COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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EFFECTS OF GENOCIDE IDEOLOGY ON SOCIAL COHESION IN

POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

By

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A Thesis Submitted To The Center For Conflict Management In Partial Fulfillment For The Requirement For The Award Of The Degree Of Master Of Arts In Genocide Studies And Prevention

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DECLARATION

I, **Nshimyimana Emmanuel**, hereby declare that this research Dissertation is my own original work. To the best of knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma at University of Rwanda or any other institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the Dissertation, any contribution made to the research by others elsewhere is explicitly acknowledged in the Dissertation.

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that he has read and hereby recommend for acceptance by University of Rwanda/ Center for Conflict Management the dissertation entitled "*Effects of Genocide Ideology on Social Cohesion in Post-Genocide Rwanda*" in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Genocide Studies and Prevention.

Signature:

Supervisor: Dr. Ezechiel SENTAMA

Date: …………/…………. / ………….

DEDICATION

To my Wife, Mukamana Agnès;

To my beloved Daughters, Igihozo S. Aela and Inema S. Nessy;

To my Father, Sakindi Ismael;

To my Sisters and Brothers, Nieces and Nephews;

To my relatives perished during the genocide against the Tutsi,

To my friends and relatives;

To my classmates

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study has been conducted in order to assess the effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion in post-genocide Rwanda. Due to the time constraint and financial related issues, the research did not covered all the territory of Rwanda but the research was limited in Gasabo District. The general objective of this study was to highlight in clear way how – even if genocide has ended in Rwanda – the genocide ideology is very dangerous to Rwandan Social Cohesion. Its specific objectives were to explore how genocide ideology persists in post-genocide Rwanda and to find out how genocide ideology impacts social cohesion in post-genocide Rwanda. Regarding, the methodology the population of the study was composed by all local leaders in Bumbogo sector, member of sector counsel up to the cell, opinion leaders and representatives of Ibuka where all were found to be 83, hence the universal sampling was used since the total population is below 100. First of all the study found that genocide ideology still appears among citizens according to the opinions of the participants in this study where mainly people use to select people to marry with considering the mean of 3.60 which is interpreted as high mean, but in general the ideology of genocide in nowadays is moderate considering the grand mean of 2.76 which is interpreted as moderate mean. Studying social cohesion it was revealed that to all its indicators that were used in this study is positively perceived meaning in terms of trust, tolerance, solidarity and friendship. In last it has been found that persistence of genocide ideology reduced the level of friendship among people, reduction of the way by which people cooperate in different domains and it has become hard to see people with different history (Ethnic) to participate in the same ceremonies.

Keywords: *Genocide, Genocide Ideology, Social Cohesion*

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AERG : Association des Elèves et Etudiants Rescapés du Génocide

AVEGA : Association des Veuves du Génocide Agahozo

CDR : Coalition pour la défense de la République

CNLG : Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide

FDLR : Forces for Democratic Liberation of Rwanda

GAERG : Groupe des Enciens Etudiants Rescapés du Génocide

GoR : Gouvernement of Rwanda

ICTR : International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

IRDP : Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace

MDR : Mouvement démocratique républicain

MRND : National revolutionary movement for development party

NURC : National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

PL : Parti Liberal

PSD : Parti social-démocrate

RPEP : Rwanda Peace Education Programme

RPF : Rwanda Patriotic Front

RTLM : Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines

SPSS : Statistical Packages of social Sciences

TIG : Travaux d'Interêt Général

UN : United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter is about background of the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study and scope of the study.

1.1. Background of the study

According to Dr Bizimana Jean Damscene, in his presentation during the 22nd commemoration of genocide against the Tutsi on 07/04/2016, the history of the world has shown that genocide does not develop overnight, there are some pathways including its destructive ideology which is taught to and entrenched in a part of the population, and instigated under the power of the government whereby some external countries are involved.

The worst reasonably harmful interaction of various ethnic or national groups (one of them in possession of the state machinery) is mass killings and genocide. Genocide is the most barbaric crime and its effects might take long-term consequences, 2007: 14).

Genocide is the extreme crime which goes on the pic of all crimes in the human kind history. The history shows us that in different periods on different parts of the world, genocide happened in different groups of people. 20th century became the century of genocide, conflicts and different kind of conflicts. This is the case of Armenian genocide which happened in 1915 by the Turkish system, the Holocaust from 1933 to 1945 by the Hitler with his Nazi system and the Genocide of Cambodians in the 1970 by Pol Pot with his Kimers Rouges. We cannot forget the recent genocide happened in Rwanda against the Tutsi killed by Hutu in 1994. All this genocides did not happened once a day but the there is a process in which the genocide evolves. This domain of genocide is still not well understood, that it why researchers should continue to explore why such crime happens in the human kind (Twagilimana, 2003).

While Rwanda is still recover its self, but there is still the existence of Genocide ideology which paralyses some corners of development, unity and reconciliation of Rwandans. For fighting against that destructive ideology, Rwanda initiated the law punishing crimes related to Genocide Ideology but some people interpreted this law as an obstacle of freedom of speech. They don't care about the effect / impact of this ideology even if genocide has already been stopped. In different literatures, different writers and scholars emphasize on legal perspective of genocide ideology law and some criticisms are made up on it but we did not find anywhere they talk why this law must be established even if genocide was stopped. Yes, there is 23 years after genocide was stopped but genocide ideology can destroy the society as it is with that ideology the genocide is rooted. Many studies have explored impact of genocide ideology before and during genocide execution but there is nowhere researchers talk about dangers of that destructive ideology in the society after genocide. This study is going to find out how genocide ideology challenged social cohesion in Rwanda.

1.2. Statement of the problem

After Genocide, Rwanda, through the CNLG, continually strived to put an end to genocide in the country, in the region, and in the world. The fight is not concerned the solely with the crime of Genocide but with the prevention of dehumanization and the struggle against genocide denial. These problems are equally pervasive in civilized societies and lead to long-term disillusionment, disenfranchisement, discrimination and ultimately destruction. Combatting dehumanization and denial in all their forms is as important as the fight against genocide (Gasanabo, 2015)

Even if the measures are taken day after day to eradicate the genocide ideology, its existence is still there.

People need to explore why we still talk about genocide ideology while genocide has been already stopped. Will genocide happen again in Rwanda? So, why do we still talk about its ideology? Even if CNLG and NURC talk about genocide ideology and thinking how to unite Rwandans, but there is a gap of explaining the dangers of that destructive ideology and why to prevent and fight against

it. People need to understand well its impact or effects on social cohesion. This study therefore, aims to answer the following research problem: **'In what ways genocide ideology affects to social cohesion after violence?'** Once we highlight well the relationship between Genocide Ideology and Social Cohesion, different people, especially policy makers will be aware of the gravity of Genocide Ideology on Social Cohesion and then they take other measures for its eradication.

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study has both the general objective and specific objectives

1.3.1   General Objective

The general objective of this study was to analyze how persistence of genocide ideology challenged social cohesion in Rwanda.

1.3.2   Specific objectives

The following are specific objectives of the study

1. To explore how genocide ideology persists in post-genocide Rwanda
2. To analyze the indicators of social cohesion in Rwanda post-genocide
3. To find out how genocide ideology impacts social cohesion in post-genocide Rwanda.

1.4 Research questions:

1. How does the genocide ideology persist in post-genocide Rwanda?
2. How social cohesion is perceived in Rwanda post-genocide?
3. How does genocide ideology affect social cohesion in post-genocide Rwanda?

1.5 Research hypothesis

The assumption of this study is that Genocide Ideology affects Social Cohesion of the society and the consequences are other forms of violence based on divisionism even if the genocide has been stopped. We assume that we will find the better way of explaining the gravity and dangers of genocide ideology in the fragile society like Rwanda.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Research significance refers to the importance of the study and the advantage to be delivered. Therefore, this study is significant in the area of genocide studies as well as in conflict management domain as it highlights the impact on genocide ideology on social cohesion. This research is very important to different people and different institutions such as public institutions like CNLG and NURC and private organizations which work in Peace Education and Peace Building domains like IRDP, Never Again, and Aegis Trust and so on.

It may also open minds of different people in the field of genocide such as scholars, academicians, researchers, politicians etc on how genocide ideology is the barrier of social cohesion. After exploring and exposing how this destructive ideology affects the Social Cohesion of people, this study will also propose other measures that GoR and other Institutions can take for Genocide Ideology eradication.

1.7 Scope and structure of the Study

This study emphasized on genocide ideology but as this field is wide; we limited and focused only on the extent of genocide ideology after genocide. Some highlights were on genocide ideology before and during genocide for enabling us to better understand its evolvement but much emphasis was on the post-genocide period.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter, as its title indicates, will make a review on different previous publications in relation with our study. For instance, it will be comprised by two major part namely: Definition of key concepts and theoretical framework. It is important to remind that the focus of this study is the effects of genocide ideology on Social Cohesion in Post Genocide Rwanda.

2.1 Theoretical review

This first literature is about the review that aims in explaining the variables and concepts of the study. This highlights the concept of genocide, genocide ideology and social cohesion.

2.1.1 Genocide

As stated in the introduction, the history clarifies well that genocides happened in different areas of the world in different periods of the time. Different authors wrote about it. But First of all, in 1944 a Jewish lawyer who lived in Poland, *Raphael Lamkin*, invented the word genocide by linking two words: the Greek word *'genos'* (nation, race, or tribe) and the Latin word 'cide' (from *'caedere'*, to kill). Before 1944, Lemkin observed how Armenians have been killed and tried to find the name of such crime but even if he provide energy and his effort to call it Barbarity and vandalism, he did not succeed to convince the polish government about prevention and punishment of that unnamed crime until the holocaust. After many fails of convincing the state to accept his project of naming this crime of all crimes, he managed, now, in 1944 to publish his book entitled: "*Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, a detailed account of the occupation regime imposed by Nazi Germany*" (Bounder, 2001: 28) and then he also managed to convince states to accept this naming 'Genocide' which has been adopted in 1948 UN Convention.

And after many discussions and debate on how the word 'Genocide' can be defined, the

On December 9, 1948, in that Convention, the article II, '*genocide*' was defined as any of the different acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, an ethnical, a national, religious,

or racial group. (Prunier, 1995:21). But different scholars and researchers have criticized the present UN definition as it is wide and vague and at the other hand it is defined in the political perspective.

We cannot continue to highlight all definitions from different researchers as there are many. Our only intention was to define the concept of 'genocide' as one of concepts of our work.

2.1.2 Genocide Ideology

It is not easy to define the word "Genocide Ideology" as this word refers to different acts driving to different crimes. But the constitution of Rwandan of 2003 tried to define the genocide ideology as well organized thoughts which are set to convince people to categorize, hate, and destroy a certain targeted group of population (Rwandan Senate, 2006: 29). And Faustin Mafeza defines "genocide ideology as an organized thinking which bring people to fight for power using extreme violence and conflicts so that the win over the targeted group (Mafeza, 2013: 18).

But in Rwanda we follow the definition established in the Official Gazette no 43bis of 28/10/2013. This gazette says that Genocide ideology is any action done in gathering of people by speeches or by any publications whether written or visual with the aim of sensitizing people to participate into genocide or promoting it.

From those different definitions, I can define 'genocide ideology as: any thoughts or ideas constructed to incite people to hate a defined group of a society and if possible exterminate them, promote and support the commission of genocide.

Jacques Semelin compared the destructive ideology with the poisonous tree. He said that the branches and leaves are like the principle operators of the propaganda. The first of these operators, the one we could identify as being the main vehicle for everything else, is the instrumentalization of a common past of suffering, of a collective trauma: that of the First World War for the Nazis, of the Second World War for the Serb nationalists, of the domination of the Tutsi royalty for the Hutu extremists. It is one of the most effective triggers for awakening resentment and fear in a

people through manipulation of their collective memory. It is in this fertile ground of misery that the pernicious propaganda tree flourishes. It sprouts two large branches that together make up its entire stature: the almost eternal principle of grandeur and purity of our people, who it goes without saying, will not put up with such humiliations again: 'We are not going to be hard again, are we?' Parallel to this branch runs other, the demonization of this 'other', the source of all of our people's unhappiness: 'it is from **THEM** that all our suffering arises. We cannot trust them. Those people are not like **US**' (Semelin, 2002: 77)

2.2. Prior indicators of genocide ideology in Rwanda

The system of Rwanda for long time was well organized especially in local level. Scott stated that local level consists of administrative officials, including the burgomaster (mayor), assistant burgomasters (two to three per commune), a communal accountant, a communal secretary, *conseillers* (sector heads), and members of *cellules* committee. In addition, every commune employed a school inspector, a school director, an agricultural inspector, a police brigadier, and about eight communal policemen. However in the communal outskirts, *conseillers* often wielded the most authority. On average, each commune had eleven sectors, and each sector had about four *cellules*, each controlled by a five-person committee and by a *responsible* (Scott, 2006:68). This local administrative hierarchy describes well how it was very easy to send information from the head of commune to the population. This is the best way used to disseminate and spread the destructive ideology and disseminating hate and fear among manipulated Hutus towards the victim group.

For destroying psychologically the victims and encouraging the strong part to hate victims, leaders used different ways but the most and dangerous tools was the media. Scott said that hardliners principally from within the ruling party promoted ethnic nationalist propaganda during the 1990-1994 period. As Rwanda democratized, the number of media outlets expanded from six to 42, of which 11

were pro-regime. Of these, the weekly newspaper *Kangura* most reflected the hardliners' position. *Kangura* consistently published virulent anti-Tutsi articles that equated the RPF and "the Tutsi" and that called for Hutus to militantly defend their democratic, majoritarian interests (Scott, 2004: 29)

2.2.1 Characteristics or indicators of genocide ideology

2.2.1.1 The Hutu Power Ideology

The genocide must follow by its destructive and heinous ideology, and, indeed, the history proved that there was genocide ideology in different cases where the genocide happened. MRND as the then ruling party is its-self a developer of Hutu Ideology. MRND was supported by its ally, CDR which was a Hutu-dominated political party. The actors who trained much the members of those parties were their leaders such as Leon Mugesera, Ferdinand Nahimana and Hassan Ngeze (Ungor, 2004:345).

The Hutu Power is the idea from Mr Karamira Frodould who was trying to divide some political parties into other entities in order to reduce the influence of those parties. In October 1993 MDR of Mr Faustin Twagiramungu was very powerful and MDR was strong an opponent party against MRND of Habyarimana. On September 25th, 1993, Hutu Power ideology was made strong and MDR was divided into two parts: MDR of Twagiramungu and MDR Power. Karamira with his MDR power became powerful and it became pro-MRND of President Habyarimana Juvenal. The members of MDR Power had been sensitized to be united and to hate every Tutsi and became an ally of MRND and CDR. This ideology was also applied to other opposition political parties (Gasana, 2005: 223).

For spreading its destructive ideology, MRND used RTLM which was a real innovative radio for this country, because the official national station, Radio Rwanda was often boring. In the interview between two music tracks on Radio RTLM, the standard commentary would be a deluge of word denouncing Tutsis 'cockroaches' and glorifying the greatness of Hutu. This belief analysis of the media gives us a better perception of how media development would be specific to each country

(Semelin, 2002: 74-76). Taken together, the extremist press promoted a consistent message during the period prior to the genocide. The central parts of that message were that all Tutsis had common intentions, that internal Tutsis were RPF "accomplices", that Tutsis were a minority and devious, that the RPF wanted to reinstall a Tutsi monarchy, that the Tutsis wanted to exterminate or enslave Hutus, that the RPF committed horrendous atrocities against civilians in the war, and that all Hutus had to unite and be vigilant to protect the Revolution's majoritarian gains (Scott, 2004: 269)

From the conviction from such propaganda, a perpetrator told Scott: "We believed that the Tutsis would come to kill us so we had to kill them first instead of waiting for them to kill us". He continued: "We thought we could terminate them, and that would give us peace because they would not live with us." And when Scott asked another perpetrator the goal of killing Tutsis, the perpetrator replied: "that is why it was necessary that the Hutus decided to kill the Tutsis (Scott, 2004: 270-271).

In the previous pages, we have noticed that it was difficult that the Holocaust happened if Hitler ideology was not spread among hardliners. Leaders have the capacity of spreading their ideology; the Genocide happened easily because the system of Rwanda was well elaborated in the way the information from top leaders reach easily the lower level (National − Prefecture − Communes − Secteurs − Cellules − Nyumbakumi). Scott stated that the findings from the micro-comparative study point to some important implications. First, a dominant model for understanding how genocidal violence started and spread is a top-down, hierarchical, state-driven campaign: a "genocidal machine" that was "meticulously organized". To an extent, this is true. The regime's extremist wing seized control of the state after Habyarimana's death and called for genocide. Also true is that Rwanda's state is hierarchical and effective compared to others in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the evidence does not point to a strict, top-down flow of violence through state institutions. After Habyarimana's death, the situation at the local level was largely fluid and uncertain (Scautt, 2004: 156)

2.3 Measuring Reconciliation in Rwandan context

In Rwandan setting, specifically, apparently the angles identified with personality and citizenship, understanding the past, equivalent rights, trust, truth, security, and equity, recuperating, regard, corresponding mentalities and relations, inside the general viewpoint manageable advancement— and with the assurance that the divisions and savagery of the past won't return - are key in the present estimation of compromise in Rwanda.

2.3.1 Exploring the past and present for preparing the future

In Rwanda, it is for the most part contended that one of the huge reasons for its authentic dangerous clashes, and especially the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, is the path the past was comprehended and educated. In this manner, understanding and standing up to the wellsprings of social division can help advance compromise in Rwanda. A general speculation in such manner is that the more Rwandans can comprehend and defy the wellsprings of their chronicled social divisions, the more compromise is probably going to happen (NURC, 2010:17).

2.3.2 Citizenship and Identity

Personality hypothesis underscores doing', while social character hypothesis underlines being'. The end in such manner is that personality hypothesis and social character hypothesis are unique instances of a solitary brought together character hypothesis (Burke, 1998, 1)

2.3.3 Political culture

The ideal political culture for reconciliation to happen was portrayed by the NURC as conditions where open and private organizations are - characterized by various basic characteristics, including freedom, proficiency, moral soundness, straightforwardness, and decency. The contention in this regard is that - in any society, contested views and some degree of conflict are to be expected: it is the role of a legitimate status to ensure that such a conflict is managed and

mitigated, and that the rights of citizens are protected…Effective management of conflict by government requires that citizens perceive institutions of the status to be accountable in all sectors of life (NURC, 2010:21).

Ultimately, institutions that demonstrate these characteristics garner the support of citizens and bolster the legitimacy of the status, supporting reconciliatory effort. (NURC, 2010: 21).

2.3.4 Security and wellbeing

Security is one of important role of the state it has to provide to its citizen. The security is not limited to the absence of war or violence but the inner peace is also needed to the individual. Inner peace is guaranteed if the citizen fulfill the basic needs. The state should set a system where all citizen are equal in benefiting all services given to the general population.

A specific center, in such manner, guides by and large toward monetary security, individual security, and political security (Rugumamu, (1993:29). Along these lines, if natives have a sense of safety and secured, they will be all the more ready to concede to national reconciliation forms.

2.3.5 Justice, fairness and rights

The most examined region in regards to factors influencing reconciliation is that of managing the past with the goal that what's to come is not ceaselessly hampered by uncertain past. This especially will in general allude to how to manage past gross infringement of human rights, just as how to approach the immediate exploited people and culprits of such acts. The production of feeling of equity is accordingly regularly displayed as fundamental for reconciliation (Hayner : 2003: 254).

One of the reasons why it is important to create at least a sense of justice is to reduce the desire for vengeance and to prevent private acts of revenge, both of which seriously impede reconciliation. An atmosphere of vengeance, for example, contributes to fear and strengthens hostility and enemy image and can plunge the parties back into violent conflict. However, justice is a complicated issue and can be defined and understood in many ways. Justice is most commonly understood in its retributive sense, focusing on punishment and the restorative justice is to repair the injustice,

recover the humanity of both perpetrators and victims and restore social connections (Minow, 2003: 43).

In addition, justice can be viewed in a more narrow sense relating to human rights violations, but can also be seen in a broad way referring to the creation of more equitable relationships and structures. This approach to justice goes under several interrelated terms, such as redistributive or distributive justice, social justice, and socio-economic justice. Compensatory justice focuses more narrowly on compensation to the victims. Procedural justice relates to whether the procedures by which justice is to be attained are seen as fair and legitimate.

Another type of justice is symbolic, including acknowledgment of past abuses. The concept of transitional justice is also discussed while connecting reconciliation to justice.

The relationship between reconciliation and justice thus depends, to a large extent, on how the two concepts are defined. Reconciliation is at times perceived as forgive and forget'(sometimes called false reconciliation'). Within this viewpoint, reconciliation is seen as a method to cover up the past, preserve the status quo and prevent the attainment of justice (Evaldsson, 2010: 45). Some researchers argue that even more important than a sense of justice is a mutual commitment to move forward into a shared future. The likelihood of such an attitude increases considerably if people believe things are moving in the right direction and that the past will not return. This does not mean forgetting, but learning to live with it in such a manner that it does not determine the future. And the principle for that is the spirit if respect each other even people have different background in the society. Accepting differences among groups of people is the positive spirit which must be developed in the community (Evaldsson, 2010: 45).

2.3.6 Social cohesion

Social cohesion is corresponded to social capital whereby connections, standards, practices and organizations are reinforced to pull in a superior cultural framework that upgrades comprehensiveness and social collaborations. This is so put since social cohesion and solidarity

are basic to social orders' financial advancement and development in equitable and sound status organizations (Ho-Won, 2005: 35).

2.4. Persistence of Genocide Ideology in Post-Genocide Rwanda

Form the end of 1994, GoR tried to fight against genocide and its ideology but the country is facing some signs indicating the persistence of that ideology. The National Commission for Fighting against Genocide (CNLG) has published that despite all the different initiatives put in place in the fight against the ideology of genocide, various reports and studies confirm its persistence (CNLG, 2015: 92)

The report of the Rwandan Parliament's Special Commission in charge of clarifying the issue of the Gikongoro massacres, the genocidal ideology and those who maintained it, formally noted the persistence of this ideology in Rwanda (Rwanda Senate, 2006: 90). That Senate report on the ideology of genocide made it clear that this ideology was fatal in the Rwandan community: "More than 50% of Rwandans also believe that spreading the ideology of division and exclusion has been fatal to the unity of Rwandans. Those who played a large role are in order of importance: politicians (97.25%), teachers and school elites (67.08%), military (66.58%) and religious leaders (55.5%)".

This report gave great importance to the family in spreading the ideology of genocide. In addition, in 2008, in a survey conducted to the survivors of the genocide and local authorities, it has been noticed that 80% of the populations surveyed are firmly convinced that there is an ideology of genocide in Rwanda (NURC, 2008: 11).

In the said survey from CNLG, the report revealed that twenty-one years after the genocide, there is a persistence of the genocide ideology. Various criminal acts related to the genocide ideology were observed between 1995 and 2015: for example throwing stones at the homes of genocide survivors, cutting their banana plantations, torturing their cows or cutting them into pieces. To this

list must be added the assault and hurting the survivors as well as killing them. This study shows that there are multiple acts of the genocide ideology throughout the country (CNLG, 2015: 94). This research of CNLG on the state of ideology, presents some examples of atrocities related to this ideology: According to Ibuka's president in Kigali City, Kicukiro District: *"Hari uwarokotse Jenoside batemeye insina, hashize igihe gito bamutera amabuye, bamwicira ihene, bagerekaho no kumutema",* [The genocidaires cut bananas from a survivor of the genocide, after a few days they threw stones at his house, they killed his goats, and in addition to that, they seriously injured him with the machete] (CNLG, 2015: 95)

That survey showed that also the genocide ideology expresses itself during the period of genocide commemoration. An example is where one survivor in Musanze district testified that he suffered much in commemoration of April 2012: *"Mu kwezi kwa Mata 2012, natanze ubuhamya kubyo nabonye muri Jenoside. Ibyo byabaye intandaro yo kuntera n'ijoro bafata Inka yanjye bayica ihembe maze bayizirikana n'Imbwa. Ikindi gihe baje kuza bamenagura amadirishya, bafata imbwa yanjye bayijugunya muri W.C., bafashe kandi ihene yanjye bayivuna amaguru, bafashe inyana bayikura amahembe, barazaga kandi bakituma ku muryango",* [In April 2012, I testified before the Gacaca court about what I had seen during the genocide. Because of this testimony, I was regularly attacked during the night. My attackers took my cow, tore off the horns and tied her up with my dog. Another day, they came and broke the windows of my house, and even threw my dog in the toilet. They also broke the paws of my goats, tore off the horns of a heifer, and they defecated in front of my door] (Idem: 97)

After analyzing the literature on genocide ideology, we have seen how it is transmitted from a group to another or from one person to another and we have seen that still, in the case of Rwanda, it persists in the society as different reports especially from CNLG and NURC declared. Reports we have seen are for last years and we think that the state of genocide ideology during those years

can differ from its state for nowadays. This concern guided us to formulate our research question as follow: *How does the genocide ideology persist in post-genocide Rwanda?*

2.5. Social Cohesion Characteristics

Social cohesion has been examined in two expansive settings, for example, academically and policy discorse (Chan et al, 2006: 274). Be that as it may, there is no unmistakable differentiation between these two practices since approach creators regularly use scholarly writing in like manner scholastics oftentimes utilize arrangement situated ideas of social attachment (Hulse and Stone, 2007:109). Scholastic talk can't give an operational meaning of social union yet on account of multidisciplinary research intrigue, for example, sociology, humanism, social brain science and so on., however a detail structure is found in scholarly setting (Chan et al, 2006: 277). Then again, uniqueness idea of social attachment is found in arrangement area relying upon nation to nation and association to association. Be that as it may, the scholarly and the strategy talk have assorted concentrations with reference to social attachment premise (Chan et al, 2006: 279). In this examination, both scholastic and approach settings have been engaged to conceptualize the idea of social cohesion.

In a socially cohesive society, residents share normal qualities, moral standards and conduct that lead them to arrive at regular points and destinations, and where people are locked in with the political frameworks and organizations (Kearns and Forrest, 2000: 997). In this manner, the idea of social cohesion displays a type of regular inclination and sharing among the natives.

2.5.1. Measuring social cohesion in Rwandan post-genocide

As our study is analyzing the impact of genocide ideology on social cohesion in Post-Genocide Rwanda, we need to understand this important concept: "Social Cohesion". The term explains itself. With "Social Cohesion", we understand the coherent society, peaceful society, society without violence among its population and positive collaboration among citizens.

Tim Reeskens, Sarah Botterman and Marc Hooghe wrote a paper by "*Investigating the dimensionality of social cohesion on the basis of the Kearns and Forrest (2000) typology*". They tried to find out if 'Social Cohesion' is 'One Latent Concept', and they first defined it by highlighting five dimensions of social cohesion (Reeskens et al, 2000: 2).

Social Development Department in World Bank said that Social Cohesion depicts the nature and nature of connections crosswise over individuals and gatherings in the public eye, including the state. The body electorate of social union is unpredictable, yet at its pith social attachment infers a combination crosswise over gatherings in the public eye that gives a system inside which gatherings can, at any rate, exist together calmly. Along these lines social union offers a proportion of consistency to cooperation crosswise over individuals and gatherings, which thus gives motivators to collective action.

The High School Dictionary, the verb to 'cohere' means to become united in principles, relationship or interest. And it defines the word "cohesion" as "the action of sticking together tightly". From above definitions from different researchers, we can simply define "Social Cohesion" as a way in which a population interacts, collaborate each other in harmony within a given society.

2.5.2. Factors that strengthen Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is not a separate element which stands alone. It needs some factors that will influence the society. Especially in the fragile societies which met extreme violence like genocide, in the aftermath some measures need to be taken, whether on personal will or on the national level. We are going to highlight some factors that influence the existence of Social Cohesion. These are Forgiveness, Reconciliation, Trust, Empathy and other many. And with theories from different

authors, we will see how any society should help its people to interact in harmony way leading to the cohesive society. We will not separate each factor from others as all of them work together from making strong the cohesion of the society aftermath.

As our research concerns Post-Genocide Rwanda, much reference will come from authors that wrote about Rwanda. Before tackling elements leading to social cohesion, we prefer to see about destruction of social cohesion as we will see its reconstruction.

2.5.3. Destruction of Social Cohesion

In the part of Genocide Ideology, we have seen how any society, especially Rwanda have been destroyed by that ideology.

Ervin Staub, in his book "The Roots of Evil" has put much emphasis on what he called the *"continuum of destruction"*. Some steps showed that destruction of social cohesion is a process which involves many factors.

Aegis Trust, through the program "Rwanda Peace Education Programme" collected different elements from Staub's book and made a diagram which summarizes the destruction of social cohesion.

When interpreting the work of Ervin Staub, Thomas Vincent Flores declared that with his continuum model, Staub features an unmistakable and unsurprising example that has prompted appalling demonstrations of viciousness, mass killings, and genocide. The foci of his examinations are the cataclysmic showcases of barbarism that happened in Nazi Germany, Cambodia, Argentina, and Turkey. His examination happens basically at the degree of gathering elements, yet applies to people too. What his examinations uncover is that these horrendous occurrences of viciousness all started with the cheapening of specific gatherings, continued to underestimation of those equivalent gatherings (i.e., to clandestine separation and disavowal of common, social, or political rights, and so forth.), proceeded onward to unmistakable segregation, and finished in open hatred and animosity toward gatherings distinguished as reasonable focuses of threatening vibe

and savagery. At last, these gatherings were marked as "foes" and distinguished as reasons for delayed trouble that therefore must be killed (or eliminated). We can outwardly speak to this movement as pursues: Devaluation, underestimation, separation, disdain and animosity, antagonistic vibe, dehumanization, end (extermination) and referring to Flores's interpretation and the work of Ervin Staub, Aegis Trust presented in the Continuum of Destruction diagram that progression as follow: Poor Living Conditions, Groups Formation, Scapegoating, Discrimination, **Destructive Ideology,** Absence of Active Bystanders, Blindly Respect for Authority, Manipulation, Dehumanization and Demonization, Extreme Violence such as Genocide (RPEP, 2015: 7)

2.5.4. Reconstruction of Social Cohesion

- Personal Responsibility, Confession and Forgiveness

Reconstruction of Social Cohesion involves, as we said above, many element such as Reconciliation, Confession and Forgiveness, Empathy, Caring and so on. Reconciliation cannot occur when perpetrators don't recognize their crimes and confess. Recognizing their responsibility is the first step towards confession.

Acknowledging responsibility which help a perpetrator to confess in front of a victim is a step which will help a survivor / a victim to forgive. Forgiveness is also a process. Backing again to the work of RPEP, Aegis Trust gathered different elements which we identify as elements of forgiveness (RPEP, 2015: 7). Even if all elements of the diagram are related but it seems that acknowledging their actions and apologizing of the perpetrators can be a first step which will be followed by many others until the other side will be able to forgive. All these steps lead to an important ideal point "existence of Peace of Heart". Constructive forgiveness is very important in

the healing process to both sides: perpetrators, survivors and their respective families so that they always thing positively in finding solutions of some problems without using violence (Staub, 2005: 297-334).

- Reconstruction process at the individual and national levels

Confession and forgiveness involve psychological ability of people who must confess and at the other hand, of the people who can forgive. It is that process Ervin Staub described in his book "Overcoming Evil" where he referred to the case of Rwanda. Ervin Staub explained well the process of reconciliation in Rwanda aftermath and through his previous book "The Roots of Evil", he developed the theory of "*Continuum of Benevolence*". Thomas Vincent Flores interpreted the work of Staub and tried to show some elements comprising the process of reconstructing the social cohesion. Flores said that Staub's *continuum of benevolence* is *directly* linked following the circle of destruction where while mistrust was a big problem, now caring, compassion, love, connection and peace are in the process of healing people

According to Staub, the government should set a system which allows citizens to discuss and sharing their suffering as well as inspiring through the history their children to love each other. Staub also demonstrates that, similarly likewise with the continuum of devastation, individuals, particularly kids, learn kindness by doing and watching others do. By and by, he in this manner endorses making cultural open doors for giving and administration, particularly for youngsters (Staub, 2005: 3-34).

Flores summarized that theory of Staub and arranged different points from *Continuum of Benevolence*. Analyzing interpretation of Flores and adapting to the work of Ervin Staub, Aegis Trust, through Rwanda Peace Education Programme, conceived its diagram and arranged the element which show the process of Social Cohesion reconstruction. Looking to the diagram on the next page we see how from violence to the peaceful heart needs a time. It is a process. At the end

of violence, there is much mistrust among people and regarding the hard situation each group is living in, none cares, everyone is indifferent. It is in that way, the government system must create the space where people be open and discuss. With the time empathy will flourish and opposite sides start to care each other which lead to feel secure in the society and having the inner peace.

2.6. Conclusion of the literature

In this chapter, we have seen definitions of concepts "Genocide Ideology" and "Social Cohesion". We saw that Genocide Ideology is the thoughts and ideas that people can disseminate from one person to another. It is a matter of mindset and psychologically one group become corrupted by that ideology and hate another group. This ideology is not only called genocide ideology when genocide is going to happen but also aftermath when there are some people who promote and support that genocide in different ways, whether denying that it happened or mobilizing people to continue to hate others and or destroying properties of genocide survivors or killing them (the case of Rwanda: according the law punishing the Genocide Ideology and Related Offences). This is showing that genocide ideology can exist even aftermath.

At the other hand, the concept of "Social Cohesion", after its definitions, we have seen that it is a complexity of different elements that needed for the existence of a cohesive society. We saw that aftermath, it is very difficult to arrive on the social cohesion at 100% but some mechanisms needed to be established in the society. This is where recognition of crimes the perpetrators did, is very

important as it drives the said perpetrators to confession and help survivors to forgive. We saw that even if any person travel in the process of *Continuum of Benevolence* but the political will is very important to set up the system that facilitate citizens to peacefully cohabite. This is the *Steps of Social Reconstruction and Reconciliation*. We have referred to the case of Rwanda where after genocide, the government established institutions like NURC for giving citizens the space where debates on genocide issues can be discussed and facilitate the reconciliation. The other important

example is establishment of Gacaca Court. Even if Gacaca had to punish genocide criminals but it had also the task of calling perpetrators to confess and if possible survivors, after finding the confession is accurate, they can forgive. Gacaca was restoration justice. This kind of such institutions helps in the healing not only of genocide survivors but also of genocide perpetrators.

As we saw, genocide ideology is a strong handicap on establishment and restoration of social cohesion as it damages people minds and the group of people hate others. All elements that strength social cohesion cannot exist when genocide ideology is present.

With following chapters, we will present findings from the views of respondents about the effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion in Post-Genocide Rwanda. Respondents will tell us how they understand about the two concepts in the study and then explain, basing on their experiences, how genocide ideology is a barrier to Social Cohesion.

CHPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The content of this chapter explains the research design, research setting, the target population, the strategic way of sampling and sample size. The research instruments are highlighted in this chapter; the techniques of data collection and the data analysis are explained also.

3.2 Research design

This research was based on both the qualitative and quantitative research designs. The qualitative research design was descriptive in nature and this enabled the researcher to meet the objectives of the study. A statement was used to assign variables that were not adequately measured using numbers and statistics.

As for quantitative research, it is defined as the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect. The quantitative research design was used in form of mathematical numbers and statistics assigned to variables that may not be easily measured using statements or theme.

3.3. Population

Population is the aggregate membership of a distinct class of people, objects, or event. Population is a combined word used to define the total quantity of cases of the type which are subject of your study". In this study the population of the study was composed by all local leaders in Bumbogo sector, member of sector counsel up to the cell, opinion leaders and representatives of Ibuka where all were found to be 83.

3.4. Sampling strategies and sample size

Amin (2005) argues that when the population is small and reachable the best method to be used to get accurate information from the target population is a survey or census. This method has a merits

or advantages to provide a true measure of the population (no sampling error) and easily get detailed information within the population. Given that the researcher decided to use the entire population or universal sampling where all 83 people as there were cited in the previous section participated in this study.

Sources of data

3.5 Sources of data

Most of data that were used in this study are raw data, meaning primary data but to achieve the best coherence of the study those raw data were supported by data from different reports of Primate Safari, journals and websites.

3.5.1 Primary data

Primary data are the data found from the field using different methods of getting data. The collected data are gathered from the field using some tools like questionnaires and interviews (Khotari, 2004). Using those name tools, the data in the present document are pure primary data.

3.5.2 Secondary data

By exploring the exist data from books, online publication, different presentations conferences and courses, newspapers, the information obtained from that existing store like public institution repots is those we call *'secondary data'*.

3.6 Techniques of Data Collection

In this study both questionnaire and interview were used for collecting our data from the sample of the study.

3.6.1 Questionnaires

A closed ended questionnaire in form of five *'Likert scale'* was prepared. Questions within our questionnaires were based on the profiles of respondents and questions responding the objectives of the study. Questionnaires were advantageous since the statement used in were more formative and were prepared in careful manner vis-à-vis the research objectives.

3.6.2 Interviews

Interviews with open-ended questions are an important collection technique in qualitative research. This technique is useful for many reasons such as analyzing issue, program adjustment and proposing some suggestions for the strategic and future planning. In this study, interviews were used to local authorities and representatives of some organization like Ibuka. Open-ended questions within our questionnaires were prepared. For present interviewees who also had enough time to be interviewed, we interviewed him/her with in-depth interviews and he/she had a time to reflect on asked questions and views and opinions have been recorded. Form people who had the time to sit with a researcher, she/he has been provided the questionnaire and answer the open-ended questions and then after he/she handled the questionnaire to the researcher.

3.7 Data analysis procedures

In this study, the data analysis was made using both quantitative and qualitative method. Qualitative data were stated as the respondents expressed their thoughts regarding the asked questions and the representation of information was related to the variables of the study. Data were collected and then they were coded, edited and analysed using SPSS Version 22. Quantitative data were analyzed with the help of percentages, frequencies, and means as statistical techniques while qualitative data were analyzed with the use of content analysis meaning that the meaningful interviews were retained. During data analysis of this research, the collected data from the field will be broken into units to be examined together. As qualitative data use several kinds of analysis, the items of information (Statements) into some number of themes that I will choose from respondents' views have been arranged. And a set of categories based on the information obtained has been formed where by a quantitative approach intervened to examine how many have agreed on one or another theme.

3.8 Validity and reliability

Validity of the study is is helpful in the research as it evakuates if the used test were well designed to meseaure such study. It was showed that for ensuring the validity, instruments used in the research should be checked well by the student supervisor. At the other hand, reliability is all about to assess if a used test across the time is consistent and this reliability will help the supervisor and a researcher to be sure that the quality of research was not changed Gall et al (1996). This was achieved by consulting local researchers in genocide studies.

3.9. Limitations of the study

Where academicians are on field for collecting data, they use to miss reliable information to their study due to the denial of respondents. This was also good as the researcher delivered questionnaires to respondents at the time and in some circumstance the researcher also took the initiative of administrating questionnaires in order get reliable information. On the other side had short time for collecting sufficient information from different groups of people and to this I selected people whom I thought to have sufficient ideas on my subject of exploration.

3.10. Position of the researcher

The researcher position in this research is based on his academic and work background. his experience falls in Peace Education where all components of peace education involves the history of genocide and conflicts theories and social cohesion theories as a way of social reconstruction in the society. Having peace Education domain as a researcher experience supplements other years of working in CNLG as a CNLG Coordinator in different districts as well as spending some years working at Kigali and Murambi Genocide Memorials as a guide and as responsible of the memorial respectively. The experience of heading AERG while a researcher was a student in University is another added value for understanding well this field of research as among AERG objectives there

is fighting genocide and its ideology. The researcher background was his starting point of thinking about the aftermath of the Genocide against Tutsi, especially Genocide Ideology and Social Cohesion.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND

INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is about presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the data that were collected in order to respond the objectives of the study. The presented data were collected in form of questionnaire and interview guide was used to support them. The presented data are categorized into two where the first part is about demographic characteristics of respondents and those responding the objectives of the study.

4.1 Demographic profile of respondents

The demographic characteristics of the respondents that were collected included the age of respondents, gender of respondents, education of respondents, employment of respondents, and religion of respondents.

4.1.1 Age of respondents

The first demographic characteristic of respondents that was collected in this study is age. This is significant since age may determine the quality of results especially in the study which link the current situation and the history of the country.

Table 1: Age of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Below 25 years	1	1.2
26-30 years	3	3.6
31-35 years	16	19.3
41 to 45 years	40	48.2
46-50 years	23	27.7
Total	83	100.0

Source: Field data, 2018

The above table shows the distribution of respondents by their age. Majority of respondents who

have participated in this study were in the age group of 41 to 45 years with the percentage of 48.2% and respondents with the age ranging from 41 to 45 years were 27.7% of the total respondents. This helped in collecting coherent data since this study was complex and only people in adult age to be trusted to provide data that can help in reaching the objectives of this study.

4.1.2 Gender of respondents

Gender was considered as the second demographic characteristics of the respondents. The aim of this was to know how people by their gender perceive the persistence of genocide ideology and other related variables that were considered in this study.

Table 2: Gender of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Male	57	68.7
Female	26	31.3
Total	83	100.0

Source: Field data, 2018

Considering the gender of our respondents, the majority of them is that the table shows that there are male with the percentage of 68,7% while female are of 31.3%. The implication of this is that men are more apparent in sectors that provided respondents.

4.1.3 Educational level of respondents

The education in this study was found to be necessary since the level of education may influence the level of expression.

Table 3: Educational level of respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Primary education	37	44.6
Secondary education	34	41.0
University education	12	14.5
Total	83	100.0

Source: Field data, 2018

The table 3 shows that education of the big percentage of respondents is of primary education with the percentage of 44.6% followed by respondents with O' Level who showed the percentage of 41% of the total respondents. The implication of this is that the study was conducted in the remote sector of the city where most of people used to have basic education.

4.1.4 Employment status of the respondents

Employment status of respondents was found to be important in this study since it may have a certain influence on the results of the study. Employment helps to know the economic situation of respondents.

Table 4: Employment status of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Farmer	33	39.8
Trader	17	20.5
Public servant	19	22.9
Employee	14	16.9
Total	83	100.0

Source: Field data, 2018

Table 4 shows the distribution of respondents by their employment status. Majority of them were found to be farmers with the percentage of 39.8% and public servants were found to be 22.9% of the total respondents. The number of farmers is bigger due to agriculture sector which allocated majority of the population in Rwanda.

4.1.5 Religion of respondents

The fifth demographic characteristic that was considered in this study is religion. In religion many people met and share their experience of life and some may change for good. Religion helps people to trust each other.

Table 5: Religion of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Catholic	38	45.8
Muslim	7	8.4
Protestant	35	42.2
Adventist	3	3.6
Total	83	100.0

Source: Field data, 2018

That table shows us how religions the respondents are distributed. A big percentage of respondents is of catholic respondents with the percentage of 45.8% of the study followed by Protestants with 42.2% of the total respondents. The implications of this are that catholic and Protestants are the main dominants religions in Rwanda.

4.2 Evaluation of the persistence of genocide ideology in Bumbogo Sector

The first specific objective of this study was to evaluate the persistence of genocide ideology in Bumbogo Sector. This was achieved by collecting different opinions from participants in form of Likert scale questionnaire. Below table shows the details about that.

Table 6: Perceptions of respondents on persistence of genocide ideology

Genocide ideology	Mean	Std. Deviation	Comments
The asset of genocide survivors are damaged by unrecognized people	2.48	.888	Moderate mean
The choice of future spouse is based on the same history	3.60	.715	High mean
Genocide survivors use to face hate words from the neighbors	2.90	.617	High mean
There are people who refuse to be neighbors with genocide survivors	2.60	.826	High mean
In private sectors job is offered based on the history of the candidate	2.57	.872	Low mean
Hate speech and discussion still exists among group of people	2.52	.705	Low mean
Families use to tell children about the hate toward another group of people	2.71	.672	Moderate mea
Grand mean	2.7685	.32164	High mean

According to the above table the persistence of genocide ideology in Bumbogo Sector is characterized by the following: the choice of future spouse is based on the same history considering the mean of 3.60 which is interpreted as high mean that is the only one which is high rated among others where it looks like that the marriage for people with different ethnics is rarely to happen. Oher points that shows the persistence of genocide ideology at moderate level include facing hate words for genocide survivors considering the mean of 2.90 which is interpreted as moderate mean, and families use to tell children about the hate toward another group of people considering the mean of 2.71 which is interpreted as moderate mean.

The above results lead to the conclusion of saying that genocide ideology is being eliminated among Rwandans considering the grand mean of 2.76 which is interpreted as high mean. This shows that some efforts are still needed for total elimination of genocide ideology. Except, the above results in exclusive interview with president of Ibuka in Bumbogo sector, he provided the following:

"Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside mu murenge wa Bumbogo iragaragara. Ni kenshi twagiye duhura n'ibibazo by'abantu batazwi batema amatungo y'abacitse ku icumu, ubundi bakababwira amagambo abakomeretsa. Urugero natanga ni uko nko mu mwaka wo 2017, mu kagari ka Nyabikenke, icyumweru kimwe mbere yo kwibuka, hari umuturage wabwiye mugenzi we ko azamwica. Hari n'umugabo wabwiye umugore we ko ashobora kumwica akamutaba, ubundi icyunamo kikazagera yaraboze nka bene wabo. Ntabwo Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikigaragara cyane nko mu myaka yashize, ariko ubona ko yanze kuranduka burundu cyane cyane nko mu kagari ka Nyabikenke " Uwiduhaye Théodore, Ibuka President in Bumbogo Sector". In short he said that the genocide ideology appear in form of damaging the livestock of genocide survivors, harming and terrifying words which can lead to death but in the fact the genocide ideology is diminishing comparing to previous years but some signs of it still persists especially

in Nyabikenke sector.

4. 3. Evaluation of social cohesion in Bumbogo Sector

The second specific objective of this study was to evaluate the level of social cohesion among citizens in Bumbogo sector. Social cohesion in study was measured in terms of NURC barometers that include trustiness, tolerance, solidarity and conviviality or friendship.

Table 7: Level of trustiness among citizens in Bumbogo Sector

Trustiness	Mean	Std. Deviation	Comments
Members of the community trust each other without discrimination	3.58	.701	High mean
In my absence at home I can leave my children and keys to my neighbor	3.41	.766	High mean
I trust the leadership in this areas and I can vote for anyone according to his/her ability	3.94	.571	High mean
Credit exchange between citizens is done based on the ability of repayment	3.96	.756	High mean
Grand mean	3.7229	.29738	High mean

Source: Primary data, 2018
Note: 5. Strongly Agree= [4.21-5.00] =very high, 4. Agree = [3.41-4.20] =high, 3. Not Sure = [2.61-3.40] =Moderate, 2. Disagree= [1.81-2.60] =low 1. Strongly Disagree= [1.00-1.80] = very low

According to the above table trustiness among citizens is based on the following: members of the community trust each other without discrimination considering the mean of 3.58 which is interpreted as high mean, trusting neighbors till the level of leaving children to them for the absence considering the mean of 3.41 which is interpreted as high mean, trusting the leadership and they can vote for anyone considering the mean of 3.94 which is interpreted as high mean, credit exchange among people considering the mean of 3.96 which is interpreted as high mean. in conclusion to this, it is to say that people are trusted each other on good level since the grand mean is 3.72 which is interpreted as high mean.

Table 8: Tolerance among citizens in Rwanda

Tolerance	Mean	Std. Deviation	Comments
There is no discrimination in public places like bars, markets, stadium, people sit without looking to their differences	4.04	.689	High mean
Social category or ethnic have no place in interaction of people	3.00	.937	Moderate mean
The associations like cooperatives, tontines are formed on the basis of partnership not on the basic religion, ethnicity and among others	3.77	.801	High mean
For businesses, transactions and partnership are performed in non-selective manner	4.02	.604	High mean
Young people use to walk and play together	3.90	.709	High mean
Grand mean	3.7470	.34512	High mean

Source: Primary data, 2018
Note: 5. Strongly Agree= [4.21-5.00] =very high, 4. Agree = [3.41-4.20] =high, 3. Not Sure = [2.61-3.40] =Moderate, 2. Disagree= [1.81-2.60] =low 1. Strongly Disagree= [1.00-1.80] = very low

Table 8 shows the perceptions of respondents on the level of tolerance among Rwandan. The tolerance in this study is indicated by the following: it has been revealed that there is no discrimination in public places like bars, markets and among others considering the mean of 4.04 which is interpreted as high mean, the association like cooperatives, tontines are formed on the basis of partnership considering the mean of 3.77 which is interpreted as high mean, performing business transactions and partnership in non-selective manner considering the mean of 4.02 which is interpreted as high mean, and young people use to walk and play together considering the mean of 3.90 which is interpreted as high mean and on moderate level it has been revealed that social category or ethnic have no place in interaction of people on moderate level considering the mean of 3.00 which is interpreted as moderate mean. Concluding to this the level of tolerance in Bumbogo community is on good rank considering the grand mean of 3.74 which is interpreted as high mean.

Table 9: Solidarity among citizens in Bumbogo Sector

Solidarity	Mean	Std. Deviation	Comments
Member of the community show the ability of mutual help	3.46	.721	High mean
During commemorations of Tutsi genocide, all citizens are willingly to have participation	3.47	.704	High mean
People work together for implementing social development programs like Girinka and Ubudehe	3.86	.701	High mean
People share information on what can harm their security	3.93	.580	High mean
Grand mean	3.6777	.35469	High mean

Source: Primary data, 2018
Note: 5. Strongly Agree= [4.21-5.00] =very high, 4. Agree = [3.41-4.20] =high, 3. Not Sure = [2.61-3.40] =Moderate, 2. Disagree= [1.81-2.60] =low 1. Strongly Disagree= [1.00-1.80] = very low

The table 9 shows the perceptions of respondents on solidarity among people living in Bumbogo sector. However, it was revealed that solidarity is explained by the following: ability of mutual help in the community considering the mean of 3.46 which is interpreted as high mean, during commemoration of Tutsi genocide all citizens are willingly t have participation considering the mean of 3.47 which is interpreted as high mean, people work together for implementing social development programs like Girinka and Ubudehe considering the mean of 3.86 which is interpreted as high mean, and it was revealed that people share information on what can harm their security considering the mean of 3.93 which is interpreted as high mean. Concluding to this, it is to say that the level of solidarity is good among citizens considering the mean of 3.67 which is interpreted as high mean.

Table 10: Conviviality and friendship among citizens

Friendship	Mean	Std. Deviation	Comments
Friendship is formed among people without considering in social category of, on the basis of ethnic	3.76	.691	High mean
In ceremonies like marriage, baptisms, people use to invite each other and share what they have	4.00	.584	High mean
Marriage are used to happen without considering the differences	3.73	.586	High mean
Friendship	3.8313	.40783	High mean

Source: Primary data, 2018
Note: 5. Strongly Agree= [4.21-5.00] =very high, 4. Agree = [3.41-4.20] =high, 3. Not Sure = [2.61-3.40] =Moderate, 2. Disagree= [1.81-2.60] =low 1. Strongly Disagree= [1.00-1.80] = very low

According to the above table, the conviviality and friendship among citizens is expressed by the following: friendship is formed among people without considering their social category on the basis of ethnic considering the mean of 3.76 which is interpreted as high mean, in ceremonies like marriage, baptisms, people use to invite each other and share what they have considering the mean of 4.00 which is interpreted as high mean, and marriages is used to happen without considering the differences considering the mean of 3.73 which is interpreted as high mean. Concluding to this friendship and conviviality among citizens is well appreciated considering the mean of 3.83 which is interpreted as high mean. Even if the situation of social cohesion is appreciable, the main intention of the research was to investigate the effects of persistence of genocide ideology on social cohesions and the following section elucidates that.

However, in the exclusive interview with the executive secretary of the sector, the following were revealed:

Imibanire y'abaturage mu kagari ka Nyabikenke ni myiza. Ubona abaturage bishimira gukorera hamwe cyane cyane bigaragarira mu bikorwa byo gufasha abatishoboye bahatuye, gufatanya gukora umuganda, ibimina byo kwizigamira no kugurizanya. Ibyo byose ni ibigaragaza ko mu baturage bafitanye icyizere hagati muribo. Yego ntihabura utubazo tugaragara tw'amakimbirane ya hato na hato, ariko nka twe, abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze, tugerageza kubikemura bitarafata

*intera ikabije". **Mukakimenyi Christine, Executive Secretary of Nyabikenke Cell.*** This Executive Secretary of Nyabikenke Cell in Bumbogo Sector, Gasabo District testified that there is positive signs of '*social cohesion*' in her cell as she witnessed many times the neighbors enjoying to work together especially when they are supporting some vulnerables among them or participating in the public community working (Umuganda) and in other initiatives such as '*credit and savings'* for the financial related issues.

4.4. Effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion

The third specific objective of this study was to assess the effects of persistence of genocide ideology on social cohesion among citizens in Rwanda where Bumbogo sector was taken as the case study. Below table shows the perceptions of respondents about that.

Table 11: Effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Comments
Due to genocide ideology people feel discomfort each other	3.63	.760	High mean
Reduction of the way by which people cooperate in different domains	3.80	.639	High mean
The level of marriage with different ethnic groups is low	3.35	.688	Moderate mean
Due to genocide ideology the level of trustiness among people has diminished	3.32	.503	High mean
Interaction and cooperatives are done after intense investigation among partners	3.35	.703	High mean
Friendship between people with different history is low	4.19	.689	High mean
It has become hard to see people with different history (Ethnic) to participle in the same ceremonies	3.86	.751	High mean

Source: Primary data, 2018
Note: 5. Strongly Agree= [4.21-5.00] =very high, 4. Agree = [3.41-4.20] =high, 3. Not Sure = [2.61-3.40] =Moderate, 2. Disagree= [1.81-2.60] =low 1. Strongly Disagree= [1.00-1.80] = very low

According to the above table, the persistence of genocide ideology endangered social cohesion through the following: people feel discomfort each other considering the mean of 3.63 which is

interpreted as high mean, reduction of the ay by which people cooperate in different domains considering the mean of 3.80 which is interpreted as high mean, friendship between people with different history is low considering the mean of 4.19 which is interpreted as high mean, and it has become hard to see people with different history to have participation in the same ceremonies considering the mean of 3.89. And it has been revealed that persistence of genocide ideology diminished the level of marriage between different history considering the mean of 3.35 which is interpreted as high moderate mean, diminishing the level of trustiness among people considering the mea of 3.32 which is interpreted as high mean, and it has been revealed that interaction and formation of cooperative of formed of intense investigation on moderate level considering the mean of 3.35 which is interpreted as high mean.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is about the conclusion and recommendations. The conclusion is about the main findings regarding the objectives of the study and the recommendations are formulated based on weak points through the results in the study.

5.1 Conclusion

This study sought to explore the effects of persistence of genocide ideology on social cohesion in Rwanda. First of all the study found that genocide ideology still appears among citizens according to the opinions of the participants in this study where mainly people use to select people to marry with considering the mean of 3.60 which is interpreted as high mean, but in general the ideology of genocide in nowadays is moderate considering the grand mean of 2.76 which is interpreted as moderate mean. Studying social cohesion it was revealed that to all its indicators that were used in this study is positively perceived meaning in terms of trust, tolerance, solidarity and friendship. In last it has been found that persistence of genocide ideology reduced the level of friendship among people, reduction of the way by which people cooperate in different domains and it has become hard to see people with different history (Ethnic) to participle in the same ceremonies.

Genocide ideology is dangerous from its conception, dissemination, genocide period, until the aftermath period. The society which passes in the hash times like genocide is fragile. Strong and adequate mechanisms are needed to restore the destructed social cohesion.

Different theories are in place for guiding the planners and policy makers of different institutions to set the appropriate strategies for fighting genocide ideology and promotion of social cohesion. The genocide ideology harms much the relationships between groups of any society. We have seen that in post-genocide Rwanda, genocide ideology still exists. Its existence paralyses the social

cohesion and mistrust, lack of empathy and kinds of indicators of absence of social cohesion are manifested. We can't ignore the effort made by Government of Rwanda for social reconstruction. After genocide against Tutsi, it was very difficult to restore the unity of Rwandan but we can witness many achievements. But still the journey to sustainable peace is still long. Efforts from different partners, public or private is highly needed.

5.2. Recommendations

The researcher recommend the following recommendations to different people and institutions. Recommendations go to:

- Government of Rwanda through CNLG, NURC and National Itorero Commission
- NGOs
- Churches
- Researchers

5.2.1. Recommendations to Government of Rwanda

5.2.1.1. Recommendations to CNLG

National Commission for the Fight against Genocide is in charge of making policies on fighting genocide and its ideology.

- It is recommended that it should establish a clear way of engaging ordinary people in discussions about dangers of genocide ideology in the wellbeing of the society.
- Genocide ideology should not thought only during genocide commemoration period but also in other periods when making other public events such as Umuganda, etc
- CNLG must use the media, permanent show on televisions about how genocide ideology destroys social cohesion

5.2.1.2. Recommendations to NURC and National Itorero Commission

National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and National Itorero Commission played great importance in reviving the social cohesion among Rwandans. These commissions should continue in that way but they must also creating an ambiance and open space where ordinary citizens make dialogues on genocide ideology and social cohesion. Strengthening the existing efforts for fighting genocide ideology among Rwandans in order to eliminate totally and conciliating the history of Rwanda before 1994 and the post genocide actions in order to have adequate and sustainable policy of fighting against genocide ideology

5.2.2. Recommendations to NGOs

Non-governmental Organizations in any sector should involve some programs which help their beneficiaries to meet and discuss how to restore the social cohesion and promote the spirit of caring, love, trust and empathy.

5.2.3. Recommendations to Churches

A big percentage of Rwandans believe in God and they have their appurtenance to some religions. Leaders of churches must collaborate with government and find a time, every week or every month, of discussing about issues of the country including genocide ideology and social cohesion.

5.2.4. Recommendations to other researchers.

Other researchers are recommended to conduct researches about effect of genocide ideology on social cohesion in specific group of people such as youth, widows of genocide and women whose husbands are in prison because of genocide crimes etc. Future researchers are also recommended to conduct the same research as the present one including perpetrators in the research population.

5.2.5 Recommendations for further researchers

The following topics are recommended to further researchers:

- Assessing factors influencing the persistence of genocide ideology in Rwanda

- A comparative study on social cohesion among Rwanda before and after genocide against the Tutsi.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: General questionnaire

Dear colleagues,

I'm a student at University of Rwanda, Center for Conflict Management (CCM) conducting a research on *Effects of Genocide Ideology on Social Cohesion in Post-Genocide Rwanda*.However this research will be used in academic purpose and the confidentiality will be kept in order to respect the privacy of respondents.

Thank you for your considerable cooperation.

Nshimyimana Emmanuel

Instructions

1. Tick front of you choice for basic information

2. For opinions questions cycle the number corresponding to your choice

3. For …….. , write your comments

Section I: Demographic profile of respondents

1. Age of respondents

Below 25 years	
26-30 years	
31-35 years	
41 to 45 years	
46-50 years	
Above 50 years	

2. Gender of the respondents

Male	
Female	

3. Educational level of respondents

Primary education	
Secondary education	
University education	

4. Employment status of the respondents

Farmer	
Trader	
Public servant	
Employee	

5. Religion of the respondents

Catholic	
Muslim	
Protestant	
Adventist	

Section II: Questions responding the objectives of the study

1. Below table shows the indicators of the existence of genocide ideology, provide if your opinion if they still exist in this areas where 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Agree, 4= Strongly agree

Genocide ideology	1	2	3	4
The asset of genocide survivors are damaged by unrecognized people				
The choice of future spouse is based on the same history				
Genocide survivors use to face hate words from the neighbors				
There are people who refuse to be neighbors with genocide survivors				
In private sectors job is offered based on the history of the candidate				
Hate speech and discussion still exists among group of people				
Families use to tell children about the hate toward another group of people				

2. Below tables shows the indicators of social cohesion and you are requested to provide its extent in this region where 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Agree, 4= Strongly agree

Trustiness	1	2	3	4
Members of the community trust each other without discrimination				
In my absence at home I can leave my children and keys to my neighbor				
I trust the leadership in this areas and I can vote for anyone according to his/her ability				
Credit exchange between citizens is done based on the ability of repayment				

Tolerance	1	2	3	4
There is no discrimination in public places like bars, markets, stadium, people sit without looking to their differences				
Social category or ethnic have no place in interaction of people				
The associations like cooperatives, tontines are formed on the basis of partnership not on the basic religion, ethnicity and among others				
For businesses, transactions and partnership are performed in non-selective manner				
Young people use to walk and play together				

Solidarity	1	2	3	4
Member of the community show the ability of mutual help				
During commemorations of Tutsi genocide, all citizens are willingly to have participation				
People work together for implementing social development programs like Girinka and Ubudehe				
People share information on what can harm their security				

Friendship	1	2	3	4
Friendship is formed among people without considering in social category of, on the basis of ethnic				
In ceremonies like marriage, baptisms, people use to invite each other and share what they have				
Marriage are used to happen without considering the differences				

3. What do you think as the effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion in this area 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Agree, 4= Strongly agree

Effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion	1	2	3	4
Due to genocide ideology people feel discomfort each other				
Reduction of the way by which people cooperate in different domains				
The level of marriage with different ethnic groups is low				
Due to genocide ideology the level of trustiness among people has diminished				
Interaction and cooperatives are done after intense investigation among partners				
Friendship between people with different history is low				
It has become hard to see people with different history (Ethnic) to participle in the same ceremonies				

Thank you for participation

Appendix 2: Interview guide

1. From your knowledge and experience, how did Rwandans interact in their social daily life before the genocide against Tutsi?

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2. How do you understand / explain the genocide ideology?

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3. What are strategies set by Rwandan Government to fight against Genocide Ideology?

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4. How would Social Cohesion be if Rwandan Government did not set the above said strategies?

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5. Do you think that there is still the genocide ideology in Rwandan Society?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

If yes, can you reveal the causes?

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6. Are there the genocide ideology cases in schools in Rwanda?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

If Yes, can you reveal the causes?

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7. What are consequences / effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion in Rwanda?

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8. What do you propose as a solution for eradication of genocide ideology in Rwandan Society?

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9. If you have any other comment on effects of genocide ideology on social cohesion in post-genocide Rwanda, feel free to express your opinions.

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Thank you for participation