 years of age, were more optimistic of the reconciliation process as possible and hailed government and partners' efforts at reconciling the people of the district. They appreciate the existence of the rule of law and government initiated programs and policies as a firm ground for future harmony among the people. They

mentioned that, “the community is closely following the programs of unity and reconciliation and are willing to help the commission achieve its aims and objectives through unity and reconciliation associations, clubs and income generating cooperatives”.

All respondents appreciate the NURC especially its concept of using cultural methods of conflict resolution through Solidarity Camps. They also pointed out that the local government (district – cell level) initiated positive community based schemes such as ‘mutual health insurance’ which caters for all community members equally despite their differences in levels of income. This equal treatment is a point of departure between the regime which prepared genocide and the current government. Another community based scheme hailed by survivor respondents as an effective tool for reconciliation is the ‘communal security patrols’. This has enhanced the survivors feeling of security from those still harbouring genocide ideology.

The survivor respondents are satisfied with government’s initiative of paying for education of their children through the ‘Scholarship Fund for Survivors’. Formerly, the Tutsi were not given equal opportunities to education and scholarship which, they interpreted as a policy towards equal treatment, a feeling of inclusion into the mainstream of the society. They felt that this equality is a factor that promotes reconciliation process.

Another appreciated benefit from the reconciliation efforts as pointed out by one respondent, is “the governments policy of reconstructing houses for genocide survivors and support given to genocide survivor orphans, widows and child – led homes. In total 1750 Houses for survivors were constructed between 1999 and 2007. More are being reconstructed”.

The 10 genocide survivor respondents appreciate “government efforts in the program of constructing genocide memorials and supporting survivors to give decent burial to our killed kinsmen”. In Bugesera district, two major genocide memorials have been established and are continuously upgraded to accommodate the remains of victims of genocide from all over the district. Both genocide memorial sites (Ntarama and Nyamata) were formerly Catholic Church buildings to which the Tutsi ran for protection from their killers but later turned into mass killing grounds. The government has officially instituted a seven day mourning period in commemoration of genocide in Rwanda and an internationally recognized Genocide Commemoration date of 7th April every year and indeed the 14th genocide commemoration day took place at Nyamata Genocide Memorial Site.

The survivor respondents appreciated support they receive from NGOs and International Organizations like the ICTR. Out of the 10 respondents, 5 appreciated “income generating activities supported by NGO’s such as basket weaving, provision of hybrid seeds and crossbreed cows”. NGOs have supported income generating associations which are inclusive of both genocide survivors and perpetrators. The survivors believe that with time, people will reconcile through such projects.

Other NGOs give support to the construction of health centers and health posts; provide essential drugs and medical equipment and staffs. They cited “four health centers and various health posts supported by NGOs in Bugesera district which have helped the infected and affected HIV/AIDS people by offering both medical and psychological support (trauma counseling)”.

The NGOs operating from Bugesera district are commended by survivors for the assistance rendered in infrastructure development, construction of feeder roads and construction and support of schools. One of the respondents emphasized that, “Bugesera district being a dry area, the NGOs have sensitized and trained the community in rain water harvesting, constructed boreholes shared by both communities and constructed extension water pipelines close to communal residences”.

All survivor respondents appreciated the existence of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and its efforts at apprehending the master minds of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Eight of them were also enthusiastic about “the eventual re-locating of the ICTR to Rwanda so that many can be able to participate as witnesses against the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide. They view justice as a vehicle for reconciliation”.

Two older respondents pointed out “the role of the church in reconciliation process is spiritual healing which encourages public soul searching activities, repentance, seeking and giving forgiveness by both communities. These activities are mostly promoted by the Pentecostal churches”. Four of the young group however “have low attitude towards the role of the Catholic Church in the healing and reconciliation process due to the fact that some Catholic Church members and leadership were heavily implicated in facilitating the killings and betrayal of fellow Christians who sought refuge in the churches”. One of them swore “I will never go to the catholic church again in my life”.

Another appreciated effort from the church organization is the support rendered to poor and needy people in the district through religious based associations, involvement in supporting schools and offering scholarship to the children of impoverished families, genocide orphans and to women who contracted the HIV/AIDS during genocide.

4.3.2 Perpetrators released by Gacaca courts

The released perpetrators interviewed indicated that many of their fellow ex-prisoners were concerned about their safety and future in the process of reintegrating in their communities on return following the Presidential Decree that paved way for their release. Many ex-prisoners were suspicious of government intentions to pardon them after the heinous crimes they had committed to their fellow Rwandans.

Eight out of the ten released perpetrators interviewed revealed that, “we are humiliated and regret our cruel acts against humanity. We very much appreciate governments’ efforts in bringing the country to law and order”. All of them are aware of NURC and appreciate the lessons they get from Ingando solidarity camps. They said that by the time they left Ingando, their mentality towards Tutsis had changed as regards living together in peace and harmony.

They appreciate the creation of *Abakangurambaga* (peace volunteers) for their quick response in mobilizing people to address community problems. Four of the released perpetrators interviewed are now voluntary community mobilizers towards unity and reconciliation in the district. Two of them revealed that, “one unity and reconciliation measure appreciated in the district was the establishment of *Abunzi* (mediation committees) in every sector”. The *Abunzi* are responsible for mediating between parties at lower crime levels instead of using traditional courts of law. So people feel closer to each other when they sit down and solve their problems without the interference of the government authorities.

Nine out of ten former perpetrators, who were interviewed, appreciated “government and NGOs efforts for supporting the communities in forming income generating associations and cooperatives where both Hutu and Tutsi, genocide survivors and released perpetrators benefit from”. They don’t only benefit economically, they are also a medium for unity and reconciliation process. It is in these Associations they stated “that both perpetrators and survivors exchange information about genocide and tell the truth of what happened or through these Associations, the perpetrators ask for mercy and are forgiven”.

Six out of ten affirmed that, “we now feel safe and we are accepted in the society which we betrayed”. They fully participate in government initiated self help projects (*Ubwisungane*). These solidarity schemes are aimed at addressing day-to-day developing challenges like mutual health insurance, reconciliation and micro-credit initiatives which have elevated the communities’ welfare. They appreciate

government initiative of reviving the traditional system of community working together on particular days which is an approach of community support and solidarity in poverty reduction and economic empowerment known as *ubudehe*. One elderly ex-prisoner narrated that, “after such communal work, people get together and discuss issues relating to security and how we can enhance unity and reconciliation in the area”.

One ex-prisoner who served in the former army said that, “I appreciated the integration of former government forces into the National Army, as an achievement on behalf of the government to bring about security and stability in the country and as a positive sign of effective unity and reconciliation in the whole country”. One further indicated that, “we are in support of abolishing national identity cards which were discriminative in nature and appreciate the abolishing of all discriminatory practices in schools, government ministries and else where”.

On Gacaca courts all the ten respondents from released perpetrators revealed that, “at first they had a negative attitude towards the court, but they are now convinced that it is through Gacaca the truth of what happened can be revealed”. One respondent stated that, “we have realized that Gacaca is not a mechanism to prosecute any one because of his ethnic background as we were earlier told by hard liners”. They are now convinced that Gacaca is a restorative system of justice aimed at delivering justice and at the same time restoring unity and reconciliation in the country after the 1994 genocide.

Two young ones (around 30 years old) revealed that, “a number of genocide perpetrators suffer a strong humiliation when they see those people who escaped their plans still alive. They are also humiliated when listening to apologies from other perpetrators during Gacaca court confessions; that they are more interested in punishment reduction than the will to acknowledge their participation in the genocide”. Indeed that is why some of them still harbor and preach the genocide ideology.

The above view is manifested in killing of survivors and would be witnesses, and circulation of death threatening pamphlets. The younger ex-prisoners are however, hopeful that with the sensitization that is going on, coupled with severe punishments to those spreading genocide ideologies, unity and reconciliation will foster in the district.

One of the ten (from the younger group) observed that, “perpetrators of rape refuse to testify because such cases are not made public in Rwandan culture and suspects also gang together to falsely implicate other Hutu especially those who testify genuinely”.

All released respondents appreciate the support they get from NGOs. An elderly released perpetrator revealed that, “we get psychological and physical support; these include counseling and training on healing and reconciliation activities. So many ex-prisoners have undergone these programs and are now teaching reconciliation processes in their communities as volunteers for reconciliation”.

The released perpetrators appreciate the economic initiatives by NGOs where by NGOs have introduced high breed seeds and cross breed cattle in the district there by improving people’s welfare and fostering unity and reconciliation since the NGOs provide their support to associations and cooperatives composed of both survivors and perpetrators.

All the respondents from released perpetrators appreciate the support they get from NGOs especially the support for the community based Association in Bugesera district known as “*Ukuri Kuganze*”. This Association is intended to bridge the gap between genocide ex- prisoners and genocide survivors. It has a mission to promote peace, solidarity and equality through social activities that promote unity and reconciliation as well as peaceful resolution of any conflict in the district. This Association by the support of NGOs and NURC has organized solidarity workshops and constructed houses for genocide survivors and the poor in the district.

A big number of the respondents give credit to most of the NGOs operating from the district for the assistance they render to the Youth in order to integrate them into Associations, cooperatives and other socioeconomic activities that support values of togetherness, coexistence, unity and reconciliation since they are tomorrows leaders and have a better understanding and the causes of the genocide in Rwanda.

Seven out of ten respondents from released perpetrators believe that, what has been achieved in the unity and reconciliation process is real and tangible. That before NURC started her activities; people were living with constant fear, suspicion, animosity and distrust. But to day things have dramatically changed. There are a few (3 out of 10) who believe that the reconciliation process still has along way to go in resolving the deep rooted suspicion among the communities of Bugesera district. This is attributed to the fact that some ex-prisoners (especially the old ones) are hardliners and still harbor hatred of old which will be hard to eradicate unless the generation passes.

4.3.3 Non-governmental Organizations

The NGOs commend the efforts by different stakeholders in unity and reconciliation in the district. They commend the way the survivors and released perpetrators actively participate in the planning and implementation of their activities through the voluntary community support system commonly known as “*Ubudehe*” and through communal work known as “*Umuganda*”. It is through such communal work that they come together and feel closer to each other.

The Head of World Vision in Bugesera district believes that, “the growth of several community based reconciliation associations in the district involving survivors, perpetrators and people with family members still in prison is an indication that reconciliation is taking place at community level”. These associations are supported by NGOs to form clubs which perform music and arts that promote tolerance, unity and reconciliation, they also perform on the aims and objectives of Gacaca to the community and this has been effective in the sensitization of the communities on Gacaca courts where by defendants are obliged to tell the truth during Gacaca hearings which is a major tool for reconciliation.

Basing on the opinions of three NGO members interviewed, “the survivors and released perpetrators of recent have progressively shown a strong sense of tolerance, coexistence and the need to work together towards the achievement of shared interest especially in the field of income generating projects. This is expected to eventually raise their standards of living, mutually address the question of poverty and thereby solve one major source of suspicion and conflict”.

One NGO staff interviewed pointed out that, “since the government abolished the sectarian identity cards (the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa cards), people are learning how to identify each other as Rwandese not by ethnic background”. It is observable that people are in the phase of distancing themselves from the old sectarian ideology by systematically taking hold of new position that calls for living together in tolerance, harmony and are struggling to achieve goals of common interest that are beneficial to all. The member of the NGO reveals that, “the view that a section of Rwandese was more equal than others in regard to Nationality is history. All Rwandese feel equal and have equal rights, this is an important factor which fosters unity and reconciliation in the District”.

From NGOs observation, the local administration plays a major role in fostering unity and reconciliation in the district. If the elderly were as participative as the local leaders, reconciliation would have been much easier. The so called elite have a negative attitude towards unity and reconciliation efforts, they are unconcerned onlookers. These include rich people, self employed and even some government employees. However, with or without them, unity and reconciliation is taking place at admirable pace with in the local citizenry.

The NGO staff interviewed by the researcher quoted a report which read in part “through monitoring and evaluation mechanisms on unity and reconciliation in Bugesera district a lot has been achieved in terms of building unity and reconciliation. There is peace and stability and most stakeholders are doing every thing with in their means to improve the social livelihoods of the people”. The

masses have been guided to attain socioeconomic objectives. People's economic welfare has been elevated. The fact that the district community is actively involved in unity and reconciliation associations and clubs is a good sign that people are responding to the governments' efforts to consolidate unity and reconciliation. It is also a good sign that people are determined to correct the wrongs of the past which were characterized by the bad leadership.

All the three staffs from NGOs interviewed however revealed that, "more effort in sensitization is needed; that people from Hutu community are not comfortable with the commemoration of genocide and would wish not to see the genocide memorial sites". Actually very few, if any, attend the annual April commemorations of genocide. The three members from NGOs are of the view that, the Hutu people have not yet healed; they are haunted by their past acts. On the other hand some genocide survivors also hesitate to testify for fear of revenge, while some victims of rape don't testify in public since such would bring scorn of the public due to the old Rwandan cultures. They however reveal such cases to NGOs in private.

4.4.0 Conclusion

The overall objective of this study was to evaluate the achievements of the reconciliation process among the communities of Bugesera district in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide. To achieve the studies' objectives, several respondents were interviewed; ten from genocide survivors, ten from released perpetrators, five from local district officials, three from NGOs and two from church leaders. It is worth noting that, all the respondents were cooperative and eager to share their experiences. The data collected was presented and analyzed. In the next chapter, conclusion and recommendations from the findings will be presented.

Chapter 5: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study, "*Living together after genocide: a case study of reconciliation efforts in Bugesera district after 1994 Rwandan genocide*", strives to bring out the communities' perceptions on issues related to this subject. This research confirms the reconciliation efforts being undertaken by different stakeholders in the district and that all the respondents were aware of the reconciliation efforts that are in place.

This research revealed that, a number of genocide perpetrators have never been apologetic for the crimes committed which largely explains why in some sectors in the district, including schools, the genocide ideology is still prevalent despite authorities' efforts to foster tolerance, mutual trust and unity among the district community. This also explains why some witnesses are not cooperative during Gacaca hearings. Most of those propagating sectarian and genocide ideology are perpetrators of crimes against humanity during the 1994 genocide and are still at large.

This research reveals that, in Bugesera district the level of ignorance is quite high especially among the people with over thirty five years of age, which strongly affects decision making process at grassroots level. Therefore people are vulnerable to manipulation by wrong elements since they are basically unable to independently judge the methods used by manipulators who have their own agenda.

The study identified National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) as having widely supported initiatives and activities that reinforce unity and reconciliation by increasing people's awareness as well as promoting ownership and empowerment of these activities at the grassroots level. The study revealed that, NURC has widely promoted creative and constructive ways of conflict management by integrating and promoting cultural concepts that support coexistence and shared interests especially between Survivors and perpetrators. A good example is the Ingando (solidarity) camps and 'Abakangurambaga' activities.

The study also identified Local Administration as major players in fostering unity and reconciliation. The past leadership fuelled ethnic tensions which resulted into the 1994 genocide. Today's Leadership has a task to reverse this problem by promoting unity and building shared interests. Therefore, local government is a fundamental instrument in the fostering of unity and reconciliation. The research reveals that the effort of local leadership and NGOs in support of unity and reconciliation is well appreciated. From the study the most cited obstacles to reconciliation in the district are advocates of genocide ideology, poverty, ignorance and people who have not yet transcended the Hutu- Tutsi identity.

Regarding justice, the survivors are not satisfied with the punishments given to genocide related crimes. They particularly disapprove of the ICTR and the sentences pronounced by this court. All the ten Survivor respondents acknowledged that corruption is a serious concern in the smooth running of Gacaca jurisdiction. It involves direct bribery, favoritism and clientelism. To make matters worse, it involves judges who are supposed to be people of integrity. The respondents however appreciate the Gacaca jurisdiction as a restorative traditional system of justice which is capable of reconciling the community as long as it is well managed. As a means to unity and reconciliation, justice still has long way to go.

The researchers observes that, reconciliation is a process that requires the knitting together the torn social fabric, healing wounds, rebuilding a sense of togetherness and creation of institutions that promote National unity, National security, well organized political and socioeconomic governance. For unity and reconciliation to succeed, the culture of impunity has to be eradicated through reconciliatory justice. In order to deal effectively with the past, reconciliation must be everybody's concern and therefore every body's input is necessary. Reconciling survivors living side by side with genocide perpetrators is a delicate issue especially when some perpetrators show no remorse. The process has to be locally driven, people - centered and popularly owned if it has to succeed.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study identified some of the obstacles to reconciliation as some perpetrators who are not apologetic of their role and instead preach genocide ideology. Reconciliation in the district as well as in the country at large will depend upon the adoption of sound strategies which anchor on priority issues that include: eradication of the root causes of the genocide, efficient and coordinated management of consequences of genocide, the enforcement of good governance, poverty reduction, and eradication of ignorance by enforcing formal and informal education, establishing the rule of law and entrenching the fundamental principles of equity, democracy and respect of human rights in general. To achieve these strategies several recommendations are suggested.

In the findings, it is clear that the old generation of both Hutu and Tutsi are not easy to reconcile. It was further revealed that perpetrators above 50 years of age still harbor and promote genocide ideology long after the genocide took place. It is therefore recommended that intensive sensitization is carried specifically for this age group with a view to tone down their extremism. It has been observed that children born after genocide can only carry the ideology of hostility because they are induced by this old generation hence passing on this cancerous way of thinking.

Survivor respondents in the findings pointed out the fact that during Gacaca trials, many perpetrators refuse to confess, tell the truth or plead guilty. This poses problems to the reconciliation process in two ways: Firstly, the survivors can not forgive those who have neither pleaded guilty nor told the truth about how they killed their kinsmen and it also becomes difficult for the perpetrators to ask for forgiveness. Secondly, one of the main objectives of Gacaca courts is to bring out the truth about what happened during genocide. There should be prior sensitization of the perpetrators on the importance of 'truth-telling' while they are still in prison.

It was observed from the findings that some Gacaca judges are accused of protecting their kinsmen during court hearings, others are accused of being corrupted by top government officials to cover up their role during the genocide. In such incidences, it

is recommended that those judges and government officials found out should be severely punished and their punishment serve as deterrent against further abuse or manipulation. Severe punishment should also be meted out to those released perpetrators who seek to kill evidence by killing survivors or threatening witnesses.

The research findings indicate that survivors remain bitter since they perceive their poverty to be attributable to the fact that their property and human resources was destroyed and that those who killed them lost nothing and today they can be compensated neither by the genocidaires nor by Government. This drives them to being hostile to both perpetrators and the government and makes reconciliation difficult. It is recommended that the government finds a lasting solution as far as compensating survivors is concerned. One of the sources of such compensation would be to retrieve funds from the community-interest work being carried out by released genocide perpetrators.

In the findings, it was pointed out that one way of reducing suspicion and enhance reconciliation process would be to encourage released perpetrators to actively participate in the mobilization process as 'Abakangurambaga' or peace volunteers. This would be achieved by deliberate efforts to encourage released perpetrators to attend 'peace volunteers' Ingando workshops by NURC. These workshops would not only benefit released perpetrators but generally mobilize the entire Hutu community to recognize the importance of commemoration of genocide in the country (period between April-July each year). This period has been noted as a time for heightened tension between Hutu and Tutsi.

Another area of contention is the hearing of rape cases during the Gacaca proceedings. Rwandan culture makes it difficult for both survivor women and those who raped them during genocide to come out forthrightly and tell the truth about how rape cases were conducted. It is therefore recommended that rape proceedings be heard in camera or out of public in order to ease revelations versus cultural barriers.

The research findings quoted NGOs' observation on negative attitudes towards participation in the reconciliation efforts by the elite; rich people, self employed, teachers, church leaders and some government officials. They were described as 'unconcerned on-lookers'. Since the elite are opinion leaders especially in the villages, it is recommended that the government through NURC identifies such elements in society and emphasize their role in building reconciliation among the communities.

It was found out that one of NURC's mandates is educating about and mobilizing the community in support of unity and reconciliation. It is recommended that, NURC introduces mechanisms to assess and evaluate the impact of its activities and the extent to which it has managed to influence communities towards the National unity and reconciliation. This would reduce her dependence on information from local leadership which in some cases gets distorted by those who wish to be quoted as successful. It is recommended that NURC decentralizes this activity by putting in place staffs and resources at sector levels.

The study revealed that the Bugesera district is one of the poorest in the country partly due to negligence by the past regimes. Therefore, effective reconciliation will depend on fair distribution of the district resources and support from the government to enhance poverty eradication and improve the living conditions of the local population. It is recommended that existing efforts by government and NGO's be reinforced with a view to make social welfare a long term solution to conflict amongst the people of Bugesera.

It has been observed that a lot of attention and efforts be directed at the eradication of ignorance. Ignorance erodes the process of unity and reconciliation in the district since at times people are unable to take independent decisions and actions on matters that affect their socio-economic livelihood. In Rwanda, ignorance has offered fertile ground to political manipulation in the past. Ignorance is a serious source of poverty and poverty is one of the causes of conflict. In the district ignorant people attribute

cases of death especially from HIV/AIDS to witchcraft by neighbors. This state of affairs fuels suspicion and results into tensions and violence. It is recommended that the youth be encouraged to go to school to attain at least formal education in order to offset the above problem.

The economy in Bugesera district is anchored on crop production and rising of cattle. Land issue presents a serious problem and is another major source of community conflict which should be addressed if reconciliation has to flourish. So one way of building reconciliation is to settle the community in villages so that land is worked on communally through cooperatives where every body will benefit equally from the land.

It was pointed out by all respondents, and indeed from the researcher's observation that part of the population is still bent on sectarian tendencies and harbor genocide ideology. It is difficult to detect such negative feelings and perception and therefore difficult to punish. Long term strategies to reduce these tensions should be strengthened. One of the strategies that will reduce the sectarian and hatred issues would be to invest in early teaching of the young generation which was not involved in genocide or witnessed it.

Another way to enhance reconciliation is to develop education curricula from Primary to University levels emphasizing original Rwandan values and virtues that promote oneness, brotherhood and a common heritage. The Rwandese cultural heritage revolved around values of solidarity and integrity rather than divisionism. It is recommended that such virtues be made part of the education programs for the future generation.

It is recommended that an institute of peace studies be established in the country so that human resources are available to spread the gospel of peace. It is important to teach the next generations to analyse symptoms of violent conflicts, to find their root causes and address these root causes with moral as well as rational decisions.

Since it was found out that media played a big role in the conduct of genocide in the country, it is recommended that media be correctly used as a tool of enhancing reconciliation. Local media or any other form of communication which exposes the population to the benefits of reconciliation efforts in the district should be identified and utilized in sensitizing the population on positive values. The local Government and NGOs should encourage and support such media through Arts and Drama to portray the bad past and pass messages that promote reconciliation and living in harmony amongst the people of Bugesera district in particular and Rwanda in general.

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Annex: Questionnaires

Annex 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DISTRICT OFFICIALS

I. Identification

- a. Administration post held in the district-----
- b. Period of service in the district-----
- c. Age-----

II. Guidelines

You are requested to answer all the questions and you are assured that your personal opinions and views will be treated with confidentiality.

II. Questions

- a. What reconciliation measures do you undertake in your District?
- b. What measures are in place to protect the genocide survivors?
- c. How many perpetrators has the Gacaca traditional courts released so far?
- d. What other ideas would you suggest to enhance reconciliation process in the District?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Annex 2 : QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SURVIVORS

I. Identification:

- a. Locality-----
- b. Occupation-----
- c. Age-----

II. Guidelines:

You are requested to answer all the questions and you are assured that your opinions and views will be treated with high confidentiality.

III. Questions

- a. What reconciliation measures are undertaken by Government, churches and NGOs in your community?
- b. As a survivor, do you appreciate those measures?
- c. What have been the benefits to you of these reconciliation efforts?
- d. Do you appreciate the NURC's programmes towards reconciliation of your community?
- e. What other reconciliation measures do you deem necessary?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Annex 3: Interview Questions for perpetrators who were released by Gacaca courts

I. Identification

- a. Locality-----
- b. Age-----
- c. Occupation-----

II. Guidelines

You are requested to answer all questions and I assure you that your opinion and views will be treated with highest confidentiality.

III. Questions

- a. What reconciliation measures are being undertaken in your area by government, churches and NGOs?
- b. How do you appreciate these reconciliation measures?
- c. What is your experience of Gacaca courts?
- d. In your opinion, what more should be done to enhance unity and reconciliation process in Bugesera?

Annex 4: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHURCHES AND NGOs

I. Identification

- a. Name of the CNGO-----
- b. Local NGO/INGO

II. Guidelines

You are requested to answer all the questions and you are assured that your opinions will be treated with highest confidentiality.

III. Questions

- a. What reconciliation activities do you carry out in the district?
- b. How does your church/NGO support the government in reconciliation programme in the district?
- c. What challenges have you met in reconciling the communities which were affected by genocide?
- d. What is your opinion about Gacaca courts?
- e. In your opinion, what more efforts should be considered to enhance unity and reconciliation efforts by the government?

Thank you for your cooperation.



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12 DECEMBER 2008

MR. K KAREGYE (205526874)
ECONOMICS & FINANCE

Dear Mr. Karegye


ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0823/08M

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been approved for the following project:

"Living together after genocide: A case study of reconciliation efforts in Bugesera District, Rwanda after 1994 Genocide"

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years

Yours faithfully


.....
MS. PHUMELELE XIMBA

cc. Supervisor (Prof. GT Harris)
cc. Mrs. C Haddon