



**UNIVERSITY of
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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CENTER FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

**THE ROLE OF UNITY AND RECONCILIATION
CLUBS IN POST GENOCIDE PEACE BUILDING
IN RWANDA: A CASE OF URUMURI CLUB IN
KAMONYI DISTRICT**

**A Dissertation submitted to the College of Arts and Social Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Award of a Masters' Degree of Arts in Peace Studies and
Conflicts Transformation**

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Musanze, June 2022

DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge, I, Eric Olivier HABIMANA declare that this dissertation is my authentic work. It is being submitted at the University of Rwanda for the fulfillment of the requirement for the Award of a Masters' Degree in Peace Studies and Conflicts Transformation. It has not been presented in any other Institution of Higher Learning for any degree or examination. Where other's works have been used, they have been acknowledged in the reference list.

Eric Olivier HABIMANA

Signed

Date://2022

DEDICATION

To Jesus my Saviour

To my Dad

To Géorgie IRADUKUNDA, my beloved wife

To my children,

To my brothers, Sisters, Relatives and Friends

To my Supervisor Prof. MASABO François

I dedicate this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

“I would like to mention some of the many people who, in one way or another, helped me to accomplish this research and to whom I am grateful. Because of lack of space, I will single out few of them here, but each and every one of them deserves my everlasting gratitude.

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Lastly but certainly not least, I would like to thank all friends for their insightful comments and valuable suggestions for the effective completion of this research. Likewise, I welcome all further advices and comments improving this research given that the main task of the science in academic sphere remains and will forever be to root out errors and enrich the knowledge through criticisms”.

HABIMANA Eric Olivier

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>Et al.</i> | : <i>Et alia</i> (and others) |
| Etc. | : et cetera |
| FGD | : Focus Group Discussion |
| IR. | : Interpersonal Reconciliation |
| MINALOC | : Ministry of Local Government |
| MINECOFIN | : Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning |
| NR | : National Reconciliation |
| NURC | : National Unity and Reconciliation Commission |
| RRB | : Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer |
| UN | : United Nations |
| UNDP | : United Nations Development Program |
| UNSG | : United Nations Secretary General |
| WWW | : World Wide Web |

ABSTRACT

This research investigated the Role of Unity and Reconciliation Clubs in post Genocide Rwanda. Similarly, the study has identified the programs conducted by the Unity and

Reconciliation Clubs, the relationship to unity and reconciliation and the challenges faced during the implementation of these programs. It used a triangulation of qualitative and quantitative research designs and was conducted on a sample of 55 respondents selected by using purposive sampling methods.

The findings of this research disclosed that the Urumuri club played a great role in Post genocide Rwanda unity and reconciliation. In this regard, the key unity and reconciliation programs conducted by urumuri club were Community mutual assistance, developing conviviality community by strengthening community social relations, conducting Unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns, Community economic empowerment through tontines encouraging Urumuri Club members and neighborhood for saving and requesting of loans for investment. The study findings revealed that these programs were effective in boosting the unity and reconciliation process by fostering the community social cohesion, discussing, understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda, and improving the community human security and the well being which are among the fundamental dimensions of unity and reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda.

In addition, the research findings identified some challenges encountered during the implementation of unity and reconciliation programs. They mainly include the ethnic-based stereotypes, the persistence of genocide ideology, and the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide not yet fully healed, insufficient financial resources to support the local forums, community associations and club of unity and reconciliation. Given these challenges, the study findings suggested the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement to continuously monitor the implementation of policies and guidelines on the unity and reconciliation, and fight against genocide ideology, to closely approach unity and reconciliation clubs and encourage them to directly participate in programs promoting the unity and reconciliation, and support the programs of unity and reconciliation clubs countywide by providing sufficient funds.

KEY WORDS: unity and reconciliation clubs, genocide, post genocide, peace-building, programs of unity and reconciliation club, National unity and reconciliation commission

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Rwanda faced a tragedy and horrible genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in 1994. The uniqueness in planning and implementation of 1994 Genocide against Tutsi forced Rwanda to find a series of extraordinary strategies appropriate to build peace in Rwanda focusing on solving genocide consequences and prevent its reoccurrence in Rwanda. The unity and reconciliation was prioritized by the Government of Rwanda in fight against Genocide in Rwanda. This study investigated the Role of Unity and Reconciliation clubs in Post Genocide Rwanda. The case study of Urumuri Club. The present chapter describes the research project background, the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, scope of the study, significance of the study, and structure of the study.

1.1. Background of the study

The 1994 genocide against Tutsi destroyed considerably the social fabric of Rwanda which is the key dimension strengthening the values and networks of healthy interactions among Rwandese. In fact, genocide against Tutsi has broken hearts and minds of genocide survivors, genocide perpetrators, and society in general. This forced Rwanda to adopt the policies intending to heal psychological wounds inflicted to different categories of Rwanda and promoting unity and reconciliation, as a valuable dimension and means helping to overcome the consequences of 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and build-peace in post genocide Rwanda. In contention of this research project, Post genocide peace-building relies fundamentally on unity and reconciliation as the corner stone dimension to peace-building. This dimension is tied on different pace- building components such as fight against genocide ideology and genocide re-occurrence in Rwanda. This is a collective civic obligation to all categories of Rwandese devoted to win the fight against Genocide and sustainable peace-building in Rwanda. In this context, unit and reconciliation initiatives and programs tailored on government policy on Unity and reconciliation were developed at different levels either individual or collective. During the 18th Commemoration of the 1994 Genocide Against Tutsi in 2012, the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon underlined that *“preventing genocide is a collective obligation that requires to continuously work together to ensure a future forever free of genocide.”* (UNSG, Video Message, 7th April, 2012)

Similarly, with the passion and commitment to fight the reoccurrence of genocide in Rwanda, different unit and reconciliation clubs were created and established by the community countrywide. In the same line, this research project will investigate the role of unity and reconciliation clubs in post genocide peace-building in Rwanda and the case study will be

concocted “URUMURI Unity and reconciliation club” operating in Kamonyi District, Southern Province of Rwanda.

1.2. Problem statement

The history of Rwanda indicates that the destruction of unity and reconciliation lead to 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. The reconstruction of unity and reconciliation in post genocide peace-building in Rwanda was envisioned by the government of Rwanda as an inevitable obligation necessary to restore peace in Rwanda (NURC, 2020:1). Unity and reconciliation in Rwanda is basically founded on citizens’ common nationality, a shared same culture, citizens’ equal rights, trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality, complementarity, citizens each other healing of wounds inflicted by the dark history experienced by Rwanda.

In this perspective, the findings from the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer: RRB, (2010, 2015, 2020) conducted on status, development and successes marked in terms of unity and reconciliation in Rwanda disclosed that in two past decades (1994-2020), Rwanda has strongly marked a consistent and interesting pace in unity and reconciliation development. From 2010 to 2015, unity and reconciliation improved from 82.3% in 2010 up to 92.5% in 2015 (RRB, 2010, 2016: RRB, 2016: xiii) and it increased significantly from 92.5% in 2015 to 94.7% in 2020 (RRB, 2020:154). However, the challenges impinging on unity and reconciliation process in Rwanda reported by the studies above including ethnic based stereotypes, the persistence of genocide ideology and the unhealed wounds inflicted by the divisive past and genocide. In dealing with these challenges, the unity and reconciliation clubs were established countrywide as key reconciliatory mechanisms supporting unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. In this contention, this research project was meant with a view to find out the role of unity and reconciliation clubs in post genocide peace-building in Rwanda.

1.3. Research objectives

The objectives of this research project were divided into general objective and specific objectives.

1.3.1. General Objective

This research project found out the role of unity and reconciliation clubs in post genocide Rwanda.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

The following specific objectives guided this research project:

- (1) To find out the programs carried out by Urumuri Club.
- (2) To assess the contribution of Urumuri Club programs on unity and reconciliation in Post Genocide Rwanda.
- (3) To identify the challenges limiting Urumuri Club to effectively implementing its programs.

1.4. Research questions

This research project was guided by the next research questions:

- (1) What are the programs carried out by Urumuri Club in Kamonyi District?
- (2) To which extent Urumuri Club programs foster the unity and reconciliation in Kamonyi District?
- (3) What are the challenges limiting Urumuri Club to effectively implement its programs?

1.5. Scope of the study

This scope focuses on space, time and theme of study under investigation.

1.5.1. Theme of the study

This research project investigated the role of unity and reconciliation clubs in post genocide peace-building in Rwanda.

1.5.2. Area of the study

This research project was conducted in Urumuri Club located in Kamonyi District.

1.5.3. Time frame

This research project covered the period of between January 2009-May 2022.

This timeframe was selected based on the period when Urumuri Club started operating (2009).

1.6. Significance of the study

This study is important to different beneficiaries. These include the researcher himself, academicians, the society, private and public institutions.

15.1. Personal interest

This study equips the researcher with advanced knowledge in relation to the role of unity and reconciliation clubs in post genocide peace-building in Rwanda.

It further develops comprehensively the researcher's knowledge helping to assess the progress of unity and reconciliation and community participation in post genocide peace-building in Rwanda.

1.5.2. Academic and scientific interest

This study meets the academic requirements in field of conflict transformation and peace studies. Likewise, it is beneficial for the academic relevance as well as the research findings serve as a tool of reference on the side of future academic researcher helping to improve their studies

1.5.3. Social interest

The 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and its consequences deteriorated Rwanda. Fighting the reoccurrence of genocide is a cornerstone to sustainable peace in Rwanda. Unity and reconciliation is a commitment for Rwandans helping to reconstruct the present and future of Rwanda through eradication of Genocide from its root causes.

Therefore, the findings of this study serve as a mirror to the society, private and government institutions helping to support unity and reconciliation and peace-building at large.

1.7. Structure of the study

This study was organized into five chapters. The first chapter presents the general introduction. The second chapter reviews academic literatures pertinent to the theme under study. The third chapter details the research methodology that guided this study. The fourth Chapter portrays the study findings. The fifth chapter depicts the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literatures in line with the Unity and Reconciliation in Post Genocide Peace building in Rwanda. It embraces the different concepts and theories drawn from scholars' perspective in field of peace studies.

2.1. Conceptual clarification

Scholars in field of research (Joanne, et al., 2010, p. 32, Rafael (2014, p.67) challenged dictionaries for not providing exhaustive and adequate definitions covering all areas of research. In response to these difficulties, they suggested researchers to clarify and explain the concepts used in research in order to specify the intended meaning of the study. In this context two types of definition were suggested: conceptual and operational definitions.

The conceptual definitions involve the abstract and theoretical meaning of the concepts making the subject under study. These abstractions focus on observable phenomena interesting the researcher, while operational definitions specify the operations that the researcher performs in collecting information required on a particular concept (Joanne, et al., 2010, p. 32). In this perspective, the conceptual clarification of this study defined the nexus between two main variables: Urumuri Clubs programs (independent variable) and Unity and reconciliation (dependent variable).

2.2.1. Unity

A depth of literatures basically defined the term "Unit" referring to "Oneness", "harmony", "in accord" or "agreement" (up to the agreement to disagree) (NURC, 2016). The NURC (2016, p. 28) indicated that this definition is not different from contextual definition of the concept "Unity" conceptualized in Rwandan perspective.

In fact, the history of Rwanda shows that the divisionism is among the major causes that led to 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. The "Unity" of Rwandans was underlined by different peace studies conducted on 1994 Genocide against Tutsi (NURC, 2018) as a valuable and promising perspective to fight genocide, its consequences and reoccurrence in Rwanda. The term "Unit" in context of this study means a commitment, tightened, togetherness, and team spirit of Rwandans in dealing with the causes and consequences of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and fight against Genocide in Rwanda.

2.2.2. Reconciliation

Different studies conducted in field of peace studies showed that scholars haven't a consensus in proving a universal definition on concept "reconciliation". Some scholars, the concept "reconciliation" as a goal/outcome, or as a process (Bar-Tal and Bennink, 2004 cited in Cristina, et al. 2009, p.111), as both a goals-something to achieve and process-means to achieve to that goal (Bloomfield, 2003, p.12, Kostić, 2007, p.3); and both a focus and a place" (Lederach, 1999, p.30). This discrepancy in scholars 'discourses defining the term reconciliation led to divergence and blurred nature of understanding of the concept itself.

Commonly, several definitions found in different literatures focus commonly on elements featuring or bringing about the reconciliation: socio-cultural and political context specific to countries experienced conflicts (Bert et al., 2018, p.61). In this context, reconciliation was defined as "a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace" (Karen, 2003, p.3).

In context of Rwanda, the conceptualization of reconciliation integrates a holistic approach reflecting the past, present and future of the country. The components of this approach embrace mainly intrapersonal, interpersonal and national reconciliation (NURC: RRB, 2020, p.5). In this perspective, the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation (2020, p.5) defined reconciliation as "*conduct and practices of Rwandans that reflect the identity of the shared citizenship, culture, and equal rights manifested through interpersonal trust, tolerance, respect, equality, truth, and healing the wounds with the objective of laying a foundation for sustainable development.*"

In contention of this study, the term reconciliation was used in perspective of "*the process of peace building and development. It involves all intrapersonal, interpersonal and national reconciliatory measures and strategies (conduct and practices) envisioning the present and future living in harmony and peace of Rwanda. These strategies are mainstreamed on three main variables: a shared citizenship identity, culture of peace, and equal rights and their indicators such as interpersonal trust, tolerance, respect, equality, truth, and healing the wounds inflicted by the past tragic history of divisionism and genocide against Tutsi institutionalized in Rwanda in different historical eras of Rwanda: pre-colonial colonial, and Post-colonial periods*".

2.2.3. Peace building

Scholars indicated that “*although the concept of “peace building” was firstly developed in 1979 (John G., 1975, p. 282–304), it only made its way onto the international agenda in the early 1990s*” (Thania, P, 2013, p.1).

The definition of the term “peace building” seems firstly to be appeared in the United Nations Agenda for Peace published in 1992.

This document discussed the different challenges (Vetoes, cast in the Security Council) which rendered “*the United National Powerless to deal with wars and conflicts crisis ravaged the world since the creation of the United Nations in 1945*”. (Necla T, 1996). *In the agenda for peace, the UN Secretary General suggested Peace building as the sustainable strategy to deal with wars and conflicts resolution. The agenda for peace conceptualized the term peace building as:*

“One of several tools at the service of the international community to deal with the threat or reality of war. It defined peace-building as a post conflict activity involving "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.” (Necla T, 1996).

In context of this study, the term peace building means “*the different mechanisms put in place by the government of Rwanda seeking to address the underlying causes and consequences of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and prevent future violence and disruption of peace in Rwanda*”.

2.2.4. Post genocide Rwanda

Scholars in field of History chronologically subdivided the History of Rwanda into three distinct historical timelines: “*Pre-colonial period, Colonial period, and Post-colonial period*. However, post genocide period falls in post-colonial period; it was used to mean the timeframe of 28 years covering the period of 1994 up to date.

2.3. Peace building Perspective

This section discusses the peace building perspective at international and national perspective. A better description of this concept of peace building is clearly identified by looking into the traditional and contemporary dimensions of peace. Extensive scholarly studies in peace studies (Goldstein 2011; Pinker 2011, Gibler, 2012) viewed peace in lenses of the decline of war. These scholars argued that the “world is more peaceful largely because of declining violent behavior” that particularly result in a battle death (Goldstein 2011; Pinker 2011). The proponents of this

perspective perceive and conceptualize peace in context of intrastate peace and conflict and to some extent the presence of a minimal degree of democracy and they focus on underlying the conditions that generate war and other forms of violence (Michael G. F., Kyosuke K, and Susanna C., 2017, p.92). This perspective of viewing peace as absence of war largely influenced the peace building perspectives developed in United Nations Agenda for Peace published in 1992, which constitutes currently the main document inspiring abundant debates around peace building worldwide. The contents of the Agenda for Peace makes the stem of the painfully existing literatures discussing the negative and positive peace developed in the work of a Norwegian John Galtung in 1969s, which are two main typologies of peace (Galtung, 1964, p.2) deeply elaborated in next subsection.

2.3.1. Peace-building

The international politics views peace building in spectrum of “*negative peace and positive peace*”. *Scholars in peace studies underlined the dichotomy between the negative peace and positive peace*” and Galtung (1964, p. 2.) conceptualized “*negative peace*” as *the absence of violence, absence of war, whilst positive peace was conceived as the integration of human society*” (Galtung, 1964, p.2). In connection to that, Galtung classified “*violence into two typologies*”: “*Direct, structural and cultural violence*”. He defined negative peace in terms of “*absence of organized direct violence*” whereas “*positive peace*” was defined in context of “*the absence of structural and cultural violence and prevalence of justice, harmony and equality*”. The outset of peace typologies of Galtung inspired different writers in peace studies that used them to evaluate peace at societal, national and international level (Tilahun T, 2015, p.252).

Similarly, Barash and Webel (2014) has elaborated a little bit the definition of positive peace. He views positive peace as [...] *a social condition in which exploitation is minimized or eliminated and in which there is neither overt violence nor the subtler phenomenon of underlying structural violence. It denotes the continuing presence of an equitable and just social order as well as ecological harmony* (Barash and Webel , 2014, p. 7).

At this argument of view, Galtung established the outcome of the structural violence in essence that it “*is built in to the very nature of social, cultural and economic institutions. Evidently, it has an effect of denying people’s important rights, such as economic wellbeing, social, political and sexual equality, a sense of personal fulfillment and self-worth and is expressed with the existence of hunger, political repression, and psychological alienation*”. Adversely, direct violence generally works much faster and is more visible and dramatic (Tilahun T, 2015, p.252).

Furthermore, Galtung pointed out that behind structural violence is cultural violence which legitimizes it through language, art, science, law, media and education (Galtung, 1996, p.2). In addition to that, Galtung pointed out that:

...since the search for peace is concerned with the relations between groups; it obviously divides into a negative and a positive part: the search for the conditions for the absence of negative relations, and the search for conditions that facilitate the presence of positive relations Galtung, (1967, 14).

He mentioned further that:

...all these values can be discussed at the intra-national level of individuals as well as at the international level of nations. One can talk about individuals exploiting each other and nations exploiting each other, about individuals living in fear and anxiety and nations doing so, about individuals having a wide range of actions open to themselves so that they can live "rich lives of actions from which they can choose, and one may talk about nations in the same way "(Galtung, 1967, 14).

In this perspective, he related positive peace to the existence of ten values of positive relations at national and international level which include the presence of cooperation, freedom from fear, freedom from want, economic growth and development, absence of exploitation, equality, justice, freedom of action, pluralism, dynamism (Galtung, 1967, 14).

The above Galtung's typologies of peace presented above were also commented on by Grewel (2003). In the same vein, he argued that: "*negative peace: is pessimistic, curative, peace not always by peaceful means. Positive peace is structural integration, optimistic, preventive, peace by peaceful means* (Grewel, 2003, p.4). He advocated Galtung by stating that what Galtung in most of his work has sought to project was and still is positive peace as a higher ideal than negative peace. In this perspective, Grewel (2003, p.4) suggested that peace research should not merely deal with the narrow vision of ending or reducing violence at a direct or structural level but seeks to understand conditions for preventing violence (Tilahun T, 2015, p.252). Indeed, peace building perspective upholds undoubtedly the positive peace values, which are the drivers of this study endeavored to identify the existing core values of positive peace uphold by the Unit and Reconciliation Clubs in Rwanda.

2.3.2. Typologies of violence

Scholars in field of studies focused their works on what should be the root causes of conflicts, wars, consequences what should be the predictable conditions, and solutions to overcome them and build a suitable peace. The famous work published in this perspective is a work of the Norwegian peace studies theorist Johan Galtung which developed “*a three pronged typology of violence that describes how a confluence of factors merge, particular cultural and/or historical factors to shape the conditions promoting violence and boost them to function as normative*”. Galtung developed “*three typologies of violence: Direct violence, Structural Violence and Cultural Violence*” (Galtung, 1990, pp.291-230)

2.3.2.1. Direct violence

The Direct Violence represents behaviors that serve to threaten life itself and/or to diminish one’s capacity to meet basic human needs. Illustratively, the direct violence includes killing, injuring, bullying, sexual assault, and emotional manipulation. An example to this type of violence includes the several barbaric acts of violence made by genocidal regime against the Tutsi. These include the systematic killings of Tutsi in different parts of Rwanda which in different literature written on 1994 Genocide against Tutsi were denoted an attempt and initial preparation of genocide against Tutsi in different parts of Rwanda at the time. The example is the massacre of Bagogwe in Northern part of Rwanda, the forcefully displacement of Tutsi from their lands and dwelling them in dangerous zones such as Bugesera forest where the likelihood of security threats were high due to animals and the Mosquito known as Tsetse which killed progressively a big number of Tutsi, the defamation through political speeches and the different dehumanizing names such as snakes, cockroaches given to Tutsi.

2.3.2.2. Structural Violence

The structural violence represents the systematic ways in which some groups are hindered from equal access to opportunities, goods, and services that enable the fulfillment of basic human needs. These can be formal as in legal structures that enforce marginalization (such as the 1994 genocide against Tutsi) or they could be culturally functional but without legal mandate (such as limited access to education or health care for marginalized groups). For instance, “the politics of ethnic quota promoting both education structural and labor exclusion” used by the genocidal regime in education system has segregated and stigmatized the Tutsi. This marginalization and oppression created educational inequalities marginalizing the Tutsi and depriving them the right

to have equal to access education and labor like the Hutu (Mafeza F., 2013, P.3, Lyndsay M. H., 2013, P.2).

2.3.2.3. Cultural Violence

The cultural violence “represents the existence of prevailing or prominent social norms that make direct and structural violence seem “natural” or “right” or at least acceptable”. An illustrative example is “*the Hamitic Myth also denoted Hamitic hypothesis used in genocidal propaganda against Tutsi in Rwanda*”. Scholars (Nigel, 2006, Awa P Z., 2021, Shyaka A, 2004) discussed and underlined the influence of Hamitic theory in preparatory and execution steps of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. These authors showed that “*the European anthropologist transformed the ‘Hamite’ in to a racial object and this is how the extraneous provenance of ‘the Tutsi’ was articulated in different historical periods characterized Rwanda*” (colonial Rwanda, first and the second Republic). During this period “*the hypothesis was constructing the Tutsi population as a target of genocide which was institutionalized and lead to 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi*” (Nigel, 2006). Equally, Awa P Z. (2021) elaborated the role of Hamitic theory genocide against Tutsi as follows:

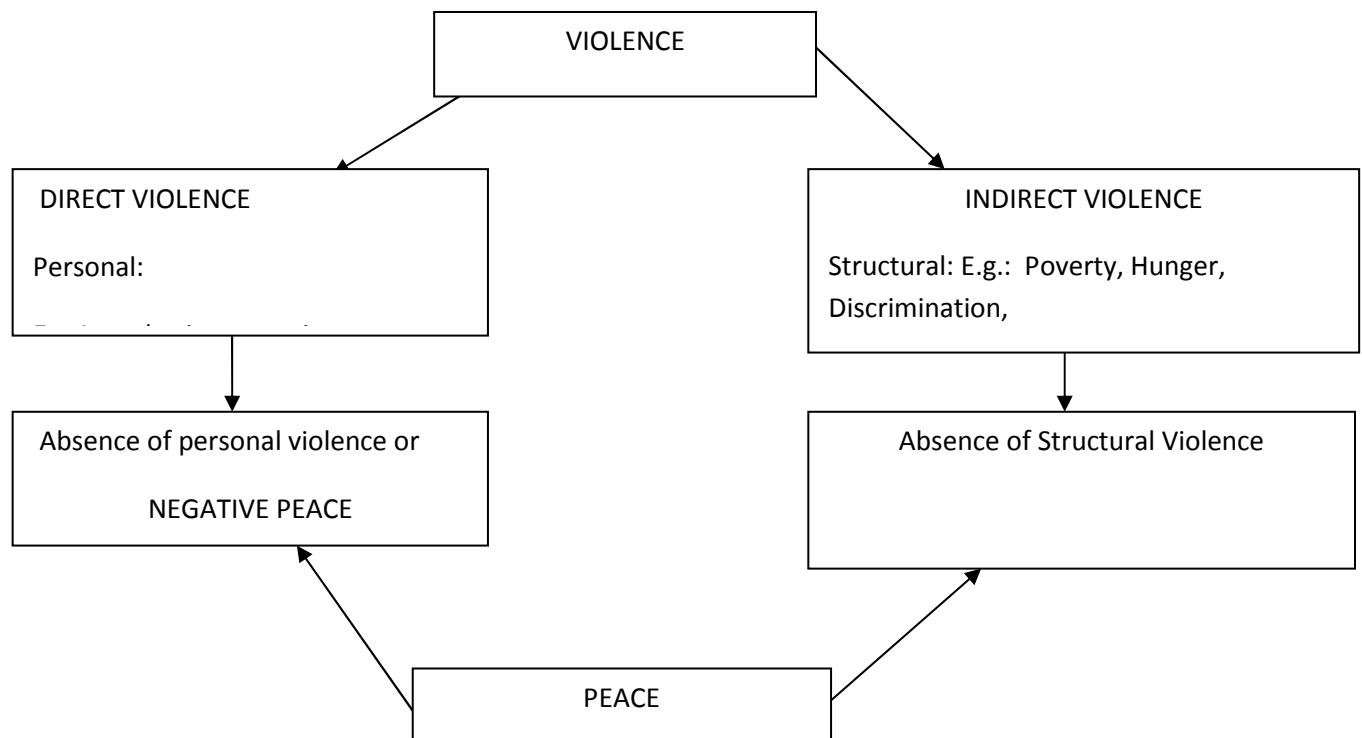
“[...] the Hamitic hypothesis or the Hamitic myth, which was exported by European colonizers to Rwanda, planted the seeds for the hatred that led to the massacre of Tutsis in 1994. The effect of the hypothesis was twofold. First, it shaped the institutionalization of ethnic differences through a series of discriminatory reforms and administrative systems that favored Tutsis during the colonial era. Second, the recontextualization and weaponization of the myth after independence resulted in discrimination against Tutsis during the first and second Hutu republics, and their subsequent extermination during the genocide (Awa P Z. 2021).

The influence of Hamitic hypothesis in 1994 Genocide against Tutsi was also elaborated by Shyaka in his work entitled the Rwandan Conflict: origin, development, exit strategies conducted in 2004, describes the influence of Hamitic hypothesis seeding hatred and divisionism ideology that led to the 1994 genocide against Rwanda. The Hamitic theory asserted that:

“The Rwanda political, social and economic organization was achieved by the invading Tutsi, whose distant ancestors would have been of Eurasian origin. It also defined the relations between the Hutus and the Tutsis and defines them in terms of domination and submission, thus opposing the Hutus who were submitted and destitute to the Tutsis, who were rulers, well-off and oppressors” (Shyaka A, 2004, p.8).

Indeed, the three typologies of violence (Direct, structural and cultural violence) discussed above are interlinked and they instigate the conflict and war which are undoubtedly in one way or another destroy peace and destabilize the entire peace building system worldwide. A sustainable peace building process should take into consideration to handle and manage these barriers. Galtung (1964, p. 2) summarized the concept of peace and violence as presented below:

Figure 1: Expanded concept of peace and violence



Source : Balgit, S. C., 2003, p.2

Indeed, the three typologies of violence (Direct, structural and cultural violence) discussed above are interlinked and they instigate the conflict and war which are undoubtedly in one way or another destroy peace and destabilize the entire peace building system worldwide. A sustainable peace building process should take into consideration to handle and manage these barriers. In line with this chart, Galtung, (1969, p. 168) argued that *“violence exists because of the structure and the actors merely carry out that violence. Galtung defines “violence as being present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual mental realization is below their potential realization. In this context, peace is not merely and absence of violence (negative peace), but also absence of structural violence (Positive Peace)”.* *“Structural violence stems from violence in the*

structure of society, rather than the actor generated personal and direct violence “(Galtung, 1969, p. 168). Therefore, *“the role of peace studies is to study both negative as well as positive aspects of peace both the conditions for absence of violence and the conditions for peace”*.

2.3.2. Post genocide Rwanda peace building perspective

The debate of scholars in field of peace studies argued that at *“the beginning peace building was predominantly an internationally-coined and promoted concept referring primarily to the international community's response to violent conflicts, threats of violent conflict or aftermath of such conflicts”*. As previously highlighted, peace building was simply conceptualized as an interstate conflicts and war oriented approach. This peace building framework raises a query peace studies should answer whether this approach was an effective to sustainable peace. This question was clarified by Necla T, (1996) who asserted that *“it is evident that violent conflicts are issue and context-specific and have complex internal dynamics. Similarly, external responses to such conflicts are products of a complex set of international factors, with far-reaching ramifications on the ground. Peace building, then, is the point of intersection between local realities and international response”*. This ineffectiveness is linked to the fact that the majority of the research in peace studies was based on negative peace in line with the needs of the power holders and positive peace was devoid of concrete contents (Schmid, 1968). This argument was also supported by Gur-Ze-Ev (2001) who believed that the entire project of peace education is doomed to fail. Similarly, Bonisch (1981) found the positive Peace building concept lacking in rigour and overly utopia. The above scholar's arguments show that *“peace building overlooked to build a positive peace framework tailored on the real context of communities experienced conflicts and opt for negative peace”*.

In context of Rwanda, the violence that led to the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi was not interstate war and conflict. The Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda has its particularity that requires a separate conceptualization of peace building. In this perspective, building peace is based on transformation of dynamic causes sustaining violence by instilling national values and peace perspectives, institutional frameworks and positive peace based approach. This approach unfolds the genocide root causes in a constructive way instead of negative peace handling conflicts superficially in pretext of *defining the absence of war and violence, the approach that does not capture a society's perceptive tendencies towards stability and harmony. The Post Genocide Rwanda conceptualization of peace building integrates both negative peace and positive peace in context specific to Rwanda. Specifically, it focuses on defining Rwandan social cultural and*

political economy values instilling more lasting peace built on sustainable investments in economic, institutional and societal values and attitudes development of Rwanda that foster peace. This perspective was incorporated in homegrown solutions which is the bedrock paradigm shift in reconstruction of Rwanda after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. In this context, “the Constitution of the Rwanda suggested Rwanda to base on Rwandan values, initiate home-grown mechanisms to deal with matters facing Rwanda in view to build the nation, promote national culture, and restore dignity” (Rwanda constitution of 2003 amended in 2015). Peace building envisaged in this perspective which put at the forefront, the positive values supporting societal transformation and sustainable peace. Robert (2015) suggested a core framework of change for peace building focusing on three main components: Structural, Attitudinal, and Transactional. The structural emphasis on systems and institutions designed to meet people’s basic human needs. The Attitudinal refers to shared norms, beliefs, social capital, and intergroup relationships that affect the level of cooperation between groups or people. The transactional element refers to processes and skills used by key people to peacefully manage conflict, build interpersonal relationships, solve problems collaboratively and turn ideas into action. These aspects lead peace building perspectives to focus on macro and micro level framework. The post genocide Peace building framework engaged a holistic approach involving different macro level and micro level programs promoting peace. These include putting in place different institutions of peace building at national and grassroots levels such as peace building forums, discussing past and future of Rwanda.

2.3.2.1. Reconciliation perspective

A flourished literature in peace studies focused on “post-conflict reconciliation exponentially started in the post-Cold War period, the concept of reconciliation began for the first time being applied, systematically, by both academic and policy circles, to countries described as being in a “post-conflict” or “transitional” phase (Eugenia, 2021, pp. 252–278, Mullet, et al, 2020). During this period, violence and conflicts were an intra-state nature and subsequently post conflict peace building agenda plagued in the same perspective. In fact, the concept reconciliation was not new at that time, but its systematic use in post-conflict and post-genocide contexts which remained silent. At this point of view, the literature shows that in the aftermath of World War II, there wasn’t any call invited allies and the Axis powers of Germany, Japan and Italy for reconciliation, nor Nuremberg trials were not expected to promote reconciliation, nor belligerents in civil wars expected to “reconcile” after hostilities, much less victims and perpetrators of genocides.

Reconciliation gained momentum almost after 50 years later, with the establishment of International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda established on 08th November 1994.

Why it took a long period to consider reconciliation in peace building? Intensified breadth and depth of literature (Epstein, 1979, Sichrovsky, 1987, Bar-On, 1989, Simon, 1993, Teichman and Leder, 1998), in field of peace studies indicates that for decades, reconciliation was discussed in response to holocausts, conflicts and wars and this view was opposed to academic literature standpoint. The tone and vocabulary used show a concern with prevention, not reconciliation

They Pointed out that the importance of uncovering, documenting, remembering in the Holocaust literature is justified in the name of “Never Again” - and not in the name of “healing” or “reconciling”, a characteristic of more contemporary post-conflict and post genocide contexts in peace studies, according to which, Peace building is tied on a range of activities that go beyond crisis intervention such as longer-term development, and building of governance structures and institutions.

In this context, peace building is typically understood as a post conflict activity, to be distinguished from some broader definitions which see peace building as “efforts to avert conflict either before or after war (Paris, 2004, p.2). Reconciliation besieges in this perspective of strengthening durable peace. Reconciliation measures are along with host peace building measures that should be incorporated in policies and agreements of counties experienced conflicts, and genocide wars (Kritz, 1996, p. 128). Indeed, different scholars (Bloomfield, Barnes, et al., 2003, p. 167) suggested that reconciliation must be implemented in parallel with and as a constitutive part of those other activities of reform or reconstruction, not before, not after, but at the same time as rebuilding. This marks the rise of a “new post-conflict agenda” which includes “explicit attempts to influence core social and political dynamics of governance, reconciliation and justice” even though these are “areas that until a few years ago were totally off the development agenda (Uvin, 2001, p. 177-8). At this point of view, it was commonly underlined that without our “reconciliation glasses” on, post-war and longer-term development interventions will prove misguided and counterproductive (Chayes and Minow, 2003, p. xviii-xx). Long term peace cannot be realized if resentment, bitterness, and moral doubts about the just treatment of perpetrators and victims of human rights abuses linger in the minds of citizens (Crocker, 1999, p. 63-4). Post-conflict peace building must be streamlined on putting in place a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation, with a

major concern being the repairing, or positive transformation of broken human relationships. Reconciliation is a key factor to achieve to sustainable peace.

2.4. Theoretical perspective on Unity and Reconciliation

This section discusses the different literature on unity and reconciliation.

2.4.1. Generic perspective on Unity

The concept of unity involves the elements of diversity and harmony for the general interest of the country. Sentama (2014, p.35-37) relates the concept “unity” to the theoretical and philosophical discourse of Hegel in connection with the concept of Unity in diversity developed by Hegel (Atta, 2008, p.8). Accordingly, Sentama (2014, p.35) argued that:

” where unity is present, differing opinions are valued and are essential to the truth-seeking aspect of consultative decision-making. Teams are made up of individuals with different strengths and knowledge, individual approaches to tasks are nurtured and supported, learning approaches aim to foster appreciation of and experience of diversity, and wide geographic representation and outreach, and gender balance, are sought by the organization” Unity is thus a positive value when there is real respect for being different and the uniqueness in that. In some contexts, unity also means having a set of common rules, which facilitate interaction. However, diversity represents appreciation of different approaches” Sentama (2014, p.35)

In this contention, unity in diversity equates the essence of the whole or a set of diversity with its constituents. A system having a set of different parts working together, complementing each other to serve the same function. This essence of unity in diversity expresses the meaning of oneness and harmony.

2.4.2. Rwanda conceptualization of unity

This subsection presents the various opinions describing the perception of Rwanda towards the concept of unity. The discussion briefly is an extract of the historical background outsourced from the Rwandan Culture. Some proverbs such as *“abaginama hamwe Imana irabasanga”*, *“Abishyize hamwe ntakibananira”* call for peace and unity. In the first proverb, Rwandans believed that God is Peace. By translating literally, it is shown that where there is oneness and harmony, peace reigns. The second proverb shows that togetherness makes strengths, and solidarity, which characterizes Rwanda National Unity, expressed in the concept of ‘Rwandanness’ (Ubunyarwanda), which incontestably an absolute Rwandans identity.

The work entitled “Ubudehe to fight poverty”, MINALOC and MINECOFIN (2002, p.1) evidently elaborate the unity and solidarity of Rwandans as key pillars for the survival of Rwanda. Accordingly, this work argues that: *“from the time in memorial, Rwandans in their culture held that unity was strength, and that to survive they needed each other’s help without any distinction—solidarity by ‘working together’ . This was Rwanda’s traditional philosophy of mutual solidarity and assistance reflecting a number of collective activities they performed at village level. People jointly put up houses, cleared bushes and tilled land for growing of crops. Efforts were also combined to defend themselves against common enemies and generally came to each other’s help both in time of happiness and time of sadness. It is realized that spirit of mutual assistance was deeply rooted in the conventions and customs of the society. Such solidarity kept the Rwandan society quite intact and dynamic”* (MINALOC and MINECOFIN, 2002, p.1).

The perspective of Rwandans on unity was also expressed in Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front in its Articles 2 and 3. In provision of these articles: *National unity’ implies that the Rwandese people, as constituent elements of the Rwandese nation, are one and indivisible. National unity entails the rejection of all exclusions and any form of discrimination based notably on ethnicity, regions, sex and religion. It also entails that all citizens have equal opportunity of access to all the political, economic and other advantages, which access must be guaranteed by the State (Rwanda-RPF Arusha Peace Accord, 1992).*

This perspective on National Unity was reiterated in fundamental principles of the constitution of 2003 whereby it was shaped towards a bond in diversity. This connotation was expressed in term of the concept *“pluralism” which politically, indicates an extensive consensus and social cohesion, adaptation and accommodation among Rwandans and the emergence of integrative central value system (Rwandan Constitution 2003, art. 9, 11, 178).*

Based on historical and chronological time lines experienced Rwanda discussed throughout this study, it is clear that the concept of unity was is a traditional attribute and value that was revived and recommended by the Government of Rwanda to be reinforced for peace building in Rwanda.

2.4.3. Perspective of reconciliation

Scholars (Crocker, 1999, Borer, 2006) in field of peace studies provided different types of reconciliation. On the one hand, Crocker, (1999) suggested a three reconciliation typology (Thick reconciliation, Democratic reciprocity, Thin reconciliation) based on degree of social cooperation

criteria. On the other hand, Borer (2006) based on character or approach of reconciliation has classified reconciliation into two main categories: individual reconciliation and national unity and reconciliation based on character or approach to reconciliation. However, the distinct terminologies, both typologies of reconciliation converge to two typologies of peace (negative and positive peace) developed by Galtung.

2.4.3.1. Thick reconciliation

The thick reconciliation is also Interpersonal Reconciliation (IR). This type of reconciliation is centered on the reparation of relationships between victims and those who harmed them or their loved ones (Stovel, 2006, cited in Sentama, .2009, p. 30-33). In this context, *“the reconciliation happens to individuals, usually between two persons (a group of people (survivor and perpetrator), but also sometimes with an individual themselves known as intrapersonal reconciliation (IR)”* (Borer, 2006, p.32). Intrapersonal reconciliation also *“referred to trauma healing (the process by which individuals who suffered from, or conducted, violence need to reconcile with themselves)”*. The determinants of this type of reconciliation include healing, apology, forgiveness, confession, and remorse (Stovel, 2006). The thick reconciliation involves both the sociopsychological approach and the spiritual or theological approach of reconciliation. On one hand, sociopsychological approach is based on the theory of contact, which 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. On other hand, the spiritual or theological approach is based on religious beliefs that reconciling with our neighbors 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.

Assefa (2008), suggested *“the seven elements to be considered for individual reconciliation effectiveness in fostering peace: (1) honest acknowledgment of the harm/injury each party has inflicted on the other; (2) sincere regrets and remorse for the injury done; (3) readiness to apologize for one’s role in inflicting the injury; (4) Readiness of the conflicting parties to let go of the anger and bitterness caused by the conflict and the injury,(5) commitment by the offender not to repeat the injury; (6) sincere effort to redress past grievances that caused the conflict and*

compensate the damage caused to the extent possible; and (7) entering into a new mutually enriching relationship”.

2.4.3.2. Democratic reciprocity reconciliation

Mulellet, et al., (2020) argued that the meaning of reconciliation depends on the degree to which trust and cooperation between opponents have been restored. These scholars described the democratic reconciliation that as the phase when both parties have resumed the capability to cooperate at least minimally after the fighting has stopped (Mulellet et al.2000). Indeed, democratic reciprocity reconciliation involves the initial process of developing the capability of cooperation between former adversary parties. Indeed, it is located between thick reconciliation and thin reconciliation continuum developed by Crocker, (1999).

Gouldner (1960, p. 162) In Andreas S. (2021, pp. 252-278) argued that the reciprocity is a two-sided social norm of fairness that involves a duty to return favors, as well as the permission to return injuries, is widely recognized as a fundamental norm “not only for primitive but for all societies (Andreas S. 2021, pp. 252-278). This double side social norm involves negative reciprocity to positive reciprocity. In this context, Andreas S. (2021, pp. 252-278) asserted that the normative theories of democracy tend to conceive democracy as a system of mutual cooperation which is sustained by norms of mutual cooperation (“positive reciprocity”), while empirical theories of democracy tend to conceive democracy as a system of mutual cooperation which is endangered by norms of mutual retaliation (“negative reciprocity”).

In this context, the cooperative demands of reciprocity are straightforward in ideal situations of universal compliance; they direct all citizens to do their “fair share” and cooperate with everybody else who is doing the same. The general norm of reciprocity strives to establish basic symmetries of giving and taking in social life: *quid pro quo*, *tit for tat*. It obliges us to treat well the people who treat us well (“positive reciprocity”) and permits us to mistreat those who are mistreating us (“negative reciprocity”). Becker (1986, p. 105–13) stated that reciprocity demands bounded (“appropriate”) responses to kindness, as well as to nastiness. Both the retribution of benefits received and the retaliation of harms suffered must be qualitatively adequate (“fitting”) and quantitatively commensurate (“proportional”). If this reciprocity combines both negative and positive, what is the stand for democratic reconciliation?

In fact, democratic reconciliation focuses on both “*retributive (a justice system of criminal justice on the punishment of lawbreakers and the compensation of victims) and restorative justice, that*

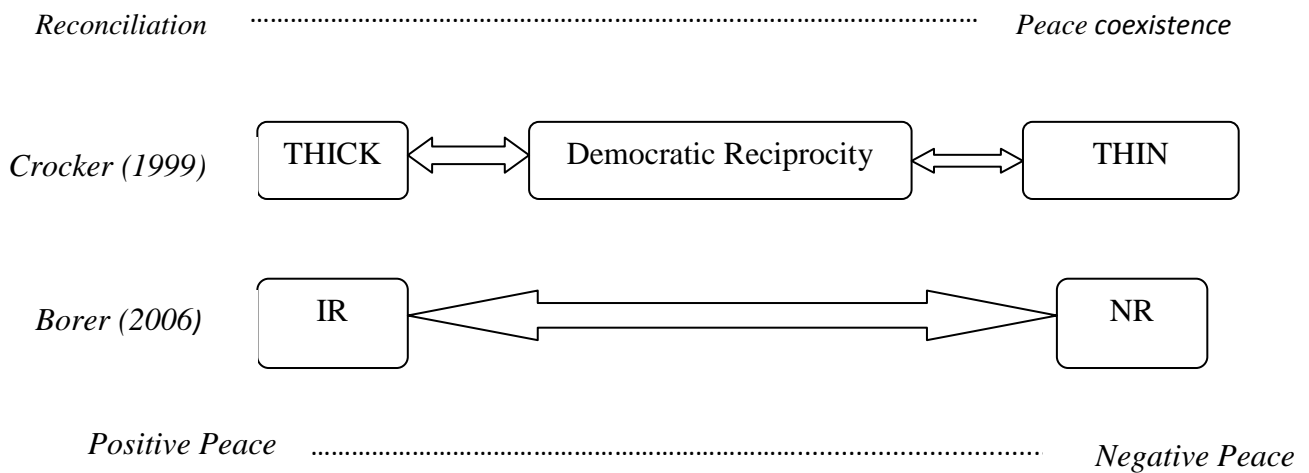
is, a system of criminal justice which focuses on the rehabilitation of offenders through reconciliation with victims and the community at large". Indeed, the objective of democratic reconciliation is not retaliation which is the goal in negative reciprocity, but rather to resolve the issues of conflict between former adversary parties through reconciliation.

2.4.3.3. Thin reconciliation

This third typology is also termed National Reconciliation (NR) and it *"relies on national or political reconciliation paradigm which is associated with building socio-political institutions. In Rwanda, the thin refers to the National Unity and Reconciliation"*. This method is different to thick reconciliation discussed in previously subsection. It is based on assumption that former enemies are unlikely to agree with each other or even to get along very well. The most important aspect of NR is the development of a political culture respecting and promoting the human rights of all people. In this regard, the national reconciliation is founded on premise that the state should strive to build legitimate and representative state institutions which respect fundamental human rights and in which it is the responsibility of the state to create a culture of rights based upon an inclusive and democratic notion of citizenship (Borer, 2006). This *"National reconciliation model is indeed, most closely associated with the terms such as tolerance, rule of law (justice), democracy, human rights culture, conflict resolution, transparency, and public debate"* (Eugenia Z., 2014, p.59). The thin reconciliation is in line with the structural approach of reconciliation termed the institutional approach which gives a great weight to deep institutional and policy changes. The proponents of this approach believe that the existence of such mechanisms are crucial in creating conditions of true reconciliation. They contend 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.

The literature perspective on reconciliation presented was briefly summarized by Eugenia Z. (2014, p.59) in next diagram.

Figure 2: The Thick-to- Thin reconciliation continuum



Source: Eugenia, 2014, p.5

As indicated to the above table, Thick reconciliation is interpersonal reconciliation (IR) and it leads to Nation Reconciliation (NR) through trust and cooperation between former adversary parties.

Indeed, different literature discussed in previous subsection on unity and reconciliation show that various reconciliation models can be tailored on context of the conflict and peace indeed to achieve. However, both negative and positive peace are emphasized on during peace building process, Post genocide peace building Rwanda emphasized on positive peace education.

2.5. Rwanda reconciliation perspective

Unity and reconciliation of Rwanda was firstly documented in Arusha Peace Accords, signed in August 1993 between the then Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (Sentama, P.35). The 1993 Arusha Peace Accords considered Unity and Reconciliation as a process that is fundamental for the stability and development of Rwanda. *“Unity and reconciliation was viewed as an imperative prerequisite for the reestablishment of democracy, peace and tranquility, the rule of law, national cohesion and holistic development”* (NURC, 2009). *“The aftermath of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi was faced with a huge challenge to reunite and reconcile Rwandans, who were in total trauma and distress* (NURC, 2007, P10). *“The overall challenge was thus how to rebuild the socioeconomic, cultural and institutional fabric, restore security, provide justice, and bring about Reconciliation and Unity in a devastated country made up the wounded, disunited*

and traumatized people “(NURC, 2009, p.7; Longari Marco, 2010, p.49). To address this dark past of Rwanda, and the consequent legacy and challenges, toward a new and bright society, the restoration of national Unity and Reconciliation was thus vital (Sentama, 2014 p.35). Peace, unity and reconciliation were the essential pillars for development of Rwanda (The Constitution, 2003, Art.9, 11).

The Rwanda Government effort to establish Unity and reconciliation was also expressed in discourse of the National Unity and reconciliation Commission (NURC). Accordingly, the NURC, (2007) indicated that: “*Unity and reconciliation is a responsibility of every Rwandan and every institution. It is the only option for peace that Rwanda chose to undertake after the discriminatory and divisive politics that plunged the country into wars and the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi*” (NURC, 2007).

In addition, NURC (2010, P.16) defined Unity and reconciliation 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 or one another’s wounds inflicted by our [Rwanda’s] history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development*”. The same definition was also codified in National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation of 2020. This policy views the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation (2020) as: “*Conduct and practices of Rwandans that reflect the identity of the shared citizenship, culture, and equal rights manifested through interpersonal trust, tolerance, respect, equality, truth, and healing the wounds with the objective of laying a foundation for sustainable development*” (NURC, 2009). The intent and orientation of the above policy was detailed by the NURC (2010, p.16).

In context of this policy, the ambition of the government of Rwanda in line with the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans was anticipated beyond *citizen’s consensus practice on the identity of the shared citizenship, culture, and equal right* and expressed in terms of conduct and practices on *the identity of the shared citizenship, culture, and equal rights* that must guide Rwandan.

2.5.1. Context and dimensions of unity and reconciliation in Rwanda

The majority of literature shows that the peace, security, reconciliation and unity in Rwanda is featured on seven dimensions or fundamental aspects: “*Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future, shared citizenship and identity, institutionalizing a political culture and promoting peace, promoting the security and wellbeing, fostering justice, fairness and rights,*

consolidating a social cohesion, and strengthening truth telling and reconciliation “(NURC, 2009).

2.5.1.1. Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future

The history of Rwanda indicates that the politics of divisionism institutionalized and characterized both pre-independence (colonialism period) and post-independence areas (First and Second Republic) Rwanda is among the major causes of Rwanda historical destructive conflicts, that lead to the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. An institutionalized politic of divisionism disseminating hatred, hostilities, and genocide ideology shaped the way the past was understood and taught (Tiemessen, 2004; Zorbas, 2004; Brounéus, 2008a; NURC, 2015). In shaping the desired good future of Post Genocide Rwanda, it was observed that the understanding and confronting the sources of social division is a key mechanism that can help to promote reconciliation in Rwanda. This perspective was suggested by the Government of Rwanda on a general hypothesis premise contending 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).

2.5.1.2. Citizenship and identity

Scholars commonly agreed on the main aspects of citizenship. However, different definitions provided. These aspects include the state of being vested with the rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen, the character of an individual viewed as a member of society; behavior in terms of the duties, obligations, and functions of a citizen. In this perspective, Bauböck, (2007, p.1) defined “*citizenship as a status of equal membership in a self-governing policy, 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*”.

In this context, Rwanda believes that the more there is a shared sense of national identity and an inclusive citizenship, the more the promotion of reconciliation is likely to succeed. National and individual identity, attitudes regarding citizenship and the prevalence of shared cultural values are among the key reference indicators and aspects determining a shared citizenship and identity.

2.5.1.3. Political culture

As previously discussed, the structural approach suggests to establish a legitimate political structures upholding reconciliation and peace building process. In this perspective, the government of Rwanda hypothesizes that “if citizens view political structures, institutions, and

leadership as legitimate and effective, national reconciliation is more likely to occur” (NURC, 2015, p.10).

2.5.1.4. Security and wellbeing

This dimension relies its foundation on the state responsibility to protect its population from internal and external security threats. In this context, the scope of security should go beyond individual and societal physical security (Hill J. N. C. and Francesco C., 2019) to globally human security (UNDP Report, 1994). In view of that, the 1994 UNDP Report introduced a new concept of human security, which equates security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms. The “*two main components of human security (freedom from fear and freedom from want) should be at the center of security and wellbeing*”. Even though the list of security threats undermining human security is not exhaustive, the UNDP report (1994) attempted to cluster few of them in “*seven categories: Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Community security, Political security*” (UNDP Report, 1994).

In this perspective, Rwanda envisaged the security and wellbeing as potential elements of its vision helping to promote reconciliation. This government aspiration is tied on hypothesis that “if citizens feel secure and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes” (NURC, 2015, p.11).

2.5.1.5. Justice, fairness and rights

This dimension put forward reconciliation beyond the sole retributive/punitive aspect and alternatively focuses on restorative justice whereby truth, acknowledgment, forgiveness, healing and social justice become key aspects of reconciliation. In this perspective, Rwanda hypothesizes that “if parties to conflict are convinced that they got proper justice, there is greater likelihood for reconciliation” (NURC, 2015, p.11).

2.5.1.6. Social cohesion

The literature previously discussed shows that the social cohesion is believed to be the end state of all reconciliation efforts and a result of community reconciliation. This dimension considers trust as key in social cohesion. In this perspective, “*there is a widespread agreement of scholars in peace studies 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*”. Similarly, Rwanda stands on premise

hypothesizing that “if trust, social interaction and tolerance increase between Rwandan citizens, reconciliation is more likely to occur” (NURC, 2010, p. 12).

2.5.1.7. Truth telling and reconciliation

Different scholars (Erin and Jeremy, 2007, Freeman and Hayner, 2003, p.122) have established that truth telling contributes much to reconciliation in post conflict societies. Revealing truth, lessen special burdens imposed on victims by secrecy of offenders inflicted violence and conflicts (Erin and Jeremy, 2007). In advocating for this dimension, Freeman and Hayner (2003, p.122) identified the contribution of truth telling in reconciliation such as: *“establish the truth about the past; promoting the accountability of perpetrators of human rights violations; providing a public platform for victims; informing and catalyzing public debate; recommend victim reparation; recommend necessary legal and institutional reforms; promoting social reconciliation; and helping to consolidate a democratic transition”*. Besides, Huyse, (2003, p.20) added that *“the truth telling is a “pre-condition of reconciliation because it creates objective opportunities for people to see the past in terms of shared suffering and collective responsibility”*.

Indeed, all the dimensions of reconciliation discussed above establish evidently that *“Rwanda perspective on unity and reconciliation is centrally streamlined on redefining the Rwandan identity and building a shared sense of Rwandanness”*. Through reconciliation, *“Rwanda move from a divided past to a shared future, a process that aims to overcome the dehumanizing past towards a re-humanized present and future, a process that has to do with who Rwandans have to be and become”* (Sentama, 2014, p.43).

In this perspective, Rwanda marked a great progress in unity and reconciliation in two past decades after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. The Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB, 2020) indicates that unity and reconciliation scored 94.7%. The scope of study focused on six pre-set reconciliation pillars: Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda, Citizenship, identity and responsibility, Political culture and Governance, Security and wellbeing, Justice, fairness and rights, and the Social cohesion (RRB, 2020, XI).

The above mentioned highlights results from a number of programs put in place to foster unity and reconciliation in Rwanda such as promoting Rwandan identity and putting national interests first, combating genocide and its ideology, creating a nation governed by the rule of law and respect of human rights, combating divisionism and discrimination, promoting interdependence and synergy in nation-building, healing one another’s physical and psychological wounds,

commemorating the genocide committed against the Tutsi with the aim of ensuring it never happens again, and striving for self-determination and a passion for work (International Alert, 2018, p.2).

2.6. Theories backed up the study

Different scholars in field of research suggested to researchers enhancing the meaningfulness of the study by consulting theory in relation to their studies. A theory provides researchers with the framework. Importantly, a theory provides to the researcher a framework for understanding the phenomenon under investigation. In the same vein, this study referred to the theories: Reconciliation theory and peace building theories.

2.6.1. Contact theory

Reconciliation obviously requires contact, physical presence and interaction between conflicting parties or former enemies. The Contact Hypothesis postulates that intergroup contact can facilitate intergroup reconciliation. The proponents of this theory (Cehajic & Brown, 2010, Noor, et al., 2008, Noor, et al., 2008) are of the view that intergroup contact allows members of different groups to get to know each other, and this naturally increases awareness of the perspective of the ‘other’ and empathy, which a key factor in reconciliation (Noor, et al., 2008).

There is both quantitative (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006;2008) and qualitative (Brown and Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998) evidence in support of the use of intergroup contact as a tool for reconciliation, and its ability to reduce intergroup prejudice, to weaken group stereotypes, and to increase intergroup trust (Hjort & Frisen, 2006; Dovidio, et al., 2003; Cairns and Niens, 2001; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). However, it is not just the quantity, but also the quality of intergroup contact that makes it effective (Cehajic and Brown, 2010; Binder, et al., 2009). To be effective, Allport (1954) identified, four conditions for positive contact that, when met, increase the ability for contact to result in the reduction of prejudice.

Allport explains that equal status contact between groups, in pursuit of common goals, can reduce prejudice. This effect is enhanced if it is ‘sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e. by law, custom, or local atmosphere)’, and if it is the sort of contact that results in the ‘perception of common interests and common humanity’ between members of two opposing groups (Allport, 1954). In the same perspective, modern psychologists have assembled a list of elements that can help produce positive contact (Fitzduj, 2006): 1) Equal status between groups; 2) Institutional support; 3) Collaboration on shared goals of cooperation; 4) Development of meaningful relationships

between members of the different groups. Intergroup contact is more effective if it is cooperative, rather than competitive (Gaertner, et al., 1994). This demonstrates the need for skilled third-party mediators who can help set cooperative ground rules for contact.

Additionally, intimate contact (i.e., shared place of employment), rather than casual contact, has been found to be more successful in reducing intergroup conflict. To achieve this necessary intimacy, individuals should participate in interethnic social groups, such as women's groups, youth groups, arts groups and other special interest groups, whose membership inherently focuses on shared interests and a shared identity. Specific strategies, however, can only be devised within the context of individual conflict. In responding to a huge challenge to (re)build social cohesion and unity in a country after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi where by citizens were in total trauma and distress (NURC, 2009; Longari, 2010, p.49), the government claimed that social cohesion is a dynamic innate in Rwandan society that can be rediscovered in the current context by instituting practices, such as those embodied in traditional community or collaborative programs (NURC, 2009; Clark, 2010, 310). Unity and reconciliation clubs and other government constructive programs/ forums were formed in perspective of contact platforms for reconciliation. In contention of this study, this theory is useful in exploring the contribution of unity and reconciliation in post genocide peace building through reconciliation clubs.

2.6.2. Reconciliation theory

Lederach (1997, p 30), a notable scholar and practitioner of conflict resolution argued that reconciliation has both a focus and a locus. The goal of reconciliation is upon developing new and improved relationships between former adversary parties taking place in conflict. Lederach, determined the constituents of relationships which are both the cause and source of long-term conflict solution. Therefore, more emphasis is to be put on relationships. As a locus, Lederach further claims that reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where participants to a conflict meet. The past traumas and future hopes must be developed and brought together in this area by debating matters of truth, forgiveness, justice, and peace. In this context, the discussion of this study claims that the unity and reconciliation are a place for peacebuilding in post genocide Rwanda

2.6.3. Peace-building theory

Post conflict peace building theory is *“comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures that will tend to consolidate peace and advance some sense of confidence and well-being among*

people” (Waldman, 2009, p.8). Peace building as a theory involves a vast range of actions, functions, and positions spanning various sectors and levels. The United Nations Agenda for Peace building of 1992 suggested the scope guiding peace building: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war; address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression, discern and increasingly common moral perception that spans the world's nations and peoples.”

In regard to this study, Peace building theory helped to identify the unity and reconciliation interventions and programs promoting peace building in Rwanda.

2.8. Summary

The present chapter reviews the literature in connection with conceptual clarification and theoretical framework on unity and reconciliation, and peace building in post conflicts and post genocide. It also discusses the reconciliation and peace building theories supported this studies as well as presenting the conceptual framework.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes *“the methodology used by the researcher in data collection, analysis and interpretation. Accordingly, this methodology includes research design, population of the study, sampling strategies, data collection methods, procedure and data analysis methods used to determine the Role of Unity and Reconciliation in Post Genocide Peace building in Rwanda”*.

3.2. Research design and approach

A research design *“is a plan according to which the researcher obtains research participants and collects information from them to investigate the research problem”* (Welman and Kruger, 2001, p. 182-183; Singleton and Straits, 1999, p.91). *“The choice of which approach to use is based on the research problem, personal experiences, and the audiences for whom one seeks to write”*). *“Similarly, mixed research design using a triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative research method”* was highly desirable to understand thoroughly and establish the role of Unity and Reconciliation in Post Genocide Peace building in Rwanda by identifying the different unity and reconciliation programs carried out by Unity and Reconciliation Clubs, their effectiveness to peace building, challenges and their effects on peace building in Post Genocide Rwanda. *“This research design was selected based on its various advantages of combining qualitative and quantitative approaches and on the fact that this study is among explanatory researches which seeks explanations of observed phenomena, problems, or behaviors. Thus, unity and the reconciliation process is a phenomenon that requires studying deeply the behaviors of parties involved in conflict which in this study include genocide survivors, genocide perpetrators and families on both side”* (John W. C, 2003, p.12

3.3. Target Population and sampling strategies

“This section discussed the population of the study and the sampling strategies used”.

3.3.1. Population

A population *“refers to the sum total of all the units of analysis”* (Bluman 2004, p.5). Alike, *“population refers to a totality of any precisely defined set of people or collection of persons or objects with which the study is concerned”* (Grinnell and William, 1990; Bailey, 1989, p. 81). In *“this research, the ideal targeted population was 55 members of Urumuri Unity and Reconciliation Club., 1 Leader in the Ministry of Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE) and a unit and reconciliation coordinator at district level (Kamonyi District)”*.

3.3.2. Sample size

Sample is a small sub - group drawn from the large population. *“The non-probability sampling based on judgmental or purposive method was used in determining the sample. This approach uses the researcher own discretion to select “representative” units from the population (or) to infer that a sample is “representative” of the population”* (Amin, 2005:243, Jothikumar, 2005, p.16). According to Kothari (2004), the size of the sample should neither be excessively large, nor too small. It should be optimum. An optimum sample is the one which fulfils the requirements of efficiency, representation, reliability, validity and flexibility. In determining the sample, the research guidelines advocate to use appropriate identified researcher formula when population is huge, and/or maintaining entire population as a sample when the number of population is small (less than 100 people) (Jothikumar, 2005). Based on this argument, the sample of this study equals the number of population detailed in section above which is equivalent to 55 respondents. The sample strata (genocide survivors, Genocide perpetrators, families) was determined by using purposive sampling method (Amin, 2005, Jothikumar, 2005). This method helps the researcher to identify the respondents having useful information to the study.

3.4. Sources data and data collection techniques

“There are two main sources of data collected: Primary and secondary data. Primary data are “data collected from the grounds being afresh” (Bluman, 2004, p.111). *“They are in fact, data collected by the investigator himself from the field of study for the purpose of a specific inquiry or study”* (Jothikumar, 2005, p. 30). *“The secondary data refer to the data which have already been collected and analysed by someone else and was used at the data collection process”* (Bluman 2004, p.111). *“With this regard, the selection of appropriate technique for data collection depends on the type of data to be collected by the researcher”* (Welman and Kruger, 2001, p.127).

In the same way, *“this study used questionnaires and interviews as the most appropriate techniques” and an in-depth research by using library based technique) for collect primary data”* (Clark, 1999, p.67)

3.4.1. Questionnaire

A questionnaire “is a form consisting of interrelated questions prepared by the researcher about the research problem under investigation, based on the objective of the study” (Amin, 2005, p.269). In the same way, “the researcher used questionnaire technique for data collection. In that order, the hard copy of opened-ended and close-ended questions was distributed to 55 respondents from Urumuri Unity and Reconciliation Club in order to collect the different respondents’ views and opinions on the Role of Unity and Reconciliation Clubs in Post Genocide Rwanda”.

3.4.2. Interview

“An interview is a purposeful discussion between two or more people or two-way method which permits an exchange of ideas and information” (Welman and Kruger, 2001, p.9). Equally, “During the collection of data in this study, the researcher will primarily use the focus group discussion methodology as suitable approach to collect the population views on the Role of Unity and Reconciliation in Post Genocide Peace building in Rwanda. Subsequently, the determination of the number of participants in each Focus Group will be determined in line with the international standards suggested by the proponents of this theory”. Accordingly, “focus groups are group discussions which are arranged to examine a specific set of topics” (Kitzinger, 2005). The group is focused because ‘it involves some kind of collective activity’ (Kitzinger, 2005, p. 56). “Methodologically, the tenants of focus group agreed that interviews involve a group of 6–8 people who come from similar social and cultural backgrounds or who have similar experiences or concerns”. (Bogardus, 1925, Merton 1956, Basch, 1987, Khan and Manderson 1992, Kitzinger, 1993, Duke et al. 1994, Ritchie et al. 1994, etc.).

However, “this standard of extent and size of members in collective conversations held through focus group opine that it can be small or large. In line with this study, only 5-8 members per group of unity and reconciliation met the researcher for the discussion”, Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2008, p. 375). “By using the focus group technique, the researcher conducted an interview with 3 groups of 6 respondents. Basing on the knowledge and experience in their respective fields, the researcher personally conducted also a structured interview with 3 Leaders: 01 from the Ministry of Unity and Civic Engagement, 01 from Unity and Reconciliation Coordination at District Level (Kamonyi District) and 01 from Urumuri Unity and reconciliation Club”. The questions “were compiled on the basis of information gained from literature study and all the interview records will be kept for latter references and transcription”.

3.4.3. Library based research

This technique “*involves the consultation of different forms of libraries seeking for books and other written materials. At the same point of view, the researcher has conducted intensified readings of national and international relevant sources in different fields (such as peace studies, genocide studies, and conflict management, law, etc.)*” with a view to obtain real information on the role of Unity and Reconciliation in Post Conflict/post Genocide Peace building, challenges faced and subsequent effect on Post Genocide Peace building Rwanda. Among the sources checked in include internet, books, articles, thesis, laws, reports, and other publications from different public and private institutions.

3.5. Data analysis methods

This study research “*used a triangulation research method combining different qualitative and quantitative research methods of analysis. These data analysis methods included a historical method; comparative method and statistical data analysis method, analytic method, exegetic method, synthetic method and library based research analysis method*”.

3.5.1. Historical method

“*The knowledge of the past helps to understand the present and to certain extend, to enlighten the future*” (Calvet, 1985, p.12). Thus, “*the historical method was in broader sense useful for the researcher within the course of knowledge, analysis and understanding of the background, causes and consequences of 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, unity and reconciliation background and policies as well as Post Conflict/Post Genocide peace building at large. It therefore brought light and insight into the historical evolution, current and incoming feature of unity and reconciliation process and peace building in general*”.

3.5.2. Comparative method

“*Comparative method helps to find differences and similarities between compared facts. It also helps to discern the causal link between facts of similarities or differences*” (Zigama, 2009, p.22). “*Comparative method insists on each case and considers every fact in its details. This was important in analyzing the Rwandan unity, reconciliation, peace-building perspectives in different historical time line (Pre-colonial period, Colonial period, First and Second Republics, and Postcolonial period)*”. As well, “*comparative method was used for analyzing the findings obtained basing on qualitative and quantitative data from diverse materials relating to the unity and reconciliation and Post Genocide peace building process in Rwanda*”.

3.5.3. Statistical method

“Statistical method consists of quantifying recovered data in order to analyze and interpret results in form of tables and graphs” (Zigama, 2009, p. 23). “The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) helped to quantify qualitative and present the collected useful to this study”.

3.5.3. Library based analysis method

“Document analysis method was proved to be one of the most commonly employed research methods (interviews, documentary analysis and observation) used in many academic researches” (Stark and Torrance, 2005:34). This is probably due to the advantages it presents by supporting others research methods. According to Creswell (2009:180), “document analysis method has many benefits. Firstly, it enables a researcher to obtain the language and words of participants. Second, it represents an unobtrusive source of information since the information is made available anytime. Thirdly, it is of relevance since the document collection represents data which are thoughtful in that participants have given attention to compiling them. Fourth, and last, as written evidence, it saves a researcher the time and expense of transcribing”.

Therefore, *“this study mainly collected relevant data by using books, articles, journals, reports, policy papers, video files, news items and similar materials so as to get as much in-depth data as possible. With these sources, it is highly expected that adequate amount of periodic assessment reports and statistics, among others were collected and analyzed in careful and outstanding way in order to fetch the necessary information and deeply look in to the contribution of the NURC in peace education in Post Genocide post genocide period”.*

3.5.4. Exegetic Method

The exegetic Method *“consists of a critical explanation or interpretation of a text” (Yochanan Breuer, (2004, p. 175-192). In this research, it was essentially used in interpreting different government policies on unity and reconciliation and peace building.*

3.5.5. Analytic method

According to the Webster Comprehensive Dictionary, (1982), *“analysis consists of the resolution of a whole unit into its parts or elements or the process of resolving a problem into its first element (inductive reasoning)”.* Moreover, *“the analysis is the ability to break down material to its fundamental elements for better understanding of the organization. Analysis may include identifying parts, clarifying relationships among parts and recognizing organizational principles of scientific system”.* Therefore, *“an analytical approach is, the use of an appropriate process to break a problem down into the smaller pieces necessary to solve it”.* As far as this study

concerned, an analytic method enabled the researcher to scrutinize a bulk of information in nexus to the role of unity and reconciliation in post genocide peace building in Rwanda collected from the primary and secondary data collection sources in view to organise and enriching the research findings.

3.5.6. Synthetic method

Webster Comprehensive Dictionary, (1982) *“underlines that the synthesis consists of the assembling of separate or subordinate parts into a new form. It is a process of reasoning from whole to a part and from general to the particular (deductive reasoning)”*. In addition, the *“synthesis requires the formulation of new understanding of scientific systems. If analysis stresses the parts, synthesis stresses the whole components of scientific systems may be recognized into new patterns. In relation to this research, this method helped the researcher to sum up the general content of each chapter into a squeezed synthesis making easier and effective communication of research information”*.

3.5. Data Presentation

In attempt to organize and analyze the data from qualitative studies, Leedy and Ormrod (2005:150-151), state that Creswell (1998) *“has described the data analysis spiral which is equally applicable to a wide variety of qualitative studies”*. Leedy and Ormrod, (2005, p.150-151) comment that *“in using this approach, one goes through the data several times”*. Subsequently, *“the researcher analyzed the data collected several times in order to understand to study deeply the relation and comparisons between facts. Along this work, data analysis consisted on summing up and study relations and comparisons of received information from the questionnaires that were administered to respondents and comments by comparing the answers from respondents in order to enrich the research findings”*.

In addition, *“the researcher proceeded with the editing for the sake of identifying and correcting the errors discovered on questionnaires; as well to make sure that questions should be answered satisfactory, the response provided to be coherently and logically recorded to provide sufficient information”*. Moreover, *“the SPSS program was used to compute all data set. Therefore, the calculation of frequencies and their percentages and tabulation approaches was opted for to establish a neat presentation of a given set of answers relied upon in analyzing and interpreting the findings”*.

3.6. Validity, Reliability and of the study

“Validity and reliability are critical components to which a researcher must take into consideration during his investigation. In fact, accuracy of information collected, instruments used and description of the general methodology followed and fairness reporting are the main aspects of a valid academic research”. Denscombe, (2002, p.100) asserted that “validity concerns the accuracy of the question asked, the data collected and the explanation offered, and therefore, it is generally related to the data collection and analysis used in the research”.

In contrast to *“the validity which refers to studying and measuring what was intended to be studied and measured and reliability relates generally to methods and techniques used to collect the data”* (Denscombe, 2002,100). In fact, *“the issue of reliability concerns whether the researcher’s approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects”* (Creswell 2009). Therefore, *“the reliability of the study is concerned with the question of ending up at the same research conclusions if someone else would repeat the same research with the same tools”* (Yin 2009, 45).

In this juncture, the data and information of this *“study was obtained from specific reliable and valid literature, reports by governments, international organizations, activists in peace studies, genocide studies and conflict management, scholarly analyses and triangulation of information generated through different sources on unity and reconciliation, and peacebuilding. In the same way, Interviews and questionnaires were used in a combined fashion to establish patterns and trends to ensure trustworthiness and validity of data and information that would be intended to measure as accurately as possible”* (Creswell 2009, Bailey, 2007, Yin 2009).

Similarly, the researcher *“avoided biased information both on part of the author and in reviewing documents, and hence to maintain a value free stance in a way that makes it possible for others to repeat the study in the future. Accordingly, the researcher interviewed respondents anticipated to have experience in subject under study and who are among the most experienced people. The interviews were written down to provide a proper record for analysis. “A structured interview schedule of sane questions and questionnaires were used for all respondents to ensure consistency in measurement”, as stated by Miller and Whitehead (1996, p. 186). “They were therefore structured in such a manner that similar kinds of information will be obtained about each respondent to ensure consistency”* Miller and Whitehead (1996, p. 186).

3.8. Ethical considerations

In this research, “*all the ethical implications (population’s protection from harm, informed consent, right to privacy, and honest with professional colleagues) were closely taken into consideration*” (Leedy and Ormrod 2005, p. 101-102). The researcher obtained the prior authorization to carry out a research from all targeted institutions involved in research (MINUBUMWE, Kamonyi District, Urumuri Unity and reconciliation Club), participants were informed about the nature of the research and were given the choice of participation or not without expecting any rewards. The interview questions were answered in safe environment; the anonymity of respondent was observed except the findings made public. “*The researcher strived to maintain objectivity and honesty in reports without intentionally misrepresent or mislead others about research*” (Merriam, 199, p.178).

3.9. Summary

This chapter of methodology describes research methodological framework that was used for data collection, analysis, and interpretation, presentation of the research findings and compilation of the research report. This research roadmap includes the study design, population and sample, methods and techniques for data collections, analysis and presentation, reliability and validity of the study as well as the research ethical considerations.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

As previously discussed in three first chapters preceded this chapter four, this dissertation was meant to investigate the role of Urumuri Club in Post Genocide peace building Rwanda. Similarly, this chapter presents data analysis, presentation and interpretation of data collected and compiled from interviews questionnaires.

4.1. Interview reports and Questionnaire response rate

As discussed previously in third chapter of methodology, this study used a mixed research design involving both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Similarly, this chapter is a compilation of interview reports from 3 interviewees and 3 focus groups of 6 respondents. In addition, a total of 35 questionnaires were distributed in order to be filled by respondents and they were all returned for analysis. This yielded 100% response return rate.

4.2. Background of the respondents' social demographic characteristics

The respondents' background information and characteristics were assessed based on their gender, age and education level. This information appears in tables 4.1 to table 4.3

Table 4.1: Gender of respondents

| Gender | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|--------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Male | 30 | 54.6 | 54.6 | 54.6 |
| Valid Female | 25 | 45.4 | 45.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: primary data

According to the table 4.1, there is reflection that male respondents took a highest percentage of 54.6% compared to the female respondents who took 45.4% of the total respondents.

Table 4.2: Respondents' age group

| Age group | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| 20-30 | 20 | 36.4 | 36.4 | 36.4 |
| 31-40 | 22 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 76.4 |
| Valid 41-50 | 10 | 18.2 | 18.2 | 94.6 |
| 51-60 | 3 | 5.4 | 5.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

Based on the information in table 4.2 above, the majority of respondents are young, and they fall in the age group between 31 and 40 years of age.

Table 4.3: Respondents' education level

| Level of Education | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| PHD Level | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Masters Level | 2 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| First Degree Level | 4 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 10.9 |
| Valid Diploma Level | 2 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 14.5 |
| Secondary Level | 12 | 21.8 | 21.8 | 36.3 |
| Primary Level | 35 | 63.7 | 63.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

According to table 4.3, respondents revealed that the Urumuri Club members are relatively literates. The majority of the Urumuri Club Members equals to 63.7% have at least the primary school education level. The rest of club members equivalent to 36.3% hold from secondary school education level up to master's education level.

4.3. Presentation and interpretation of study findings

This section responded to the study objectives pre-set in first chapter of this study. By recapitulating them, these objectives were:

- (1) To find out the unity and reconciliation programs conducted by Urumuri Club in post Genocide Rwanda.
- (2) To assess the effectiveness of Urumuri Club programs in Post Genocide Rwanda.
- (3) To identify the major challenges faced by Urumuri Club in implementing its programs.

The study findings presented in line with the above listed research objectives were qualitative and quantitative in order to maintain an effective comparison of data collected and avoiding the biased information. Qualitative research finding include the different respondents' interview reports narrated in form of story, while quantitative data include the respondents' answers and opinions on questionnaires distributed to respondents. The study findings from both research instruments (interviews and questionnaires) were both subjected to the next three mains thematic foci and five subthemes presented and summarized in form of textual information and tables:

- (1) Unity and reconciliation Programs developed by Urumuri Club.
 - a. Community mutual assistance/support,
 - b. Developing conviviality community
 - c. Conducting Unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns
 - d. Community empowerment
- (2) Contribution of Urumuri Club programs to unity and reconciliation
- (3) Challenges and recommendation for effective development of Urumuri Club unity and reconciliation programs

4.3.1. Urumuri Club unity and reconciliation Programs

“This section describes the unity and reconciliation programs conducted in post genocide Rwanda guiding the different sectors including Unity and Reconciliation Clubs. Generally, the post genocide unity and reconciliation perspective in Rwanda focuses mainly on six dimensions deeply elaborated in National Policy of Unity and Reconciliation Policy (2020) and the Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer reports”. “These unity and reconciliation dimension are: (1) Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda, (2) Citizenship, identity and responsibility, (3) Political culture and Governance, (4) Security and wellbeing, (5) Justice, fairness and rights, and (6) Social cohesion”. (RRB, 2020, NURC, 2020). Every Unity and Reconciliation Club designed and developed its programs according to provision of the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation Policy and the directives of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. Currently, the duties and responsibilities of the NURC were conferred to the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE)

which established in 2021. Similarly, the different activities of unity and reconciliation clubs are tailored on the dimensions above. As previously depicted in conceptual framework of this study the Urumuri Club has four programs: (1) Community mutual assistance/support, (2) Developing conviviality community (3) Community empowerment, and Conducting Unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns. Looking at the Urumuri club programs and the dimensions of unity and reconciliation outlined above, these programs should be aligned under three Unity and reconciliation dimensions: (1) Social cohesion, (2) understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda, and Security and wellbeing.

In this context, this section presents the respondents’ views on how these programs are operating in Urumuri Club.

4.3.1.1. Social cohesion

A flourished literature (NURC 2008, IRDP 2012) discussing Unity and reconciliation in Rwanda showed that *“the social cohesion is a key dimension in building unity and reconciliation. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission”* (NURC, 2008, p.1) defined *“social cohesion in terms of belonging, interpersonal trust and common values which are the “glue that bonds society together”* (NURC 2008, p. 1). According to the respondents’ interview reports, Urumuri Club developed the social cohesion through the mutual assistance, conviviality through social events reciprocal visits and meetings of Urumuri Club members.

Table 4.4: Urumuri club Social cohesion/Does Urumuri club programs develop social cohesion among its members?

| Respondents’ answers | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Strongly agree | 52 | 94.5 | 94.5 | 94.5 |
| Agree | 3 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 100.0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Do not know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

The table above portrays that the majority of the respondents (94.5) strongly agree that Urumuri club has developed the social cohesion among the members and the neighborhood. According to interview reports, the social cohesion was developed through the regular meeting, reciprocal

visits among members and the neighbors, as well as mutual assistance (community support). At this point, one of the interviewees mentioned: *“We organize ourselves and visit each other in our club or we visit our neighbors when they have social events or are sick. This develop a good friendship between us and the neighbors”* (Interviewee).

Furthermore, this information was also emphasized on by the focus group discussions. Equally, the focus group discussion stated that: *“.... When one of Urumuri Club members has a problem, raise it to all members for help. We seat and discuss which help is needed and provide it to him/her. The majority of assistance given includes the rehabilitation of houses, paying Medical Health insurance/ Mutuelle de Santé, cultivating, and participating in social events such as wedding ceremonies and among others (FGD1).*

The opinion expressed in FGD1 above, was also shared by the reset of Urumuri Members (FGD2 and 3). Equally, one of the interviewees asserted: *“Urumuri club is our family where we meet and solve our personal problems, discuss the different programs and our contribution in unity of unity and reconciliation”.*

As previously discussed in literature review, *“the social cohesion strengthens the social bonds between groups and their associational behaviour. In this perspective the social cohesion develops commonly shared goals, norms and values, as well as shared historic myths or a common language, which create an affective bond, a shared sense of belonging”* (Green and Janmaat 2011, For Dura-Bellat et. al. 2013; Dubet 2013, Carron and Brawley 2012). The social cohesion's value is *“bringing two broken entities back together”, by teaching skills on “how to live together”, and how to foster a common understanding of “how the memory of the past informs the present and supports change in the future”* (Interviewee). *“This is clearly understandable in the specific context of a post-genocide Rwanda where social fabric of the country was destroyed, and where Rwandan community is still suffering wounds and aftermaths of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. In this regard, Sentama argued that, peacebuilding relies on the positive transformation or restoration of broken relationships between the people in conflict, “where divides are bridged and other negative relational attitudes and behaviours are broken in favour of positive ones”* (Sentama 2009, p. 28).

Therefore, it is evident that Urumuri club activities contribute to promote the social cohesion in Kamonyi District.

4.3.1.2. Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda

As previously indicated in literature one of the main cause instigated the divisionism of Rwandans which led to the genocide against Tutsi in 1994 is the way the history of Rwanda was distorted and though to Rwandans by the colonialist and genocidal regimes. Thus, the post genocide Rwanda found an imperative task to understand the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda. At this point of view, the members of Urumuri Club like other Rwandans countrywide developed the understanding of facts explaining the fallacious and fabricated history, the causes of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the true history of Rwanda and how it is shared, the reconciliation process and its ownership, and the new reconciliation path for the future of Rwanda. In the same vein, this study sought to find out the extent to which the Urumuri Club members discuss and understood the causes/factors of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. Similarly, this next table presents the different views from respondents in line with the discussing and the level of understanding the past of Rwanda.

Table 4.5: Discussing Rwandan history/Do you agree that discussing and sharing views on Rwandan history contributes to unity and reconciliation?

| Respondents' answers | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Strongly agree | 50 | 90.9 | 90.9 | 90.9 |
| Agree | 5 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 100.0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Do not know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

The respondents' opinions depicted in table above, the question shows the level of urumuri club members in discussing and understanding the past of Rwanda. Accordingly, all respondents (Strongly agree: 90.9%, Agree: 9.1%) expressed that they discuss and understood the past of Rwanda. This information was also confirmed by the different interview reports. Equally, one of the respondents stated that: *"We conduct several meetings (2 times per a week) discussing on the*

history of Rwanda by identifying the causes and factors of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. We also discuss the achievements of Rwanda in building unity and reconciliation, making a self-evaluation of on the role played by each members as well as looking together how we can uphold unity and reconciliation for the present and future of Rwanda” (Interviewee).

This respondents’ standpoint expressed above was also confirmed by the findings from the Rwanda reconciliation Barometers (RRB, 2010, 2015, 2020). These findings indicated that *“Understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future is critical to Rwanda’s reconciliation process given the manner in which historical events and their interpretation were used to drum up hatred among the peoples of the country. Knowing that the people share a common understanding of major historical events helps craft a common destiny.”*

The study findings above pointed out that *“in the 2010 RRB, this variable had an overall score of 81.7%, rising to 91.8% in the 2015 RRB and showing a further increase to 94.6% in 2020”* (RRB,2020).

Furthermore, this study assessed *“level of the respondents’ ownership of reconciliation. In fact, the literature showed that if the reconciliation process is to succeed, there is need for ordinary people to commit themselves individually and collectively to guard the process towards its final conclusion, which is the unity of the people”* (RRB, 2020). In this light, the next table summarizes the respondents’ views indicating the degree of commitment to reconciliation and how much sacrifice or a price they are willing to pay to guard against any attempts to derail the process.

In this light, the respondents were asked if they would sacrifice their own life instead of committing genocide.

Table 4.6: Ownership of reconciliation/As a Rwandan who understand the history of Rwanda , the factors and causes of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi , I am certain to sacrifice my own life in fighting against Genocide?

| Respondents' answers | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Strongly agree | 45 | 81.9 | 81.9 | 81.9 |
| Agree | 10 | 18.1 | 18.1 | 100.0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Do not know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

As previously discussed in literature, “*Rwandans share a common destiny in terms of building a society free of any form of divisionism. They are willing to sacrifice their lives to ensure that there is no return to divisionism and genocide. In fact, they are ready to lay down their lives to safeguard the future from any retrogressive tendencies leading to Genocide*”. In view of the information presented in table above, all respondents (100%) revealed that they have an outstanding ownership of reconciliation. Similarly, 81.9% of respondents strongly agree their ownership of reconciliation while 18.1% of respondents reported relatively agreed with it. This figure is significant to show the respondents readiness to do anything possible rather than be involved in genocide or related activities and the readiness to do whatever possible to prevent genocide including sacrificing their own lives.

In the same view, the respondents’ interviews reports witnessed also “*the level of respondents individual and collective commitment to safeguard the fruits of reconciliation which is a strong foundation upon which reconciliation is built and cements the ‘never again’ philosophy of reconciliation in the country*”. Equally, one of the interviewee stated: “*The heroes of Rwanda who paid sacrifice and shed their blood for the liberation of the country and stopping the 1994 Genocide are the typical examples of commitment to love the country. We also step in by committing to safeguard the unity and reconciliation of Rwanda at any cost. This commitment is also tough to our children and will be a heritage for the future generation*” (Interviewee).

Accordingly, the interview report from the focus group discussions reiterated the same message as follows: *“We understand what unity and reconciliation is in our life. Everywhere we are, it is our own responsibility to promote peace through unity and reconciliation. This is the foundation of the present and the future of our families and the country at large”* (FGD 2). This respondents’ opinion was shared by the rest of respondents in FGDs 1 and 3.

In addition to that, Urumuri club organize awareness campaigns on unity and reconciliation. These campaigns intend to explain to the community the knowledge on unity and reconciliation the unity and reconciliation programs. In view of that, one of the respondents interviewed stated: *“At the beginning of each year, we develop and explain to Urumuri Club members an awareness campaign plan on unity and reconciliation. These campaigns are quarterly and they are conducted at sector and cell levels. They were fruitful in terms of raising the population awareness on unity and reconciliation. During the campaign sessions, the Urumuri club members provides share their experiences of how they overcame the consequences left by the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, and how to build the sustainable peace for better future of Rwanda”* (Interviewee).

In addition, to that, this study sought also to describe how the Urumuri Club develops both its members and the neighborhood security and wellbeing. The respondent answers to this point was deeply discussed in next section.

4.3.1.3. Security and wellbeing

The contemporary literature broadened the concept security from military security to which human security (Buzan et al., 2009). This does not mean that people worldwide are not threatened by wars, conflicts and like the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. But rather, human security has emancipated to address multiple issues including *“poverty, famine, political oppression, and environmental degradation to name but a few”* (Peoples et al., 2010). *“As far as this study concerns, security and wellbeing focus on alleviating and/or mitigating the pressing need for the protection from the threat of poverty, ill-health, and wellbeing’*. At this point of view, Rwanda encouraged the people to promote the security and wellbeing through homegrown solution economically empowering the community. In this regard, the respondents indicated that Urumuri club members support each other through tontines where they save money and request

loans. In the same view, both respondents' individual and focus group discussions reports confirmed that Urumuri Club initiated a tontine/ibimina mechanism intending to uplift the its members in poverty which is one of the facts relied in creating conflicts among the community. At this point of view, the UNDP report (1994) clustered the security threats undermining human security in seven categories however the list of security threats is not exhaustive. These include *“Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Community security, Political security”* (UNDP Report, 1994). In this perspective, Rwanda envisaged the security and wellbeing as potential elements of its vision helping to promote reconciliation. This government aspiration is tied on hypothesis that *“if citizens feel secure and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes”* (NURC, 2015, p.11). At this stand point, the respondents' views through focus group discussion stated: *“We save money in and get loans from our tontine, which was impossible to do before joining Urumuri Club. This helped to economically empower our families by paying education for our children and handle family issues (FGD 1).*

Besides, as a form of cooperative putting together the people, tontines create also a platform of developing interactive social relations, and friendship. In contention of the contact theory previously elaborated in chapter of literature review, it was stipulated that reconciliation obviously requires contact, physical presence and interaction between conflicting parties or former enemies (Cehajic & Brown, 2010, Noor, et al., 2008, Noor, et al., 2008). Intergroup contact allows members of different groups to get to know each other, and this naturally increases awareness of the perspective of the 'other' and empathy, which a key factor in reconciliation (Noor, et al., 2008).

At this point of view, there a plenty evidence for both quantitative (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006;2008) and qualitative (Brown and Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998) evidenced that intergroup contact is a tool fostering reconciliation, and its ability to reduce intergroup prejudice, to weaken group stereotypes, and to increase intergroup trust (Hjort & Frisen, 2006; Dovidio, et al., 2003; Cairns and Niens, 2001; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

At this point of view, the interviewed respondents through focus group discussion disclosed that the meetings and social contacts through tontines increased the trust and alleviated the prejudices existed among them before joining urumuri club and which evidently fostered the unity and reconciliation.

4.5. Contribution of Urumuri Club programs to unity and reconciliation

As previously discussed, in the aftermath of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, the Rwandan Government of unity and reconciliation faced a substantial challenge: nation-building. There was pressure to put in place mechanisms to reinforce social cohesion and peaceful coexistence among Rwandans. These include substantially unity and reconciliation related activities inspired by thoughtful strategies from the positive elements of Rwandan culture. However, these programs were not all exhaustively discussed, and were roughly based on traditional best practice, it was deemed crucial in context of this study to identify the link between the activities and or programs of the Urumuri Club and their subsequent effect in unity and reconciliation of Rwanda in post genocide Rwanda.

This section discussed the respondents' opinions on relationship and contribution of Programs of the Urumuri Club to foster unity and reconciliation as well as the challenges limiting the Urumuri club to full achieve to its objectives.

The opportunities of the Urumuri Club in promoting unity and reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda can be identified through different programs and activities initiated and or coordinated by this Urumuri Club.

In context of this study, the contribution of Urumuri Club programs to unity and reconciliation was particularly established by assessing different respondents' views previously discussed. These arguments were supported the statistical trends drawn from the Rwandan Barometer Surveys conducted by the NURC on general picture and progress of national unity and reconciliation in different period and the different theories drawn from the literature such as the reconciliation theory, contact theory were helpful. Similarly, the next table showed the respondent answers on the contribution of the Urumuri Club on unity and reconciliation.

4.5.1. Community mutual assistance

The next table present the respondents' views describing the contribution of Urumuri community support program promotes the unity and reconciliation.

Table 4.7: Do you think that mutual assistance programs of Urumuri club plays a critical role in promoting unity and reconciliation among members?

| Respondents' answers | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Strongly agree | 47 | 85.46 | 85.46 | 85.46 |
| Agree | 8 | 14.54 | 14.54 | 100.0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Do not know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

As displayed in next table, 85% of respondents strongly agree that the mutual assistance program promoted the unity and reconciliation among Urumuri club members. This information was also reported by 14.54% of the respondents, and affirmed by the different interview reports from respondents.

Correspondingly, one of the interviewees asserted: *Mutual assistance is our inherent culture of Rwandans. In urumuri Club, sometimes we have some cases of people who need assistance on different grounds including the unpredicted disaster, the death of family members, or sickness, etc. When one member of Urumuri Club encounters these challenges we seat and discuss a case by case and contribute to support them” (Interview).*

Besides the focus group discussions reports (FGDs 1, 2 and 3) indicated that social assistance contributed to the unity and reconciliation by alleviating the mistrust among the members of Urumuri club.

4.5.2. Developing a conviviality community

The literature traces back the the term “conviviality” from “*Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin and his book Physiologie du goût from the year 1825. This author understood conviviality as the situation, common at the table, when different people come together over a good long meal, and time passes swiftly in excited conversations” (Shaw, 2014).* Contemporary, this concept Conviviality is defined as “*a platform for the forging of a new society, one that transcends the profound limitations of our present world, to move towards socialism” (McDermott, Mary*

(2014). This definition is not different from the current Rwandan perspective of understanding conviviality and friendship, which are the cornerstone of Rwandan culture. Conviviality and friendship are the fundamental pillars in building “*the social cohesion destroyed by divisions perpetuated by the colonialists and the post-independence leaders who failed to restore this aspect of the Rwandan way of life and instead continued along the path of divisionism ultimately resulting into the genocide of 1994 against the Tutsi*” (RRB, 2020). The conviviality is inextricably linked to unity and reconciliation. At this point of view, Rwandan perspective on unity and reconciliation contends “*that the reconciliation process would restore this important aspect of social life in Rwanda and promote peaceful and harmonious living characterized by trust and friendship*” (RRB, 2022). The table below shows views of respondents regarding extent of Urumuri club in fostering a conviviality society.

Table 4.8: Developing conviviality / Do you agree that social events develop conviviality among Urumuri club members?

| Respondents' answers | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Strongly agree | 42 | 76.4 | 76.4 | 76.4 |
| Agree | 13 | 23.6 | 23.6 | 100.0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Do not know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

As displays the table above, Urumuri Club fosters significantly the conviviality among its members and the neighborhood. The majority of respondents (76.4%) strongly support this view, while 23.6% of the respondents agreed also the same opinion. The respondents' point of view was also backed up by individual and collective interview reports through the different focus group discussions. These interview reports indicate that the conviviality promotes the unity and reconciliation. One of the respondents stated: “*In urumuri Club, we develop a good friendship with others through visiting them, sharing foods, participating in cerebration party, etc.* “
Indeed, the above statement and statistics translating the respondents' views, are the significant evidence showing that urumuri club activities develop the conviviality among the members and neighborhood.

4. 5.3. Community economic empowerment

As previously showed in literature, the community economic empowerment is a key in supporting the unity and reconciliation process. The post genocide Rwanda unity and reconciliation perspective considers preventing and/or alleviating poverty as an important step to Unity and reconciliation. In this regard, the next table summarizes the respondents' views on the contribution of economic community empowerment on Unity and reconciliation.

Table 4.9: Community empowerment /Do think the programs of Urumuri club focusing on community economic empowerment improved the welfare among its members?

| Respondents' answers | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Strongly agree | 49 | 89.1 | 89.1 | 89.1 |
| Agree | 6 | 10.9 | 10.9 | 100.0 |
| Disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Strongly disagree | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Do not know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Source: Primary data

The information depicted in table above indicates that the majority of respondents (89.1%) strongly agree the contribution of Urumuri Club members' economic empowerment through tontines in supporting the unity and reconciliation, while 10.9% of respondents agree with this statement.

Indeed, the contrition of Urumuri Club on unity and reconciliation respondents was evidently established based on both the literature discussing the role of unity and reconciliation clubs and theories on unity and reconciliation. The programs of Urumuri club deeply discussed throughout this chapter including the community mutual assistance/support, developing conviviality community, community empowerment and conducting Unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns are conceptualized in context of the National Policy of Unity and reconciliation. They in fact underpin the social cohesion which is the common values of unity and reconciliation (Shuayb 2012, Friedman and Berthoin Antal 2005), discussing and understanding the past, the present, and envisioning the future of Rwanda and community security and wellbeing.

Undoubtedly, the respondents' views presented in this chapter are obviously the facts that confirmed the contribution of Urumuri Club in fostering unity and reconciliation of their members, neighborhood and Countrywide at large.

However, the contribution of Urumuri Club on unit and reconciliation, this club faces some challenges described in next section.

Emile Durkheim (Reeskens 2008). Scholars tend to perceive social cohesion as a precondition for a stable, peaceful society (Chan et. al. 2006). The term often carries a normative undertone of common values (Shuayb 2012). Social cohesion is often used as synonym for integration, with the latter been understood here in terms of reconciliation of cultural differences and the creation of fluid, multiple, not culturally exclusive identities (Friedman and Berthoin Antal 2005).

4.6. Challenges facing Urumuri Club

As previously underlined by different literatures, the Government of Rwanda displayed great efforts in unity and reconciliation after 1994 genocide against Tutsi. This commitment focused on uprooting the root causes of genocide, combating the genocide and all forms of genocide ideology, etc. In fact, the post-1994 Genocide national policy on unity and reconciliation promoted national unity and reconciliation by prioritizing equity of provision and access, and encouraging a humanitarian culture of inclusion and mutual respect among Rwandans. However, some challenges hindering the national unity and reconciliation are still observed and reported by the different actors involved in process of unity and reconciliation including clubs of unity and reconciliation such Urumuri Club. The challenges highlighted by the respondents include some cases observed in community: (1) ethnic-based stereotypes of some people, (2) the persistence of genocide ideology, and (3) the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide not yet fully healed, as well as insufficient financial resources to uphold the program.

4.7. Summary of Key Findings

I. The first key finding on the programs of Urumuri Club in line with Unity and reconciliation in post Genocide Rwanda were categorized into four:

Table 4.7.1: Brief note on findings

| S/N ⁰ | Dimensions- Unity and reconciliation | Urumuri Programs | Channel |
|------------------|--|---|--|
| 1. | Social cohesion | Community mutual assistance/support | Reciprocal visits and helping each other in the club and neighborhood in case of need. |
| | | Developing conviviality community | Participating in social events of Urumuri Club members and neighborhood. |
| 2. | Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda | Conducting Unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns | Organizing and conducting unity and reconciliation Campaigns Meetings |
| 3 | Security and wellbeing | Community empowerment | Encouraging the creation of tontines for club members and the community |

II. The second key finding identified the effectiveness of Urumuri Club programs on unity and reconciliation unity in post genocide Rwanda. This effectiveness was established based on findings describing the nexus between Urumuri programs and the dimensions of unity and reconciliation. Similarly, the four programs of Urumuri Club were clustered under the three unity and reconciliation dimension: (1) Social cohesion, (2) discussing and understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda, (3) security and wellbeing of the community.

III. The third key finding outlined they key challenges facing urumuri club. These challenges include some cases observed in community: (1) ethnic-based stereotypes of some people, (2) the persistence of genocide ideology, and (3) the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide not yet fully healed, as well as insufficient financial resources to uphold the program.

4.8. Discussions of findings

The current development of post genocide unity and reconciliation in Rwanda is a result of the government commitment encouraging the community participation and ownership of the reconciliation process. Likewise, the government of Rwanda used different tools including the Nation Policy on unity and reconciliation, and the creation of community unity and reconciliation clubs countrywide. Urumuri Club was created in this perspective. As previously highlighted this club conducts four main unity and reconciliation programs: Community mutual assistance/support, developing conviviality community, conducting unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns, and community empowerment. According to the study findings all of these programs fostered effectively the unity and reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda.

In fact, the history of Rwanda shows that the social fabric of Rwanda was destroyed by divisions perpetuated by the colonialists and the post-independence regimes who failed to restore this aspect of unity of Rwandans instead continued along the path of divisionism ultimately resulting into the genocide of 1994 against the Tutsi. In post genocide reconciliation, discussing and understanding the root causes and facts that led to the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi is ultimately vital in building the new Rwanda and envisioning for the future. In view of that, the findings revealed that urumuri club initiated different platform for discussion on the past, present and the future of Rwanda. These include the meetings, and unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns. These programs helped to strengthen unity and reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda. In this context, the findings confirmed that Urumuri club provides a space where different people having various backgrounds get together to promote unity and reconciliation.

Besides, the social cohesion was viewed in different literature and reconciliation theories as a backbone of unity and reconciliation. In the same vein, the findings disclosed that Urumuri club programs were tailored on the same reality whereby the social cohesion was consolidated through community mutual assistance/support and developing a conviviality community. In addition, the literature revealed that poverty is among the main challenges that can prevent the reconciliation efforts among Rwandans.

In this perspective of fighting poverty, the findings unveiled that Urumuri Club empowered its members and the neighborhood with encouraging them to create tontines improving their human security and wellbeing.

However, the achievements above, the findings disclosed some barriers limiting Urumuri Club programs including ethnic-based stereotypes of some people in community, the persistence of genocide ideology, the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide not yet fully healed, and insufficient financial resources to uphold the programs.

The findings from this chapter regarding Urumuri club programs and their contributions to unity and reconciliation indicate that the research objectives have been achieved and research questions were answered.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter offers conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research. It intended to find out the role of National Unity and Reconciliation Clubs in Post genocide peace-building in Rwanda.

5.1. Conclusion

In conclusion, fostering unity and reconciliation through social cohesion, Understanding the past, the present and envisioning the future of Rwanda, and community human security and wellbeing is critical for the sustainable unity and reconciliation of Rwanda. Unity and Reconciliation approach has reduced mistrust, misjudgments and create Social, Political and Economical harmony and cohesions in the Rwandan society for sustainable life. In this regard it should evidently be absurd to believe that this predicted and ambitious vision of unity and reconciliation can be achieved by the government alone. Through the above variables, the government of Rwanda has transferred ownership of Unity and Reconciliation to community, established longer term structures hence above variables strongly influence sustainability of Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda. Therefore, the different partners either private or public including Unit and reconciliation clubs should actively own and participate in development of unity and reconciliation process by upholding and implementing the National Unity and Reconciliation Policy into force in Rwanda.

5.2 Recommendations for effective development of Urumuri Club

This section reports the respondents' ideas in line with the third pre-set study objective of identifying the major challenges limiting the Urumuri Club to fully play its role in unity and reconciliation. Generally, the recommendations addressed to different institutions having unity and reconciliation in their attributions. Similarly, all reports provided are similar and generally addressed to the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE) and the Government of Rwanda in general. Equally, the respondents' views applauded for the government commitment and efforts made in the Unity and reconciliation process of Rwandans. In the same line, the interviewees mentioned that the government of Rwanda has put in place the mechanism of unity and reconciliation, and fight against genocide ideology such as the establishment of the National Policy of Unity and reconciliation, Rwanda reconciliation Barometer Surveys, the creation of association and clubs promoting the unity and reconciliation in Rwanda.

Given that the crime of genocide destroys hope and trust, as well as dehumanizes people. Reconciliation is a painful process that requires the knitting of the torn social fabric, healing wounds, rebuilding a sense of togetherness key variable to be based on by the MINUBUMWE. Therefore, the MINUBUMWE together with the government should look for more funds from Rwandans or its partners to support at maximum all activities of unity and reconciliation carried out by Local Community forums, Unity and reconciliation clubs and in all offices country wide to achieve its organizational goals and objectives of sustainable Unity and Reconciliation among Rwandans.

Moreover, as the national unity and reconciliation is crosscutting and requires holistic interventions in all aspects of political, social and economic life. The MINUBUMWE shall continuously monitor the implementation of policies and guidelines on the unity and reconciliation, and fight against genocide ideology. In addition, the respondents' interviews requested to the MINUBUMWE to closely approach them and involve all Rwandans population directly in their programs promoting the unity and reconciliation. This will considerably reduce the number of observed cases of some people who delay and/ or disregard the unity and reconciliation process.

5.3. Suggestions for further Research

The following areas are recommended for further research:

- I. Analyze the challenges of Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda after 1994 Genocide against Tutsi.
- II. Asses the role(s) of the stakeholders (Local forums, Association and Unity and Reconciliation Clubs) in promoting Unity and Reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRES

These questionnaires serve to help us collecting the relevant information for the research project for completion of Master Degree at University of Rwanda. Selecting you as a respondent is done by purposeful sampling as a Urumuri Club member. Whatever, information you produce to me, will be treated as confidential and its entirely for research purposes only. Under no circumstances will such information be communicated to anyone else or any organization.

A. IDENTIFICATION/UMWIRONDO

I. Residence/Ahoubarizwa

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| 1. Province/Intara | |
| 2. District/Akarere | |
| 3. Sector/Umurenge | |
| 4. Cell//Akagali | |
| 5. Village/Umudugudu | |

II. Socio-demographic characteristics/Irangamimerere

Please indicate your socio-demographic characteristics /Shyira ikimenyetso ahajyanye n'irangamimerere yawe.

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| 6. Sex/Igitsina | Male/Gabo |
| | Female/Gore |
| 7. Age/Imyaka | 18-25 |
| | 26-30 |
| | 31-40 |
| | 41+ |
| 8. Education/ Amashuri | Vocational training/Amashuri y'ubumenyingiro/ imyuga |
| | University/Kaminuza |
| | Other (specify) / Andi (yavuge)..... |

B. QUESTIONS RELATED TO URUMURI CLUB UNITY AND RECONCILIATION PROGRAMS /IBIBAZO BIJYANYE NA GAHUNDA Z’UBUMWE N’UBWIYUNGE ZIKORWA N’URUMURI CLUB.

9. What are the unity and reconciliation programs conducted by urumuri club/ Urumuri club ikora izihe gahunda mu rwego rwo guteza imbere ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge ?

.....
.....
.....

C. QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE ROLE OF URUMURI CLUB PROGRAMS IN UNITY AND RECONCILIATION/ IBIBAZO KU RUHARE RWA GAHUNDA Z’URUMURI CLUB MU GUTEZA IMBERE UBUMWE N’UBWIYUNGE

10. Describe briefly how Urumuri Club programs play a role in promoting unity and reconciliation?

.....
.....
.....
.....

| <p>Show the extent to which you agree with the following views that Urumuri club programs are helpful in fostering unity and reconciliation of its members and community at large /Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira bijyanye n'uburyo gahunda z' Urumuri Club zifasha abanyamuryango gututeza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ndetse n'abaturage muri rusange.</p> | <p>Strongly agree/ Ndabyemera cyane</p> | <p>Agree/ Ndabyemera</p> | <p>Disagree/ Simbyemera</p> | <p>Strongly disagree/ Simbyemera namba</p> | <p>Do not know/ Simbizi</p> |
|--|---|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <p>11. Does Urumuri Club programs develop the social cohesion among its members and neighborhood/ Ese gahunda zitandukanye z'urumuri club ziteza imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu banyamuryanga bayo ndetse no mu baturage muri rusange?</p> | | | | | |

D. QUESTIONS RELATED TO VARIABLES AND INDICATORS OF RECONCILIATION /IBIBAZO BIJYANYE N'INGINGO NGENDERWAHO Z'UBWIYUNGE

I. Discussing and Understanding the History of Rwanda (past, the present,) and envisioning the future of Rwanda /Kuganira ku mateka y'u Rwanda (Ibyahise n' iby'ubu,) no ku cyerekezo cy'ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda.

| Show the extent to which you agree with the following views on the past, the present, and the future of Rwanda /Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira bijyanye n'amateka n'ahazaza h'u Rwanda | Strongly agree/ Ndabyemera cyane | Agree/ Ndabyemera | Disagree/ Simbyemera | Strongly disagree/ Simbyemera namba | Do not know/ Simbizi |
|--|--|----------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. Urumuri Club members discuss frankly and commonly understood the history of Rwanda (causes/factors of the Genocide against Tutsi), and they envision the future of Rwanda | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| <p>/Abanyamuryango b' Urumuri club baganirabyimazeyo amateka y'urwanda: Ibyateye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi byamaze kuganirwaho byimbitse kandi abantu babifiteho imyumvire imwe muri rusange, no mu gutegura imbere heza h'u Rwanda</p> | | | | | |
| <p>II. Ownership of reconciliation /Gukomera ku guharanira kwiyunga</p> | | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <p>13. As a Rwandan who understand the history of Rwanda, the factors and causes of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, I am certain to sacrifice my own life in fighting against genocide? /Nk'umunyarwanda usobanukiwe byimbitse amateka y'uRwanda, impamvu zateye Genoside</p> | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| <p>yakorewe Abatutsi ndemera ntashidikanya ko na nakwemera gutanga ubuzima bwanjye ndwanya jenocide.</p> | | | | | |
| <p>14. I am certain I can do anything possible to avoid participating in genocide /Ndemera ntashidikanya ko nakora igishoboka cyose ngo sinijandike mu bikorwa bya jenocide</p> | | | | | |

III. Envisioning the future /Inzozo ku cyerekezo cy'ahazaza

15. I am certain support the unity and reconciliation and ensure building sustainable peace for Rwanda/ Ndemeza ko nzaharanira gufasha ibikorwa by'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ndetse no guharanira ejo hazaza h'u Rwanda nubaka amahoro arabye mu Rwanda.

E. QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URUMURI CLUB PROGRAMS ON UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

| Show the extent to which you agree with the following views regarding effectiveness of | Strongly agree/ Ndabyemera cyane | Agree to Some Extent/ Ndabyemera gahoro | Disagree/ Simbyemera | Strongly disagree/ Simbyemera nagato | Do not know/ Simbizi |
|--|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Urumuri Club programs on Unity and reconciliation/ Wemera ku ruhe rugero ibitekerezo bikurikira ku ruhare rwa gahunda z’Urumuri mu guteza imbere ubumwe ‘ubwiyunge. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. The mutual assistance program played a critical role in promoting the unity and reconciliation among Urumuri club members? / Ubufatanye muri byose bw’ abanyamuryango ba Urumuri Club bwabaye ingenzi mu guteza imbere ubumwe n’ubwiyunge. | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| <p>15. The programs of urumuri club related to developing the community conviviality through social events and reciprocal visits and meeting strengthened the unity and reconciliation among Urumuri club members/ Ibikorwa by' urukundo n'ubushuti binyuze mu gusurana , guhurira mu nama, gutabarana , kwitabira no gusangira mu birori byateje imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu banyamuryango b' Urumuri Club</p> | | | | | |
| <p>16. The program of Urumuri Club focusing on community economic empowerment through tontines improved the welfare among its members, neighborhood at large. This improved the unity and</p> | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| reconciliation. / Ibikorwa byo kwiteza imbere binyuze mu gushinga amashirahamwe yo kubitsa no kugurizanya azwi ku izina ry'ibimina yateje imbere imibereho myiza y'abanyamuryango b'Urumuri Club , ndetse n'abaturage muri rusange. Ibi bikaba byarateje imbere ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|

F. QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE CHALLENGES AND SUGGESTIONS

16. What are the challenges face by Urumuri Club and limit the implementation of its programs?

.....

.....

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE LEADER OF THE MINISTRY OF UNITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

1. What is the role of community clubs in unity and reconciliation of Rwanda?
2. What are the dimensions guiding the unity and reconciliation clubs in designing their programs?
3. Do the Unity and reconciliation clubs programs meet effectively the post genocide Rwanda unity and reconciliation perspective?
4. What are the challenges facing the unity and reconciliation Clubs limiting them to effectively achieve to the pre-set targets of unity and reconciliation?
5. What are the suggestions can you recommend helping to overcome these limitations for effective unity and reconciliation in at large?

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

COORDINATION AT DISTRICT LEVEL

1. What is the role of community clubs in unity and reconciliation especially in Kamonyi District?
2. What are the dimensions guiding the unity and reconciliation clubs in designing their programs?
3. Do the Unity and reconciliation clubs programs meet effectively the district targets in unity and reconciliation?
4. What are the challenges facing the unity and reconciliation Clubs limiting them to effectively achieve to the pre-set targets of unity and reconciliation?
5. What are the suggestions can you recommend helping to overcome these limitations for effective unity and reconciliation in at large?

APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE COORDINATOR OF URUMURI

UNITY AND RECONCILIATION CLUB

1. What are the unity and reconciliation programs conducted by urumuri club ?
2. How can you link Urumuri programs to the national program of unity and reconciliation?
3. Describe briefly how Urumuri Club programs play a role in promoting unity and reconciliation
4. How Urumuri Club programs contribute to the development of unity and reconciliation of its members and neighborhood?
5. Do Urumuri Club members discuss frankly and commonly understood the history of Rwanda (causes/factors of the Genocide against Tutsi), and they envision the future of Rwanda?
6. Are Urumuri club members dedicated to sacrifice their lives in preventing genocide and avoid participating in Genocide?
7. What are the challenges faces Urumuri Club limiting the implementation of its programs ?
8. What are the suggestions can you recommend helping to overcome these limitation for effective implementation of Urumuri Club programs and fully promote the unity and reconciliation in general?

APPENDIX V: THEMES FOR THE FOCUSGROUP DISCUSSIONS

Based on the pre-set research objectives the following themes were discussed in Focus Group Discussions:

1. Unity and reconciliation Programs developed by Urumuri Club.
 - e. Community mutual assistance/support,
 - f. Developing conviviality community
 - g. Conducting Unity and reconciliation awareness campaigns
 - h. Community empowerment
2. Contribution of Urumuri Club programs to unity and reconciliation
3. Challenges and recommendation for effective development of Urumuri Club unity and reconciliation programs

Habimana Eric Olivier- report of dissertation-Musanze

ORIGINALITY REPORT

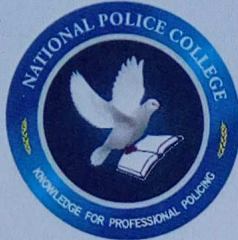
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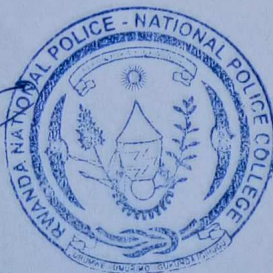
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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that **SP ERIC OLIVIER HABIMANA** is a student at Rwanda National Police College, undertaking a Master's Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation for the academic year 2021-2022. He is conducting a research on: "THE ROLE OF UNITY AND RECONCILIATION CLUBS IN POST GENOCIDE PEACE BUILDING IN RWANDA: A CASE OF URUMURI CLUB IN KAMONYI DISTRICT" 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.

R MUJEJI
CP
COMMANDANT





AUTHORISATION TO SUBMIT THE DISSERTATION FOR EVALUATION

I, undersigned, **Prof Masabo Francois** hereby testify that under my Supervision, Mrs/Ms/Mr... **HABIMANA Eric Olivier** .has successfully completed writing her/his MA Dissertation titled **THE ROLE OF UNITY AND RECONCILIATION CLUBS IN POST GENOCIDE PEACE BUILDING IN RWANDA: A CASE OF URUMURI CLUB IN KAMONYI DISTRICT....**

.....

Therefore, she/he stands with my authorization to submit required copies to the Administration of CCM for evaluation.

Done at..... **Kigali 8th June 2022**.....

Names and signature of the Supervisor: **Prof Masabo Francois**

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A. Francois', written over a light blue horizontal line.



COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRE FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

AUTHORISATION TO SUBMIT THE CORRECTED DISSERTATION

I, undersigned, **George Wycliffe BUTARE, PhD**, member of the panel of examiners of the dissertation done by **HABIMANA Eric Olivier** entitled: **The role of Unity and reconciliation clubs in post genocide peace building in Rwanda. A case of Urumuri club in Kamonyi district.**

Hereby testify that, he successfully entered the suggested corrections by the panel of examiners and stands with authorization to submit required copies to the administration of CCM for administrative purpose.

Done at: Kigali

Date: /17 /06/2022

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'George Wycliffe Butare', written over a light blue rectangular background.

George WYCLIFFE BUTARE, PhD

For Administration of the CCM MA Program: Name, Signature