



**COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTER FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF TRUTH TELLING TO RECONCILIATION IN POST
GENOCIDE RWANDA: A CASE OF KIMONYI RECONCILIATION VILLAGE**

A thesis submitted to the University of Rwanda in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Award of a Master degree of Arts in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation.

By

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DEDICATION

With love and gratitude, I dedicate this Master's thesis to:

My family, brothers, sisters and friends;

My lovely late parents who contributed to my efforts. Their dearest dream has become a reality.

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I am thankful to the Almighty God for giving me the gift of life and guidance, especially during this project.

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ABSTRACT

Rwanda has invested a lot in reconciling Rwandans after the Genocide against the Tutsi, which tore the social fabric, in the country. The forums to ease truth telling in the country were established and in 25 years after the Genocide, genocide perpetrators and survivors are able to live in one village known as a reconciliation village. This is a great achievement if we consider the extent to which the genocide tore the Social fabric and here a question comes in. What was the contribution of truth telling to this reconciliation? This study explored the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation from genocide survivors and perpetrators' perspective in post-genocide Rwanda.

A qualitative approach was used whereby 25 respondents were purposively selected from The KIMONYI Reconciliation Village and interviewed. The study used semi-structured interviews and documentary to collect data and a hermeneutic interpretative analysis for data analysis and interpretation.

The study has shown that truth telling played and continues to play a big role in reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. It removes confusion about what happened, it qualifies the offence committed, it prevents denial and revisionism of the genocide. It identifies perpetrators and the victims. It provides information with the victims about what happened to their loved ones. The findings revealed that Confessions, remorse, apology and forgiveness played a very big role. It eased the process of prosecuting offenders; it removed suspicion among the people from the perpetrator and victim groups. It also reassures victims that perpetrators have now renounced to evil. In addition, it relieves perpetrators who apologise. Furthermore, forgiving relieves and heals. It prevents survivors from grudge and vengeance, and increases trust, confidence, and fosters social cohesion. As far as testimonies are concerned, the research has found that they heal survivors; and help in young generation education. However, they could cause post-traumatic stress disorders to not only those who give their testimonies but also other people because they do not digest information the same way.

The study findings asserted that truth telling contributed and continues to contribute much on reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. However, its side effects should not be ignored and therefore should be dealt with by competent institutions.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives the background of the study and introduces the problem statement. It presents the objectives and research questions and highlights the significance as well as the rationale of the study among others.

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, countries that experienced violent conflicts always sought to undergo conflict resolutions and peacebuilding processes. Rwanda was no exception. Rwanda experienced the worst Genocide in the twentieth century that killed more than one million people and more than 250,000 women raped (Nyseth Brehm, Uggen and Gasanabo, 2014, p.1). Also, more than one million people participated in the Genocide (Mukantaganzwa, 2012, p.98). These atrocities tore the social fabric, political and economic structures in the country, and this left many orphans, widows, with wounds, and more than three million Rwandans fled the country mostly to DRC and Tanzania (N. H. Brehm, Uggen and Gasanabo, 2014; Kubai, 2016). After the Genocide, the government of National Unity that was established on July 19th, 1994, had the challenge to reconcile Rwandans after such atrocities. It established different programs that aimed at reconciling Rwandans including Gacaca Courts whose objectives were “Revealing the truth about Genocide; Speeding up Genocide trials; Fighting against the culture of impunity; Contributing to national reconciliation, and prove Rwanda’s Capacity to solve its own problems “(Mukantaganzwa 2012, p.33). The main theme of these Gacaca Courts was *Ukuri Kurakiza*, which means, “Truth Heals”. These traditionally inspired courts gave the forum to know the truth on the Genocide, how it was planned, organised and implemented; who were the victims and perpetrators, who got killed and who killed them (Mukantaganzwa, 2012). Twenty-five years later, genocide perpetrators and survivors are able to live in one village

known as a reconciliation village. This is a great achievement if we consider the extent to which the genocide tore the social fabric. Hence, this study aims at exploring the extent to which truth telling contributes to reconciliation from genocide survivors and perpetrators perspective in post-genocide Rwanda.

1.2. TRUTH TELLING

The International Community have been using truth-telling about past grave human rights violation as a starting point to end conflict, upheaval or injustice(Reconciliation Australia, 2017, §1). In this context, since the 1970s, more than 30 truth and reconciliation commissions, have been established in countries around the world(Nigel, 2003). Truth telling after violent conflicts has been judged important if not necessary in transitional justice.

Truth telling, as some scholars argue, can minimise the suffering of the oppressed or and survivors by providing facts about grave human rights violations and perpetrators of the abuses (Zalaquett, 1990). It can counter and prevent certain forms of denial and may also provide reparations for those who were not implicated in crimes (Zalaquett, 1990; Dyzenhaus, 2002a). In post-violence societies, individual victims and survivors often find it hard to continue normal business if they do not know the facts of the dark past. In addition, in political spheres wrongdoing is frequently officially denied (H. N. Brehm, Uggen and Gasanabo, 2014) and here truth telling plays a big role to address this.

1.3. RECONCILIATION

After mass violence, reconciliation is seen as a political imperative an obliged passage for the survival of the society. In such a context, reconciliation does not necessarily lead to improved relationships, but it is about connecting with others. It appears also as a

political goal, which leads to distinguish between political reconciliation and community reconciliation (Lederach, 1997). In societies traumatized by violence, victims consider reconciliation as a password between politicians, and thus an imposed concept. Many questions arise: Why reconciliation? Who reconciles with whom? Who is qualified to reconcile? Who should make the first step? Who will benefit from reconciliation? What does it mean?

In some instances, reconciliation is perceived as forgive and forget. Within this viewpoint, reconciliation is seen as a method to cover up the past, preserve the status quo and prevent the attainment of justice (Nigel, 2003). Some researchers argue that even more important than a sense of justice is a mutual commitment to move forward into a shared future. The likelihood of such an attitude increases considerably if people “believe things are moving in the right direction and that the past will not return”(Lederach, 1997; Dyzenhaus, 2002b). This does not mean forgetting, but learning to live with it in such a manner that it does not determine the future.

1.4. KIMONYI RECONCILIATION VILLAGE

The Reconciliation Village, which is located in the cells of Birira and Buramira in the sector of Kimonyi in MUSANZE district, is mainly home to survivors of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, ex-combatants of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and former convicts of Genocide crimes who have already served their sentences. This village is among the eight similar villages established in four districts (BUGESERA, KAYONZA, KAMONYI and MUSANZE) which aim at fostering social cohesion among genocide survivors and former convicts. It was put up in 2000 and consists of 183 households.

1.5. TRUTH TELLING AND RECONCILIATION

According to (Desmond *et al.*, 1998; Dyzenhaus, 2002b; Annelies, 2008; Natalya, 2012; Hulme, 2014; Kubai, 2016; Reconciliation Australia, 2017), truth telling provide answers to serious questions that people ask themselves after mass violence “such as what precisely happened to the victims. Who exactly committed the violent act? Who was the mastermind of the violence?” Was the state involved? Who gave the order? Where are the bodies buried? This is often done through both apologies and memorials, “which reveal a troublesome past with the suggestion of an emotional reaction to that past, such as remorse, regret or grief. Yet, even without such emotional content, the communication of the facts of the past can play a role in reconciliation” (Nigel, 2003; Erin and Jeremy, 2007; Hulme, 2014; Stanford University, 2015). It is obvious that truth telling not only contributes to reconciliation directly but also influences most of other factors that lead to reconciliation.

1.6. THE GAP IDENTIFIED IN THE LITERATURE

There is a rich theoretical literature on the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in post-conflict societies (Nigel, 2003; Zorbas, 2004; Janine Natalya, 2012; Hulme, 2014). Yet little is known with empirical evidence on the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in post-Genocide societies (Kubai, 2016) and research by Karen Brounéus challenged the claim that truth heals and argued that Truth Telling was associated with psychological ill-health on victims who suffered atrocities (Brounéus, 2008a, 2008b, 2010). However, Brouneus limited the research to psychological aspects of Truth Telling and failed to shade light on other aspects of truth telling. This shows that there is still a gap between the theory and the practice on the ground in relation to the contribution of truth telling and reconciliation relationship in post conflict societies.

This study aims at exploring the contribution of truth telling to Reconciliation in the post-Genocide Rwanda, using a case of Kimonyi Reconciliation Village, in MUSANZE District.

1.7. PROBLEM STATEMENT

There is a gorgeous literature on the importance of truth telling for reconciliation in post-conflict societies (Nigel, 2003; Zorbas, 2004; Nets-Zehngut, 2007; Plath, 2010; Janine Natalya, 2012; Hulme, 2014). The main belief for this is that “truth telling is cathartic or healing for individuals and society and thereby will advance reconciliation” (Brounéus, 2010, p.1). The slogans that truth heals was common in both the South African Truth Commission and the Gacaca Courts in Rwanda (Brounéus, 2008a; NURC, 2010; Mukantaganzwa, 2012; Hulme, 2014; Kubai, 2016). In this way, After the Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government of Rwanda has put in place different forums for people to tell the truth, including Gacaca Courts (Mukantaganzwa, 2012; Kubai, 2016), aiming at reconciling Rwandans. In addition, genocide convicts continue to tell the truth in public and confess and apologize in the line of reconciliation.

Yet little is known with empirical evidence on the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in post-Genocide societies (Brounéus, 2008b, 2010; Kubai, 2016). Even two empirical studies conducted in Rwanda by Karen Brounéus that investigated the claim that truth really heals and then leads to reconciliation found out that truth telling was associated with psychological ill health on victims who suffered atrocities. In addition, the two studies focused only on psychological effect of truth telling on victims who suffered atrocities (Brounéus, 2008b, 2010), and limited the research to shed light on other aspects of truth telling. Ignoring the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation process may lead to misplacement of focus in building reconciliation in Rwanda or elsewhere.

Therefore, evidence-based extent to which truth telling contributes to the reconciliation is needed to inform reconciliation related policies. I will thus assess the contribution of truth telling aspects to reconciliation in post-Genocide Rwanda.

1.8. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.8.1. General objective

The general objective of this study is to explore the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda from genocide survivors and perpetrators perspectives.

1.8.2. Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- a) To explore the relationship between public acknowledgement of responsibilities in the Genocide and reconciliation
- b) To examine the role of Remorse and repentance of perpetrators and forgiveness by survivors on reconciliation
- c) To explore the role of testimonies on reconciliation process after the genocide against the Tutsi.

1.9. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.9.1. General question

To what extent does truth telling contribute to reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda?

1.9.2. Specific questions

- a) Does public acknowledgement of responsibilities in the Genocide contribute to reconciliation?
- b) What is the contribution of Remorse and repentance of perpetrators and forgiveness by survivors on reconciliation?

- c) What is the role of testimonies on reconciliation process after genocide against the Tutsi?

1.10. RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE AND RATIONALE

The results of the study are believed to inform the policy makers in formulation of reconciliation programs. In addition, the recommendations from this study will inform Rwanda Correctional Service in rehabilitation and reintegration of genocide convicts before they are released after they have completed their sentences. The study will also provide reconciliation stakeholders with practical recommendations to foster the reconciliation processes.

There has been rich theoretical literature of the contribution of truth telling on reconciliation. However there are few or limited empirical evidence to support these theories. This study aims at understanding the role of truth telling in reconciliation from perceptive views of Genocide survivors and perpetrators from the reality on the ground 25 years after a Genocide. This study is expected to contribute to the world of academic field and further research.

1.11. SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF STUDY

This study is designed to explore the contribution of Truth telling on reconciliation in Post Genocide Rwanda from Genocide Survivors and perpetrators perspectives. The study will interview the residents of Kimonyi Reconciliation village in MUSANZE District, Western province, Rwanda. The main limitation of this study is that it only interviewed residents of one reconciliation village in eight due to time and resources constraints.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews literature that different authors have articulated on both variables truth telling and reconciliation. It also lays out, explains the framework the researcher will adopt to study the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in a post Genocide Society from genocide survivors, and convicts perspectives.

2.2. CONCEPTS CLARIFICATION

This study involves two variables. Truth telling as an independent variable and reconciliation as dependant variable. To elaborate more in studying the nexus between these two variables the following conceptual framework will guide the author to set operational definitions of concepts. In addition, it is noteworthy to note that there are intervening variables that support the truth to contribute to reconciliation. They include accountability, apology and forgiveness, handling material needs for victims, binding forces, reparations, social justice, security, time and effective leadership to name a few. This framework guided the author in elaborating more with the aim to explore the link between the two variables and through consultation of relevant literature. It will also help to find suitable theories to explain phenomena about the independent and dependant variables.

2.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This subsection discusses the existing literature that explains the variables in the topic and associated constructs. It also reviews the literature, which establishes the link between truth telling and reconciliation

2.3.1. Truth telling

War, ethnic cleansing and genocide affect almost everyone. “Entire societies are victimized, civil institutions are destroyed, and the social fabric severely destroyed” (Lederach, 1997, p.3). Addressing issues resulting from such atrocities requires “strategies

of social transformation aimed at rebuilding the shattered political, economic, and social relationship characteristic of prolonged conflict” (Hamber, 2001, p.1). In this regard, reconciliation and truth commissions have been established in different countries to deal with past injustices. Many authors assert that “such institutions can promote reconciliation, outline necessary reforms; allow victims to air their pain, provide acknowledgment of a long-suppressed past, and keep abuses from being repeated” (Lederach, 1997; Colvin, 2002; Freeman and Hayner, 2003; Nigel, 2003; Erin and Jeremy, 2007; Kubai, 2016). Worldwide there have been more than 34 such Truth and Reconciliation Commissions(Nigel, 2003)

Truth refers to the information or knowledge of what happened during violations. The SA Truth Commission identified four main types of truth as reported in Desmond et al., (1998, p.15):

- a) The factual or objective truth: based on evidence collected or received.
- b) The personal or narrative truth: through the truth telling of their own stories, both victims and perpetrators give meaning to their multi-layered experience.
- c) Social or dialogical truth: truth experience that is experienced through interaction, discussion and debate.
- d) Healing and restorative truth: the truth that has to contribute to heal the damage inflicted in the past and to look to the future.

Truth telling, as some scholars argue, can minimise the suffering of the oppressed or and survivors by providing facts about grave human rights violations and perpetrators of the abuses (Zalaquett, 1990). It can counter and prevent certain forms of denial and may also provide reparations for those who were not implicated in crimes (Zalaquett, 1990; Dyzenhaus, 2002a). In post-violence societies, individual victims and survivors often find it hard to continue normal business if they do not know the facts of the dark past. In addition,

in political spheres wrongdoing is frequently officially denied (H. N. Brehm, Uggen and Gasanabo, 2014) and here truth telling plays a big role to address this.

In addition, Truth commissions can, through their reports, provide facts of past injustices and issue recommendations to prevent such abuses in the future.

1.3.1.1. Operational definition for truth telling

From the literature, I failed to find a straightforward definition of truth telling in the context of conflict transformation. Instead, it is described, focusing on its role in reconciling former disputants after conflicts. From the literature, I have established an operational definition for the purpose of this study as follows:

Truth telling is defined as processes, forums and procedures to identify and disseminate the facts about grave human rights violations such as violent conflict, war crimes or genocide aiming at bringing together the former disputants to shape together a more stable and peaceful future.

2.3.2. Reconciliation

Reconciliation has become a need to do practice in post-violence societies. Generally, after a country has gone through a conflict there is a need to start a new journey in peaceful coexistence of former disputants. Although reconciliation has been discussed much in literature, there has been no consensus on defining reconciliation. This is probably “due to the fact that reconciliation is both a goal – something to achieve, – and a process – a means to achieve that goal” (Bloomfield, 2003, p.12). Moreover, the complexity to define reconciliation emanates from the fact that it happens in different contexts, for example, “between husband and wife, offender and victim, between friends who have disagreed as

well as between nations or communities that have fought”(Bloomfield, 2003, p.12). This shows that context is the central essence in defining reconciliation.

There has been a discourse to define reconciliation and it has created divergent understanding among different schools of thought. For example, some authors defined reconciliation “as goal/outcome, or as a process, while others consider the concept to be both a goal and a process”(Kostić, 2007, p.3). Others consider reconciliation as “both a focus and a place” (Lederach 1999,p.30), while Borer (2006) as cited in Sentama (2009, p. 30) asserts that “ reconciliation occurs at many dimensions which are spiritual, personal, relational and social, structural and ecological”.

Different authors have defined reconciliation differently. For Karen, reconciliation is defined as “a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace”(Karen, 2003,p.3).

On the other hand, Bloomfield defines Reconciliation as:

“An over-arching process, which includes the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so on. At its simplest, it means finding a way to live alongside former enemies - not necessarily to love them, or forgive them, or forget the past in any way, but to coexist with them, to develop the degree of cooperation necessary to share our society with them, so that we all have better lives together than we have had separately” (Bloomfield, 2003, p.12)

According to Jean Paul Lederach, reconciliation process deals with three main paradoxes:

“First, reconciliation promotes an encounter between the open expression of the painful past, on the one hand, and the search for the articulation of a long-term, interdependent future, on the other hand. Second, reconciliation provides a place for truth and mercy to meet, where concerns for exposing what has happened and for letting go in favour of renewed relationship are validated and embraced. Third, reconciliation recognizes the need to give time and place to both justice and peace, where redressing the wrong is held together with the envisioning of a common, connected future.”(Lederach 1999,p.31)

2.3.2.1. Visions of reconciliation

Various definitions have led the literature to group reconciliation into three main visions:

a) The minimalist vision

With this vision, reconciliation is seen as the abandon of revengeful feelings (Volf, 2010). Generally, as Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse (2003, p. 18) put it, “when the violence stops, the first step away from hatred, hostility and bitterness is the achievement of non-violent coexistence between the antagonist individuals and groups”. This means at a minimum looking for alternatives to revenge as “at the lowest level coexistence implies no more than a willingness not to kill one another - a case of walking by on the other side of the street”.(Charles Villa-Vicencio cited in Huyse, 2003, p.19).

b) Intermediary vision:

This vision of reconciliation vision understands reconciliation as process, which takes time to happen (Sluzki, 2010).

According to Huyse, reconciliation goes through three main stages: “Replacing Fear by Non-Violent Coexistence, Building Confidence and Trust between former enemies and fostering Empathy”(Huyse, 2003, pp.19-21). Huyse clarifies between ideal reconciliation,

which prevents, once for all, the use of the past as the seed of renewed conflict and practical reconciliation, which is not easy to realise. For this author, he acknowledges reconciliation as a process, and it is not linear process meaning that its stages do not always follow logically after each other in any set order. In this context, Huysse has shed light on the three stages of reconciliation.

Stage one: Replacing Fear by Non-Violent Coexistence. For this stage, when the violence stops, the first step away from hatred, hostility and bitterness is the achievement of non-violent coexistence between the antagonist individuals and groups.

Stage two: When Fear No Longer Rules: Building Confidence and Trust
Then, in due course, coexistence evolves towards a relation of trust. This second stage in the process requires that each party, both the victim and the offender, gain-renewed confidence in himself or herself and in each other. It also entails believing that humanity is present in every man and woman: an acknowledgement of the humanity of others is the basis of mutual trust and opens the door for the gradual arrival of a sustainable culture of non-violence

For Stage three: which is Towards Empathy, comes with the victims' willingness to listen to the reasons for the hatred of those who caused their pain and with the offenders' understanding of the anger and bitterness of those who suffered.

It is however important to notice that, Empathy does not necessarily lead to a fully harmonious society or to national unity. Conflicts and controversy are part of all human communities. One way to make this possible is the work of truth commissions, sifting fact from fiction, truth from myth (Govier and Verwoerd, 2002; Hulme, 2014; Reconciliation Australia, 2017). In addition, such commissions may lead to an official acknowledgement of the injustice inflicted. More important still is the recognition that victims and offenders

share a common identity, as survivors and as human beings, and simply have to get on with each other.

c) The maximalist vision

The maximalist vision of reconciliation sees reconciliation as the re-establishment of trust and relationship between former enemies .According to Worthington (2001) as cited in (Kelley and Waldron, 2006, p.302), “reconciliation is the restoration of trust in relationship where trust has been violated and involves not just forgiveness but also many other ways of reducing unforgiveness”.

2.3.2.2. Process of reconciliation

A deep analysis considers reconciliation as long-term process. This means that there is no quick fix to reconciliation. It takes time; its own time and its pace cannot be dictated. Reconciliation is also a deep process that involves a coming to terms with an imperfect reality, which demands changes in our attitudes, our aspirations, our emotions and feelings, perhaps even our beliefs. Such profound change is a vast and often painful challenge, and cannot be rushed or imposed (Surbone, 1997).

In addition, reconciliation is a very broad process, which applies to everyone. It is not just a process for those who suffered directly and those who inflicted the suffering, central though those people are(Bloomfield, 2003). The attitudes and beliefs that underpin violent conflict spread much more generally through a community and must be addressed at that broad level. In this perspective, while there is a crucial individual element to reconciliation, there is also a community-wide element that demands a questioning of the attitudes, prejudices and negative stereotypes that we all develop about “the enemy” during violent conflict (Govier and Verwoerd, 2002).

This is because our definition of the enemy is rarely limited to a few politicians or fighters, but rather grows to encompass a whole community (e.g., Palestinians’, or “Irish Protestants” or “Tutsi”, or “Hutu”) or a regime and all its supporters (Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse 2003, p.12)

To fully understand the process of reconciliation Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse (2003, p.12) pointed out what reconciliation is and what it is not as follows:

Reconciliation is not:

- an excuse for impunity;
- only an individual process;
- in opposition to/an alternative to truth or justice;
- a quick answer;
- a religious concept;
- perfect peace;
- an excuse to forget; nor
- a matter of merely forgiving.

Reconciliation is:

- finding a way to live that permits a vision of the future;
- the (re)building of relationships;
- coming to terms with past acts and enemies;
- a society-wide, long-term process of deep change;
- a process of acknowledging, remembering, and learning from the past; and
- Voluntary and cannot be imposed.

2.3.2.3. Ingredients of reconciliation

The process of reconciliation is complex and requires many conditions or ingredients for it to occur. There is an endless range of elements that the literature considers as

ingredients of reconciliation. This subsection highlights the most important available in literature (Nets-Zehngut, 2007; Janine, 2012; Natalya, 2012).

a) Accountability

Accountability is very crucial after grave violations of human rights, if a country wishes to move forward. Although it is impossible to prosecute all offenders after mass violence, for the sake of reconciliation and sustainable peace, it is imperative that perpetrators of grave violations of human rights be held accountable to end the culture of impunity.

Occasionally, for the purpose of effectiveness, domestic courts are supplemented by International or Hybrid courts (using national and international judges) which should only be considered if domestic courts are unable or unwilling to conduct effective investigations or prosecutions;

b) Reparations

Reparations programs are of paramount importance in re-building war-torn societies. They are for victims, the “most tangible manifestation of state’s efforts to remedy the harms they have suffered because, practically, criminal justice is a struggle against perpetrators rather than an effort on behalf of victims” (Magarrell and Filippini, 2006, p.36)

After mass violence, Even if truth recovery is equally important to address the need to know of what happened to the loved ones and a sense of satisfaction from the official acknowledgement of that fate, “with the absence of other positive and tangible manifestations, truth by itself can be easily considered an empty gesture, cheap and inconsequential talk” (Magarrell and Filippini, 2006, p.36).

In the eyes of victims, to pursue cheap reconciliation means to put up with oppression: “reconciliation without a cost, without reparation is asking victims/survivors to become accomplices in their own oppression, to become servants of the devil” (Volf, 1998,p.45).

Reparations aim to repair the suffering of victims of human rights abuses and seek to make amends with victims, help them overcome the consequences of abuse, and provide rehabilitation. They may include financial payments, social services including healthcare or education, or symbolic compensation such as public apologies.

c) Security

A transition to peace or democracy implies that war or overt conflict has ended. When threats of violence continue, reconciliation may not take root. Where there is no security, members of formerly antagonistic entities will not believe they are safe from physical injury. Security therefore is key to reconciliation as Luke Huyse put it, “security is a pre-condition for reconciliation” since no dialog is possible when violence continues.

d) Apology and Forgiveness

‘To be social is to be forgiving ’, Frost, Robert, 1979.

Reconciliation requires that perpetrators apologise for past harm done and the decision about whether to grant forgiveness is left to victims/survivors. Official recognition of the facts of the past can be crucial to the process of societal healing. In most of the cases, victims often say that they cannot forgive their perpetrators, and have no desire or ability to reconcile, until those who caused them pain acknowledge their acts, and ideally, ask for forgiveness(Tutu, 1999; American Psychological Association, 2006; Hornsey and Wohl, 2013).

For apology to be effective, the perpetrators' acknowledgement of the harm caused should go beyond generalities or implied justifications; a statement from authorities that « errors were made » is not sufficient. This acknowledgement should contain the admission that past actions were wrong or unjust, and is a way in which groups take responsibility of the past. Here a significant political problem can be deciding who, if any, can apologize for the actions of people who are no longer in power or are now dead (Macaskill, Maltby and Day, 2002).

According to (Auerbach, 2005, p.15), the transaction of asking for and giving forgiveness presupposes the following:

- the recognition of the commission of an evil act by one agent against another;
 - the effort of the victim to repair the relationship fractured by the evil and
 - The willingness of offenders to acknowledge their offenses, which is the repentance side of the transaction, which is the condition for moving on toward a reconciliation.
- e) Binding forces

In some circumstances, it may be helpful to encourage projects that bring opposing parties together for joint gain, such as development or reconstruction programs. In order to encourage reconciliation, the question of how to create or re-create such links should be addressed. It is believed that cooperative activities in the economic and social spheres can make significant contributions.

“By establishing crosscutting ties, common interests, and personal relations, cooperative activities can help stabilize and cement a new peaceful relationship and create commitments, habits, and expectations consistent with maintaining and perpetuating peaceful coexistence”(Sentama, 2009, p.75).

The emphasis must be put on interactions that have a genuine functional value in meeting the real, interdependent needs of the two groups. Interaction must be based on an awareness of the sensitivities and anxieties that the other brings to the relationship and commitment to cooperation on the basis of equality and reciprocity (Martha, 1998; Macaskill, Maltby and Day, 2002; Van Tongeren et al., 2014; Peterson et al., 2017; Card, 2018).

2.3.2.4. Approaches to reconciliation

Three dominant and nonexclusive approaches of reconciliation exist in the literature:

a) The structural approach

Also termed institutional approach, the structural approach gives a great weight to deep institutional and policy changes. Proponents of this approach deem the existence of such mechanisms to be crucial in creating conditions of true reconciliation. It is believed that legal protection of human rights, poverty reduction oriented policies, social justice mechanisms and institutionalized democratic procedures participate in reducing social grievances, including inequalities and thus promote social harmony. Adherents of this model tend to believe that overt reconciliation actions are not essential for equitable and enduring intercommunal accommodations.

b) The sociopsychological approach

This approach is based on the theory of contact. The theory maintains that multiplied contacts between parties to a conflict participate in the process of mutual (re)humanization. Instead of fundamental needs, this approach focuses on interpersonal relationships that are only possible through interactions. The approach suggests hearing spaces between parties, common interest projects; visits cooperatives etc.

c) The spiritual or theological approach

This approach is based on religious beliefs that reconciling with our neighbours is reconciling with God. It insists on the direct relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation. The approach focuses on abandoning vengeance subscribes to forbearance. It tries to promote collective healing through confessions and repentance, collective prayers to heal the nation, etc.

2.3.2.5. Operational definition of Reconciliation in the context of Rwanda

In the context of Rwanda, Reconciliation is understood using a holistic approach, that is, intrapersonal, interpersonal and national reconciliation that reflects the past, the present and the future of Rwanda.

In this context (NURC, 2010) defined reconciliation as cited in Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer Report 2015 as:

“a consensus practice of citizens who have common nationality, who share the same culture and have equal rights; citizens characterized by trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality, complementary roles/interdependence, truth, and healing of one another’s wounds inflicted by our [Rwanda’s] history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development.”(NURC, 2015, p.5)

Reconciliation brings about the personal healing of survivors, the reparation of past injustices, the building or rebuilding of non-violent relationships between individuals and communities, and the acceptance by the former parties to a conflict of a common vision and understanding of the past.

2.3.2.6. Dimensions of reconciliation in the context of Rwanda

a) Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future

In Rwanda, it is generally argued that one of the significant causes of its historical destructive conflicts, and particularly the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, is the way the past was understood and taught (Tiemessen, 2004; Zorbas, 2004; Brounéus, 2008a; NURC, 2015). Therefore, understanding and confronting the sources of social division can help promote reconciliation in Rwanda. A general hypothesis in this regard is that “the more Rwandans are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical social divisions, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.”(NURC, 2015, p.10)

b) Citizenship and Identity

In a simpler and broad sense, citizenship can be understood as

“a status of equal membership in a self-governing polity, as a bundle of rights and obligations attached to this status, as a shared identity in diverse societies, and as a set of civic virtues and practices that sustain political freedom and self-government”(Bauböck, 2007, p.1).

For this, the hypothesis suggests that the more there is shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship, the more the promotion of reconciliation is likely to succeed. Therefore, indicators such as national and individual identity, attitudes regarding citizenship and the prevalence of shared cultural values are among key aspects for measurement.

c) Political culture

For this dimension, the hypothesis in this regard is that “if citizens view political structures, institutions, and leadership as legitimate and effective, national reconciliation is more likely to occur”(NURC, 2015, p.10).

d) Security and wellbeing

This dimension finds its foundation on the fact that one of the primary roles of the state is to provide security for its citizens both within the nation and to ensure their protection against threats from outside, which is necessary to promote reconciliation. Therefore, “if citizens feel secure and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes”(NURC, 2015, p.11).

e) Justice, fairness and rights

This dimension considers justice, in general and beyond the sole retributive/punitive aspect, whereby truth, acknowledgment, forgiveness, healing and social justice become key aspects of reconciliation. The hypothesis in this regard contends that “if parties to conflict are convinced that they got proper justice, there is greater likelihood for reconciliation”(NURC, 2015, p.11).

f) Social cohesion

Social cohesion is believed to be the end state of all reconciliation efforts and a result of community reconciliation. This dimension sees trust as key in social cohesion. It is widely recognized that without a minimum level of inter-personal trust society would not function (Govier and Verwoerd, 2002). Social trust provides the cohesiveness needed for the development of meaningful relationships with other members of society. The hypothesis here is that “if trust, social interaction and tolerance increase between Rwandan citizens, reconciliation is more likely to occur”(NURC, 2010, p. 12).

2.3.3. Truth telling and reconciliation

Different authors have established that truth telling contributes much to reconciliation in post conflict societies. For example, Erin and Jeremy (2007) argued that revealing truth is said to help victims. They reiterated that secrecy imposes special burdens on victims. Also,

Freeman and Hayner (2003, p.122) assert the role of truth telling through a truth commission as follows:

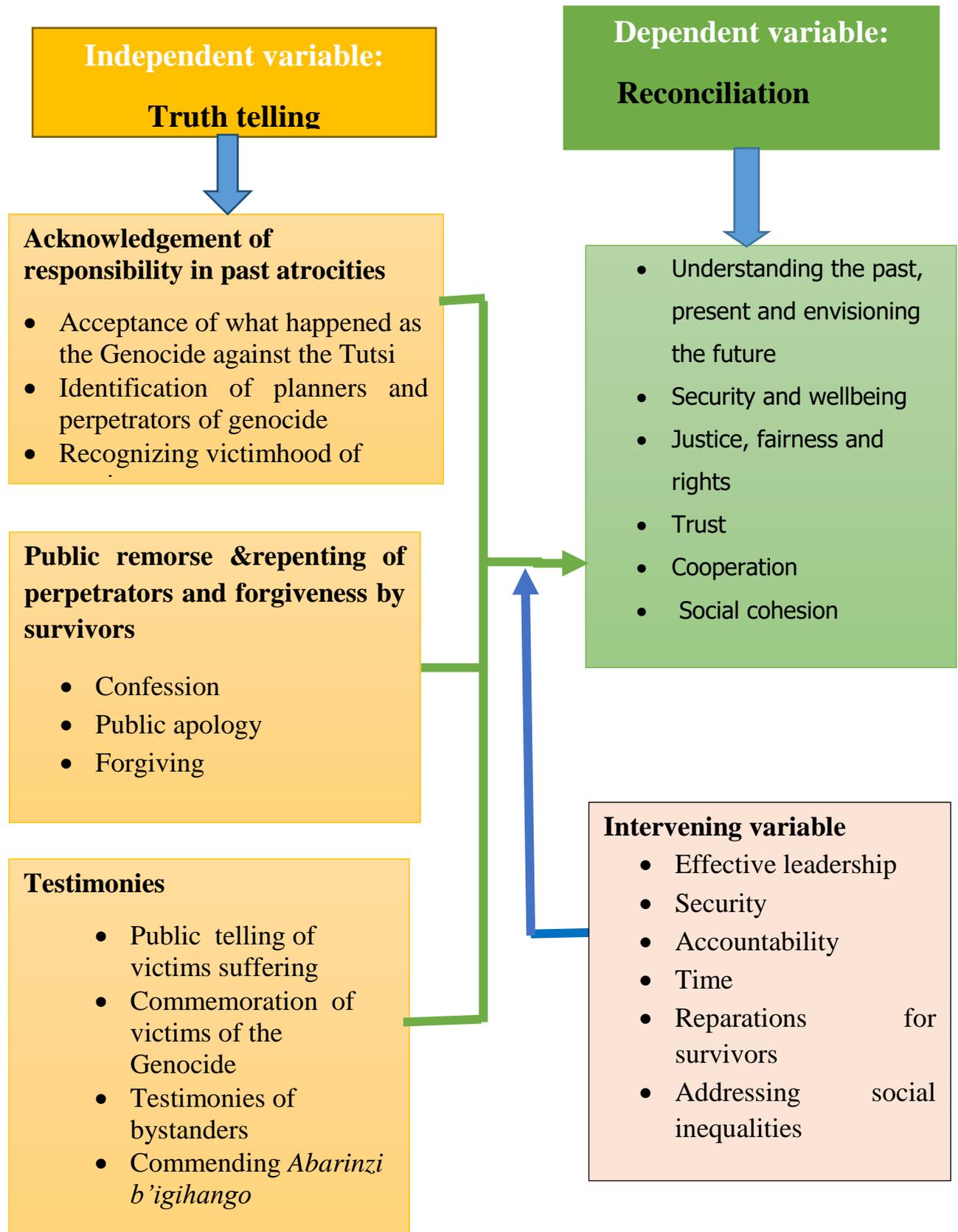
- Help establish the truth about the past;
- Promote the accountability of perpetrators of human rights violations;
- Provide a public platform for victims;
- Inform and catalyse public debate;
- Recommend victim reparation;
- Recommend necessary legal and institutional reforms;
- Promote social reconciliation; and
- Help to consolidate a democratic transition

In addition Truth-telling is also a “pre-condition of reconciliation because it creates objective opportunities for people to see the past in terms of shared suffering and collective responsibility” (Huyse, 2003, p.20).

2.3.4. Conceptual frameworks for the study or the paradigm

Drawing from the available literature on truth telling and reconciliation, the researcher hypothesised the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in the following framework

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



Source: author's truth telling and reconciliation paradigm

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. STUDY DESIGN

This study is designed to examine the extent to which truth telling contributes to reconciliation. Since it aims at exploring the research questions from genocide convicts and survivors perspectives who live in the same neighbourhood known as reconciliation village, a case study design with qualitative approach is preferred to answer the questions of this study. This is relevant because as (Bryman, 2012) highlighted, a case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. In this context a case may be institution, area, a program, or a community (Nicholas, 2011; Bryman, 2012).

My case is a community living together in reconciliation village. The qualitative approach of this study design derives from the fact that it seeks to examine the attitudes and feelings of people on the concepts of truth telling and reconciliation and different authors have argued that "...case study design often favours qualitative methods, as particularly helpful in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case"(Bryman 2012,p.68)

3.2. STUDY POPULATION

My target population is the people living in the KIMONYI reconciliation village in KINONYI sector in MUSANZE district. The Kimonyi Reconciliation village is one off the eight reconciliation village models in Rwanda where both Genocide perpetrators and survivors live side by side after reconciling. In addition, former genocide convicts living in this village have told the truth and have apologised while the Genocide survivors have given forgiveness to those who killed their loved ones. This population is chosen because of two reasons. First, this village is located in Northern Province [former RUHENGERI] where

many members of *AKAZU*¹, who contributed much to the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda (Desforges, 1999), originated. Second, this region is known for having started to commit genocide even far before the then-president Habyarimana's plane was shot down in 1994. According to (Mcdoom, 2005, p. 5) "killing Tutsi in the former Ruhengeri started in 1991 in Kinigi and Nkuli". This shows how the hatred ideology started early in this region and this motivated me to understand how the people from this area have managed to reconcile after the Genocide and I wanted to explore how they think truth telling contributes to reconciliation. This village consists of 183 households bringing together both genocide survivors and perpetrators.

3.3. SAMPLING METHODS

This study intended to collect qualitative features of truth telling and reconciliation. Because this study aims at understanding, the extent to which truth telling contributes to reconciliation, Judgement or purposive sampling method was used to identify key informants. "Judgement or purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling and its goal is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to the research question that are being posed"(Bryman, 2008, p.415). This type of sampling places research questions at the heart of the sampling considerations.

I needed to talk with knowledgeable people in the reconciliation village who have reliable information relevant to the study. I interviewed genocide perpetrators and survivors as well as bystanders.

¹ *Akazu*, which translate to "little house", was an informal organization of Hutu extremists whose members contributed strongly to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Most of them were relatives and close friends of Rwanda's then-president Juvénal Habyarimana and his influential wife Agathe Habyarimana.

3.4. SAMPLE SIZE

Sample size is about the number of participants required to provide relevant data to answer research questions and provide generalisable conclusions about a phenomenon. Generally, for qualitative approach of research, “sample size should not be so small as to make it difficult to achieve data saturation or information redundancy. At the same time, the sample should not be so large that it is difficult to undertake a deep case-oriented analysis”(Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007, p.289)

In qualitative research, the main goal in selecting respondents should be the realization of saturation. “ Saturation occurs when adding more participants to the study does not result in additional perspectives or information (Bryman,2008, p.417). Although in qualitative research the most important is the achievement of saturation, some authors suggested a sample size for some research designs. For an ethnography ,Glaser and Strauss (1967)suggested approximately 30 – 50 participants. For grounded theory, Morse (1994)suggested 30 and 50 interviews, while Creswell (1998) suggested between 20 and 30, and phenomenological studies, Creswell (2007) recommended between 5 and 25

According to local authority’s report of December 2018, the Kimonyi reconciliation village has 183 households and a total population of 500 people. Adult population (18 and above) is 40% that is 200 people. From the recommendations above, I selected respondents from 200 people (target population) until I reached saturation with 25 people. This was done in the community work activity whereby almost inhabitants of the village attended it and I was given an opportunity to explain about my research. After this, I registered those who were willing to participate. I selected and interviewed respondents until I reached saturation with 25 people.

3.5. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Since this study is qualitative, that is, needed to collect qualitative data I used two data collection methods:

3.5.1. Documentary

Consulting available document to inform my research study was relevant to my research design. First, it helped my problem statement, background to the study, and literature review and therefore informed me in identifying the gaps to formulate the rationale of the study. It also guided me in discussing the findings of the study particularly theories relating to the truth telling and reconciliation. This was done through reading relevant published journals, books, reports, speeches and theses to get available data, that is, secondary data.

3.5.2. Interviews

The interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). This is not an accident because it helps to collect much information of qualitative nature (Nicholas, 2011; Ranjit, 2014). Since my study aims at understanding the extent to which truth telling contribute to reconciliation, interview is preferred to collect necessary data to answer my research questions. In addition, interview is relevant for data collection from low skilled respondents and my respondents were ordinary people living in the village. I used semi-structured interview whereby I had an interview guide, which was in Kinyarwanda (because it is a National language in Rwanda, and ordinary people are not fluent in English). I made interview by myself and I had a research assistant to help me for clerical work. After interview, I translated the responses from Kinyarwanda to English .

3.6. DATA ANALYSIS

This study analysed qualitative data collected through interview. Qualitative data analysis can be described as “the process of making sense from research participants views and opinions of situations, corresponding patterns, themes, categories and regular similarities”(Cohen, Lawrence and Morrison, 2007, p.461).

The study used a hermeneutic interpretative analysis, taking into account the historical and cultural complexity of Rwanda. Hermeneutics seeks to understand or interpret texts (Ranjit, 2014). This analysis seeks to bring out the meaning of a text from the perspective of its author. A hermeneutical approach is suitable in my case because it facilitated me in the process of interpretation, to situate the appropriation of the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation from genocide survivors and convicts within the specific context of post-genocide Rwanda. I am persuaded that Hermeneutics analysis fits this study because I agree with Deneulin and Rakodi that

“Social reality is constituted by social practices and institutions that have meanings for those who participate in them. Knowledge is therefore socially constructed rather than being about discovering an objective reality or universal laws of cause and effect governing social phenomena” (Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011, p.51)

For this reasons, the researcher investigated how the Genocide survivors and convicts understand the contribution of truth telling in reconciliation process and therefore analysed it using hermeneutic interpretation.

3.7. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study was guided by the principles of social sciences research which include no harm, confidentiality, informed consent and no deception (Nicholas, 2011). I obtained the approval to conduct this study from the University of Rwanda and the National Police College. Permission to access the target population was given by the local governance. Participants were recruited voluntarily and had to give a verbal informed consent after getting complete explanations of the study, before they were enrolled to the program. All data collected were coded to keep the privacy and confidentiality concerning study participants. The questions that were asked in interviews considered the principle of no harm.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

This chapter presents findings from a field study on the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda from genocide convicts and survivors' perspectives. This study is a qualitative design and used semi-structured interview guide to collect data from voluntary respondents. It presents and interprets data collected from interviews conducted in KIMONYI reconciliation village using hermeneutic interpretative analysis.

4.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDY RESPONDENTS

The study respondents were 25, of which nine were men (36%) and sixteen (64%) women. Among them, seven were genocide convicts, which is 28%, six were survivors, making 24% and other citizens (12) made 48% of the total respondents. The participants were above 25 which means they were adult enough to have knowledge on genocide against the Tutsi. Seventy-six percent of respondents were of age between 25 and 45 whereas twenty-four percent (6) were between 46 and 60. As far as education level of respondents is concerned, thirteen over twenty-five (52%) had primary education, six (24%) had secondary level and six (24%) for tertiary education.

4.2. DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

This section starts by framing the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation. Since the present study aims at explore the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in Post Genocide Rwanda, it is built on available theoretical arguments in the literature. This study focused on the public aspect of truth telling in the context of post genocide society and explored the following constructs:

Public Acknowledgement of responsibility in the Genocide. This aspect is concerned with the official acknowledgement of responsibilities of different actors in the Genocide

against the Tutsi. It encompasses the acceptance of what happened in the 1994 killings as Genocide against the Tutsi. The naming of the offence is very important when it comes to issues of reconciliation. The qualification of the atrocities that occurred plays a significant role because understanding the gravity of the crime committed is the starting point of reconciliation process. Identification of planners and perpetrators of atrocities is also another aspect of the acknowledgement of responsibility in the genocide. It plays a very big role in rendering justice to the victims and is an important step to fight impunity, which is the foundation of building sustainable peace, which is the overall aim of reconciliation. Recognizing victimhood of people offended is also another aspect of public acknowledgement of responsibility. This aspect is concerned with how the victims were recognised publically in that sense that mass killings to be called a genocide must have targeted a group of people with an intention to destroy them because of their identity. This is important because we cannot talk about the reconciliation without clear distinction of offenders and the offended people. This resolve the puzzle of reconciliation who reconcile with who and why.

Public Remorse and repenting of perpetrators and forgiveness by survivors. This constructs explores how the remorse and repenting by offenders in public can contribute to reconciliation. It looks at how confessions and apologies can affect the process of reconciliation. In addition, this construct is concerned with the contribution of forgiveness by survivors to the process of reconciliation.

Public testimonies. It encompasses Commemoration of victims of the Genocide, which deals of remembrance programs such as the Walk to remember, symposiums, visiting memorial sites and public lectures on the genocide; as well as Commending in public people who rescued victims.

This study in investigating the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation asked questions how survivors and perpetrators perceive it.

4.2.1. Public Acknowledgement of responsibility in the Genocide and reconciliation

4.2.1.1. Acceptance of what happened in the 1994 killings as Genocide against the Tutsi

As part of truth telling, Public Acknowledgement of responsibility in the Genocide was adopted in the process of reconciliation that the Government of Rwanda has put in place. In Rwanda, after the Genocide the priority was to rebuild the social fabric that was torn by the genocide and war. One of the most challenging debate that happened was the naming of the mass killings. This debate started even during the killings whereby the United Nations delayed calling what was happening in Rwanda as the Genocide because some hegemonies feared the responsibility because qualifying it as genocide implied immediate intervention to stop it. Later on, the genocide was stopped by RPF after defeating the regime that planned and implemented the Genocide. RPF collected evidence and in 1994, the UN accepted that the mass killings were genocide and called it Rwandan Genocide arguing that genocide killed majority Tutsi ethnic group and some moderate Hutu who opposed the Genocide.

This appellation was ambiguous and the debate led to changing its name to Genocide against the Tutsi by the General assembly of 26 January 2018 which captured the historical facts of what happened in 1994 — genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda — and left no room for ambiguity (United Nations, 2018). This was done to prevent tactics used by genocide denial and revisionism actors. Some people promoted the theory of double genocide in the futile belief that it might divert their own responsibility. The more than 1 million people who perished in the genocide were killed in the most horrendous conditions

because they belonged to a group that was dehumanized and targeted for total extermination.

I interviewed the people living in Kimonyi Reconciliation to understand how they think the true naming as Genocide against the Tutsi has contributed to reconciliation. The following are their responses:

“The crime was given the right naming which conveys its severity and its perpetrators were prosecuted and sentenced according to the seriousness of the crime they committed”²

“At the beginning when the Genocide was called Genocide against the Tutsi, the reconciliation path was like backsliding. But after comprehensible explanations for the rationale of the name which was that in 1994 the killings targeted the ‘ ethnic group Tutsi’” and those who targeted them identified themselves as of “Hutu ethnic group” but also acknowledging that Moderate Hutu were killed for opposing the Genocide, the people understood it and embraced it well. This was the starting point to now prosecute the crimes in their severity and prevent denial for the planners of the genocide. When people understood this the reconciliation boosted”.³

“This provided the true name of what happened in 1994 and removed confusion. The crime was really identified and showed that people who

² Interview with NDUWAYEZU, Kimonyi Reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

³ Interview with UWIRAGIYE, Kimonyi Reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

were targeted were Tutsi and this qualified the offence as genocide, which led to properly prosecute the crime.”⁴

“This helped a lot in reconciliation. When you tackle a problem not from its roots causes, you cannot resolve it properly. So calling the killings and grave human rights violations that happened in 1994 the Genocide against the Tutsi gave the real and clear naming of the crime which helped to identify its authors and prosecute them accordingly.”⁵

From these interviews, it is clear to notice that for them, Acceptance of what happened in the 1994 killings as Genocide against the Tutsi is very important for three main reasons. First, it removes confusion about what happened, second, it qualifies the offence committed and therefore prosecuted accordingly, and third, it prevents denial and revisionism of the genocide. According to interviewees, reconciliation starts with acknowledgement of what happened in past which sets a foundation for prosecuting the offenders and give justice to the victims. It is the starting point of negotiations.

4.2.1.2. Identification of planners and perpetrators of atrocities

Another aspect of public acknowledgement of the Genocide is the Identification of planners and perpetrators of atrocities. In the context of Rwanda identification of planners of the Genocide was done by the Government of Rwanda through traditional courts known as Gacaca⁶. Initially, Gacaca Courts started by gathering information about statistics of all

⁴ Interview with UWIRAGIYE, Kimonyi Reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁵ Interview with MUTUYIMANA, Kimonyi Reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁶ Gacaca Courts are traditional courts, a home grown solution in Rwanda, put in place from 2002 to 2012 to try genocide crimes committed between 1/1/1990 to 1/12/1994. It was adopted because the classical way of criminal justice was not able to trial effectively more that one million people who were involved in the Genocide.

inhabitants before the Genocide by listing them and those who were killed and who killed them and list of survivors at each village. The list of all properties looted or destroyed was also made. This was done in public meetings of all villagers for accuracy of the information. After this information gathering, the accused were brought before the Gacaca judges also known as *Inyangamugayo*⁷

According to (N. H. Brehm, Uggen and Gasanabo, 2014) genocide perpetrators were identified and classified into three main categories. Category 1 and Category 2 Cases involved crimes against people, such as killing, rape, and torture, and were addressed through courts at the sector (Umurenge) level, a higher administrative level within Rwanda. Nevertheless, they were designed to operate according to similar procedures and were governed by the same laws of Gacaca. Category 3 encompassed offences against properties, i.e., looting and destroying properties.

This process of identifying perpetrators of the genocide has given forum for perpetrators and victims to discuss about what happened and for example in category 3 offences cases, of all 1,122,767 cases, 980,529 (87.3%) cases were sanctioned by fines instead of imprisonment; 104,289(9.29%) cases were settled in agreement between perpetrators and survivors; 25,593(2.28%) cases were exempted; and 10,387 (0.93%) cases were restituted (Mukantaganzwa, 2012).

To understand the contribution of identification of planners and implementers of the Genocide against the Tutsi, I interviewed residents of the Kimonyi Reconciliation village and the following is some of their response:

“If genocide perpetrators were covered up the killings could continue.

Because perpetrators have been identified and punished, it enhanced the

⁷ Inyangamugayo means people of integrity who were elected by locals to serve as judges in genocide crime trial at grassroots level.

unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. Otherwise the genocide planners and perpetrators would be moving freely and this should foster impunity which led to atrocities we saw in the Genocide against the Tutsi”⁸

“As adults we saw the planners and perpetrators but the children did not know what was going on. For young people, this helped them to know those who harmed their families and forgave them knowing what they did and how they did it.”⁹

From this interview extracts, identification of planners and implementers of the Genocide against the Tutsi played a very big role in reconciliation in four ways. First it contributed to knowing who were the real perpetrators. Because we cannot talk about reconciliation before identifying the parties to reconcile. It showed the perpetrators of the genocide. Second, it provided information with the victims about what happened to their loved ones. It clarified who killed them, how they were killed and where they buried (dumped would be the better terminology to use here because it reflects what happened in the Genocide) them. This is necessary for survivors in the process of mourning their loved ones and contributes to healing. Third it served as education platform for young people who did not know what happened and to prevent such atrocities in future requires to educate the youth but telling them the truth. Finally, identification of planners and implementers removed suspicion among Rwandans. According to (Hulme, 2014, p.39), “there were two issues surrounding the problem of suspicion after the genocide: the known killers back

⁸ Interview with NDUWAYEZU, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁹ Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

living in their communities and the unknown status of neighbours suspected of either participating in or having knowledge of crimes”.

As Hulme, (2014, p.39) argued,

“ truth-telling would reduce suspicions among neighbours. Before Gacaca, because of strong government policy, people lived quietly together, but not face-to-face. This was unsustainable because Rwanda is an open society. There is the fact that many people had family members killed by their neighbours and they had to live next door to them....[Because of the] nature of the local setting in Rwanda, with people living so closely next to each other...Gacaca was the only thing that could bring people face-to-face.”

This statement is in line with the interview extract from one respondent who pointed out:

“Identification of planners and perpetrators of the Genocide against the Tutsi helped to prosecute the real perpetrators and secured innocent people from punishment of what they did not do”.¹⁰

“Identification of planners and perpetrators of atrocities removed mistrust. Because normally when a survivor does not know, exactly who killed his/her beloved one he/she suspects everyone. However, when these perpetrators are identified, and punished for their crimes now the suspicion is removed. This paves a very good foundation for reconciliation to grow”¹¹.

¹⁰ Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

¹¹ Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

Another role of identification of Genocide perpetrators is its significant contribution in rendering justice to victims. As highlighted in the following interview extracts

“The genocide victims were given justice, through prosecution of perpetrators starting from the top planners who fled outside countries. They were brought before courts and tried before whom they victimised and they were punished for their crime. This contributed much to reconciliation because victims always desire to have their oppressors accounted for their crimes.”¹²

“Identification of the Genocide planners and perpetrators helped the survivors to know those people who harmed them and they received justice, which was a foundation for reconciliation. You cannot talk about reconciliation without justice .It also helped the public to know those people responsible of the killings.”¹³

4.2.1.3. Recognizing victimhood

As part of public acknowledgement of the Genocide, recognising the victimhood of the survivors was crucial about the truth of the Genocide. Here victim refers “persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that do not yet constitute violations of national criminal laws but of internationally recognized norms relating to human rights”(Luc, 2003, p.57).

After the Genocide, the survivors were recognised and special programs were put in place to bring them back to feel secured and safe and resilience after the traumatic events

¹² Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

¹³Interview with NYIRABASARE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

they have experienced in the 1994 Genocide as well as social injustices they have suffered before 1994.

In order to understand how recognising victimhood of survivors as part of truth telling after the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, the respondents from Kimonyi reconciliation village provided useful information:

“What the government did to recognise our victimhood was very helpful.

For example, I am the only survivor in a family of nine people. Both my brothers and sisters as well as my parents were killed and I survived alone. When the government supported us and protected us our hope to live again was restored and we were motivated to continue with normal business. Currently we have a cultural ballet composed of all the villagers of all categories, which is a sign of real reconciliation. This helped us to leave our loneliness and we are healed from our wounds.”¹⁴

This extract from a Genocide survivor highlights the importance of the recognition of victimhood. After surviving a traumatising genocide, having witnessed the killings and tortures of your family members, it is obvious that one needs support and special recognition if not attention. In her words, she indicated that this recognition reassured survivors of safety and peaceful life without discrimination.

In addition, taking the context of social life in Rwanda, where people live together in open society if the government did not give this special attention it would have been very difficult for the survivors to live peacefully in a society, which have been marginalising

¹⁴Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

them for decades. For example, another extract from an ordinary citizen young man was overwhelming:

“Before, Tutsi were marginalised and devalued in the Rwandan society but when the government recognised their victimhood and put in place measures to protect them, they felt valued and increased their confidence. For example when we were told that we will live with the survivors in the same village, we were wondering how we will live with them because they former authorities had told us that Tutsi had tails. However, when we lived together we realised that they are people like us and today there is no Hutu no Tutsi, we are Rwandans speaking the same language, sharing same culture and same beliefs”.¹⁵

This young respondent who was given a house in the Kimonyi reconciliation village, because him and his family were living in high risk zone for natural hazards, is atypical example showing how truth telling is very important in the process of reconciliation. This extract shows how he has been brainwashed by his parents telling him that one group of Rwandans have tails, meaning they are not human beings. We can imagine how a long term marginalised and discriminated people can feel when they continue to hear such shocking words after genocide. However, when the government recognised the survivor’s victimhood, it sensitised other Rwandans to treat victims as other Rwandans and this helped survivor’s feel valued and increased their confidence.

Simply put, recognising the victimhood of the Genocide is very important. First, it removed the confusion about who suffered and who caused the sufferings. Second, it restored dignity to those who have been marginalised and targeted for many years of social

¹⁵Interview with NYIRABASARE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

injustice. Third, it reassured the victims that the violence is over, they have support, and this boosted their confidence, which is required for resilience. This is in line with what Luc(2003) asserted that the recognition of victims is a crucial issue in the search for reconciliation.

4.2.2. Remorse and repenting of perpetrators and forgiveness by survivors

The context of reconciliation in Rwanda has brought about public confessions, repenting and apology on the part of perpetrators and forgiveness on the survivors side. In Rwanda Gacaca, courts have been a fertile forum, which motivated the perpetrators to confess their crimes because they would get a reduced sentence. This helped a lot the process of prosecuting the Genocide and helped to give justice to those who were falsely accused of participating in the Genocide. It also helped to arrest perpetrators who were not arrested at that time and therefore promoted the culture of impunity. I interviewed residents of Kimonyi reconciliation village to explore how they understand the contribution of confessions, remorse apology and forgiveness on reconciliation.

4.2.2.1. Confessions

Confessions refer to acknowledgement on the side of the perpetrators, the role and responsibility in the commission of the harm caused to the victims. In case of Rwanda, Gacaca Courts gave a comprehensible platform for perpetrators to confess. Initially the first phase collected useful information on what happened and then the accused were originally separated into four categories of perpetrator, based on the magnitude of the crimes committed. Category 1 was made up of leaders, organizers, and the most notorious perpetrators of the genocide. Those in this category were tried in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), run by the United Nations. The second category was composed of killers and rapists; level three, those who killed or inflicted bodily harm without the intention of killing; and the fourth category, and those who stole or damaged

property. Those found guilty were then punished, usually through jail time, restitution, or community service (Mukantaganzwa, 2012). Voluntary confessions of guilt were rewarded in the Gacaca system. Those who submitted confessions and asked for forgiveness before proceedings started on their case were given great reductions in punishment. For those confessing during the Gacaca process, reductions were less great, but present. In addition, during Gacaca, “a list of the harms committed against an individual were itemized, then quantified, allowing the sufferer to receive reparations for their harms from a public fund” (Plath, 2010,p.57). This process has helped much in discovering the truth about what happened and who did what and how and eased the process of rendering justice to not only the survivors but also the perpetrators.

From the field, the following interviews were taken on confessions:

“Confession is very important to reconciliation. When a perpetrator confesses of his/her crime, it is a starting point to acknowledge that what she/he did was wrong, and therefore denouncing what is wrong. Confession is beneficial to both perpetrator and victims: the perpetrator feels relieved and the victim knows who really harmed him/her and this removed ambiguity and generalisation. In addition, confession contributes much to reconciliation in that it reveals the really author of the crime and preventing from suspecting innocent people.”¹⁶

This extract emphasises on four important roles of confessions in the process of reconciliation. First, it eases the process of prosecuting offenders because when they confess the criminal procedures are shortened and therefore victims rendered justice in short time. This is very important because as the English saying tells it, retarded justice is a denied

¹⁶Interview with NDUWAYEZU, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher.

justice. Second, confession removes suspicion among the people from the perpetrator and victim groups. In the case of Rwanda, after the Genocide, since it was committed against the ‘Tutsi ethnic group’¹⁷ in the name of the ‘Hutu ethnic group’(International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2006), it was very hard to distinguish a perpetrator and another ordinary citizen. Confession therefore identified the perpetrators and hence removed generalisation. Here some of innocent people who were arrested for genocide crimes were released because some of their alleged crimes were confessed by others and therefore were acquitted and released. This contributed much to reconciliation because you can imagine being imprisoned for a genocide you have never committed. Another important role for confession is the benefit for the victims because they know who killed their loved ones, how they were killed and where they were dumped and this gives them an opportunity to mourn for them and bury them in dignity as many of victims were not buried decently. This is in line with what Uwiragiye pointed out:

“Acknowledging the crime removes illusions on responsibilities. It clarifies who did what to whom and foster individual criminal responsibility. Repenting shows that the perpetrators are conscientious of the gravity of the crime, they committed and have recognised that they harmed the victims. Acknowledging the crime is the crucial step to reconciliation because it eases prosecution process”.¹⁸

Another insight was raised by one citizen in the reconciliation village. For her, confession is not enough for reconciliation to happen. It must be accompanied by remorse and repenting as well as apology on the side of the perpetrator. This reassures the survivor

¹⁷ I use ‘Tutsi ethnic group’ and ‘Hutu ethnic group’ because there is an academic debate on whether Hutu and Tutsi groups are ethnic groups or social classes.

¹⁸ Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher.

that the oppressor is renouncing to the crime and has decided to come back to humanity.

This is her response:

“Confession... You can confess in vain. Confession without remorse repenting has no benefit, because remorse and repenting brings about request for apology. Yes this confession provides information to justice but if not accompanied by remorse and repenting it contributes little to reconciliation”.¹⁹

Another contribution of confession to reconciliation is given in the following interview:

“Confessions from perpetrators are informative because they are the ones who committed atrocities and know how they did this. If they confess publically it is very good because they give an account of what they did, how they did it, who gave the orders, who supported them, and where they have buried the bodies (if they ever buried them). This brings the unknown to the public and some who think that the Genocide never happened can see the testimonies of those who committed it.”²⁰

From this extract, confessions provide facts about what happened. In the case of Rwanda where, a genocide had a mass participation of ordinary people, the planners of the genocide denied it and tried to justify the killings of innocent people including women and children, confessions from ordinary killers shaded light on how the killings occurred, who gave the orders, who coordinated the killings and who provided support and therefore helped to qualify the killings as the Genocide against the Tutsi, which is very crucial in any reconciliation process.

¹⁹Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher.

²⁰Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

Finally, confessions have an important role in the healing of the offenders.

“As the Rwandan proverb says ‘*Ushaka gukira igikomere arakirata*’ If you want to heal from a wound you show it. If a perpetrator confesses of his/her offenses, it is a starting point for healing. Normally we think that victims only have wounds of the past but also perpetrators have wounds. They do not have peace of mind because of the atrocities they committed. They are haunted day and night by the voices of the babies, women, elderly they killed. When they make this step to confess it is an opportunity to pull down the burden of their offences and seek to reconcile with the victims.”²¹

As highlighted by an ex-genocide convict, confession brings about peace of mind because, as he puts it, perpetrators are haunted by the atrocities they committed and if they get the opportunity to confess their offences particularly in public they feel relieved and reconcile with themselves and therefore can now take another step to apologise to the victims and reconcile with them.

4.2.2.2. Apology

Most theorists agree that apologies are commonly defined as communications in which offending parties acknowledge responsibility or guilt for an offence, and express regret or remorse for this offence to an offended party (Hornsey and Wohl, 2013, p.3). An expression of responsibility is also essential; without this element a statement of regret or remorse functions more as an expression of condolence, empathy, or sympathy than as a true apology (Hornsey and Wohl, 2013)

²¹Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

Although apology may be confused with confession but apology has much more of regret, remorse, and repenting which push perpetrator to make another step to ask for forgiveness. One of the most critical element of reconciliation is the perpetrator to apologise for the wrong he/she infringed during gross violations of Human rights.

I interviewed the residents from Kimonyi Reconciliation Village to understand how they perceive the role of apology in reconciliation and the following are some of the extracts:

“When perpetrators started confessing accepting their role in the killings of 1994, Rwandans started to sympathise with each other. Repenting and confession is an indication that the perpetrators recognise what they did is wrong and they realise that it should not be done again. It is also an indication that the perpetrator renounces to their crimes and want to start a long journey of reconciliation to apologise.”²²

“Acknowledging the offence and taking further step to repent and apologise is key to reconciliation. When apology is accepted, it fosters former enemies to live harmoniously without mistrust.”²³

“Apology is very important in the process of reconciliation. For example, six perpetrators killed my family members (nine in total). They apologised, and forgave them. They told us where they have laid ours and we buried them

²² Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

²³ Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

with dignity. Because I managed to bury my loved ones, I got time to mourn for them and now I feel satisfied. I forgave them”²⁴

“Understanding the gravity of the offence committed leads to remorse and repenting of the perpetrator. This also leads to apology, which is signal that the perpetrator regrets what he did and renounces to embracing evil and start the journey to live in harmony with others. This reassures the survivor that the perpetrator is no longer willing to hurt them and is committed to never again.”²⁵

From above interviews, apology is very important in reconciliation process. After confessing of any crime, it is necessary to repent and repenting brings about asking for forgiveness. This is very important because now the perpetrators renounces to evil doing and seeks to reconcile with people he/she made suffer. This is crucial because this gives assurance to victims that now those who harmed them have now renounced to evil and are now regretful of the atrocities they committed and seek to end enmity. In addition, when a perpetrator apologises for the crimes he/she committed, he/she feels relieved. As an ex-convicted prisoner, leaving with the shame of having killed a neighbour is emotionally hurting and if you manage to take a step to confess, repent and apologise, it relieves you and feel like you are free. Even if the survivor is unable to forgive you, at least you feel the peace of mind. You detach yourself with evil. In addition, when you confess, repent and apologise it is a good step towards never again because you have made up your mind not to commit the same atrocities again

²⁴ Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

²⁵ Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

4.2.2.3. Forgiveness

According to American Psychological Association (2006, p.5), forgiveness is a process that involves a change in emotion and attitude regarding an offender. It is a voluntary process, driven by a deliberate decision to forgive. This process results in decreased motivation to retaliate or maintain estrangement from an offender despite their actions, and requires letting go of negative emotions toward the offender. In extreme cases forgiveness may also imply replacing the negative emotions with positive attitudes including compassion and benevolence. In any event, forgiveness occurs with the victim's full recognition that he or she deserved better treatment, one reason why Mahatma Gandhi contended, "the weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is an attribute of the strong".

Approaching the residents of Kimonyi reconciliation village, they expressed their opinion on the role of forgiveness in reconciliation as follows:

"When someone who has harmed you apologises and you forgive him or her, he/she feels relieved and the forgiver feels relieved too. This is an important step in reconciliation because it minimises mistrust and enhance mutual interdependence and confidence. It also foster social cohesion"²⁶.

"Forgiving heals not only the perpetrator but also the survivor because it helps to relieve the victims from the anger and hatred towards the perpetrator and reduces tension resulting from enmity between former conflicting groups. In addition forgiving is a sign that survivor has taken a step from resentment and revenge to building relation with the former enemy"²⁷.

²⁶Interview with NDUWAYEZU, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

²⁷Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

Forgiving is essential particularly to the perpetrator. For example, I apologised through a written document that I submitted to the Gacaca Judges [Inyangamugayo], my confession was approved, and the government forgave me. Even though I did not meet with those I made to suffer but I felt relieved of the burden I had of having killed my neighbours.²⁸

To forgive is a key to reconciliation.... An example is how a catholic priest in Mushaka parish started by forgiving a man who killed his relative and went further to pay school fees for the killer's son at University and this facilitated reconciliation in this parish were reconciliation was successful. Forgiveness is also very important because when a person has forgiven he/she chooses the right message to educate his/her children and these young people will grow up without any root of grudge and vengeance²⁹.

A heartfelt apology accompanied with a heartfelt forgiveness is paramount for both perpetrators and survivors. It boosts the trust between the former conflicting parties, which therefore is a key ingredient to a real reconciliation.³⁰

From above interviews, forgiving relieves and heals. It prevents survivors from grudge and vengeance, because if one keeps grudges can also revenge. Forgiveness emphasises the sense of humanity and willingness of the survivors to build relationship with the 'enemy group' and therefore promote reconciliation.

²⁸Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

²⁹Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

³⁰Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

Furthermore, forgiveness increases trust, confidence, and fosters social cohesion. This is in line with Hornsey and Wohl (2013) findings who figured out that forgiveness aids psychological healing through positive changes in affect, improves physical and mental health, restores a victim's sense of personal power, promotes hope for the resolution of real-world intergroup conflicts and helps bring about reconciliation between the offended and offender.

Forgiveness after a mass violence such as genocide when perpetrators are close neighbours of victims or even relatives speaking the same language, with same beliefs and culture, which is the case of Rwanda, is very hard. From one extract in the village

I cannot forgive someone who does not apologise. Before someone apologises, he/she should be prepared on how to go about in a proper manner that cannot harm the survivor. In addition, the survivor should also be prepared to meet the perpetrator because if not prepared this process may affect emotionally and psychologically the survivor and therefore stymies the efforts for reconciliation. The apologise must show he/she is sorry for the harm caused. Forgiving is necessary in reconciliation but should be provided to those who repent and apologise.³¹

From this interview from a genocide survivor, it gives a sincere account of feelings that a victim has when he/she is to forgive. First, she emphasises on the fact that the perpetrator should be the first person to confess and apologise before getting forgiveness. This apology should not be superficial instead, it should be sincere and lively with the perpetrator feeling sorry for the offence and showing repentance. This will ensure to the victim that now the offender is sincere and therefore to be forgiven.

³¹Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

Secondly, the interviewee underlined the importance of preparation of both survivor and perpetrator for forgiveness. This is very important because genocide has left serious wounds to survivors and therefore they should be well prepared and those offenders who seek forgiveness should be prepared for proper ways to seek forgiveness. Third, the interviewee is very clear that forgiveness is voluntary. For her, a survivor should decide whether to forgive or not.

Although forgiveness is voluntary, Rwandans who lost their loved ones in the Genocide against the Tutsi were sensitised to forgive the perpetrators due to popular participation where above two million people participated in offence against persons or property offences or both. One can imagine a country like Rwanda trying to detain 2 million people! Forgiveness was the only possible option on the expense of community and national reconciliation.

This is how the Head of State of the republic of Rwanda has explained:

There is no way to fully comprehend the loneliness and anger of survivors. Yet, repeatedly, we have asked them to make the sacrifices necessary to give our nation new life. Emotions had to be put in a box. Someone once asked me why we keep burdening survivors with the responsibility for our healing. It was a painful question, but I realised the answer was obvious. Survivors are the only ones with something left to give: their forgiveness.³²

Survivors are the only ones with something left to give their forgiveness. Yes and they have done it and they are doing it. They are living with the former convicts in the same neighbourhood.

³² Speech on 25th Genocide Against Tutsi Commemoration , by His Excellency Paul KAGAME, the President of the Republic of Rwanda, at Kigali Convention Centre, 07 April 2019.

4.2.3. Testimonies

4.2.3.1. Public telling of victims suffering in the Genocide against the Tutsi

In Rwanda, It is common in any commemoration event to hear a testimony from a survivor, which is an account of hardships he/she passed through during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Normally, a survivor will give a detailed account of how he/she survived, people he/she saw being killed, perpetrators and how he/she have managed to live again a normal life after the hardships endured.

To understand the role the public telling of victims sufferings during the Genocide plays in reconciliation I interviewed people from the Kimonyi reconciliation village and obtained the following extracts:

When a genocide survivor gives, an account of the suffering journey he/she went through, the public sympathises with him/her and this increases the sense of responsibility to make sure this will never happen again³³

Public telling of the sufferings of the survivors heals them. It is an assurance to the public that the person has healed from the pain. It is a starting point to accept the dark past, learn from it and decide to focus to the future for resilience.³⁴

When perpetrators and survivors talk about what happened in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in all the truth, it helps the young generation to

³³Interview with NDUWAYEZU, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

³⁴Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

study from this dark history and decide to make sure this will never happen again.³⁵

“it increases the public knowledge about the genocide and helps them to understand why the survivors sometimes display some behaviour and direct support and comfort to the victims.”³⁶

From above interview extracts, public telling of victims suffering in the Genocide against the Tutsi plays a vital role in reconciliation. First, it heals survivors as psychologists put it, when a victim is given conducive environment he/she can give a detailed account of the sufferings, it gives emotional relief and healing. Another important role is education. Survivors’ testimonies provide educative information not only for those who did not see the Genocide but also for the public whereby they listen attentively to the sufferings endured by survivors and this increases sympathy for them and therefore support for survivors. From this education, the people commit together for never again and this serves as a preventive measure for the fight against the Genocide. Third, public telling of victims sufferings increases the understanding in the general public why survivors might behave differently particularly in commemoration period and therefore increase support for survivors and this increases social cohesion.

Apart from the above positive aspects of public telling of victims’ sufferings, the following respondents have emphasised on negative aspects of it.

For those who have soft hearts they are hurt on one hand. On the other hand this truth helps people to sympathise with the victims and support and

³⁵Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

³⁶Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

comfort them as giving an account in public for the sufferings one has gone through is heroic act³⁷.

“Witnessing is important... I can witness everywhere except in the village I come from because I do not want to expose a person who rescued me. Witnessing in public is beneficial in one hand and may cause problems on the other hand. Witnessing is revealing the truth about the Genocide against the Tutsi and providing information for education of new generation. However, witnessing may provoke trauma and PTSD particularly for survivors because they tend to return to that time of suffering”³⁸

To be able to witness in public is a sign of healing in itself. It is not easy and requires that a person has already accepted what happened to him/her. It is very important because it contributes to general education on genocide, which is essential in the prevention of the Genocide.³⁹

From the above extracts, although the respondents do not deny the benefits of public telling of victims' sufferings on reconciliation, they have raised an important observation that public telling of victims' sufferings may have harmful effects on survivors particularly those with “soft hearts” who are not healed from their wounds. This effect can even go further to cause post-traumatic stress disorders for not only those who give their testimony but also other people because people do not digest information the same way. In this regard, these testimonies refresh the memories of survivors and this brings them back in those dark times and experience them again psychologically. This is in line with the findings by Karen

³⁷Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

³⁸Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

³⁹Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018

Brounéus who challenged the claim that truth heals and argued that Truth Telling (testify in Gacaca Courts) was associated with psychological ill-health on victims who suffered atrocities (Brounéus, 2008a, 2008b, 2010)

4.2.3.2. Commemoration of victims of the Genocide

After the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, Rwandans after experiencing this worst tragedy decided and committed to fight against genocide, its ideology and any form of discrimination, which were among the root causes of genocide. IN this regard, commemoration of the genocide is observed in entire countries as well as by International community. Here a one-week mourning is officially observed followed by remembrance activities in 100 days representing the number of days it required the *genocidaires* to kill more than one million people. As explained by the National Commission for the Fight of the Genocide (CNLG) the commemoration activities include but not limited to:

- a) Descent burial of the remains of Genocide victims
- b) Preparing and participating in discussions and presentations regarding the Commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi
- c) Lighting the "flame of remembrance" at Kigali Genocide Memorial Center and other memorial sites across the country to kick off the weeklong mourning week and the 100 days of the commemoration period
- d) Providing support to genocide survivors 10 various forms including moral, financial and psychological support
- f) Government institutions and non-government organisations carry out activities and hold events to commemorate their former employees, students and other members who perished in the Genocide

g) Rwanda's diplomatic missions in all parts of the world, Rwandans in the diaspora also organise events to pay tribute to the victims of the Genocide.

During this time, there are educative programs on Rwandan History unity of Rwandans, cleaning the memorial centres, decent burial of the remains of genocide victims, supporting survivors, visiting memorial centres, conferences on Genocide, walks to remember just to name a few. All these programs aim at paying tribute to the victims of the Genocide, supporting the survivors, fighting against the genocide ideology, educating the youth and fostering the unity and reconciliation among Rwandans.

Trying to understand the role of remembrance of the 1994 genocide victims in reconciliation of Rwandans, I interviewed respondents from KIMONYI and the following are their opinions:

When people take time to remember the genocide and commemorate together the victims of the killings, it is an opportunity to set back to history and learn from it. This helps the young generation to make good decision not to follow the bad example of those who killed their neighbours due to who they are not what they did. It is very important in building durable peace.⁴⁰

Remembrance: a right person remembers. Remembering does not mean forgetting but is an opportunity to educate the public particularly young generation for durable peace. It is a forum to hear the desperate journey survivors went through, draw lessons from our dark history, and establish strategies for never again to be a reality.

⁴⁰Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

Attending together remembrance activities and programs enhances unity and reconciliation because commemoration is not seen as survivors' responsibility but collective. This shows that genocide destroys the whole society and should be prevented by involving each member of the community.⁴¹

Before, we used to attend the commemoration programmes alone (survivors). This worried us and we thought that the killers are still willing to kill us. However, today as they have been sensitised and understood the importance of remembrance, we remember together. This is a platform to learn from our dark history, particularly for young generation and commit together for never again.⁴²

Remembering the Genocide is part of our history. We have to. What happened was not good. We remember to make sure the genocide will never happen again. Remembering is essential and good. It informs young people who did not see the genocide to know what happened so to make sure it will never happen again⁴³

From these extracts, the respondents pointed out three main roles of remembrance in reconciliation. First, remembrance brings together both survivors' and perpetrators relatives to commemorate together the consequences of the Genocide. This is very important because if members of perpetrators' family commemorate the wrongdoing of their relatives they understand well the gravity of the crime committed and therefore commit together with

⁴¹Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁴²Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁴³Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, December, 2018 by the Researcher

other Rwandans for never again. Second, remembrance serves as an education platform for young generation, which equip them with relevant information that can help them to resist the evil, embrace what is right, and therefore contribute to durable peace in the future. Third, remembering helps to fight against genocide ideology among Rwandans. This is very important in reconciliation because it is the only reason we talk about reconciliation in Rwanda. Genocide against the Tutsi due to hatred ideology where neighbours took traditional weapons to exterminates their neighbours and fellow Rwandans. When this ideology if fought, this ensures survivors that, those who harmed them are no longer willing to do so and therefore promote reconciliation. In addition, remembrance gives an opportunity to survivors to mourn their loved ones who were killed in the genocide.

4.2.3.3. Testimonies of bystanders

Bystander here means any passive person who was not a target in the genocide against the Tutsi who could observe what was happening because things happened under their nose. These persons are the best people to recall what happened during the Genocide because they lived in that village at that time and did not flee. When Gacaca courts started, all Rwandans were under obligation by the court law to tell the truth on what happened in the genocide against the Tutsi not only to contribute to justice but also to reconciliation.

I have interviewed respondents to understand the role played by truth telling from bystanders to reconciliation and the following extracts were obtained:

Witnessing by bystanders contributed a lot in prosecuting the perpetrators.

These people were there when the genocide was being committed and they had accurate information that was used to render justice to victims.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

When those who were not targeted in the genocide witness in public in all truth what the victims endured in the genocide against The Tutsi, it helps the survivors to be reassured and see that they are now supported and that the public understands the sufferings they and their beloved ones endured. It enhances that sense of sympathy and belonging among the Rwandans ⁴⁵

A bystander testimony was useful in prosecution of the genocide. A bystander's testimony (of course who is honest enough to tell the truth) is very useful in prosecution of genocide crime because he/she is an eye witness because he/she was not the target and therefore saw who did what to whom and how.

When this information is delivered, it helps to distinguish perpetrators and innocent people so to try those who are accused of serious violations of human rights.⁴⁶

“Bystanders provided evidences about what happened and this reduced tension and emotions and therefore perpetrators were punished according to their offences committed.”⁴⁷

According to above respondents, bystanders testified publicly about what they saw during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, and it contributed much in reconciliation process. First, it is a sign that he/she does not cover up the perpetrators and therefore condemns what happened, second this shows the willingness to contribute to the fight

⁴⁵Interview with NDUWAYEZU, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁴⁶Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁴⁷Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

against the culture of impunity. Bystanders played a very big role in witnessing in the GACACA courts whereby they provided relevant information to prosecute genocide perpetrators because they were present during the genocide and are eyewitnesses of who did what to whom.

However, among respondents I heard of one who said that bystanders did not provide all information about what happened not only because they are fearing to face justice but also covering their family members. The following is how she put it:

By my experience, bystanders are not witnessing about the Genocide but the convicted perpetrators are the ones who give testimonies and sometimes accuse some of the bystanders⁴⁸

This question our definition of bystander because we can one was passively by-standing but indeed participated in the genocide.

4.2.3.4. Commending in public people who rescued victims

In Rwanda, it is a common culture to thank someone, who did something good to you. This is the case for survivors who were rescued by some few people who stood against the genocide and rescued few survivors. This is done sometimes individually or as group which is the case of AERG, a student survivors association that provide a cow (very prestigious in the Rwandan culture) to those few people who managed to hide and rescue survivors. From 2014, the government had adopted this and started a program called *Umurinzi w' Igihango* aiming at praising publically those people who managed to do extraordinary activities to foster unity and reconciliation among Rwandans.

⁴⁸Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018

To understand how residents from Kimonyi Reconciliation village perceives the role of Commending in public people who rescued victims during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the following extracts were obtained:

When you hear that in those times, there are some people who stood against evil and decided to rescue the victims, it reminds the sense of humanity, and tells you that all “Hutu group” was not responsible of the killings but some ‘Hutu’ killed. This also challenges those who say they killed because they were told to kill and were fearing reprisals if they do not kill. It raises the question if these people did it why did not I do it too.⁴⁹

This action motivates these people for their heroic actions and enhance their willingness to continue to preach to the public.⁵⁰

When a rescuer is praised publically and the survivor he/she rescued is still alive, it motivates him/her and this paves a good heritage of love and embracing diversity for his/her children which is very important in building sustainable peace.⁵¹

Saving a person in times of trouble is a commendable action and is really fulfilling. When this action is appraised publically, it motivates the actor and inspires others to embrace good activities instead of evil.⁵²

⁴⁹Interview with NDUWAYEZU, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁵⁰Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁵¹Interview with NYIRAMAFISHI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁵²Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

From the extracts, Public acknowledgement for the people who showed heroic behaviour to rescue Tutsi in 1994 is very important. It removes generalisation that all communities from which perpetrators come from are killers and evil. It shows that the sense of humanity is shared and emphasises that any activity promoting humanity is commendable. This shows that these people were people of integrity and showed humanity in rescuing the targeted people. This increases the culture of doing what is right because this culture is being promoted. Such a person is seen as a hero because in those days there was no middle ground you were either with the killers or not to be treated as a traitor. Thus, accepting to hide Tutsi in that time was risking one's life. So recognising such persons in public is motivating to young generation to stick on what is good regardless of circumstance. If the ordinary citizens had resisted the genocide, the victims should not have reached above one million.

4.3. Challenges for truth telling

After the genocide, truth telling was the only option to adopt in order to rebuild the social fabric, which was torn by war and the genocide. However telling the truth has been so challenging in that even people have lost their lives for telling the truth.

Below are some of the extracts from the respondents:

Truth telling was risky because some were tortured and even killed⁵³

From the above extract, those who participated in the Genocide wanted to keep their status and did not want to tell the truth and prevent others from telling the truth because they feared the consequences of their activities such as imprisonment and losing their positions. They also feared to lose their reputation as religious leaders, in the neighbourhood. In

⁵³Interview with NTUYEMBAZI, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

addition, some fear to tell the truth because they wonder what can happen to them if they tell the truth after 25 years of silence. They also try to avoid problems for their family because telling the truth means their family members will face the justice

Other two extracts from ex genocide convict and a survivor respectively:

Elite people in prisons spread propaganda asking the ordinary prisoners not to confess and apologise and telling them that the government is misleading them. The elites are a big challenge for reconciliation because they stick on their old beliefs and want all to follow them.⁵⁴

Cruelty. The genocide was committed in total cruelty in that it is very shameful to acknowledge publically one's responsibility in these atrocities.⁵⁵

From above, elite people who have been eminent figures in the preparation, planning and execution of the Genocide against the Tutsi are hindering other genocide convicts to confess, repent and apologise. This should be dealt with by competent authorities if we are to foster reconciliation.

4.4. Truth which can benefit the reconciliation

For this section, reserved for the type of truth which can benefit reconciliation, I did not want to interpret the opinion of respondents. Below is the truth they think can be beneficial to reconciliation.

⁵⁴Interview with KAJYAMBERE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁵⁵Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

The most powerful truth telling needed to reconciliation is telling the truth without any deviation from it and really telling what you did with a deep sorrow in a repenting spirit for the crimes they committed.

Telling the truth is very important because it gives an opportunity for perpetrators to confess, apologise and be forgiven. There should be activities that bring together survivors and perpetrators to talk sincerely to each other ⁵⁶

It is necessary that perpetrators and survivors meet to tell the truth and apologise/ forgive but both parties should be well prepared.

Yes telling the truth is essential. In my opinion the truth we need from perpetrators is that they confess completely showing heart of remorse and repenting with deep sorrow of what they did and apologise really from deep their hearts, this is what we expect from them. They must show where they have buried our beloved ones because we need to bury them with dignity they deserve.⁵⁷

From above extracts, it is clear that the truth necessary for reconciliation to happen is factual truth whereby people give an account of what happened without any omission or addition. Confession, remorse and apology by genocide perpetrators in public are also very important in reconciliation but should be sincere enough and accompanied by showing where they have dumped the victims in order to mourn and bury them in dignity. In addition, both perpetrators and survivors should be prepared enough before they meet for apology and forgiveness events for reconciliation to happen. This is very crucial because the way genocide was carried out was ferocious and therefore requires a careful behaviour

⁵⁶Interview with UWIRAGIYE, KIMONYI reconciliation Village,28 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

⁵⁷Interview with MUTUYIMANA, KIMONYI reconciliation Village, 28 December, 2018 by the Researcher

while confessing and apologising on the side of the offender and good preparations on the side of the survivor to be strong enough to hear how his/her loved ones were tortured and killed.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter summarises the key findings of this study proposes some recommendations to concerned institutions. The general objective of the study was to explore the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda from genocide survivors and perpetrators perspectives.

5.1. CONCLUSION

This study found that truth telling played a big role on reconciliation in a post genocide Rwanda. The study explored the contribution of truth telling on reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda by answering three specific questions and the key findings are discussed under three main headings related to research questions.

5.1.1. Public Acknowledgement of responsibility in the Genocide and reconciliation

As part of truth telling, Public Acknowledgement of responsibility in the Genocide was adopted in the process of reconciliation in Rwanda. One of the most challenging debate that happened was the naming of the mass killings. This appellation was ambiguous and the debate led to changing its name to Genocide against the Tutsi by the General assembly of 26 January 2018 which captured the historical facts of what happened in 1994 — genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

From the respondents, Acceptance of what happened in the 1994 killings as Genocide against the Tutsi is very important for three main reasons. First, it removes confusion about what happened, second, it qualifies the offence committed and therefore prosecuted accordingly, and third, it prevents denial and revisionism of the genocide. According to interviewees, reconciliation starts with acknowledgement of what happened in past which sets a foundation for prosecuting the offenders and give justice to the victims. It is the starting point of negotiations.

Another aspect of public acknowledgement of the Genocide is the Identification of planners and perpetrators of atrocities. In the context of Rwanda identification of planners of the Genocide, was done by the Government of Rwanda through traditional courts known as Gacaca. This study has found that identification of planners and implementers of the Genocide against the Tutsi played a very big role in reconciliation in five ways. First, it contributed to knowing who the real perpetrators were. Indeed one cannot talk about reconciliation without the parties to reconcile. It showed the perpetrators of the genocide. Second, it provided information with the victims about what happened to their loved ones. It clarified who killed them, how they were killed and where they buried (dumped would be the better terminology to use here because it reflects what happened in the Genocide) them. This is necessary for survivors in the process of mourning their loved ones and contributes to healing. Third, it served as education platform, for young people who did not know what happened and to prevent such atrocities in future requires educating the youth by telling them the truth. Fourth, identification of planners and implementers removed suspicion among Rwandans and finally, it played a significant contribution in rendering justice to victims.

Recognising the victimhood of the survivors is also part of public acknowledgement of the Genocide, and is crucial about the truth of the Genocide.

After the Genocide, the survivors were recognised and special programs were put in place to bring them back to feel secured and safe and resilience after the traumatic events they have experienced in the 1994 Genocide as well as social injustices they have suffered before 1994.

The findings showed that recognition of victimhood is very important and contributed much to reconciliation. Simply put, as findings have shown, recognising the victimhood of the Genocide is very important. First, it removed the confusion about who

suffered and who caused the sufferings. Second, it restored dignity to those who have been marginalised and targeted for many years of social injustice. Third, it reassured the victims that the violence is over, they have support, and this boosted their confidence, which is required for resilience.

5.1.2. Remorse and repentance of perpetrators and forgiveness by survivors

The context of reconciliation in Rwanda has brought about public confessions, repenting and apology on the part of perpetrators and forgiveness on the survivors' side. In Rwanda, Gacaca courts have been a fertile forum, which motivated the perpetrators to confess their crimes because they would get a reduced sentence. This helped a lot the process of prosecuting the Genocide and helped to give justice to those who were falsely accused of participating in the Genocide.

The findings revealed that Confessions plays four main roles in reconciliation. First, it eases the process of prosecuting offenders because when they confess the criminal procedures are shortened and therefore victims rendered justice in short time. This is very important because as the English saying tells it, retarded justice is a denied justice. Second, confession removes suspicion among the people from the perpetrator and victim groups. In the case of Rwanda, after the Genocide, since it was committed against the 'Tutsi ethnic group'⁵⁸ in the name of the 'Hutu ethnic group'(International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2006), it was very hard to distinguish a perpetrator and another ordinary citizen. Confession therefore helped in identification of perpetrators and hence removed generalisation. Here some of innocent people who were arrested for genocide crimes were released because some of their alleged crimes were confessed by others and therefore were acquitted and released. This contributed much to reconciliation because you can imagine

⁵⁸ I use "Tutsi ethnic group" and "Hutu ethnic group" in quotation mark because there is an academic debate on whether Hutu and Tutsi groups are ethnic groups or social classes.

being imprisoned for a genocide you have never committed. Another important role for confession is the benefit for the victims because they knew who killed their loved ones, how they were killed and where they were dumped and this gave them an opportunity to mourn and bury them in dignity as many of victims were not buried decently.

However, the findings showed that for confession to contribute much to reconciliation, it should be accompanied by sincere remorse and repenting as well as apology on the side of the perpetrator. This reassures the survivor that the oppressor is renouncing to the crime and has decided to come back to humanity. In addition, confessions from ordinary killers shed light on how the killings occurred, who gave the orders, who coordinated the killings and who provided support and therefore helped to qualify the killings as the Genocide against the Tutsi, which is very crucial to the reconciliation process after genocide.

Finally, confessions have an important role in the healing of the offenders. The study findings revealed that confession brings about peace of mind because, as the respondents put it, “perpetrators are haunted by the atrocities they committed and if they get the opportunity to confess their offences particularly in public they feel relieved and reconcile with themselves and therefore can now take another step to apologise to the victims and reconcile with them”.

The findings also confirmed that apology is very important in reconciliation process. After confessing of any crime, it is necessary to repent and repenting brings about asking for forgiveness. The respondents argued that apology is very important because the perpetrators renounces to evil-doing and seeks to reconcile with people he/she made suffer. It gives assurance to victims that now those who harmed them have now renounced to evil and are

now regretful of the atrocities they committed and seek to end enmity. In addition, when a perpetrator apologises for the crimes he/she committed, he/she feels relieved.

According to the findings of this study, forgiving relieves and heals. It prevents survivors from grudge and vengeance, because if one keeps grudges can also revenge. Forgiveness emphasises the sense of humanity and willingness of the survivors to build relationship with the 'enemy group' and therefore promote reconciliation.

Furthermore, forgiveness increases trust, confidence, and fosters social cohesion.

The study findings also showed that forgiveness after mass violence such as genocide when perpetrators are close neighbours of victims or even relatives speaking the same language, with same beliefs and culture, which is the case of Rwanda, is very hard. The findings pointed out that offering forgiveness requires that the perpetrator be the first person to confess and apologise before getting forgiveness. This apology should not be superficial instead, it should be sincere and lively with the perpetrator feeling sorry for the offence and showing repentance. This will ensure to the victim that now the offender is sincere and therefore worthy of forgiveness.

The study results also underlined the importance of preparation of both survivor and perpetrator for forgiveness. This is very important because genocide has left serious wounds to survivors and therefore they should be well prepared and those offenders who seek forgiveness should be prepared for proper ways to seek forgiveness. Third, forgiveness is voluntary and therefore a survivor should decide whether to forgive or not.

5.1.3. Testimonies

In Rwanda, It is common in any commemoration event to hear a testimony from a survivor, which is an account of hardships he/she passed through during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Normally, a survivor will give a detailed account of how he/she survived,

people he/she saw being killed, perpetrators and how he/she have managed to live again a normal life after the hardships endured.

To understand the role the public telling of victims' sufferings during the Genocide plays in reconciliation, the research has found that public telling of victims suffering in the Genocide against the Tutsi plays a vital role in reconciliation. It heals survivors second; it helps in young generation education. Survivors' testimonies provide educative information not only for those who did not see the Genocide but also for the public whereby they listen attentively to the sufferings endured by survivors and this increases sympathy for them and therefore support for survivors. From this education, the people commit together for never again and this serves as a preventive measure for the fight against the Genocide. In addition, public telling of victims sufferings increases the understating in the general public why survivors might behave differently particularly in commemoration period and therefore increase support for survivors and this increases social cohesion.

Apart from the above positive aspects of public telling of victims' sufferings, the study also revealed its side effect that it may have harmful effects on survivors particularly those with "soft hearts" who are not healed from their wounds. This can even go further to cause a post-traumatic stress disorders for not only those who give their testimony but also other People because people do not digest information the same way. In this regard, these testimonies refresh the memories of survivors and this brings them back in those dark times and experiences them again psychologically.

As part of public testimonies on Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, there is commemoration of the genocide. This study explored its role as part of truth telling on reconciliation. The findings revealed three main roles of remembrance in reconciliation. First, remembrance brings together both survivors' and perpetrators relatives to

commemorate together the consequences of the Genocide. This is very important because if members of perpetrators' family commemorate the wrongdoing of their relatives they understand well the gravity of the crime committed and therefore commit together with other Rwandans for never again. Second, remembrance serves as an education platform for young generation, which equip them with relevant information that can help them to resist the evil, embrace what is right, and therefore contribute to durable peace in the future. Third, remembering helps to fight against genocide ideology among Rwandans. When this ideology is fought, this ensures survivors that, those who harmed them are no longer willing to do so and therefore promote reconciliation. In addition, remembrance gives an opportunity to survivors to mourn their loved ones who were killed in the genocide.

In Rwanda, it is a common culture to commend someone who did something good to you. This is the case for survivors who were rescued by some few people who stood against the genocide and rescued few survivors. This is done sometimes individually or as group which is the case of AERG, a student survivors association that provide a cow (very prestigious in the Rwandan culture) to those few people who managed to hide and rescue survivors. From 2014, the government had adopted this and started a program called *Umurinzi w' Igihango* aiming at praising publically those people who managed to do extraordinary activities to foster unity and reconciliation among Rwandans including those who hid and rescued survivors during the genocide.

The study tried to understand the role of commending these people in public on reconciliation and found that Public acknowledgement for the people who showed heroic behaviour to rescue Tutsi in 1994 is very important. It removes generalisation that all communities from which perpetrators come from are killers and evil. It shows that the sense of humanity is shared and emphasises that any activity promoting humanity is commendable. This shows that these people were people of integrity and showed humanity

in rescuing the targeted people. This increases the culture of doing what is right because this culture is being promoted. Such a person is seen as a hero because in those days there was no middle ground you were either with the killers or not to be treated as a traitor. Thus, accepting to hide Tutsi in that time was risking one's life. So recognising such persons in public is motivating to young generation to stick on what is good regardless of circumstance. If the ordinary citizens had resisted the genocide, the victims should not have reached above one million.

5.2. CHALLENGES FOR TRUTH TELLING

The study identified from the field the challenges that people who told the truth met and continue to have. After the genocide, truth telling was the only option to adopt in order to rebuild the social fabric, which was torn by war and the genocide. However, telling the truth has been so challenging in that even people have lost their lives for telling the truth. The findings showed that those who participated in the Genocide wanted to keep their status and did not want to tell the truth and prevent others from telling the truth because they feared the consequences of their activities such as imprisonment and losing their positions.

They also feared to lose their reputation as religious leaders, in the neighbourhood. In addition, some fear to tell the truth because they wonder what can happen to them if they tell the truth after 25 years of silence. They also try to avoid problems for their family because telling the truth means their family members will face the justice. Another challenge revealed is Elite people convicted of genocide in prisons who spread propaganda asking the ordinary prisoners not to confess and apologise and telling them that the government is misleading them. The elites are a big challenge for reconciliation because they stick on their old beliefs of genocidal ideology and want all to follow them.

Furthermore, some genocide convicts who confess and apologise are not well prepared because some of them while apologising do not show remorse but seem to be boasting of their crimes

Finally, another challenge for truth telling is genocide cruelty. The genocide was committed in total cruelty in that it is very shameful to acknowledge publically one's responsibility in these atrocities.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.3.1. Rwanda Correctional Service

One of the challenges identified by this study is Elite people convicted of genocide in prisons who spread propaganda asking the ordinary prisoners not to confess and apologise and telling them that the government is misleading them. The elites are a big challenge for reconciliation because they stick on their old beliefs of genocidal ideology and want all to follow them. Furthermore, some genocide convicts who confess and apologise are not well prepared because some of them while apologising do not show remorse but seem to be boasting of their crimes. Therefore, the following recommendations are proposed

- a. Rwanda correctional service should put in place measures to effectively prepare genocide convicts who have decided to apologise before they meet the survivors they offended.
- b. RCS should put in place specialised programs targeting those elite genocide convicts who are not only hindering the process of reconciliation through spreading propaganda among other genocide convicts in prisons but also spreading genocide ideology to their family members when they visit them.
- c. RCS should also establish special rehabilitation programs for genocide convicts who are to finish their sentence to prepare them before they are released in society

5.3.2. Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and National Commission for the fight against Genocide (CNLG)

NURC and CNLG should work together to improve preparation programs for the genocide survivors before they meet offenders in the apology-forgiveness events

5.3. SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has shed light on the contribution of truth telling on reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda. It has identified the challenges truth telling have been facing. However, the study did not manage to understand why some genocide convicts particularly elites are still held to the hatred ideology and do not wish to take the step of confessing, repenting and apologising but instead they are spreading their hate propaganda. Further research is needed to understand why elite people are still held prisoner of hatred after 25 years of teaching, rehabilitation and education in order to prepare informed and specialised rehabilitation programs for them.

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APPENDICE 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE / ENGLISH VERSION

INTRODUCTION

My name is **SP Theoneste NIYINDORA** and I am a student from The University of Rwanda and National Police College. I am conducting a research on “Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Post Genocide Rwanda. A Case of Kimonyi Reconciliation Village” as a partial fulfilment of the award of Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict. This interview intends to collect information on the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in Rwanda. You are among the members of this village selected. The information that you will provide will assist me to know the contribution of truth telling to reconciliation in Rwanda. I assure you that the information you provide will be treated in strict confidentiality and that your names will not appear anywhere while reporting the findings.

If you feel uncomfortable, you may refuse to answer any question, or end the activity of responding at any time you want, and this will not have any negative consequence on you.

I thank you in advance for your acceptance to get involvement in this study.

IDENTIFICATION/

Residence/

Number	Age	Sex	Category	
	18-24: 1		1. Genocide survivor: 22	
	25-45: 2		2. Ex- genocide convict: 33	
	46-60: 3		3. Ordinary : 55	
	<60: 4			

QUESTIONS

1. Public Acknowledgement of responsibility in the Genocide

What is your opinion about the connection between following aspects and reconciliation in Rwanda?

- Acceptance of what happened in the Genocide against the Tutsi
- Identification of planners and perpetrators of atrocities
- Recognizing victimhood

2. Remorse and repenting of perpetrators

What is your opinion about the connection between following aspects and reconciliation in Rwanda?

- Confession
- Apology
- Forgiveness

3. Testimonies

What is your opinion about the connection between following aspects of Testimonies and reconciliation in Rwanda?

- Public telling of victims suffering in the Genocide against the Tutsi
- Commemoration of victims of the Genocide
- testimonies of bystanders

4. Challenges

- What do you think are challenges of truth telling?
- What truth do you think can benefit the reconciliation?

APPENDICE 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE / IKINYARWANDA

IBIBAZO

1. Iriburiro

Nitwa...SP Theoneste NIYINDORA. nkaba ndi umunyeshuri muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda k'ubufatanye n' Ishuri Rikuru rya Polisi nkaba ndi gukora ubushakashatsi k' *“Uruhari rwo kuvugisha ukuri k'Ubwiyunge mu Banyarwanda nyuma ya Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi ”*. Uri umwe mu banyarwanda batoranijwe kugirango uduhe amakuru. Ubu bushashatsi bugamije kumenya uruhare kuvugisha ukuri byagize/bigira k'Ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda amakuru k'uruhari rwo kuvugisha ukuri k' ubwiyunge muri uyu mudugudu wanyu. Amakuru uduha azamfasha kumenya uruhare rwo kuvugisha ukuri k'Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda. Ndakwizezako amakuru uduha azegeranywa n'ayabandi kandi amazina yawe ntabwo azagira aho agaragara muri raporo.

Uramutse wumva hari ikibazo udashaka gusubiza wacyihorera; ndetse uramutse unashatse guhagarika ikiganiro nabyo nta kibazo kandi nta ngaruka biri bukugireho.

Ndagushimiye cyane ku kuba wemeye kugira uruhare muri ubu bushashatsi.

2. Umwirondoro w'usubiza

Aho ubarizwa/umudugudu:

Imyaka	Igitsina	icyiciro
18-24: 1	M/F	1. Uwarokotse Genocide: 22
25-45: 2		2. Uwahamijwe icyaha cya Genocide: 33
46-60: 3		3. Umuturage usanzwe: 55
<60: 4		

3. Ibibazo

3.1. Kwemerera muruhame ko Genocide yabaye

- Kwemezako ibyabaye ari Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi
- Kugaragaza abateguye n'abashyize mubikorwa Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi
- Guha agaciro abahigwaga bayirokotse

3.2. Kwihana no kwicuza kubakoze Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi

- Kwemera icyaha
- Kwicuza
- Gusaba imbabazi
- Futanga imbabazi

3.3. Gutanga ubuhamya muruhame

- Kuvugira muruhame imibabaro n'amakuba n'urugendo rw'umugaraba abazize n' abarokotse Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi bahuye nabyo
- Kwibuka Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi
- Gutanga ubuhamya kubarebereye Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi
- Kubabarira Abahamijwe Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi
- Gushima muruhame abarokoye abahigwaga

3.4. Imbogamizi

- Mbese ubona ari izihe mbogamizi mukuvugisha ukuri muri gahunda y'ubwiyunge?
- Mbese ubona abahamijwe Genocide yakorewe Abatutsi bakwiye kuvugisha ukuri? Babikora gute kuburyo byasigasira ubwiyunge?

Theoneste NIYINDORA

SP

National Police College

Musanze

23. Dec 18



*Allowed
Sector
NYIRAMATHO
Addaide*

The Exective Secretary of KIMONYI Sector

MUSANZE

Subject: Request for authorisation to conduct a research

Madam,

I hereby request for authorisation to conduct a research in KIMONYI Sector in the Unity and reconciliation village.

In fact I am enrolled in a Master's of Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation programme at National Police College, Musanze and I am conducting a research on **"Truth telling and Reconciliatrion in post-Genocide Rwanda: A case of Kimonyi Reconciliation Village"** for partial fulfilment for the award of a master's degree.

Attached is a copy of the confirmation letter from National Police College.

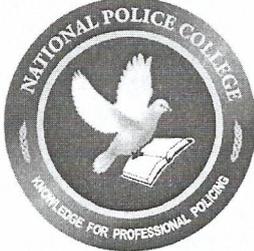
I Look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you

Theoneste NIYINDORA

SP

RWANDA NATIONAL POLICE

Musanze, 20 December 2018



NATIONAL POLICE COLLEGE

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P.O.BOX: 23 Musanze

E-mail: npc@police.gov.rw

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that **SP Theoneste NIYINDORA** is a student of Rwanda National Police College, undertaking a Master's Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation for the academic year 2018-2019. He is conducting a research on: "*Truth telling and reconciliation in post Genocide Rwanda: case study of Kimonyi unity and reconciliation village*", for which he is required to collect data from relevant sources.

Any assistance rendered to him in this regard is highly valued by this College.

F NTIRUSHWA
CP
D/COMMANDANT