



REPUBLIC OF RWANDA
NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION



Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer



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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CNLG	: Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
EDPRS	: Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
FGD	: Focus Group Discussions
FDLR	: Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda
MDGs	: Millennium Development Goals
MAJ	: Maison d'Accès à la Justice
MINECOFIN	: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
NISR	: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda
NURC	: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
RRB	: Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer
PRESIREP	: Présidence de la République
RGB	: Rwanda Governance Board
RPA	: Rwandese Patriotic Army
RPF	: Rwandese Patriotic Front
TTC	: Teacher Training College
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme

Foreword

Twenty years have now elapsed after Rwanda has embarked on the process toward unity and reconciliation, after many decades of divisionism, which culminated into the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Even though our past tragedy has passed, Rwandans have to heal the wounds of the past in a way that reconciles them.

One of the mandates of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), created in 1999, was to conduct a regular assessment aimed at tracking the status of reconciliation in Rwanda. It is in this regard that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission conducted the first Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, in October 2010. Within the purpose of keeping tracking the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission carried out the present, and second, Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB 2015).

Variables, and related indicators, in relation with reconciliation have been identified, which enabled the drawing of a comprehensive questionnaire that was submitted to a sampled population (12,000 individuals) representing 450 villages and 60 specific cases (cooperatives, prisons, schools, reconciliation clubs...).

Empirical findings portray remarkable achievements and improvements in the process of reconciliation in Rwanda, although there remain some challenges, which indicate how reconciliation remains a process.

We have thus achieved a lot but we have not yet fully reached the desired level. Therefore, Rwandans need to keep their commitment and determination toward a united, peaceful and reconciled nation. What we have achieved in the last twenty years must energize us to continue fighting against anything that may hinder the process of reconciliation among Rwandans.

We are witnessing how Rwanda is a success story in a new era, making new records of unity, solidarity and mutual respect. Today, Rwandans are proud to be what they are and are in the way to make themselves what they want to be. Tremendous achievements in the process of unity and reconciliation are evidences of what Rwandans are indeed proud of.

GOD bless Rwanda

John Rucyahana
Chairperson

Executive summary

The purpose of the present Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015)¹ was to track the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, through citizens' experiences and opinions, while identifying key favorable factors and challenges, in this regard.

Methodologically, the assessment was nationwide and employed both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches, on a total sample of 12,000 individuals.

The assessment focused on 6 variables, namely: (1) understanding the past, present and envisioning the future, (2) citizenship and identity, (3) political culture, (4) security and wellbeing, (5) justice, fairness and rights, and (6) social cohesion.

With strong consistency, empirical findings indicate that Rwanda is far ahead in the process of reconciliation. On average, findings indicate that the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda is at **92.5%**.

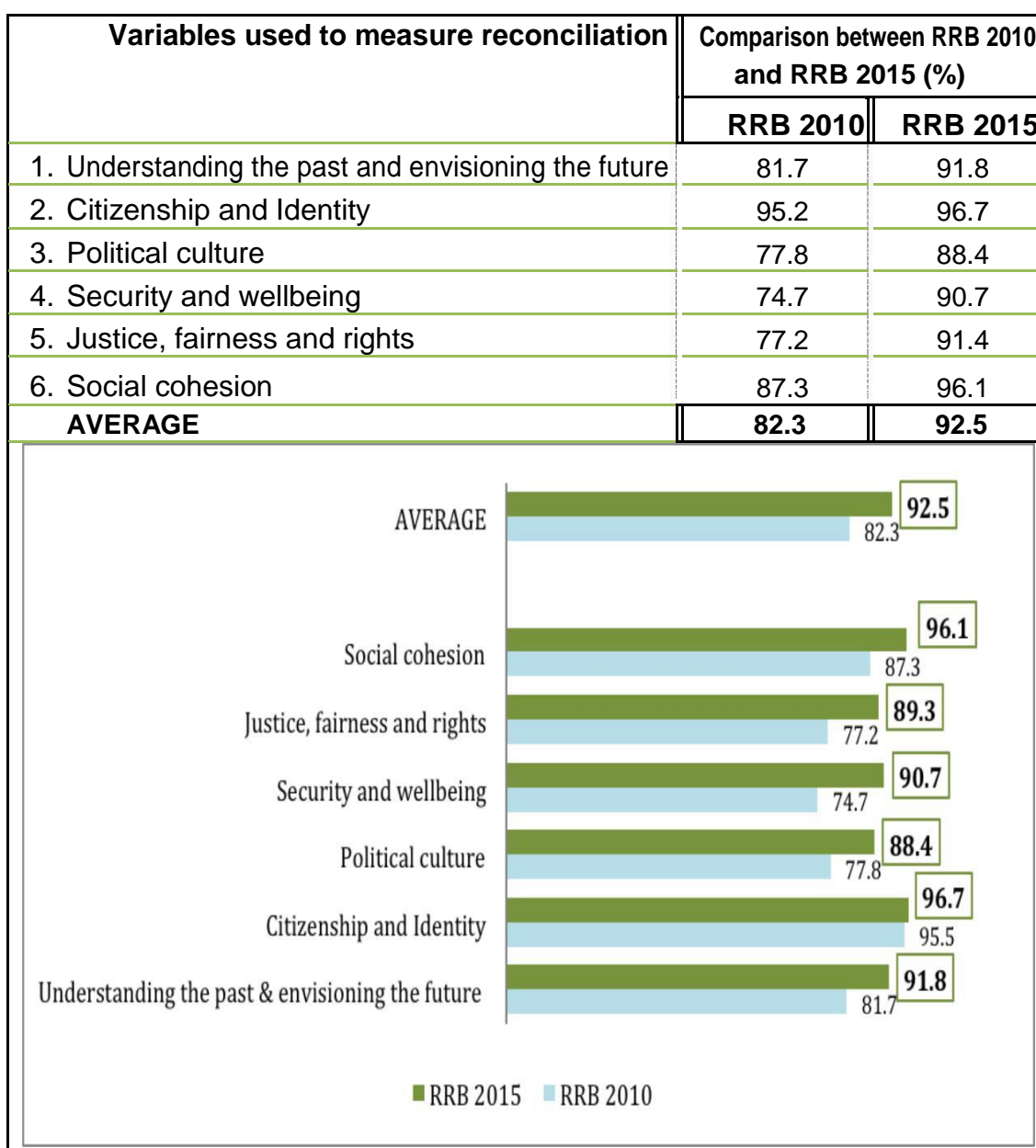
Variables	Indicators	Findings (%)	Average (%)
1. Understanding the past and envisioning the future	o Understanding of facts	91.7	91.8
	o History teaching	93.5	
	o Commitment to reconciliation	91.1	
	o Building the present & envisioning the future	91,2	
2. Citizenship and Identity	o National identity	95.6	96.7
	o Individual proudness of a shared identity	97.3	
	o Shared values and vision	96.6	
	o Commitment to national identity	97.4	
3. Political Culture	o Trust in Leaders	95.4	88.4
	o Confidence in the Executive	91.6	
	o Confidence in the Legislative	91.1	
	o Confidence in the Judiciary	89.3	
	o Trust in various public institutions	89.7	
	o Confidence in private institutions	72.4	
	o Citizens' participation in governance	91.6	
	o Citizens' empowerment in governance	86.3	
4. Security and wellbeing	o National security	96.8	90.7
	o Personal security	95.4	
	o Economic security	88.2	
	o Right to basic assets and infrastructures	82.7	
5. Justice, fairness and rights	o Truth	93,1	91.4
	o Punishment of criminals	95,6	
	o Compensation of properties destroyed/looted	88,2	
	o Apology and forgiveness	93,7	
	o Individual healing	88,6	

¹ The first Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer was carried out in 2010.

	o Fairness and respect of basic human rights	89.5	
6. Social Cohesion	o Trust among citizens	95.1	96.1
	o Tolerance and interactions among citizens	96.1	
	o Solidarity among citizens	96.8	
	o Conviviality and friendship among citizens	96.4	
AVERAGE			92.5

Comparison between RRB of 2010 and RRB of 2015

The table and related figure below, comparing the status of reconciliation of 2010 and 2015 in Rwanda, indicate a remarkable improvement. On average, the status of reconciliation improved from **82.3%** in 2010 up to **92.5%** in 2015, as respectively presented in the table and graph below.



1. Understanding the past, present and future

The variable related to '*understanding the past, present and envisioning future of Rwanda*' was about Rwandans' opinions on whether the major issues about the causes/factors of divisions in the history of Rwandans, on the one hand, and whether the causes /factors of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, on the other hand, have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda. A general hypothesis in this regard was that 'The more Rwandans are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical social divisions, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.'

Empirical findings indicate that, at 91.8% on average, Rwandans are far ahead in the process of understanding and confronting the sources of their historical divisions and genocide, and that Rwanda is successfully coming to terms with its traumatic past. In details, the majority of Rwandans (92.2% and 91.3%, respectively) agree with the assumptions that 'major issues about the causes/factors of divisions in the history of Rwandans', on the one hand, and 'the causes /factors of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, on the other hand, have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda'. There has been thus an improvement given that the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that only 81.7% of Rwandans had agreed that 'in the sixteen years following the genocide most of the major issues related to its causes and consequences have been frankly discussed and understood'.

In addition, Rwandans totaling 91.7% affirm that 'the way history was taught, before 1994 in Rwanda, created divisions that led to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi'. Likewise, Rwandans totaling 95.3% affirm that 'the way history is being currently taught and understood, after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, reconciles Rwandans.' With a slight difference in percentage, marking an improvement, these findings agree with those of the 2010 RRB that indicated that 94.7% of Rwandans felt that the post-genocide teachings are conducive to the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda. As a positive consequence, the level of Rwandans' commitment to reconciliation, and the building of their country's future, increased. This is confirmed by 89.7% of citizens, who contended that 'there are Rwandans who would prefer to die instead of committing genocide or dividing Rwandans', while Rwandans totaling 92.6% even 'prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions or genocide'.

However, regarding this variable, citizens also emphasized some critical problems. In fact, 28.9% of Rwandans believe that 'there are Rwandans who would try to commit genocide, if conditions were favorable'. In addition, 25.8% of Rwandans also stressed that 'there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others'. Likewise, 27.9% of Rwandans contend that 'there are Rwandans who still view themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses'. In spite of this, a remarkable improvement was made given that the assessment of the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, in 2010, had indicated that 39.9% of citizens had thought that 'there are some Rwandans, who would try to commit genocide again, if conditions were favorable', that 31.5% of citizens felt that 'there are Rwandans, who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others', and that 30.5% of them contended that 'there are Rwandans who still view themselves,

and others, through ethnic lenses'. This improvement is also manifested in the fact that, nowadays, the majority of citizens (93.9%) remain strongly committed to fight, at all costs, against anything that may again cause divisions and genocide. In the same perspective, 96% of citizens strongly asserted that they are among those determined to fight against divisions and genocide at all costs. Likewise, 84.1% of citizens also strongly indicated that genocide can never happen again in Rwanda. These positive achievements are the result of the Government's notice of the problems at hand and its strong commitment to address them.

2. Citizenship and identity

The assessment of reconciliation, with regard to the variable on '*citizenship and identity*', pointed to the way Rwandans consider these aspects in relation to reconciliation in Rwanda. The hypothesis in this regard suggested that the more there is shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship, the more the promotion of reconciliation is likely to succeed. The values that currently drive Rwandans, the way Rwandans view themselves, and their commitment, with regard to citizenship and identity, were the aspects at the core. Empirical findings portray a very positive image. 96.7% of Rwandans, on average, affirm that 'there is shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship in Rwanda'. There has been thus an improvement given that the 2010 RRB had only scored only 95.5%, on average. As the 2015 RRB findings indeed indicate, 97.3% of citizens are 'proud to be Rwandans'. Likewise, 95.6% of Rwandans asserted that 'Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else'. Such a shared identity promotes reconciliation as also evidenced in the fact that 97.4% of citizens indicated that they are 'willing to do their best to protect their country and Rwandans'. The importance of citizenship and national identity toward reconciliation is also strengthened through favorable values. In this regard, 96.6% of Rwandans stress that 'at present, Rwanda is guided by values that reconcile Rwandans'.

3. Political culture

The assessment of '*political culture*', as another variable of reconciliation, pointed mainly to the trust or confidence that citizens have with regard to the governance of their country, notably the institutions and leaders. The hypothesis in this regard was that 'if citizens view political structures, institutions, and leadership as legitimate and effective, national reconciliation is more likely to occur.' Empirical findings indicate that 88.4% of citizens, on average, expressed their confidence in institutions and their leaders. This marks a great improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had only scored 77.8%, on average. The Central Government/Cabinet scored the highest trust of citizens (95.8%), which is a significant improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had only indicated a score of 92.4%. Other institutions that are highly trusted include the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide that scored 93.9%, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (94.3%), and security organs (92.1%). The public institution that comparatively scored the least level of trust is the Local Government (87.4%), which is however an improvement given that the 2010 RRB findings had indicated the score of 84%. Comparatively, private institutions, namely the private media, the civil society, and political parties have had the lowest score,

notably 70.5%, 70.8% and 73.1%, respectively. While citizens's level of trust in public institutions is very high (e.g., 95.8% of citizens trusting the Central Government), their comparative low level of confidence in some institutions, notably the media and political parties reduced the average level regarding political culture up to 88.5%.

With regard to citizens' confidence in leaders, findings indicate that citizens have a very high level of trust in their leaders. It is in this perspective that 95.2% of Rwandans are of the opinion that 'Rwanda's leaders always do what is in the best interests of citizens', which marks a significant improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 90.7% of Rwandans had agreed with this contention. Likewise, 96% of Rwandans agree with the consideration that 'Rwanda is a country whose leaders respect the rule of law and human rights'.

On citizens' participation and empowerment in governance, findings also show a very positive level of satisfaction of citizens. It is in this regard that 92.5% of Rwandans contend that 'Rwandan citizens have a say in the decisions related to governance programs necessitating their say'. This also marks a significant improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 52.3% of Rwandans had agreed with this contention. In addition, 95.4% of Rwandans agree with the consideration that 'citizens have the right to elect their leaders', which again marks an improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated a score of 93.8%. Likewise, 92.9% of Rwandans believe that 'citizens have the right to sign a petition for the development of their country', which also marks a remarkable improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 56.5% of Rwandans had agreed with this statusment. Moreover, 83.4% of citizens stress that the 'Rwandans have the right to hold their leaders accountable of their actions'. Furthermore, 93.9% of Rwandans assert that 'citizens have the right to express their opinions'.

4. Security and wellbeing

The assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, with regard to the variable of security had hypothesized that if citizens feel secure (physically and economically...) and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to reconciliation processes. Findings indicate significant improvements (90.7% on average), which marks a great improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had only scored 74.7%, on average. In details, findings indicate that Rwanda is a safe country to the extent of being called upon by the international community to provide that security to other countries, as confirmed by 96.6% of Rwandans. This marks an improvement in reconciliation process in Rwanda given that in 2010, the RRB findings had indicated that only 94.3% of Rwandans had described Rwanda as a safe country. This is made possible, among other factors, by the fact that security organs cooperate with citizens to ensure security in Rwanda, as confirmed by 97% of citizens.

With regard to personal/physical security, Rwandans totaling 95.9%, hold that 'they, personally, and their respective families, do not fear any threat to their physical security', which marks a significant improvement with regard to reconciliation in Rwanda as the 2010 RRB findings had only indicated that 86% of Rwandans were in agreement with this statusment.

Economically, Rwandans totaling 86.2% stress that 'in Rwanda all people have an equal opportunity to make a living'. The situation has thus remarkably improved given that the first RRB (2010) had indicated that only 70.3% of Rwandans were in agreement with this contention. Moreover, Rwandans totaling 87.4% believe that 'every Rwandan has the right to land', which also marks another great significant improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 60.3%. With regard to key infrastructure, Rwandans have shown a great satisfaction whereby education and medical facilities scored high (93% and 91%, respectively). 76% of citizens were also satisfied with regard to their access to roads, while the level of satisfaction with regard to access to/sharing of water and electricity (66% and 64%, respectively) was relatively less satisfactory.

5. Justice, fairness ad rights

The assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, with regard to *justice* variable, had hypothesized that if parties to conflict are convinced that they got proper justice, there is greater likelihood for reconciliation. This involves notably truth, apology and forgiveness, compensation of properties looted/destroyed during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, healing, and fairness in human rights. Findings show a considerable progress that scored 91.4% on average. This marks a great improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had only scored 77.2%, on average. In details, with regard to truth, findings indicate that 93.3% of Rwandans stress that 'truth about the divisions that characterized the past of Rwanda has been made clear'. Likewise, 93% of Rwandans contended that 'truth about what happened during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi has been disclosed'.

Concerning the punishment of criminals, findings also portray positive results notably regarding the punishment of perpetrators of genocide crimes and the existence of policies that fight against divisions and genocide in Rwanda. It is in this regard that 95.8% of citizens affirm that 'genocide perpetrators have been punished', which marks a significant improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 89.3%. Empirical findings also indicate that 95% of Rwandans contend that 'there are effective legal policies and measures in place against divisions and genocide in Rwanda'.

As for the compensation of properties looted or destroyed during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, 88.2% of Rwandans expressed satisfaction in response to whether 'properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated'. This marks a considerable improvement as the RRB 2010 findings had indicated that only 70.8% agreed with this statusment.

With regard to acknowledgement, apology and forgiveness, 93.9% of Rwandans assert that 'genocide perpetrators apologized for their genocidal acts'. Likewise, 93.5% of Rwandans contend that the genocide survivors have forgiven genocide perpetrators. This marks a remarkable improvement in comparison with the 2010 RRB findings that had indicated that only 80.4% of Rwandans held that perpetrators had expressed remorse and requested for forgiveness, while only 89.9% stressed that forgiveness has been granted.

Concerning healing, 88.6% of Rwandans indicate that 'genocide survivors are taken care of', and that 'they have healed the wounds of the divisive past and genocide'. This marks a considerable

improvement in reconciliation as the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that only 78.5% of Rwandans contended that they have healed the wounds from the genocide and divisions, while only 69% of Rwandans had considered that genocide survivors are taken care of.

Regarding fairness on rights, findings also portray positive results. It is in this regard that 93% of Rwandans affirm that 'all Rwandans have equal access to medical facilities'. In addition, 74.4% of Rwandans hold that 'all Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities', which marks a significant improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 61.7%. The same goes to citizens' equal opportunity to government services whereby the 2015 RRB findings scored 84.4% while the 2010 RRB findings had only scored 68.9%. With regard to gender equality, findings indicate that 89.6% of Rwandans think that 'there is gender equality in Rwanda'. Findings also indicate that 91.2% of Rwandans hold that 'all Rwandans have equal access to education'.

6. Social cohesion

The assessment of the current status of reconciliation, as far as *social cohesion* is concerned, had hypothesized that 'the more trust, respect, tolerance, social interactions and friendship increase between Rwandans, reconciliation is more likely to occur.' Questions in this regard pointed to the level of mutual trust, tolerance and interactions among Rwandans, and the level of friendship and solidarity among them. Empirical findings, which scored 96.1% on average, indicate a considerable improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had only scored 87.3%, on average.

Concerning trust among Rwandans, 93% of Rwandans stress that 'now Rwandans trust each other without discrimination' and that 'in social interaction spaces involving contact (sport, restaurant, bars, public transportations, etc.) there is no ethnic-based discrimination whatsoever.' This marks a considerable improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 72.8%, in this regard. Likewise, 95.6% of Rwandans agree with the statement: "I can leave my child in the family of somebody, with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)."

With regard to tolerance, 97% of Rwandans hold that they 'have good relationships with people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. Likewise, 97% of Rwandans stress that they 'have no problem with being a member of an association/social arena composed also of people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. In addition, 97.1% of Rwandans affirm that they 'have no problem of working (in business, at work) with people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. With slight difference, marking improvements, the above findings agree with those of the 2010 RRB whereby scores indicate 92.4%, 95.7%, and 96.1%, with regard to the above three statements, respectively. Findings also indicate that 96.8% of Rwandans contend that they 'can vote for somebody with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'.

As for solidarity, findings also indicate a significant progress in reconciliation, as far as solidarity among Rwandans is concerned. In this regard, 97.1% of Rwandans contend that they are 'ready to provide help to any Rwandan in need, without discrimination, if they can'.

Likewise, 96.8% of Rwandans feel that 'it happens that they ask for help from people, with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. This marks a great improvement given that the 2010 RRB findings had scored 91.9% and 94% of Rwandans in agreement with the above two statusments, respectively.

Empirical findings also indicate that 96.2% of Rwandans affirm that 'during the commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi, solidarity among all Rwandans to support genocide survivors is manifested' while 97.2% contend that 'it happens that they exchange things with people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem'.

Concerning conviviality and friendship among Rwandans, 97% of Rwandans contend that they 'have friends among people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. This marks an improvement as far as the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda is concerned as the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that only 92.4% of Rwandans were in agreement with the above statusment. Likewise, 94.9% of Rwandans stress that they 'can marry (or be married by) somebody with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'.

7. Factors favorable to reconciliation in Rwanda

In view of all the above findings, which indicated a remarkable improvement in the process of reconciliation among Rwandans, the contributing factors in this regard emphasized the suitable mechanisms/programs lead by 'Ndi Umunyarwanda', 'Itorero ry'Igihugu', memory, reconciliation clubs, and many others, which are embedded within a favorable institutional support manifested in a strong political will, good governance, and a conducive Rwandan culture of unity and solidarity.

8. Challenges to reconciliation in Rwanda

The assessment of the current status of reconciliation process in Rwanda also explored the challenges that may/hamper this process. Key ones pointed to (1) ethnic-based stereotypes, as expressed by 27.9% of citizens, (2) the persistence of genocide ideology, as expressed by 25.8% of citizens, and (3) the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide not yet fully healed, as expressed by 4.6% of citizens.

9. Recommendations

By emphasizing that reconciliation in Rwanda remains process, the assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda suggests that the factors that contribute/ed to its promotion need to be consolidated and constantly monitored. Key reconciliatory mechanisms/programs point to Ndi Umunyarwanda, memory, Itorero, reconciliation clubs, etc. Likewise, particular efforts aimed to fight against the challenges to the process of reconciliation (focusing mainly on education and punishment) are imperatively worth deploying. However, for reconciliation to sustainably be successful in Rwanda, good leadership remains key. There is thus need to keep sustaining the already good leadership now in place in Rwanda along with the full involvement of citizens in good governance.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report is about the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda (2015). The report is a result of a quantitative and qualitative assessment that was carried out in all the 4 provinces of Rwanda, plus the City of Kigali, and all the 30 districts while targeting 450 administrative villages, on a sample size of 12,000 Rwandan citizens.

1.1. Background

Rwanda is a country that existed long before colonization as a sovereign and united nation. Rwandans' unity became hampered, and eventually destroyed, since the arrival of colonial administration and missionaries, through their 'divide and rule' policy. This was subsequently maintained by the two successive Republics that came to power after Rwanda's accession to independence in 1962, and which climaxed into the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. It is estimated that more than one million people were killed within the three months period, along with the profound devastation of the country's social, political and economic fabric.² In addition to the extermination of Tutsi, several other Rwandans and some foreigners were also massacred for various reasons: some, for being politicians opposed to the genocidal regime and ideology; and others, for having refused to participate in the killing of, or for having hidden, the Tutsi.³

After the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, which was stopped by Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) through its armed wing (Rwanda patriotic Army), the new Government (the Government of National Unity, constituted on July 19th, 1994 by a coalition of political parties headed by RPF) was faced with a huge challenge to rebuild Rwanda and, particularly, reconcile and reunite Rwandans, who were in total trauma and distress.⁴ It is in this perspective that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), was created in March 1999, with a mandate to promote and lead all strategies related to unity and reconciliation process in Rwanda.

Given that reconciliation is a process, a regular assessment aimed at tracking its status is paramount. It is in this regard that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission conducted the first Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB) in October 2010. The assessment was quantitative and investigated how Rwandan citizens perceive and respond to efforts toward reconciliation in Rwanda by exploring six variables: (1) *political culture*, (2) *human security*, (3) *citizenship and identity*, (4) *understanding the past*, (5) *transitional justice*, and (6) *social cohesion*.⁵

²The latest estimation counts 1,191,000 victims (Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association, 2004; NURC 2007, 2009).

³Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports & Ibuka Association (2004). *Prevent and Banish Genocide forever, through universal active solidarity*. International Conference on Genocide, Intercontinental Hotel, Kigali, 4th-6th April.

⁴NURC (2007). *Ingando: Impact Assessment on Unity and Reconciliation of Rwandans*, Kigali, p.10.

⁵NURC (2010). *Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer*, Kigali.

With regard to *political culture* variable, the 2010 RRB findings indicated that, on average, more than 90% of Rwandans expressed trust in public institutions and the country's political leadership.

Concerning *human security* variable, findings indicated high levels of physical and economic security, whereby more than 90% of Rwandans, on average, felt that Rwanda is moving toward a positive economic situation as great strides have been made in all respects since 1994. It was, however, discovered that positive public evaluation for human security was comparatively less emphatic as 30% of Rwandans felt that 'national resources are not equitably distributed in Rwanda', while 27% of Rwandans thought that 'not all Rwandans have equal opportunities' (NURC, 2010:10).

Regarding *citizenship and identity* variable, the 2010 RRB indicated that more than 97% Rwandans, on average, exhibited a strong preference for a national Rwandan identity and national values.

As for *understanding the past* variable, empirical findings indicated that 87.0% of Rwandans agreed that, just in sixteen years following the genocide, most of the major issues related to its causes and consequences have been frankly discussed and understood. However, 39.9% Rwandans believed that there are Rwandans, who would try to commit genocide again if conditions were favorable, while 30.5 % of Rwandans had felt that Rwandans judge each other based on ethnic stereotypes.

With regard to *transitional justice* variable, the 2010 RRB found that 60% of Rwandans felt that significant strides were made in terms of the creation of domestic transitional justice measures.

Likewise, empirical findings related to *social cohesion* suggested that more than 92% citizens, on average, sense significant progress in terms of forging social cohesion in the wake of the 1994 genocide, while more than 80% of Rwandans, on average, indicated the existence of positive relationships and interactions, as well as the levels of trust, among Rwandans.⁶

The 2010 RRB findings were further explored by means of the qualitative approach in 2013. The purpose was however restricted to the qualitative exploration of the reasons behind Rwandans' opinions on some salient findings, whereby the focus pointed only to three variables namely: (1) understanding the past, (2) political culture and (3) economic security. Findings generally corroborated with those of the quantitative approach and revealed that genocide ideology and the prevailing poverty, coupled with wounds not yet fully healed resulting from the divisive past and the genocide against Tutsi, remain the key challenges to reconciliation in Rwanda.

The above assessments on the status of reconciliation in Rwanda concluded by suggesting that the next reconciliation barometer should, methodologically, combine both the qualitative and quantitative approaches, which is the purpose of this assessment.

⁶ Idem.

1.2. Rationale

Twenty years have now elapsed after Rwanda has embarked on the process toward unity and reconciliation, since the end of the 1994 genocide perpetrated against Tutsi, and 5 years have elapsed after the first study on Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB 2010) was carried out.

Within the purpose of keeping tracking the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission carried out the second Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (RRB 2015) whereby, beside this overall purpose that also reviewed reconciliation indicators, the methodological shortcoming that was found in the first RRB (2010, 2012) is also corrected.

The first RRB (2010) was only quantitative and had failed to dig into the meanings and reasons behind Rwandans' opinions. Its complementary assessment, in 2012, was also solely qualitative as it was only restricted to the exploration of the reasons behind Rwandans' opinions on some salient findings of the 2010 RRB. Yet, to best track the status of reconciliation, the use of a single approach, either quantitative or qualitative, appeared less informative. In addition, the 2010 RRB was carried out on a small sample size of 3,000 adults.

The present RRB (2015) thus addresses the above methodological shortcomings by focusing on a bigger sample size of 12,000 adults and by applying both the quantitative and qualitative approaches. Likewise, while the 2010 RRB was only carried out in 90 administrative sectors, the present 2015 RRB covered more or less all the sectors of Rwanda. In addition, while the 2010 RRB only covered 90 villages, the present 2015 RRB covered 450 villages. Moreover, the present RRB also considers individuals from specific cases/organizations (prisons, schools, associations or cooperatives, clubs...), which was not covered by the first RRB. This great difference appears thus much informative with the belief that a significant light has clearly been shed on the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda.

1.3. Objectives of the assessment

The objectives of the 2015 Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer is to:

1. Track the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, through citizens views and experiences;
2. Identify the reconciliation favorable factors and challenges, and suggest the necessary recommendations for a way forward.

1.4. Understanding Reconciliation

Despite its increasingly common usage in a range of diverse contexts, there remains lack of common understanding about the definition of reconciliation. By departing from the general conceptual perspectives on reconciliation, this section discusses how reconciliation is officially understood and consequently defined in Rwandan context.

1.4.1. Conceptual perspectives on reconciliation

Reconciliation is a complex term, and there is little agreement on its definition. Some writers suggest that reconciliation can be referred to as goal/outcome, or as a process, while others consider the concept to be both a goal and a process.⁷ Others consider reconciliation as a place,⁸ while others hold that reconciliation occurs at many dimensions—spiritual, personal, relational and social, structural and ecological.⁹

Mostly, reconciliation is often restricted to interpersonal relationships, and becomes defined in terms of bringing together former adversaries on the basis of a minimum mutual acceptance. This implies the restoration or transformation of the minimal acceptable relationships between former adversaries, which build on a minimum of mutual acceptance, in a viable and cooperative manner.¹⁰ In this regard, a 'minimum acceptable relationship between former adversaries' is defined in terms of the existence of mutual trust, acceptance, positive attitudes and behaviors, and the consideration of the parties' needs and interests.

Other researchers argue that the goal of reconciliation, beside mutual accommodation and acceptance of former adversaries, also includes forgiveness. In this regard, truth and understanding of the past stand as key conditions for adversaries to be able to engage in building a common future.¹¹

Drawing from the above, general discussions about reconciliation touch upon its character or approach, by making a distinction between individual/group reconciliation and national reconciliation.¹² The first type (model) of reconciliation is concerned with what is called *intrapersonal reconciliation*—the process by which individuals who suffered from, or conducted, violence need to reconcile with themselves. It is often referred to as trauma 'healing'.¹³ The second type (or model) of reconciliation is called *interpersonal/intergroup reconciliation* (IR), associated with a religious paradigm—with individuals/groups as units of analysis. It is concerned with the reparation of relationships between victims and those who harmed them or their loved ones.¹⁴ Here reconciliation happens to individuals/groups, usually between two (a group of) people (survivor and perpetrator). The interpersonal understanding of reconciliation is characterized by 'a shared comprehensive vision, mutual healing and restoration, and mutual

⁷Kostić, Roland, (2007:31); Bloomfield, (2005:12); Villa-Vicencio, (2006:60); Borer, (2006:31); Bar-Tal and Bennink, (2004:11), In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30-31.

⁸Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press; Sentama (2009), Ibid.

⁹Borer, (2006:67); Sentama (2009)—Ibid.

¹⁰Lederach, (2002:24); Kostić, (2007:31); Galtung, (2001:1-2); Villa-Vicencio, (2006:60), In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30-31.

¹¹Lederach, (2006:34); Ramsbotham et al., (2005:231); Staub and Pearlman (2001) in Staub et al., (2005:301); Evaldsson (2007:8); Sentama (2009), In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p.30-33.

¹²Kostić, 2007:32; In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30-33

¹³Stovel, (2006:23); In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30- 33

¹⁴Stovel, (2006), In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30-33

forgiveness'.¹⁵ Concepts that are strongly identified with this model include healing, apology, forgiveness, confession, and remorse. The third model of reconciliation can be described as *political reconciliation*, often referred to as 'National Reconciliation'. Some also talk of National Unity and Reconciliation.¹⁶ This approach to reconciliation, unlike the second (interpersonal/group reconciliation), assumes that former enemies are unlikely to agree with each other or even to get along very well. In this regard, one important aspect of National Reconciliation' is 'the development of a political culture that is respectful of the human rights of all people'. This model of reconciliation is most closely associated with the following terms: tolerance, rule of law (justice), democracy, human rights culture, conflict resolution, transparency, and public debate.

1.4.2. Positioning reconciliation in Rwandan context

In spite of different perspectives around the concept of reconciliation, there seems to be a general understanding on key variables and associated indicators on how to measure reconciliation. The general contention in this regard is that "*effective reconciliation is the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return.*"¹⁷ The point is that "if people can build a new relationship between them, which is built on respect and a real understanding of each other's needs, fears and aspirations, the habits and patterns of cooperation that they then develop are the best safeguard against the return to violent division."¹⁸ Reconciliation thus involves the changing of motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions of the society members regarding the conflict, the nature of relationship between the parties, and the parties themselves. Thus, unless at least a measure of reconciliation develops between the parties—at all levels of the society—there is a major risk of a recurrence of violence and of renewed conflict. If negative stereotypes or enemy image, conflicting attitudes, and mutual fears do not change, and anger, dislike, bitterness and hatred fester, the situation can easily turn destructive again.¹⁹

Rwanda's conceptualization of reconciliation takes a holistic approach (intrapersonal, interpersonal and national reconciliation) that reflects the past, the present and the future of Rwanda. The National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation indeed defines 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.*" Accordingly, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission also understands 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."²⁰

¹⁵ Borer (2006), Ibid, p.32.

¹⁶ Borer (2006); Sentama (2009)—Ibid.

¹⁷ D. Bloomfield, "Reconciliation: an introduction" in D. Bloomfield et al., *Reconciliation after violent conflict: a handbook*, p.12.

¹⁸ D. Bloomfield, Idem, p.12.

¹⁹ Evaldsson (2007). *Grassroots reconciliation in South Africa*, SGS, PhD. Thesis, Gothenburg.

²⁰ NURC (2010).Ibid., p. 16.

1.5. Measuring Reconciliation in Rwandan context

In view of the above perspectives of reconciliation in general, and above all in Rwandan context, in particular, it appears that the aspects related to identity and citizenship, understanding the past, equal rights, trust, truth, security, and justice, healing, respect, reciprocal attitudes and relations, within the overall perspective sustainable development—and with the guarantee that *'the divisions and violence of the past will not return'*—are key in the current measurement of reconciliation in Rwanda. In so approaching, 6 overlapping and mutually complementary variables that are expected to best assess the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda are: (1) Understanding the past, present, and envisioning the future of Rwanda, (2) Citizenship and identity, (3) Political culture, (4) Security, (5) Justice, and (6) Social cohesion.

1.5.1. Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future

In Rwanda, it is generally argued that one of the significant causes of its historical destructive conflicts, and particularly the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, is the way the past was understood and taught. Therefore, understanding and confronting the sources of social division can help promote reconciliation in Rwanda. A general hypothesis in this regard is that *'the more Rwandans are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical social divisions, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.'*²¹

This 2015 RRB thus studied the causal relationship between the ability of Rwandans to confront the sources of their historical social divisions. Key survey questions in this regard measured, among other things, the level of acknowledgement of facts and history teaching in Rwanda.

1.5.2. Citizenship and Identity

In a simpler and broad sense, citizenship can be defined as a status of equal membership in a self-governing polity, as a bundle of rights and obligations attached to this status, as a shared identity in diverse societies, and as a set of civic virtues and practices that sustain political freedom and self-government.²² Identity theory emphasizes 'doing', while social identity theory emphasizes 'being'. The conclusion in this regard is that identity theory and social identity theory are special cases of a single unified identity theory.²³

This 2015 RRB's hypothesis suggests that *the more there is shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship, the more the promotion of reconciliation is likely to succeed.* Therefore, indicators such as national and individual identity, attitudes regarding citizenship and the prevalence of shared cultural values are among key aspects for measurement.

²¹ See also in NURC (2010). Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, Kigali, p.17

²² Bauböck Rainer (2007). *Theories of Citizenship: Problems of Membership and Political Boundaries*, European University Institute. Available at: <http://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/SPS/Seminars/PastSeminars/RainerBauboock2007winterseminar.pdf>

²³ Burke Peter J. & Jan E. Stets (1998). *Identity theory and social identity theory*. Washington Status University (A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association)

1.5.3. Political culture

The desired political culture for reconciliation to occur was described by the NURC²⁴ as conditions where public and private institutions are “characterized by a number of critical qualities, including independence, efficiency, incorruptibility, transparency, and fairness”. Other qualities that are noted to increase confidence in the political culture is “trust in media, trust in leadership to act in the best interests of the public and to treat all Rwandans equally.” 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 characterized by a number of critical qualities, including independence, efficiency, incorruptibility, transparency, and fairness.

Ultimately, institutions that demonstrate these characteristic garner the support of citizens and bolster the legitimacy of the status, supporting reconciliatory effort...²⁵ The hypothesis in this regard is that “if *citizens view political structures, institutions, and leadership as legitimate and effective, national reconciliation is more likely to occur.*” How Rwandan citizens view the legitimacy and effectiveness of political structures, institutions, and leadership with regard to national reconciliation, thus constitute the leading question.

This 2015 RRB survey questions thus measured citizen participation, confidence in public institutions and the media, trust in leadership, and the respect of the rule of law, as well as citizens participation and empowerment in governance.”

1.5.4. Security and wellbeing

One of the primary roles of the status is to provide security for its citizens both within the nation-status and to ensure their protection against threats from outside,²⁶ which is indeed important for the promotion of reconciliation. A particular focus, in this regard, points generally to economic security, personal security, and political security.²⁷ Therefore, *if citizens feel secure and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes.* This is what the present 2015 RRB assessed.

²⁴NURC (2010). Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer, Kigali

²⁵NURC (2010). Ibid, p.21

²⁶Rugumamu, S. (1993). Post -Cold War Peace and Security: Prospects in Southern Africa. SAPES Occasional Paper Series No.5, Harare.

²⁷United Nations (2009). *Human security in theory and practice: An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*, Human Security Unit, New York. Available at:

<http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/Human%20Security%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20English.pdf>

1.5.5. Justice, fairness and rights

The most discussed area regarding factors affecting reconciliation is that of dealing with the past so that the future is not continually hampered by unresolved past.²⁸ This particularly tends to refer to how to deal with past gross violations of human rights, as well as how to approach the direct victims and perpetrators of such acts. The creation of sense of justice is thus often presented as essential for reconciliation.

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. As Kriesberg notes, “justice varies in several significant ways. It may be understood to mean punishment of those who had previously inflicted injuries. Justice may also mean correcting the prior unjust conditions, which might include ending discriminatory and other oppressive practices.”²⁹

Justice is most commonly understood in its retributive sense, focusing on punishment. Restorative justice on the other hand aims to repair the injustice, recover the humanity of both perpetrators and victims and restore social connections.³⁰

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 of human rights abuses. 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. Transitional justice stems from the international human rights movement. Today it covers the establishment of tribunals, truth commissions, lustration of status administrations, settlement on reparations, and also political and societal initiatives devoted to fact-finding, reconciliation and cultures of remembrance.³¹

Simply put, transitional justice refers to the set of judicial and non-judicial measures aimed at redressing the legacies of massive human rights abuses. These measures include criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations programs, and various kinds of institutional reforms.

²⁸ Hayner, p. 254 in Ewaldsson, p.41.

²⁹ Kriesberg in Ewaldsson, p.43.

³⁰ Minow, in Ewaldsson, p.43

³¹ Martina Fischer (2011). “Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: Theory and Practice”, In *Advancing Conflict Transformation*, The Belghof Handbook II, Opladen/Framington Hills, brbara Budrich Publishers, p.407

In the aftermath of massive human rights abuses, victims have well-established rights to see the perpetrators punished, to know the truth, and to receive reparations.

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.³² 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 only sound basis for that is the development of a new and resilient culture of respect for human rights and for human difference, a culture that is embodied in the everyday routines of life within the family, the school, the neighborhood, and the wider community.'³³

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

1.5.6. Social cohesion

In the most basic and intuitive sense, social cohesion refers to "*something that glues us together*" or "*the glue that bonds society together.*" Social cohesion is correlated to social capital whereby relationships, norms, behaviors and institutions are strengthened to attract a better societal system that enhances inclusiveness and social interactions. This is so put because social cohesion and unity are critical to societies' socio-economic development and growth in democratic and healthy status institutions.³⁴

The most generic and recent definition of social cohesion sees it as "a status of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations."³⁵

This 2015 RRB considers trust as key in social cohesion. It is widely recognized that without a minimum level of inter-personal trust society would not function. Social trust provides the cohesiveness needed for the development of meaningful relationships with other members of society.³⁶ The hypothesis here is that *if trust, social interaction and tolerance increase between Rwandan citizens, reconciliation is more likely to occur.*

³²Wink in Evaldsson, p.45

³³Rigby in Evaldsson, p.45.

³⁴Lederach (1997); Ho-Won (2005)

³⁵NURC, 2008, p. 26.

³⁶For a detailed theoretical discussion, see Michael R. Welch et. al., "Determinants and Consequences of Social Trust." *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 75, No. 4, November 2005, pp. 453–473.

Table 1: Analytical framework—Reconciliation variables, hypotheses and indicators

Variable	Hypothesis	Indicators
1. Understanding the past & envisioning the future	<i>The more citizens are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical divisions, while getting committed to envisioning for their future, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Understanding the past and present ➤ Acknowledgement of facts ➤ History teaching ➤ Envisioning the future
2. Citizenship & Identity	<i>A shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship will promote reconciliation.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ National identity ➤ Shared values and vision ➤ Individual identity
3. Political Culture	<i>The more there is citizens' confidence in institutions and leadership, coupled with their participation and empowerment in governance, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Confidence in public institutions ➤ Trust in leadership ➤ Respect of rule of law and courts ➤ Civic participation ➤ Citizen empowerment
4. Security and wellbeing	<i>The more citizens feel generally, economically, and physically well and secure, the more they will be willing to commit themselves to reconciliation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ National security ➤ Personal security ➤ Economic security
5. Justice, fairness and rights	<i>The more there is justice, fairness and human rights the more reconciliation increases.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Truth ➤ Acknowledgment of human right abuses ➤ Punishment for human right abuses ➤ Compensation for human right abuses ➤ Apology and forgiveness ➤ Individual healing ➤ Equality and social justice
6. Social Cohesion	<i>The more trust, respect, tolerance, social interactions and friendship among citizens increase, the more reconciliation is more likely to occur</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Trust ➤ Social interactions ➤ Tolerance ➤ Solidarity and Friendship

1.6. Methodology

This section is about the study's methodological design. The key focus is on the approach and types of data, study area, data collection methods and sampling procedure that have been adopted.

1.6.1. Methodological approach—Quantitative and Qualitative

This study assessed the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda (2015) through a combination of the quantitative and qualitative approaches. The purpose was to deeply understand people's perceptions, opinions and behaviors, as well as the underlying meanings and motives (or reasons) behind them.

1.6.2. Units of analysis—households and specific cases

Empirically, the study was conducted nationwide; that is, in all 4 provinces of Rwanda, plus the City of Kigali, and in all 30 districts where 450 administrative villages³⁷ (see appendix 4) have been selected (as indicated in sampling procedure). The overall purpose was to get various viewpoints from all the corners of the country. In this regard, the village, as the basic administrative entity—indeed the closest to citizens—has been the core area, while the households and cases were units of analysis. In this regard the definition of the working definition of a household referred to the definition provided by the Rwanda General Census of the Population and Housing (2002)³⁸, which gives the following categories of households and definitions:

- a) *The private household* – a group of persons who live in the same dwelling, share the same budget and have meals together, or one person living separately. The members of a household should not necessarily be in family or marital relationship.
- b) *The family household* – a household comprising two or more persons who are in marital or family relationship. It can be spouses/cohabitants with or without a child/children) or one of parents with a child/children) living alone or together with other persons, etc.
- c) *The non-family household* – a household comprising one person or a group of persons who are not in marital or family relationship.
- d) *The institution* – a household consisting of persons whose shelter and living needs are satisfied by an institution.

Given that specific cases (schools, prisons, associations, clubs cooperatives...) have also been taken into consideration, as discussed below, they also constituted additional units of analysis.

³⁷ It is worth emphasizing that the *villages* talked about in this study are the '*administrative villages*' instead of the villages known to be agglomerations within the villagization program—the '*Gutura mu midugudu*'

³⁸ National Institute of Statistics (2012). *Rwanda General Census of the Population and Housing*, Kigali.

1.6.3. Study Population

The population of this study was composed of Rwandan citizens from households and specific cases (schools, prisons, associations/cooperatives). Various categories of Rwandan citizens were taken into consideration, and as far as it was possible, the sample was representative and inclusive of these categories. In this regard, some of the socio-demographic aspects, such as age, sex, level of education, the marital status, religion, and occupation, were taken into consideration. The aim was to gather information from more or less various categories of citizens so as to get the picture of the status of reconciliation, as perceived by Rwandans. These categories are:

- ❖ The social demographic categories:
 - o Youth;
 - o Male and female;
 - o Educated and non-educated;
 - o Elites;
 - o Public servants;
 - o Private sector representatives;
 - o Civil society organizations representatives;
 - o Members of unity and reconciliation initiatives;
 - o Members of associations, cooperatives and the like.
- ❖ Other categories:
 - o Genocide survivors and/or their family members;
 - o Genocide perpetrators and/or their family members;
 - o Returnees (1959, 1960s, 1973, 1994 and after);
 - o Historically marginalized people;
 - o Students;
 - o Prisoners;
 - o Etc.

1.6.4. Sampling procedure

This study used probability sampling for the general *survey*, notably regarding the total sample size of individuals subject to the survey, and purposive sampling for the selection of *specific cases*. Therefore, in general, the procedure consisted of the following steps:

1. Determining the total sample size of *individuals* (representing households) subject to the quantitative survey;
2. Determining the sample size of the *villages* and specific groups to be covered;
3. Selection of *households* subject to the study;
4. Selection of *specific cases*, subject to the study

1.6.4.1. Sample size for survey

This study used a nationally representative sample to allow for generalization to the whole country. Achieving this has required a large random sample and a high response rate to minimize systematic error and reduce the risk of unsystematic error resulting from bias. The quantitative measurement for this study uses a quota sample, which was guaranteed to look like the population on the demographic that the study chose to target.

The calculation of the sample size, (how large should the sample be), was aimed at answering the following question: *how closely one wants the results to match those of the entire population*. There are two measures that were used as they affect the accuracy of the data.

- 1) An indication of the margin of error or confidence intervals (which is the positive and negative deviation that one allows on his/her survey results for the sample. Or, in other words, the deviation between the opinions of selected Rwandans and the opinion of the entire population);
- 2) An indication of the confidence level/intervals (which tells how sure one can be).

The following formula³⁹ thus helped in determining the minimum sample size of households in this study's survey:

$$n = D * \left[\frac{z \sqrt{p(1-p)}}{w} \right]^2$$

- $z_{\alpha/2}$ = Coefficient dependent on the degree of confidence (1.96 for the 95 % threshold)
- p = Proportion for interest characteristics (here, $p = 0.5$ $q = 1 - p$), the hypothesis is 50% of the population possess the characteristic and other do not possess it.
- w = Allowable margin of error (here, $w = 1$ %)
- D = Design Effect (DEFF) as coefficient of adjustment of the size of the sample drawn at two degrees (levels) =1.25.

$$n = 1.25 * \left[\frac{1.96 \sqrt{0.5(1-0.5)}}{0.01} \right]^2 = 12,000$$

The sample size for the quantitative survey is 12000 individuals, representing their households, and it is representative of the Rwandan population. Given that this study covered all the 30 districts of Rwanda and that the total sample size is 12000, it follows that 400 individuals/households were visited in each district (12000/30=400). As detailed below, 9000 individuals/households were visited at village level while the remaining 3000 were visited at their respective specific cases (prisons, schools, association, cooperatives...).

³⁹Gerald Keller and Brian Warrack, Statistics for management and economics, Brooks/Cole, 2003.

As it turned to be, out of 12,000 Rwandans representing their respective households and who have been subject to this study, only 11,874 (98.95%) accurately answered the survey questions (without missing values).

1.6.4.2. Determining the sample size of villages

Since this study targeted the individuals/households at village level and from specific cases, it follows that the total sample size had to be divided accordingly. Therefore, for 400 individuals per district (as put above), 300 individuals/households were visited at village level as the remaining 100 were visited from specific cases (prisons, schools, association, cooperatives...).

In this regard, 20 households purposively per village, in every district were visited, which makes it that the total of villages visited in every district is 15 villages (300/20). Therefore considering 30 districts, 450 villages were visited (15 villages *30 districts). Consequently, the total of 9000 households were visited in all the 450 villages (450 villages*20 individuals per household).

The above can be summarized as follows:

- 450 villages selected (15 villages per district=30*15)
- 20 households per village=450*20= 9000 households for survey

1.6.4.3. Determining the sample size of specific cases

In addition to targeting the villages, specific cases that were also being subject to the study were selected purposively as follows:

- 5 prisons (1 per province including the city of Kigali);
- Schools, unity and reconciliation initiatives, associations/cooperatives, or the like (55).

Since the total sample size is 12000, and that 9000 individuals/households were visited at village level (450 villages), the remaining 3000 individuals, who have also been subject to the survey were visited at their respective specific cases (prisons, schools, association, cooperatives...), whereby at least 50 individuals were visited in each case. This can be summarized as follows: 60 specific cases selected (50 individuals per case= 3000 Rwandans for survey). The table below summarizes the size following sampled areas.

Table 2: Sample a size per areas and cases

Areas	Provinces	Districts	Villages	Specific cases		TOTAL
Number	5	30	15*30 districts=450	Prisons (1 per province)	5	
				Schools, associations + other initiatives	55	
					60	
Population size	12000	300 individuals	20*450	-	-	9000
		100 individuals	-	-	60 (at least)	3000

		from specific cases			50 individuals per case)	
TOTAL		400 individuals				12000

1.6.4.4. Selection of villages and households

The selection of households followed three steps: at area (Districts, village/*U mudugudu*) and household level. The sampling rates were determined separately for each stratum, and sample units (villages or households) were systematically selected with a random starting number in each stratum. The starting random numbers were obtained using Excel spreadsheet, with the help of the Institute of national Statistics.

The systematic sampling scanned the entire sample frame (list of households) to enable a good spatial distribution of the sample across the national territory. In Each village sampled at the first level, households were listed in order to draw systematically 20 households at the second level. Then, one member of household aged from 18 years and beyond had to take part in the survey. Where more than one eligible person in the household was present, the person was selected at random by using Kish's table.

In the first stage, the Primary Survey Area/Units (villages/*Imidugudu*) were selected using the following procedure:

1. The frame units were sorted out according to the following criteria: stratum, each villages with the number of households;
2. The numbers were summed up to obtain a final number equal to the total households in the stratum;
3. In each stratum, the sample units were selected systematically, using the interval of selection ($I_h = \text{Total number of households} / \text{units to be learned}$) and random seed (R_h) obtained by multiplying the selected interval by a random number between 0 and 1.

The first sample unit was identified by the random starting point; the second sample unit corresponded to the random starting point plus interval drawing (No selection). The following sample units were identified by adding multiple consecutive interval selection to the cumulative sum, until the sample size was reached.

In general, the i^{th} sample unit (S_{hi}) in stratum h was selected as follows:

$$S_{hi} = R_h + (i-1)I_h \text{ for } i=1, 2, \dots, n_h$$

- where:
 - S_{hi} = number selected for the i^{th} sample unit in stratum h
 - R_h = random seed for stratum h;

- I_h Interval Draw for stratum h ;
- n_h = number of sample units selected in stratum h .

In the *second stage*, the systematic selection of households followed the same procedure for the list of households within the village/*Umudugudu*, which served as the sampling frame.

In the *third stage*: Systematic sample of 20 households was selected from the lists of households from authorities after updating and for each sample village in all districts. A reserve sample of 4 replacement households was selected for each village. Therefore a total of 24 households were selected initially in each sample village.

The fourth stage consisted in selecting only one member of household eligible age from 18 years and beyond, using Kish's selection table.

Probability sampling

In each stratum, the sample selection was done independently from other strata. This because there are as sampling frames as there is a stratum. Thus, the sampling probabilities were calculated for each level of estimation, i.e., for each stratum. This required prior determination of the probability of sampling at each stage of sample selection. The probability of selecting a Primary Sampling Unity (PSU) was given by the formula:

$$P_{1h} = a_h \frac{M_{hi}}{M_h}$$

where:

- h = number of Universal Precinct-based Sampling (UPS) (villages) selected from stratum h
- M_{hi} = number of households in the UPS i of stratum h
- M_h = total number of households in stratum h

- *Then*, the probability of selecting a household is given by:

$$P_{2h} = \frac{m_{hj}}{M_{hj}}$$

where:

- m_{hj} = number of households selected in the UPS i of stratum h
 - M_{hj} = total number of households in the UPS i j of stratum h
- So, the overall probability of selecting a household in stratum h is $P_h = P_{1h} \times P_{2h}$

Data weighting

The estimation of population parameters was done by inference, which consisted in extrapolating the results from the sample to the total population. These results were weighted by factor extrapolation (or weights) which is the inverse of the probability sampling, or $W_h = 1 / P_h$

Adjustment of weights

After the work of data collection from the field, an adjustment of initial weights was necessary to take into account the non-response rate in each stratum. This adjustment was as follows:

$W_h' = W_h * (m_{hi} / m_{hi}')$ with W_h

= $1 / P_h$ where:

- W_h' = extrapolation factor adjusted for the units in stratum h
- W_h = extrapolation factor for the initial units in stratum h
- m_{hi} = number of sampled households selected in the UPS i of stratum h
- m_{hi}' = the number of sampled households selected in the UPS i of stratum and actually interviewed (including replacements).

1.6.5. Data collection tools

Three types of data collection tools were used: the survey questionnaire and interviews (individual and in focused groups).

1.6.5.1. Survey questionnaire

A survey questionnaire, with close-ended questions, was administered to all the 12000 Rwandans (at village level and for specific cases). This was a self-administered procedure whereby researchers were in direct contact with citizens. The purpose was to make sure that citizens understand and answer all questions, which was an opportunity to provide explanations with regard to questions that could have been confusing or unclear to them. This was particularly helpful for citizens who were not able to read and write, whereby the researchers interacted with them while asking questions and filling in the questionnaire on their behalf. This process was also of particular importance given that after the citizen had answered the questionnaire, the researcher had to immediately have an interview with him/her so as to collect qualitative data.

1.6.5.2. Interviews: Individual and Focus groups

Empirical data were also collected through personal interviewing (individually and in focused groups), which implies that researchers have had direct face-to-face interactions/contact with citizens. An interview guide related to the collection of qualitative data was also developed (see appendix 2). Interviews were conducted in Kinyarwanda language. Individual interviewing was a valuable tool, as it offered the opportunity for interviewees to open up and provide confidential information. The particular purpose of focus group discussions (FGD) was to collect data on

consensus, notably with regard to mainstream opinions. FGDs targeted the 50 specific cases thus selected whereby each FGD was composed of between 8 -12 participants. In total 60 FGD were conducted. Wherever it was judged necessary, FGDs were completed by individual in-depth interviews notably regarding confidential information.

1.6.6. Data analysis and presentation

Empirical data were both quantitative and qualitative, and were analyzed and presented quantitatively and qualitatively in a complementary way. The quantitative analysis was made in the form of numbers and data presentation was made in the form of tables, charts or and figures. Quantitative analysis used SPSS as statistical software, notably for data entry. Qualitative data are presented in the form of text. During data presentation, concepts and themes, as used by citizens, were examined across different interviews to combine the material into a coherent whole that described what was going on around reconciliation in Rwanda. Qualitative data thus portrays the shades of meaning through the words of Rwandans. The method of analysis consisted especially in reporting results as text, illustrated in the direct speech.

1.6.7. Respondents and their socio-demographic characteristics

This study was carried out on a sample size of 12,000 individuals, which was enough for generalization, and which was made possible through weighting. However, only 11,874 (98.95%) accurately answered the survey questions (without missing values). The socio-demographic characteristics of citizens, who were part of the sample size is presented below.

1.6.7.1. Respondents' distribution by Gender

Table 3: Distribution of respondents by Gender

		Males	Females	<i>per</i> <small>Total per Province</small>
Provinces	<i>City of Kigali</i>	684	525	1,209 <small>1,209</small>
		56.6%	43.4%	
	<i>Southern Province</i>	1619	1433	3,052 <small>3,052</small>
		53.0%	47.0%	
	<i>Western Province</i>	1605	1168	2,72,773
		57.9%	42.1%	
	Province	1096	880	1,976 <small>1,976</small>
		55.5%	44.5%	
	<i>Eastern</i>	1570	1294	2,864 <small>2,864</small>
		54.8%	45.2%	
Grand Total		6,574	5,300	111,874
		55.4%	44.6%	

Source : Empirical data,

Source: Empirical data, September/October, 2015.

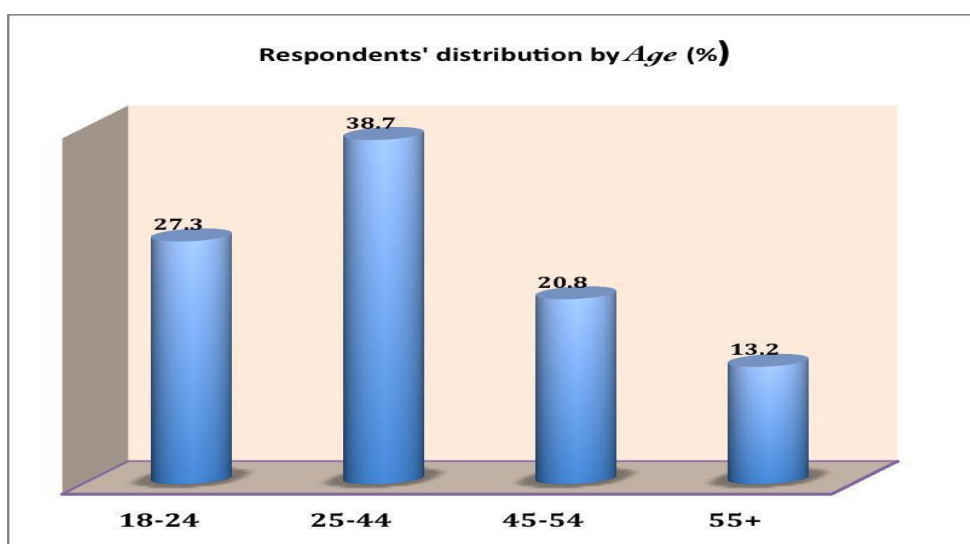
The table above indicates that 55.5% of respondents were males while 44.6% were females. This difference, between males and females in numbers, which does not reflect the current trend in Rwanda (whereby males are inferior to females in numbers), has been without any incidence on data not only because it appears slight, but also given that the overall purpose of this study was to target households' heads, be they male or female, on one hand, and the specific cases (prisons, schools, associations and cooperatives, clubs...) without considering their gender in/balance, on the other hand.

Otherwise, the main reason that could partly explain this slight difference is the fact that households are mainly headed by males, as the 2012 national census indicates; whereby, at the national level, 71% of private households are headed by males and 29% by females).⁴⁰

This was indeed manifested during the survey visits to households, whereby women have often hesitated (or simply refused) to take part in the filling of the questionnaires in the presence of their male-spouses. Likewise, in some specific cases visited (notably the cooperatives, associations, and clubs) the majority of members were composed of male.

1.6.7.2. Respondents' distribution by Age

Figure 1: Respondents' distribution by Age



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

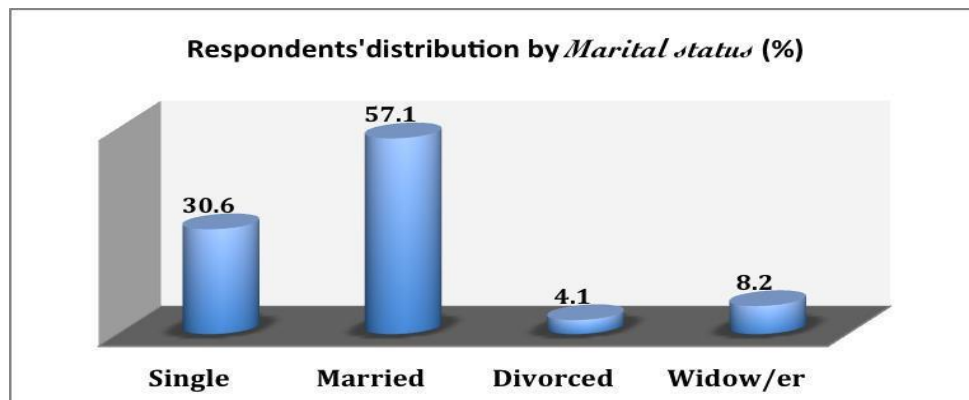
The above figure portrays that all categories of Rwandans, per age, have been taken into consideration in this study, whereby the majority (38.7%) are those between 25 and 44 years of age. This indeed reflects the current trend in Rwanda whereby, as the last national census (2012) indicates, the majority of Rwandans are between 18 and 44 years of age.⁴¹

⁴⁰ National Institute of Statistics (2014), *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda (2012): Characteristics of Households and Housing*. Thematic report, p.16,17

⁴¹ National Institute of Statistics (2014), *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda (2012): Characteristics of Households and Housing*. Thematic report, p.xvii

1.6.7.3. Respondents' distribution by Marital status

Figure 2: Respondents' distribution by Marital status

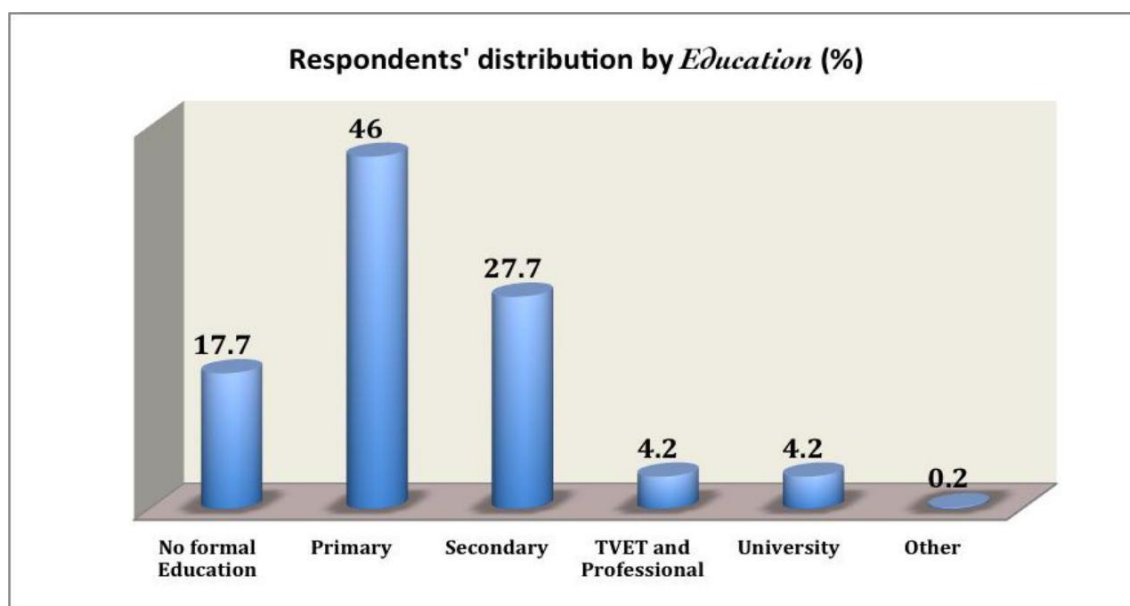


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

This figure portrays that the main categories of Rwandans, in terms of marital status, have also been taken into consideration in this study, whereby the majority (57.1%) were composed of those, who were married. This figure thus pictures the recent trend in Rwanda whereby the last national census (2012)⁴² shows that the majority of Rwandans (86.5%) were married.

1.6.7.4. Respondents' distribution by Education

Figure 3: Respondents' distribution by Education



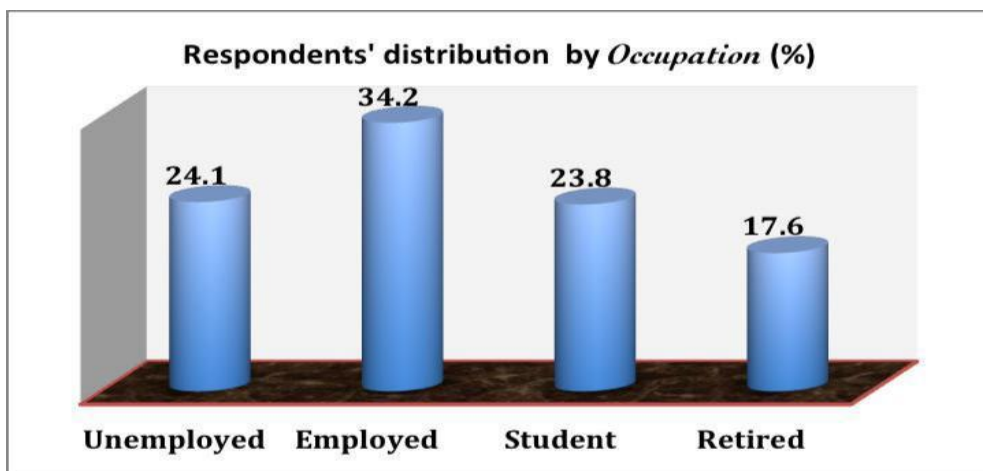
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

⁴² National Institute of Statistics (2014), *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda (2012): Characteristics of Households and Housing*. Thematic report, p.20

With regard to education, the figure above shows that, more or less, various categories of Rwandans, in terms of educational background, were represented in this study, whereby the majority of Rwandans' education level (46%) had only primary school as their highest level of education, followed by 17.7% of Rwandans with no formal education. This figure indeed pictures the current reality in Rwanda whereby the last national census (2012)⁴³ indicates that the majority of Rwandans (60.7%) have only primary school as their highest level of education, followed by 24% of Rwandans with no formal education at all.

1.6.7.5. Respondents' distribution by Occupation

Figure 4: Respondents' distribution by Occupation



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

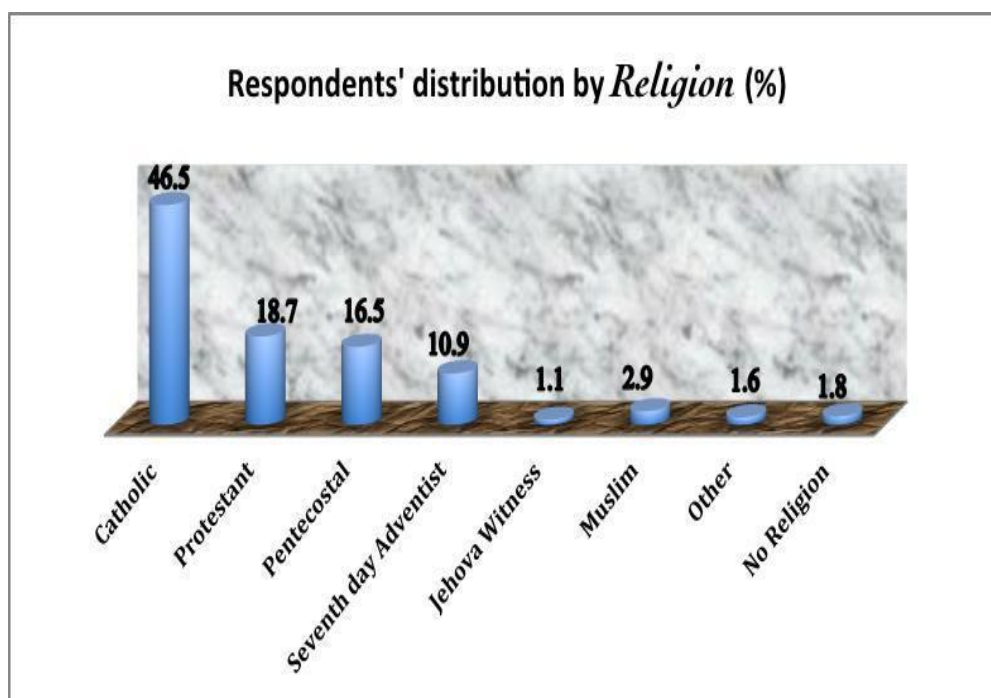
This figure also indicates that various categories of Rwandans, with regard to occupation, have been taken into consideration. The figure indeed pictures the recent reality in Rwanda whereby the last national census (2012)⁴⁴ indicates that the majority of Rwandans (87.1%) have an occupation/employment.

⁴³ National Institute of Statistics (2014), *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda (2012): Characteristics of Households and Housing*. Thematic report, p.21

⁴⁴ National Institute of Statistics (2014), *Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda (2012): Characteristics of Households and Housing*. Thematic report, p.22

1.6.7.6. Respondents' distribution by Religion

Figure 5: Respondents' distribution by Religion



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

The above figure shows that Rwandans from various religious denominations have been taken into consideration, whereby the majority of them (46.5%) were Catholics, followed the Protestants, the Pentecostals, the Seven Day Adventists and the Muslims. This consideration indeed appears to have respected the general trend of membership in religious institutions in Rwanda.

1.6.8. Ethical considerations and control measures

To ensure proper data collection process, valid and reliable data, as well as quality analysis, a number of control measures and ethical issues have been taken into account. Initially, the development of the methodology was done in a participatory manner, through notably various workshops that brought together the researchers and the experts from the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, and its Board Members. The draft of the inception report was then presented in another workshop, which this time involved all the stakeholders at national level (representatives from the parliament—both chambers, the central and local governments, the Academia, the National Institutes of Statistics, the Civil society, the media, the Religious denominations, etc.) for validation.

During the process of survey and interviewing, the following ethical issues were scrupulously taken into consideration. This points to researchers' proper and professional conduct in the field in a way that ensured that the questions were asked in a proper way and comprehensible by citizens, and in a way that motivated them to make the necessary effort in answering them.

The researchers were thus constantly aware that motivation forces that encourage citizens to successfully participate were mobilized, and negative forces countered. In so doing, the researchers placed much emphasis on the first moments of contact with citizens. Therefore, every researcher kept the following considerations:

- 1) In the introduction, the researcher had to talk about the purpose of the study and its relevance in a way that provoked interest for every respondent/participant (i.e., the importance of the study to the Rwandans and the country), and ensured the confidentiality of respondents' information.
- 2) During the process of survey and interviewing, every researcher made sure that his/her conduct was friendly, courteous, conversational, cooperative and unbiased. This was important as it put citizens at ease, which enabled them to talk freely and fully.
- 3) Every researcher had to show an interested manner toward citizens' opinions rather than divulging his/her own. Every researcher was careful not to suggest a possible reply.
- 4) Confidentiality of citizens' information was always kept ensured.

During data collection exercise, a close supervision by both research supervisors and the technical team of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was ensured. Data collection exercise began on September 7th and ended on October 6th, 2015. Researchers included 118 enumerators and 17 supervisors, in addition to the team leader. It is worth noting that the entire process of assessing the current status of reconciliation (preparation, data collection, data entry, analysis, and reporting) took place without any incident. In this regard, the invaluable facilitation played by local leaders, at district, sector, cell, and above all, village levels made the fieldwork exercise very successful. Their role limited to ensuring that researchers successfully access the households and citizens. They neither hampered nor have they influenced data thus collected.

2. CURRENT STATUS OF RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA

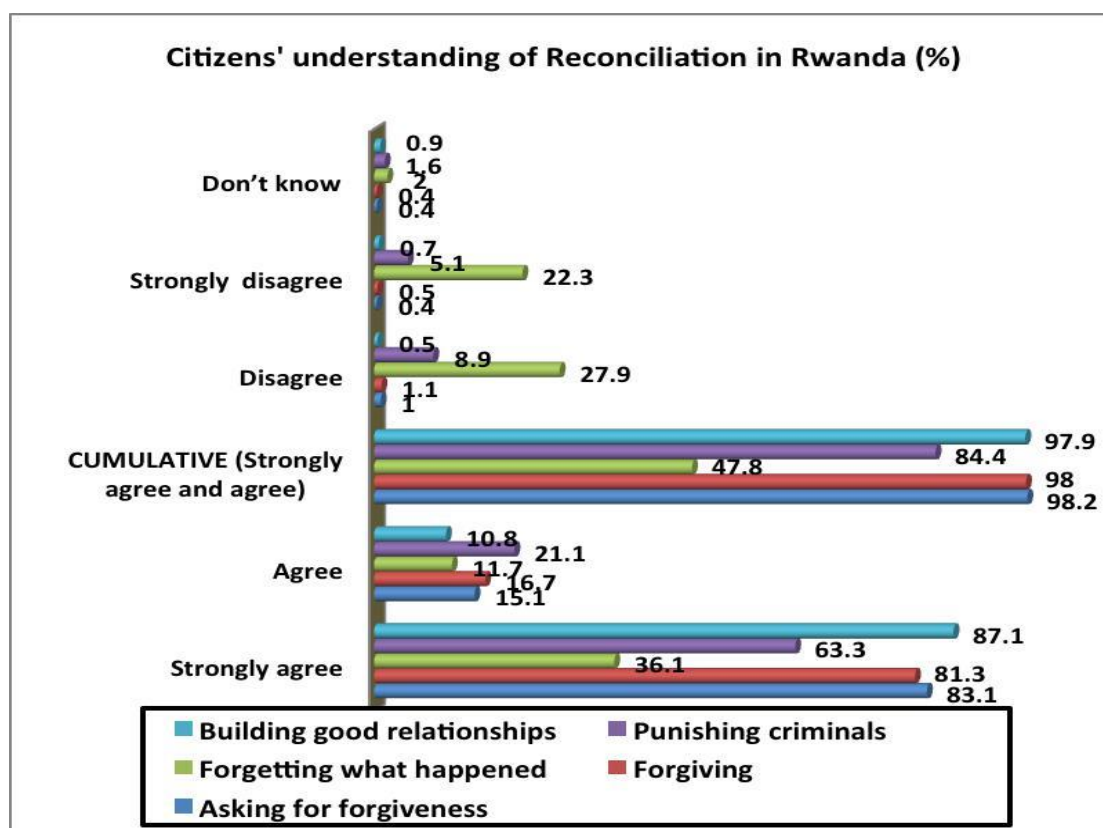
This chapter is aimed at presenting, analyzing and discussing the quantitative and qualitative findings on the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. Discussions not only focus on the assessment's objectives but also findings are connected, in a comparative way, to other available data in this regard, and above all to the previous reconciliation barometer of 2010. Key findings, per districts, are also presented and discussed. It is worth indicating beforehand that unlike the findings of 2010, there was no significant difference between the perceptions of Rwandans per age. Likewise, findings show a strong consistency whereby there was no significant difference between the opinions of male and female. Before measuring the status of reconciliation in Rwanda, citizens' understanding of the concept of reconciliation is important.

2.1. Rwandans' understanding and view of Reconciliation

How do Rwandan citizens understand reconciliation? How do they generally view its importance and possibility in Rwanda? These were key questions addressed to citizens before getting to their assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda.

2.1.1. Rwandans' understanding of Reconciliation

Figure 6: Rwandans' understanding of Reconciliation



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

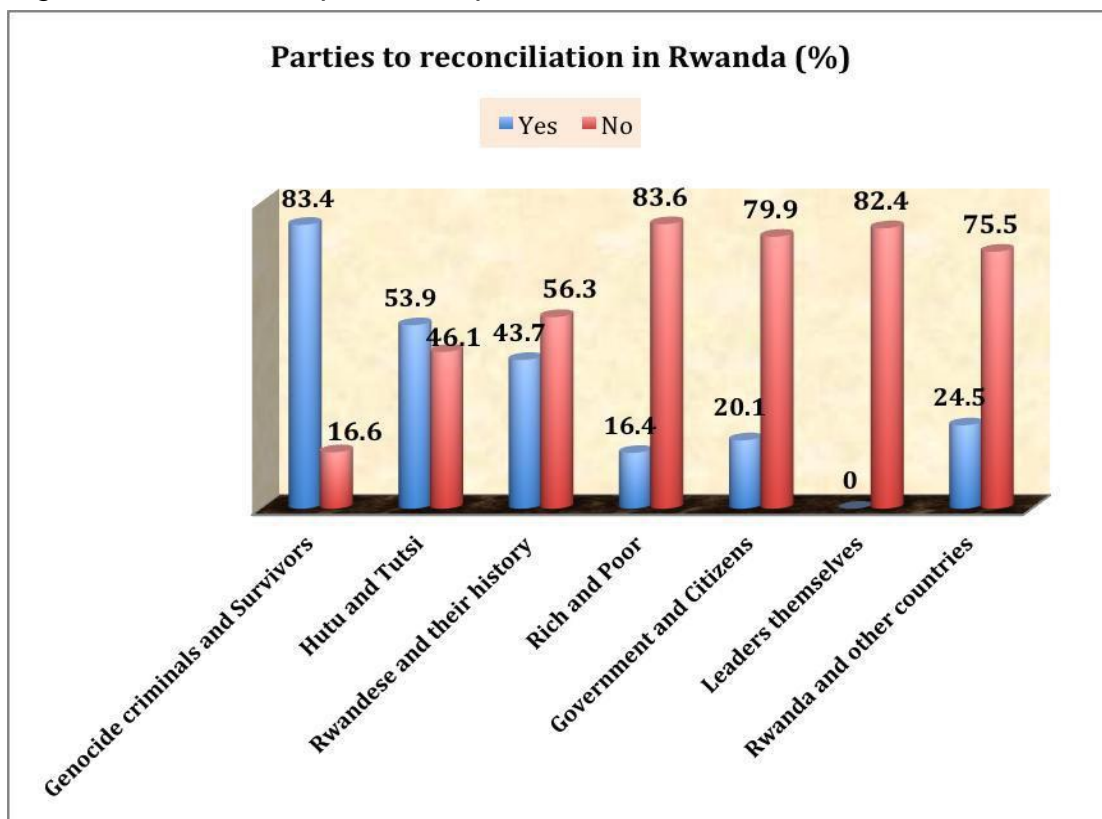
As the above figure shows, Rwandans consider reconciliation as *relational*; that is, the fact involving ‘*building good relationships*’ (as expressed by 97.9% of citizens where 87.1% strongly agree), asking for, and granting, *forgiveness* (as respectively expressed by 98.2% and 98% of citizens). As the figure also portrays, Rwandans totaling 84.4% (where 63.3% strongly agree and 21.1% agree) also posit that reconciliation involves *punishing* criminals. Only 47.8% of Rwandans (where 36% strongly agree and 11.7% agree) think that reconciliation is about forgetting.

In view of the above, it follows that Rwandans generally give a *relational* aspect to reconciliation and understand it as the ‘*building of good relationships*’, which involves the fact of ‘*asking for forgiveness*’ and ‘*forgiving*’.

2.1.2. Parties to Reconciliation in Rwanda

The figure below shows parties to reconciliation in Rwanda, as emphasized by citizens.

Figure 7: Rwandans opinions on parties to reconciliation in Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure shows, the majority of Rwandans (83.4%) think that reconciliation in Rwanda is (or should be) *between genocide criminals/perpetrators and genocide survivors*. 53.9% of Rwandans also think that reconciliation is (or needs to be) between Hutu and Tutsi, given that divisions in Rwanda and the 1994 genocide against Tutsi were built upon these labels. Only 43.7% of Rwandans think that reconciliation is (or needs to be) between Rwandans and their history. On the other hand, findings portrayed in the above figure indicate that the majority of Rwandans (83.6%) reject the assumption that reconciliation is (or should be) between the rich and poor in

Rwanda, which indeed matches with the 2010 RRB findings⁴⁵.

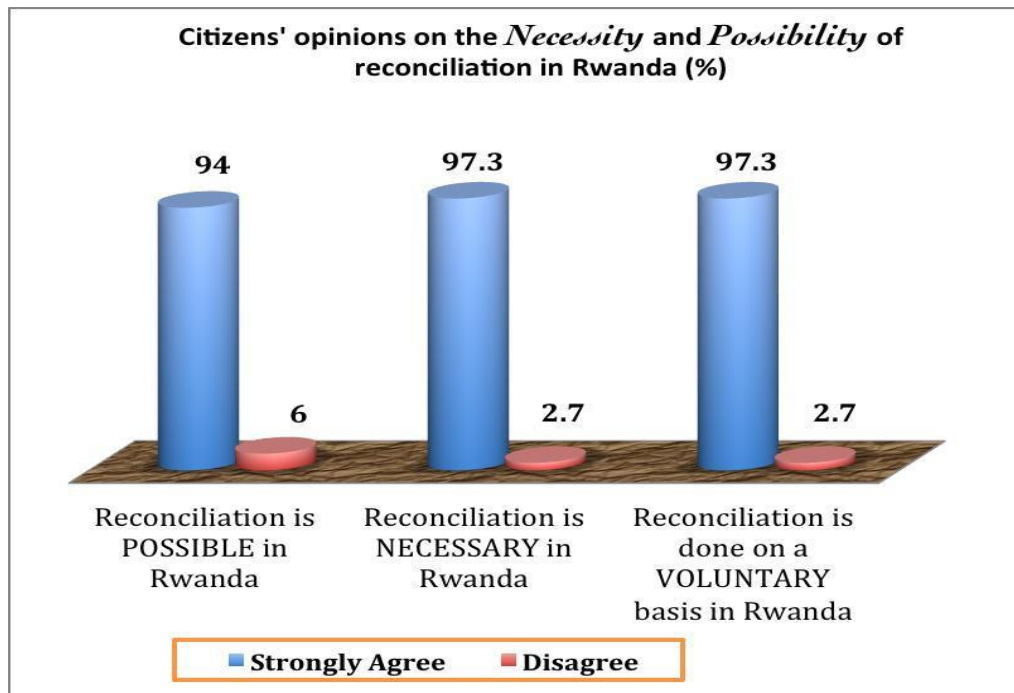
The same goes to 82.4%, 79.9% and 75.5% of Rwandans, who respectively, reject the assertions that reconciliation in Rwanda is, or needs to be, between leaders themselves, between the Government and citizens, and between Rwanda and other countries.

To sum up, the majority of Rwandans (83.4%) stressed that *parties to reconciliation in Rwanda are above all genocide criminals/perpetrators and genocide survivors*. There is thus need to also explore citizens' opinions on the necessity and possibility of reconciliation in Rwanda, which is discussed in the next subsection.

2.2. Necessity and possibility of reconciliation in Rwanda

After having provided their views on the meaning of reconciliation and the parties to reconciliation in Rwanda, Rwandans also gave their opinions on the necessity and possibility of reconciliation, as well as the way reconciliation is generally practiced, in Rwanda. Their accounts are portrayed in the figure below.

Figure 8: Necessity, possibility and practice of reconciliation in Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As findings presented in the above figure indicate, reconciliation in Rwanda is viewed as *necessary*, which is confirmed by 97.3% of Rwandans. Illustrative account in this regard, read:

“You can’t think of development in a country that has had divisions like ours [Rwanda] if citizens are not reconciled. Reconciliation is therefore important, and it is a prerequisite before any action for development” (A citizen from the Centre des Jeunes de Gatenga, Kicukiro district)

⁴⁵ NURC (2010), Ibid., p.40.

“When you build a house, you make sure that the foundation is strong. This foundation is reconciliation; then you build a strong house because it has got a strong foundation. This house is the bright future of Rwandans through solidarity.” (A student of Groupe scolaire Officiel de Butare, Huye district)

The above figure also shows that 94% of Rwandans believe that *reconciliation in Rwanda is possible*. Illustrative testimonies, in this regard, read:

“If you look at where we come from and where we are now, given the commitment of this government through various programs such as Itorero ry’igihugu and Ndi Umunyarwanda, reconciliation is very possible. Divisions have been eradicated and there is punishment of whoever might want to divide Rwandans again.” (A member of Ukuri Kuganze association, Bugesera district)

“Hope for reconciliation is there; because, if after the Genocide the country started from zero and now it has reached where it is now in few years: full security, people live happily together, and there is a significant development... Hope is there, because the current leadership is different from the previous one as it respects human rights and takes into consideration the opinions provided by the citizens.” (A member of Peacemakers of EPR Remera–Rukoma, Kamonyi district)

With regard to the practice of reconciliation in Rwanda, the above figure shows that 97.3% of Rwandans affirm that *reconciliation in Rwanda is carried out on a voluntary basis*, which implies that citizens are not forced to engage in reconciliation activities.

With all the above findings indicating that reconciliation—generally understood as ‘building good relationships, involving apology and forgiveness’ between the sides—is necessary and possible in Rwanda, this study then assessed the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda (2015) by focusing on the 6 variables, as indicated previously. This is what the next sections are all about.

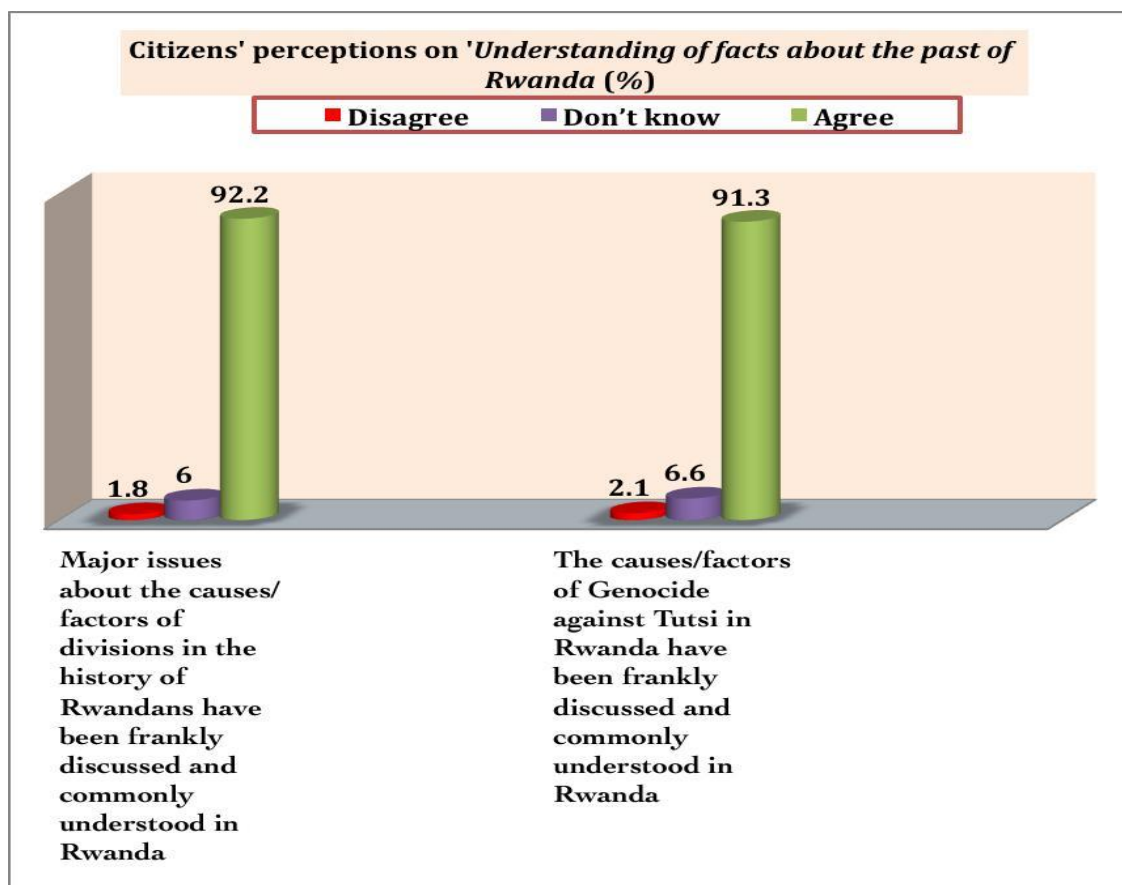
2.3. Understanding the past and envisioning the future

As put previously, notably in the conceptual clarification, reconciliation in Rwanda is understood as both backward and forward looking; that is, it considers the past, present and future of Rwanda. A general hypothesis in this regard was that *‘the more Rwandans are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical social divisions, while getting committed to positively envision their future, the more reconciliation is likely to occur.’* The assessment thus focused on (1) the way the past is understood in Rwanda, (2) the way history was/is taught in Rwanda, (3) and Rwandans’ level of commitment toward reconciliation at present and in the future.

2.3.1. Understanding of facts about the past of Rwanda

The assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda looked into Rwandans' opinions on *whether the major issues about the causes/factors of divisions in the history of Rwandans*, on the one hand, and *whether the causes /factors of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi*, on the other hand, *have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda*. Citizens' views in this regard picture a very positive image as shown in the figure below.

Figure 9: Understanding of facts about the past of Rwanda



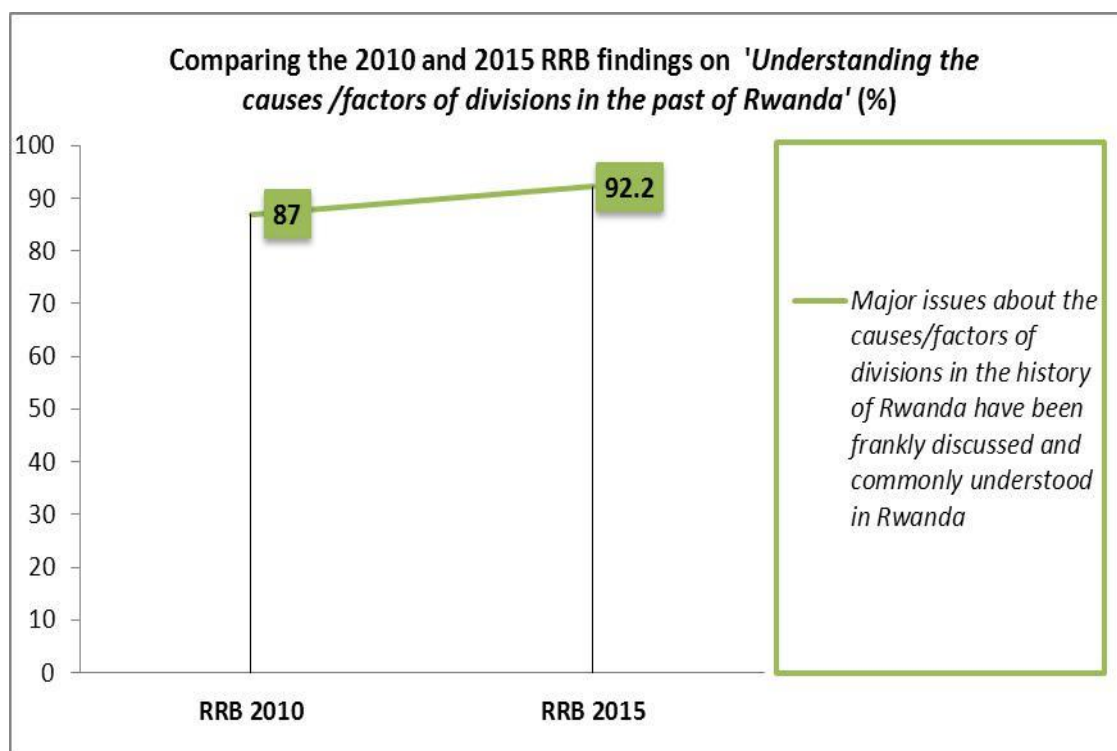
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure shows, the majority of Rwandans (92.2% and 91.3%, respectively) agree with the assumptions that *major issues about the causes/factors of divisions in the history of Rwandans*, on the one hand, and *the causes /factors of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi*, on the other hand, *have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda*. There has been an improvement, on the first assumption, given that the 2010 RRB findings, which did not however explore the second assumption, indicated that only 87% of Rwandans agreed that 'in the sixteen years following the genocide most of the major issues related to its causes and consequences have been frankly discussed and understood.'⁴⁶

⁴⁶ NURC (2010), Ibid., p.35

The graph below shows the improvement in question.

Graph 1: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on Understanding the causes /factors of divisions in the history of Rwandans



This graph shows how there has been an improvement with regard to the level of understanding of the causes/factors behind the divisions in the history of Rwanda. The fact that there is a high level of a shared understanding of the Rwanda's history among Rwandans thus constitutes a critical indicator of the extent to which the country is constructively coming to terms with its traumatic past, which eventually paves the way for positively shaping the present and envisioning the future. In this regard Rwandans emphasized how important is a good understanding the past of Rwanda toward reconciliation amongst Rwandans. Their illustrative testimonies, in this regard, are worth putting:

“Understanding the past is important because when one does not know where s/he comes from, s/he can't know where s/he is going. It is only when we, Rwandans, will get to know our past that we will know how to plan for our future. This is what is being promoted in Rwanda and we are happy about it (A citizen from IPRC Vocational Training, Musanze district)

“The factors that divided Rwandans have been explained; we no longer have ethnic backgrounds; we are now Rwandans and we are united.” (A member of Tubibe Amahoro association, Karongi district)

“The past of Rwanda was discussed very well and well understood from the primary school where I started to study history. I have studied history of Rwanda in detail; so from that, I understood the real history of Rwanda. History about Rwanda is helping all Rwandans to follow one way of peace, unity, solidarity and same vision.” (A student of Nyagatare secondary school, Nyagatare district)

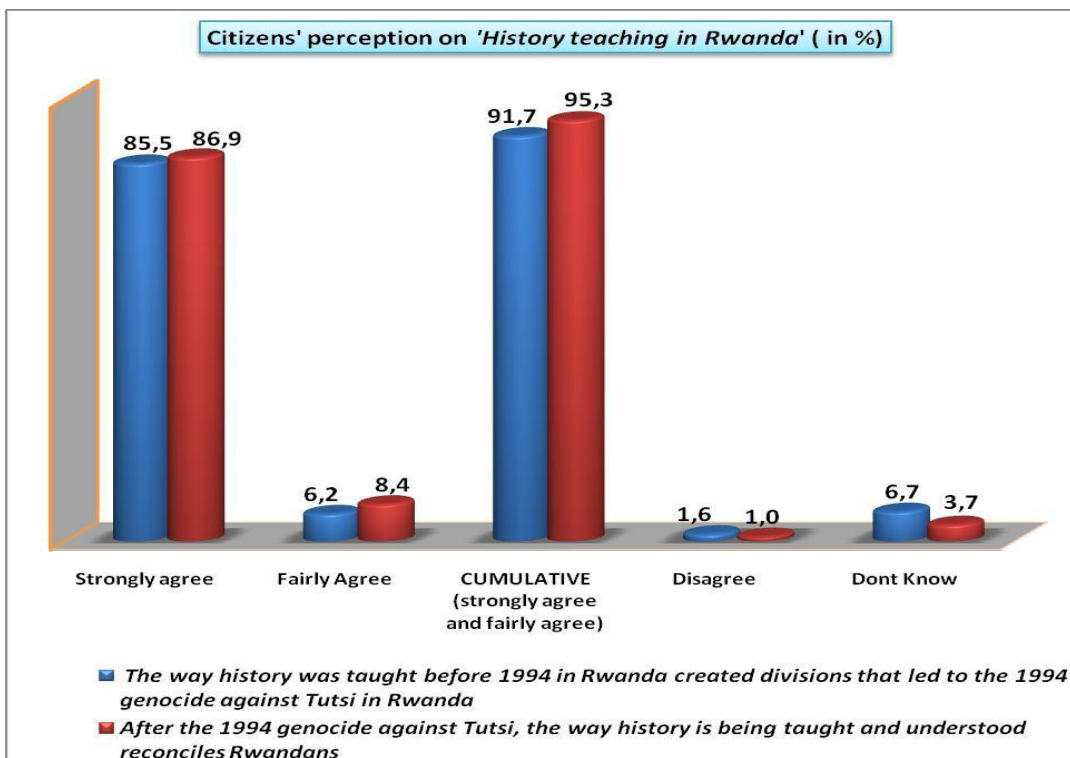
The few Rwandans (1.8% and 2.1% respectively), who appear to not have agreed with the above assertions contended that there are still some few Rwandans, who have not yet understood the real factors/causes of divisions and the genocide in Rwanda given that they are still inclined toward ethnic stereotypes and genocide ideologies.

The above findings lead us to the way history was/is therefore taught in Rwanda, which is what the next subsection is aimed at discussing.

2.3.2. History teaching in Rwanda

The assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda looked into Rwandans’ opinions on history teaching in the past and present. Findings indicate that the way history was taught prior to 1994 divided Rwandans and contributed to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Conversely, as findings indicate, the way history is being currently taught promotes reconciliation among Rwandans to a great extent. This is what the figure below portrays.

Figure 10: History teaching in Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As findings portrayed in the above figure indicate, Rwandans totaling 91.7% (where 85.5% strongly agree and 6.2% agree) hold that *the way history was taught before 1994 in Rwanda created divisions that led to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi*. Likewise, Rwandans totaling 95.3% (where 86.9% strongly agree and 8.4% agree) affirm *that the way history is being taught and understood after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, reconciles Rwandans*.

With a slight difference in percentage, these findings agree with those of the 2010 RRB that indicated that 94.7% of Rwandans felt that the teachings were far more conducive to the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda.⁴⁷ Illustrative testimonies, on history teaching in Rwanda, are worth putting:

In the past, teachings were discriminating and divisions were promoted; but now, history is well taught and it is not dividing Rwandans; actually we are now mirrors that fight against persecutions, which is connected to reconciliation because before there was an identity based on ethnicity but now it is one identity of Ubunyarwanda [Rwandanness] that unites all of us; the future of Rwanda is guaranteed because children who are now being born are not taught ethnicity or discrimination.” (A member of Duhozanye cooperative, Nyaruguru district)

“History is being taught very well and is well understood because they [trainers] show us good things in the past of Rwanda, how divisions emerged; then we get to know where we came from and where we are going.” (A student TTC Rubengeru, Karongi district)

“The past is now well taught in a way that allows Rwandans to be aware of their national identity, and in a way that helps them prevent any recurrence of violence.” (A member of Ukuri Kuganze association, Bugesera district).

If I consider how things were during the genocide; looking at the survivor and the perpetrator; none could believe that these people will get together again. But because of these reconciliation teachings, things started to change little by little. At the beginning of teachings, you could feel that it is useless; you could think that it won't work; but I am telling you, these teachings on reconciliation restored relationships. Be it for the genocide survivors or the genocide perpetrators and others in general; when you look at how they live together because of these teachings explaining the history you find it as amazing!” (A member of Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge cooperative, Muhanga district)

⁴⁷ Idem.

To sum up the above, the way history was taught before 1994 in Rwanda created divisions that led to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. This indeed refers to divisive teachings since colonization, notably through colonizers and missionaries' 'divide and rule' policy, which have been subsequently maintained by the two successive Republics that came to power after Rwanda's accession to independence in 1962, which culminated into the 1994 genocide against Tutsi.

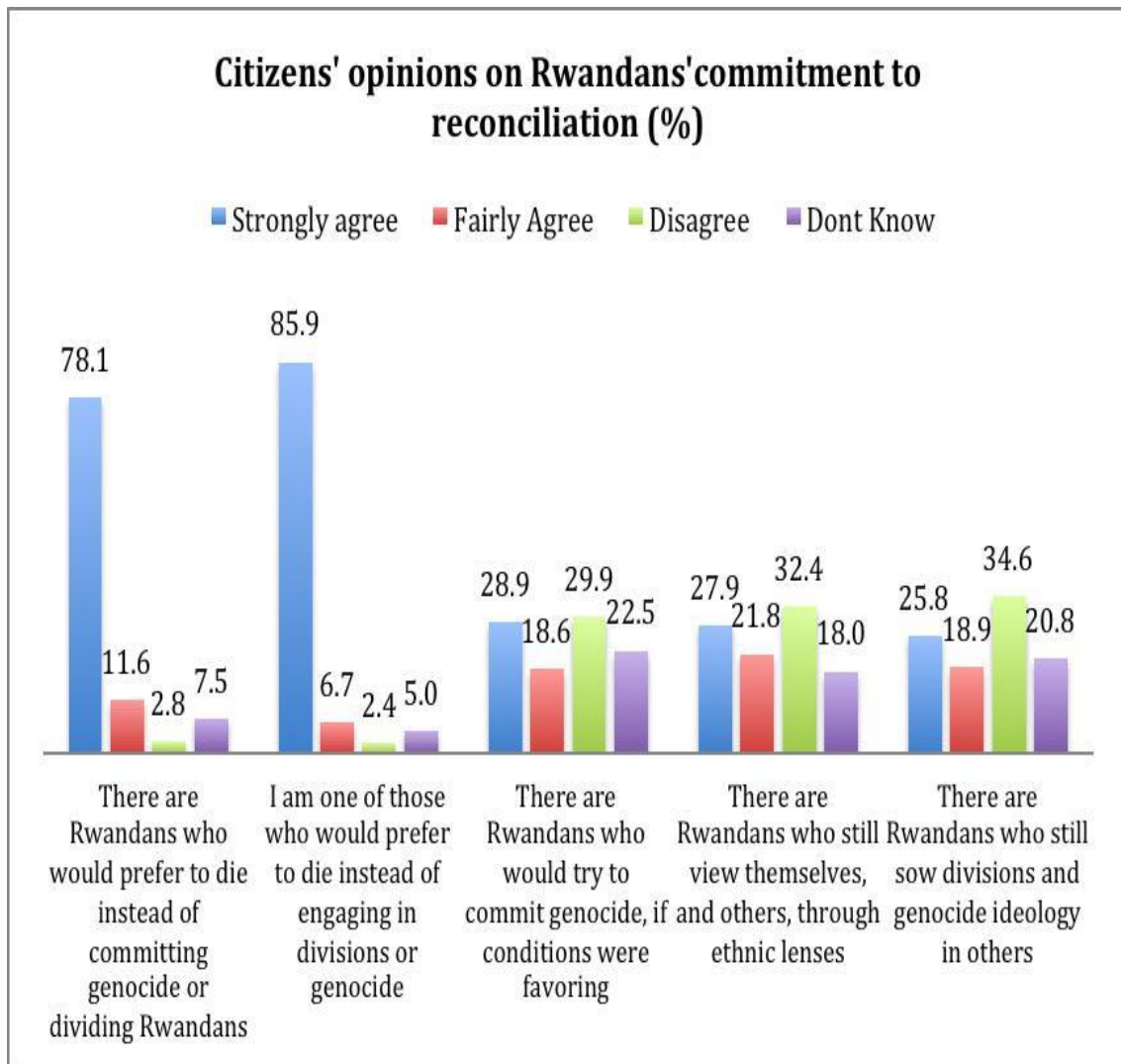
Conversely, 'the way history is being taught and understood after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, reconciles Rwandans'. Programs such as Ndi Umunyarwanda, Itorero ry'Igihugu, Ingando, as well as various forums for discussions and dialogue, have indeed been emphasized by Rwandans as important mechanisms that are currently reconciling Rwandans.

With the above considerations, emphasizing how the past is understood and the way history was, and is currently, taught, how is then the level of commitment of Rwandans with regard to the promotion of reconciliation at present and for the future of Rwanda? This is what the findings, presented in the next subsection, are all about.

2.3.3. Rwandans' commitment to reconciliation

Rwandans' level of understanding about the causes/factors of the divisions and the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, is also manifested in the way they are, or are not, committed to reconciliation in Rwanda. The assessment focused on the following questions: are there Rwandans who would prefer to die instead of committing genocide or dividing Rwandans? Are there Rwandans still sowing divisions and genocide ideology in others or still viewing themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses? Findings in this regard are presented in the figures below.

Figure 11: Rwandans' commitment to reconciliation



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As findings, presented in the above figure, indicate, Rwandans totaling 89.7% (where 78.1% strongly agree and 11.6% agree) stress that *there are Rwandans who would prefer to die instead of committing genocide or dividing Rwandans*. In this regard, Rwandans totaling 92.6% (where 85.9% are strongly committed and 6.7% committed) personally even *prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions or genocide*.

Illustrative testimonies, in this regard, read:

“Rwandans have well understood their history and the divisions that took place in the past; they engaged in coming to term with those divisions and are now building a country and hope for the future of their children.”
(A member of Tubibe Amahoro association, Karongi district)

“Truly, I am sure that everyone who experienced these divisions says this: ‘none can influence me again to engage in divisions’; may be only 1%, but be they victims or perpetrators, none of them would want violence again. (A member of Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge cooperative, Muhanga district).

“I give you an example of myself. I committed genocide and I am now in prison because of that. I assure you that I can never engage in those things of killing people again or looting their properties. I have children and none is now taking care of them because my wife passed away. Had not I engaged in genocide I would have been with my children. I know the consequence of doing evil, I repented and I cannot repeat it again.”
(A prisoner for genocide crimes, Kimironko prison, Gasabo district).

Conversely, 28.9% of citizens believe that *there are Rwandans who would try to commit genocide, if conditions were favorable*. However, there has been a considerable improvement, as far as reconciliation in Rwanda is concerned, given that the assessment of the status of reconciliation in Rwandans, in 2010, had indicated scored 39.9%⁴⁸

In addition, the above findings indicate that 25.8% of Rwandans affirm that *there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others*. This however constitutes a significant improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had scored 31.5%⁴⁹, in this regard.

Moreover, findings presented in the above figure indicate that 27.9% of citizens contend that *there are Rwandans who still view themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses*. Again, this constitutes a remarkable improvement given that the 2010 had scored 30.5%⁵⁰, in this regard.

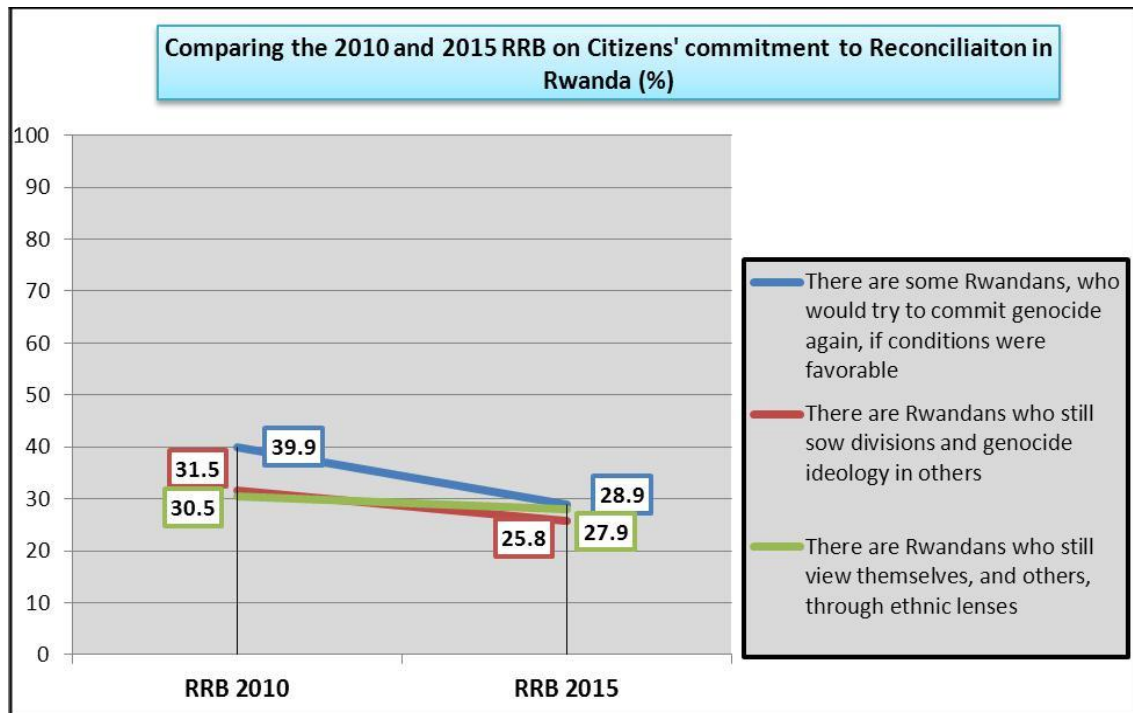
⁴⁸NURC (2010). Ibid., p.35.

⁴⁹Idem., p.35.

⁵⁰Idem., p.35.

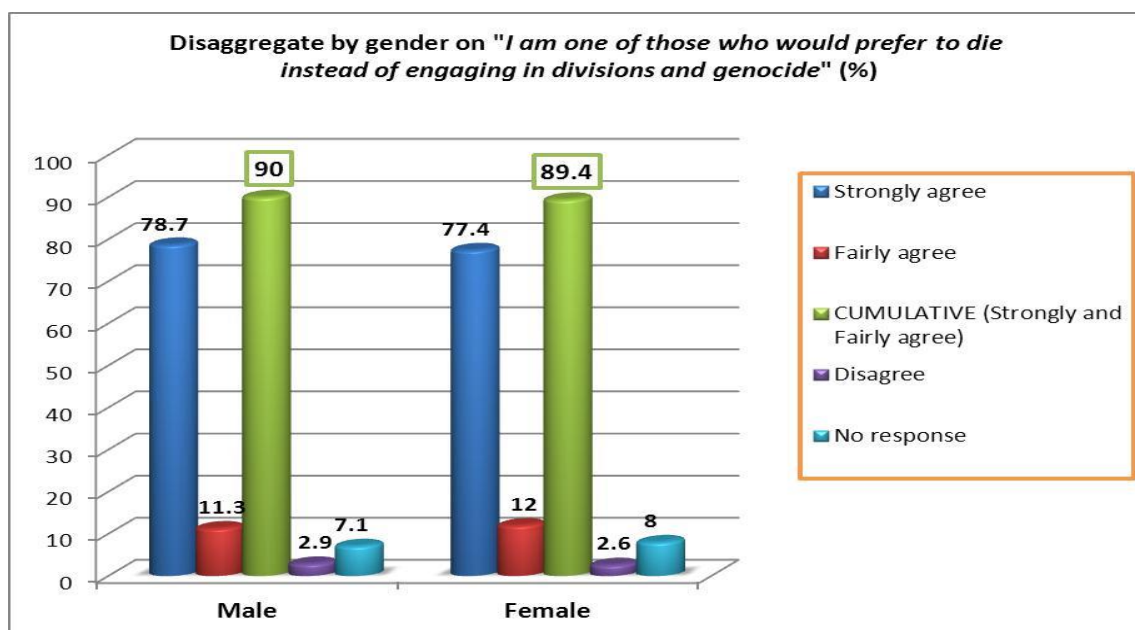
The graph below portrays the above improvements while comparing the two reconciliation barometers.

Graph 2: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on citizens' Commitment to Reconciliation



In view of the above graph, which portrays considerable improvements with regard to the reduction of citizens' inclination toward divisions and the genocide, let us now see the level of Rwandan citizens, disaggregated by gender, with regard to their commitment to reconciliation in Rwanda.

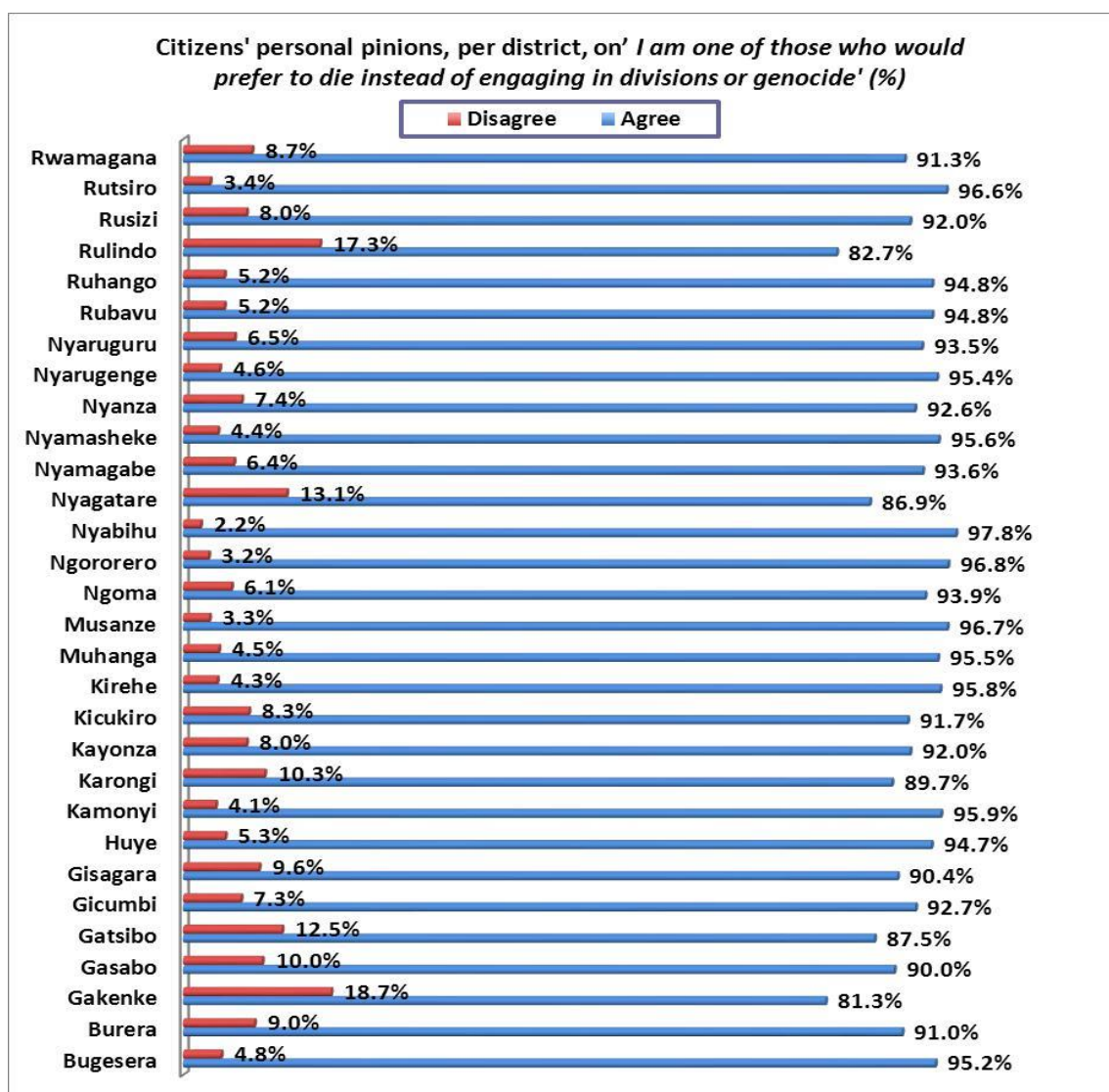
Figure 12: Citizens' level of commitment to death instead of engaging in divisions and genocide, disaggregated by gender



The above figure indicates that citizens' level of commitment to death instead of engaging in divisions and genocide, disaggregated by gender is more or less equally put (90% for male and 89% for female).

The next figure presents empirical findings per district, whereby Rwandans were requested to indicate how things are going in their respective communities or districts. It is worth emphasizing that the scores provided, per district, do not imply that this or that district is first or last. Instead, findings are about citizens' own accounts about what is happening in their respective districts or communities.

Figure 13: Citizens opinions, per district, on 'I am one of those who would prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions or genocide'

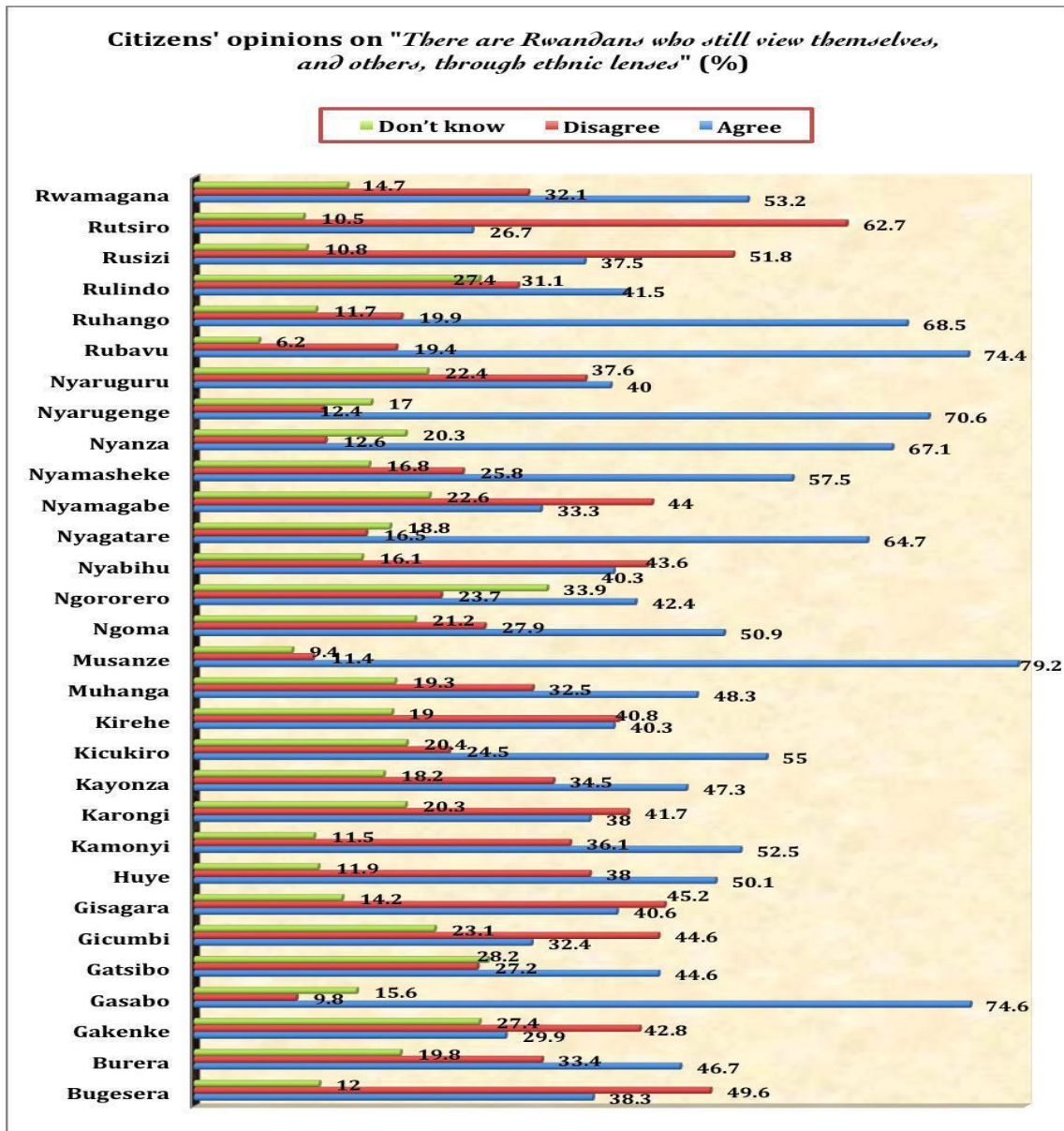


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure shows, the majority of Rwandan citizens prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions and/or genocide. In this regard, the leading district that has the highest score in this regard is *Nyabihu* (97.8%). Other districts, which also scored high, are *Ngororero* (96.8%), *Musanze* (96.7%), *Kamonyi* (95.9%), *Kirehe* (95.8%), *Nyamasheke* (95.6%), *Muhanga* (95.5%), *Nyarugenge* (95.4) and *Bugesera* (95.2). On the other hand, the districts of *Gakenke* (81.3%), *Rulindo* (82.7%), *Nyagatare* (86.9%), *Gatsibo* (87.5%), and *Karongi* (89.7%), respectively, rank among the districts with a comparative low score, though very positive too, regarding citizens' individual commitment do die instead of engaging in divisions and/or genocide.

With regard to *whether there are Rwandans who still view themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses*, the figure below also shows empirical findings per district.

Figure 14: Citizens' opinions, per district, on 'there are Rwandans who still view themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses

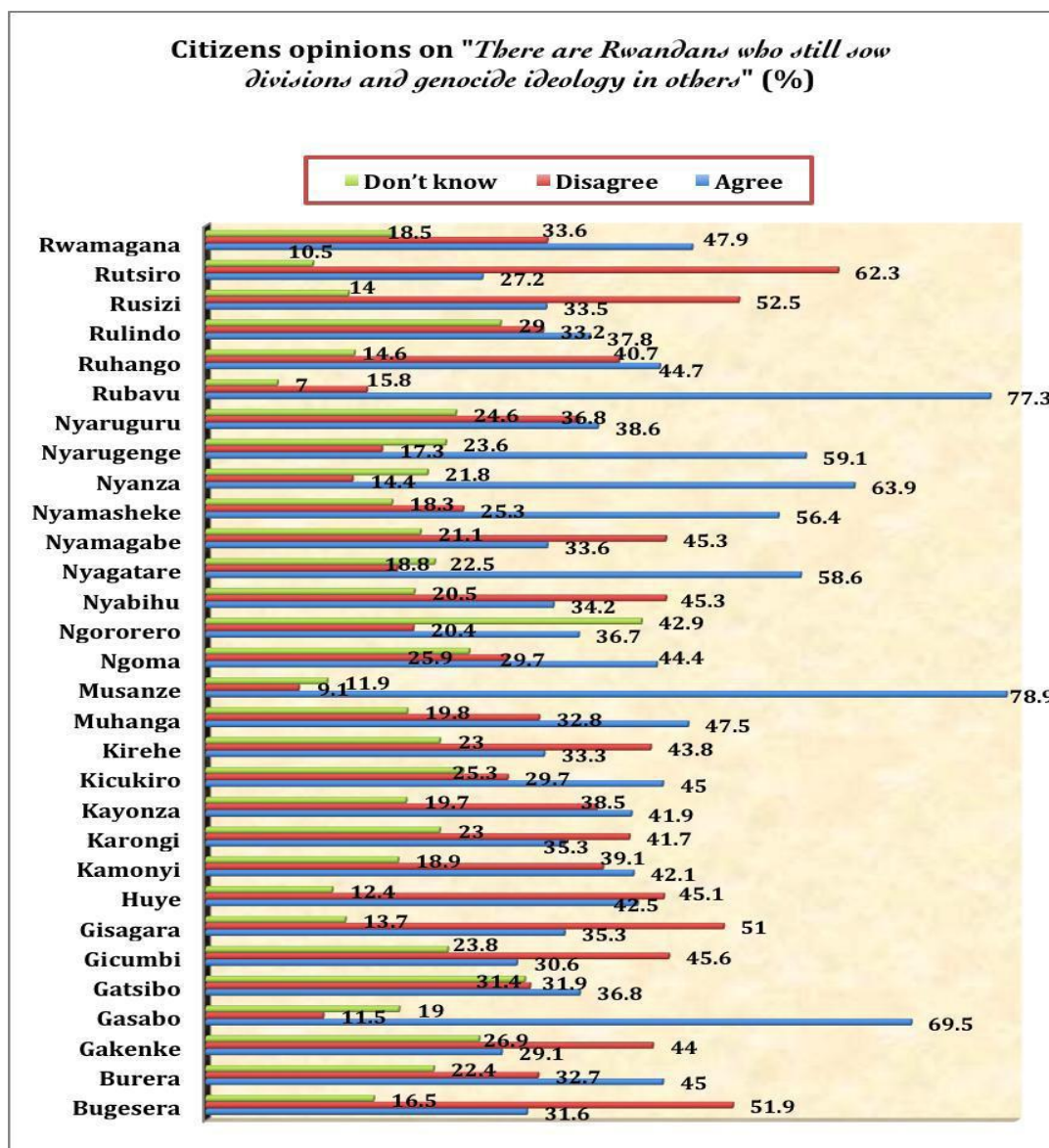


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the findings presented in the above figure indicate, Musanze leads the districts that registered a high score (79.2%) with regard to the assumption that there are citizens still viewing themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses. Other leading districts point to Gasabo (74.6%), Rubavu (74.4%), and Nyarugenge (70.6%). The districts of Ruhango, Nyanza (67.1%), and Nyagatare (64.7%) also registered high scores. On a positive note, Rutsiro (26.7%) and Gakenke (29.9%) emerged on a lower score, whereby there is comparatively less perception of citizens viewing themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses.

Concerning the assumption that *there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others*, findings per district are portrayed in the figure below.

Figure 15: Citizens' opinions, per district, on 'there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others'



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As shown in the above figure, findings per district reveal again that Musanze (78.9%) leads the districts where there are *Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others*, are. Again, the districts of Rubavu (77.3%) and Gasabo (69.5%) come at the second place. The district of Rutsiro leads the districts where divisions and genocide ideology are less perceived, comparatively (27.2%).

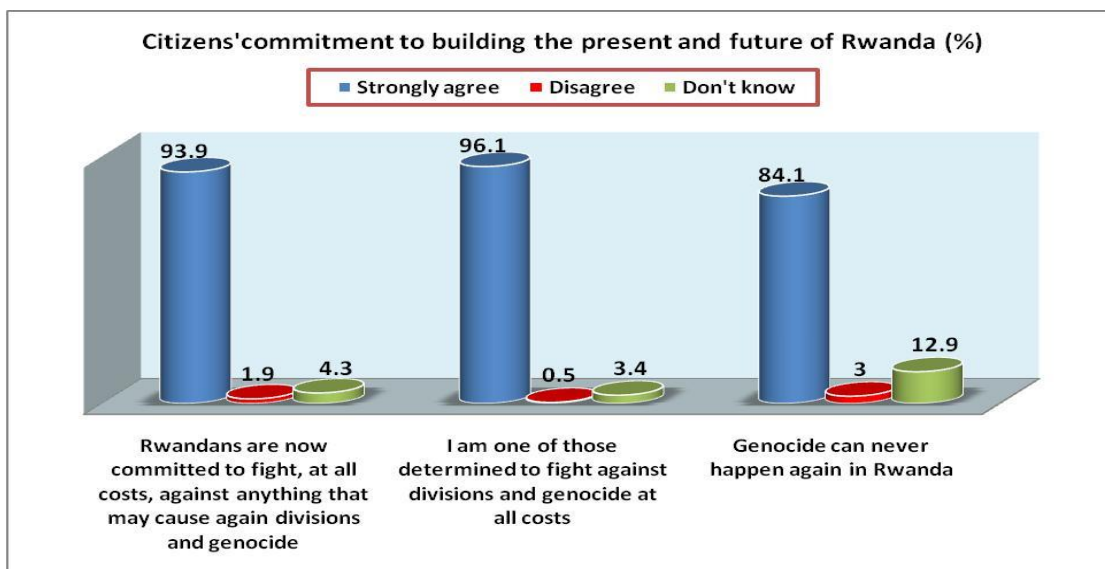
In view of the above two figures, it is clear that Musanze remains the leading district, followed by Rubavu and Gasabo districts, where *citizens still view each other through ethnic lenses* and where *citizens still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others*. Conversely, Rutsiro (27.2%) and Gakenke (29.1%) districts emerged on a positive note.

Bearing in mind all the above discussions, let us now get to Rwandans' views on whether Rwandans are committed or not to build the present and future of their country. This is what the next subsection is all about.

2.3.4. Commitment to building the present and envisioning the future

Rwandans' high level of understanding about the causes/factors of the divisions and the 1994 genocide against Tutsi is also manifested in the way they are committed to building the present and envision the future of Rwanda. Findings in this regard are portrayed in the figures below.

Figure 16: Citizens' commitment to building the present and future of Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As findings presented in the above figure indicate, the majority of Rwandans (93.9%) are strongly committed to fight, at all costs, against anything that may again cause divisions and genocide. This is indeed also manifested in the fact that, as the figure also shows, 96% of Rwandans strongly indicated that they are among those determined to fight against divisions and genocide at all costs. Illustrative testimonies, in this regard, read:

“We need to have a brighter nation in the future and we do not want again to see what happened [divisions and genocide] in the past.” (A student of TTC Save, Gisagara district)

“People sharing the same country should fight for its development. If they are not united, they cannot get developed. I can say that the glue that bonds them is that they share the same country; this drives them toward building it instead of destroying it.” (A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

“This is why all of us go to Ingando and Itorero ry’igihugu for example. I personally have participated in all of them. I can tell you that I am committed to do my best to fight for reconciliation in Rwanda. We do not want that our country returns back into darkness.” (A citizen from the Centre des Jeunes de Gatenga, Kicukiro district).

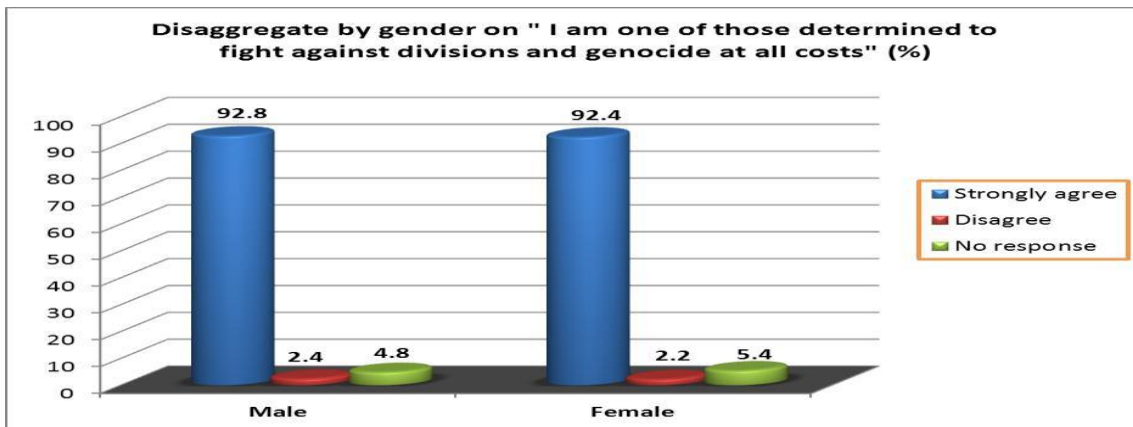
A disaggregate by age groups and gender also portrays that both male and female are equally committed to fight against divisions and the genocide. This is what the next figures show, respectively.

Figure 17: Citizens' level of determination to fight against divisions and the genocide disaggregated by age groups



The above figure indicates that Rwandans, of all ages, are more or less equally determined to fight against any divisions and genocide.

Figure 18: Citizens' level of determination to fight against divisions and the genocide disaggregated by gender



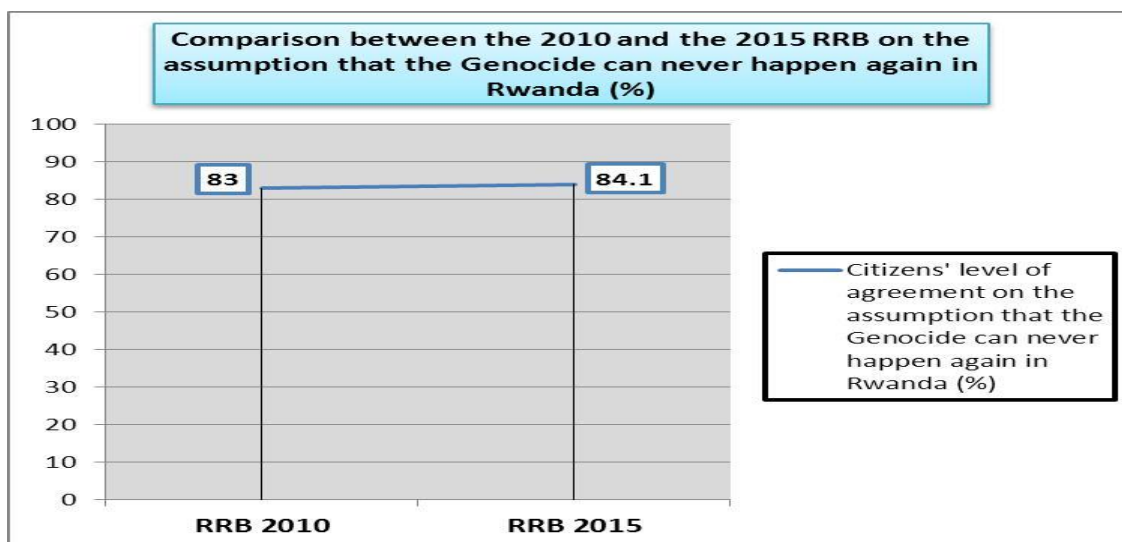
The above findings indicate that both male and female Rwandans are equally committed, at 92.8% and 92.4%, respectively, to fight against divisions and the genocide.

Consequently, Rwandans' high level of commitment is also evidenced in the fact that, as the figure 16 shows, 84.1% of Rwandans strongly indicated that *genocide can never happen again in Rwanda*. It is worth emphasizing that a considerable percentage of Rwandans (12.9%) indicating that they did not know anything about this.

Findings, presented in figure 16, indicate that there has been a slight improvement in the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda given that the findings of the 2010 Rwanda reconciliation

Barometer (RRB) had indicated that 83% of Rwandans felt that the genocide can happen again in Rwanda,⁵¹ as shown in the graph below.

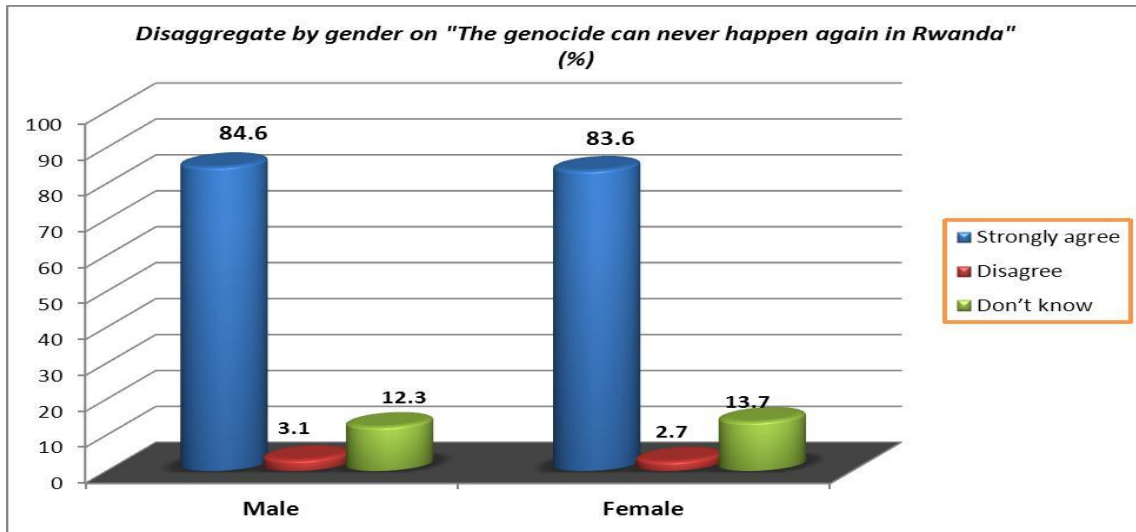
Graph 3: *Comparing the 2010 RRB and the 2015 RRB on whether the Genocide can never happen again in Rwanda*



Empirical findings, disaggregated by gender, also strongly show that both Rwandan male and female equally emphasize that the genocide to never happen again in Rwanda, as indeed presented in the figure below.

⁵¹ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.41

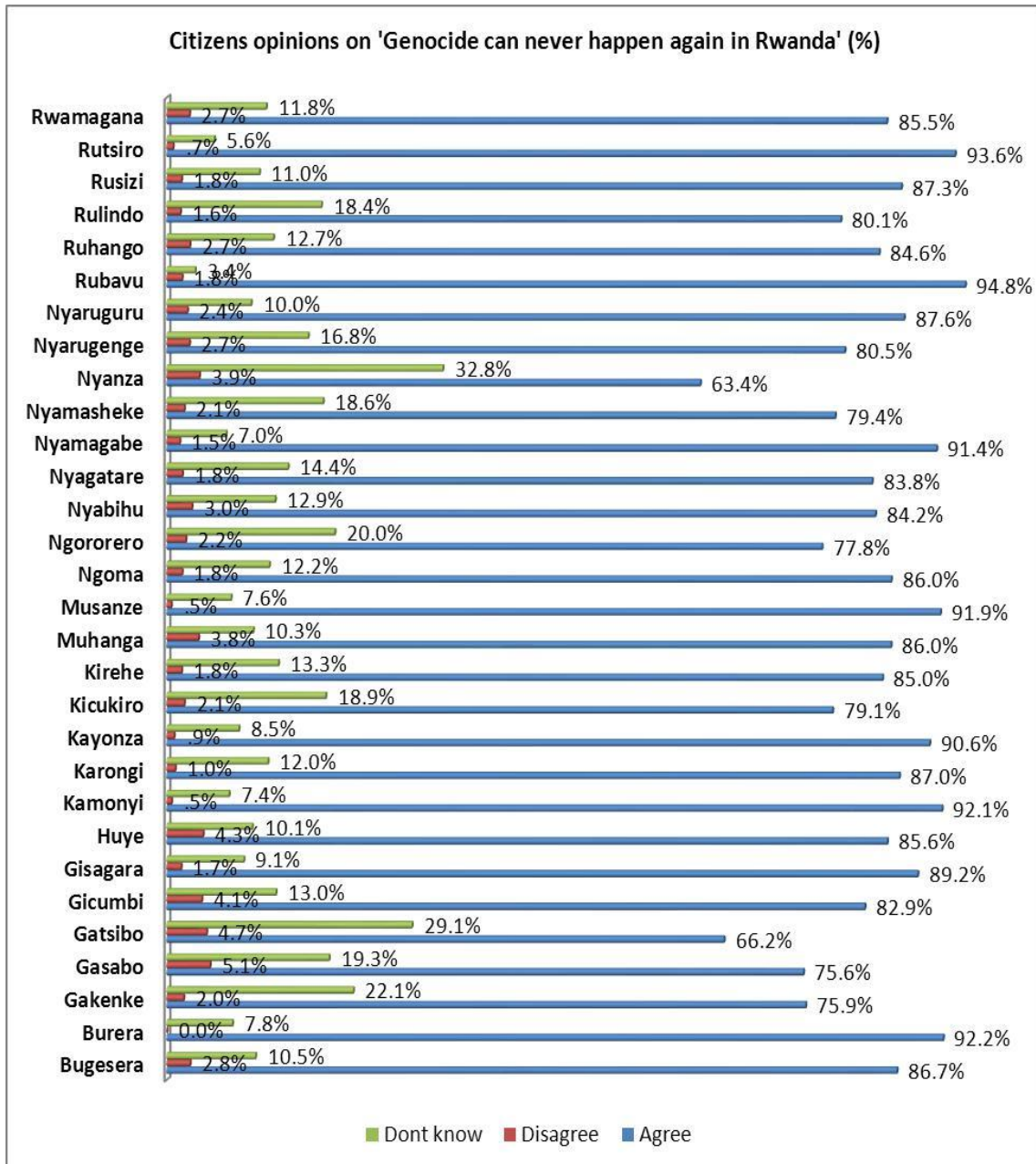
Figure 19: Citizens' opinions on the consideration that the genocide can never happen again in Rwanda (disaggregate by gender)



The above findings, disaggregated by gender, show that both Rwandan male and female equally, at 84.6% and 83.6%, respectively, strongly agree with the consideration that the genocide can never happen again in Rwanda. It is worth emphasizing that 12.3% and 13.7% indicated that they did not know anything, in this regard, respectively.

Bearing in mind the above, let us also present citizens' perceptions, per district, on the consideration that the genocide can never happen again in Rwanda.

Figure 20: Citizens' opinions, per district, on 'genocide can never happen again in Rwanda'



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure indicates, Rwandans in most of the districts stress that genocide can never happen again in Rwanda. A comparative low percentage of some citizens of the districts of respectively Nyanza (63.4%) and Gatsibo (66.2%) are with the assumption that the genocide cannot happen again in Rwanda. This is apparently explained by the fact that these districts registered a relatively high level of Rwandans (32.8% 29.1% respectively), who did not express themselves in this regard.

2.3.5. Summary on “Understanding the past and envisioning the future of Rwanda”

On basis of the above findings that indicated considerable improvements in reconciliation in Rwanda, on the variable related to ‘Understanding the past, present, and envisioning the future’, the table below provides the quantitative averages summary, in this regard..

Table 4: Average on “Understanding the past, present and future of Rwanda”

INDICATORS	%
<i>Understanding of facts about the past of Rwanda</i>	
1. Major issues about the causes/factors of divisions in the history of Rwandans have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda	92.2
2. The causes/factors of Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda have been frankly 91.3 discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda	
<i>History teaching</i>	
3. The way history was taught before 1994 in Rwanda created divisions that led to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda	91.7
4. After the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the way history is being taught and understood reconciles Rwandans	95.3
<i>Commitment to reconciliation</i>	
5. There are Rwandans who would prefer to die instead of committing genocide or dividing Rwandans	89.7
6. I am one of those who would prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions or genocide	92.6
<i>Building the Present and Envisioning the future</i>	
7. Rwandans are now committed to fight, at all costs, against anything that may 93.6 again cause divisions and genocide	
8. I am one of those determined to fight against divisions and genocide at all costs	96.1
9. Genocide can never happen again in Rwanda	84.1
AVERAGE	91.8

The above table indicates the very positive current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, with regard to the variable related to ‘Understanding the past, present and envisioning the future, which is at 91.8%..

2.4. CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

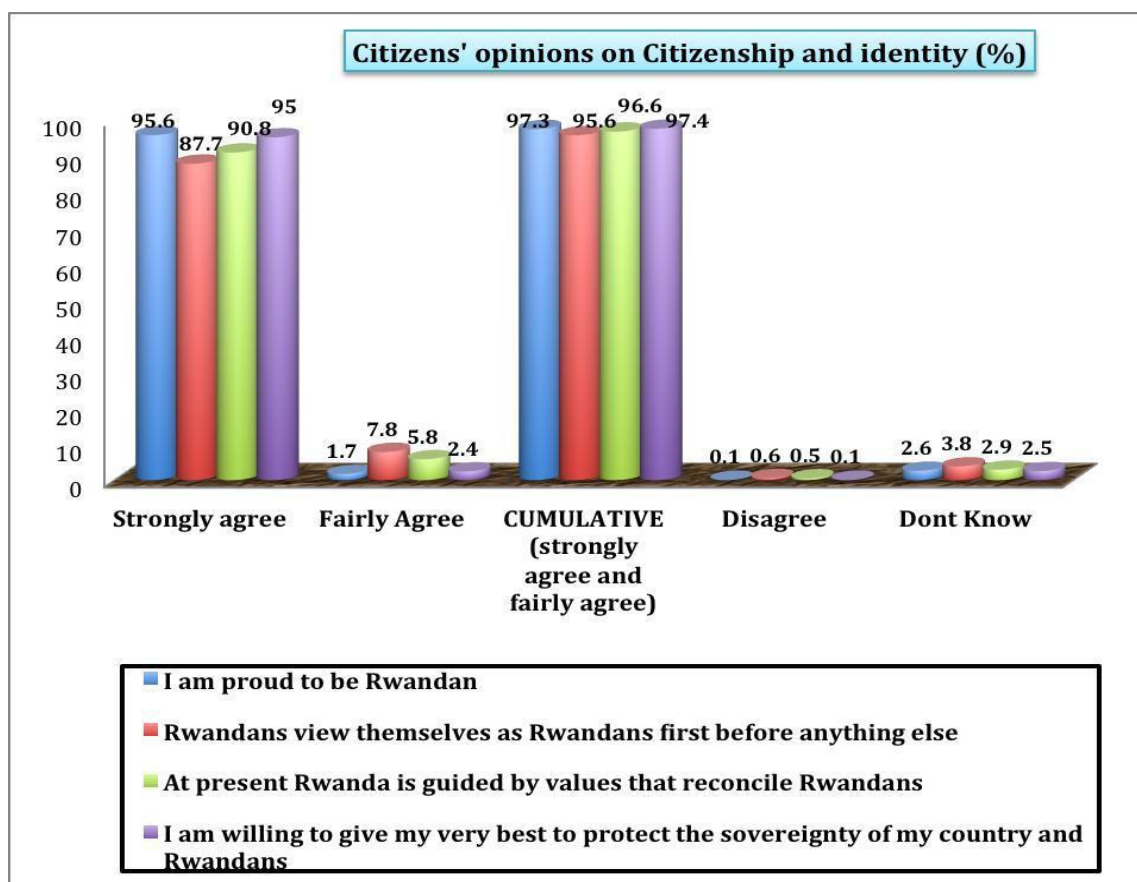
The assessment of reconciliation, with regard to the variable on citizenship and identity, pointed to the way Rwandans consider these aspects in relation to reconciliation.

2.4.1. Citizenship and identity toward reconciliation in Rwanda

“There is a relationship between national identity and reconciliation because when citizens have the same national identity, this makes them feel that they are the same, as ‘Rwandans’, and live aside any form of divisionism. Furthermore, a national identity allows people to eliminate ethnic divisions and suspicion among them and collaborate in solving their problems for their development as Rwandans.” (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

The theoretical connection between citizenship and identity had suggested that *the more there is shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship, the more the promotion of reconciliation is likely to succeed.* Therefore, the values that currently drive Rwandans, the way Rwandans view themselves, and their commitment, with regard to citizenship and identity were the aspects at the core of the assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. In connection with the above-leading testimony, the figure below provides empirical findings, in this regard.

Figure 21: Rwandans’ opinions on ‘citizenship and identity’

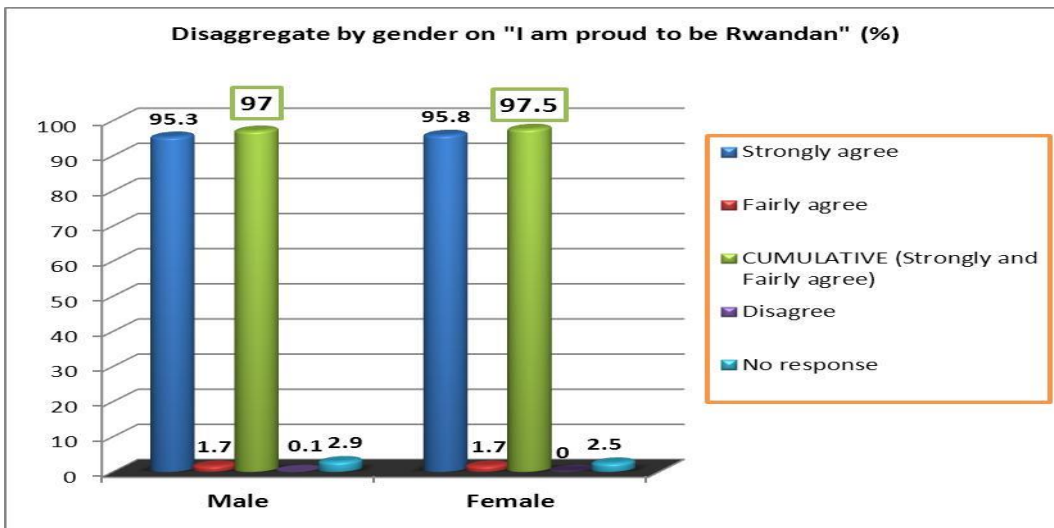


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As findings, presented in the above figure indicate, *there is shared sense of national identity and inclusive citizenship in Rwanda*, which considerably promotes reconciliation among Rwandans.

This is evidenced in the fact that 97.3% of Rwandans (where 95.6% strongly agree and 1.7% agree) indicate that *they are proud to be Rwandans*. Programs such as Ndi Umunyarwanda and Itorero ry'igihugu, which promote unity among Rwandans and values that are reconciliatory, are among the leading factors emphasized by Rwandans as having instilled Rwandans to be proud of their country. Findings in this regard, disaggregated by gender are also worth putting, as the figure below indeed portrays.

Figure 22: Citizens' level of pride of being Rwandan (disaggregated by gender)



These findings, disaggregated by gender, strongly show that both Rwandan male and female equally emphasize, at 97% and 97.5%, respectively, that they are proud to be Rwandans.

Illustrative testimonies on citizens' pride to be Rwandans are indeed worth putting:

"We are Rwandans; we do not view each other through ethnic lenses or anything else",
(A student of Groupe Scolaire Don Bosco, Nyamagabe district)

*"Had we well known the resemblance that binds us,
which is Rwandanness
(Ubunyarwanda), more than a minion people of innocent Tutsi wouldn't have been killed."*
(A prisoner for genocide crimes, Nyakiliba prison, Rubavu district)

"When a person feels that s/he has a Rwandan identity, this helps him/her to reconcile with his /her fellow Rwandan as he/she understands that they are one, they share the same history and culture... This is actually what Ndi Umunyarwanda program is instilling in us." (A student of Groupe Scolaire Don de Dieu, Kamonyi district)

"We have a national identity which makes us, as citizens, feel that we are the same. No reconciliation can take place when people are still having divisions" (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

“Ubunyarwanda [Rwandanness] comes before reconciliation. It is the foundation of reconciliation.” (A prisoner for genocide crimes in Mpanga prison, Nyanza district)

“After having realized and accepted that I am a ‘citizen’, this makes me feel as united with others with whom we share citizenship. If I realize that I am Rwandan and you too realize that,

then we can realize that we are one, and we can thus work toward the shared vision”. (A citizen from IPRC Vocational training, Musanze district)

“Citizenship is strongly connected with reconciliation because, if you look very well, before colonizers arrive, Rwandans were united; they could see each other as citizens instead of Hutu or Tutsi. This [unity around citizenship] enabled them to unite and none of them could feel as being a foreigner. This is actually what Itorero ry’igihugu is restoring because if everyone feels him/herself as Rwandan, reconciliation becomes possible.” (A student of APARUDE secondary school, Ruhango district)

In connection with the above accounts, empirical findings presented in the figure 20 also indicate that 95.6% of Rwandans (where 87.7% strongly agree and 7.8% agree) asserted that *Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else*, which promotes reconciliation. The mechanisms that have contributed to this great improvement (including *Ndi Umunyarwanda* , *Itorero ry’igihugu*, etc.) are presented later in figure 61. Illustrative testimonies in this regard read:

“Having a national identity, a shared vision and culture consolidated the social bonds. There is neither Muhutu, Mututsi nor Mutwa; we are all one and we share everything.”

(A graduate from Justice and Peace forum of Mushaka Parish, Rusizi district)

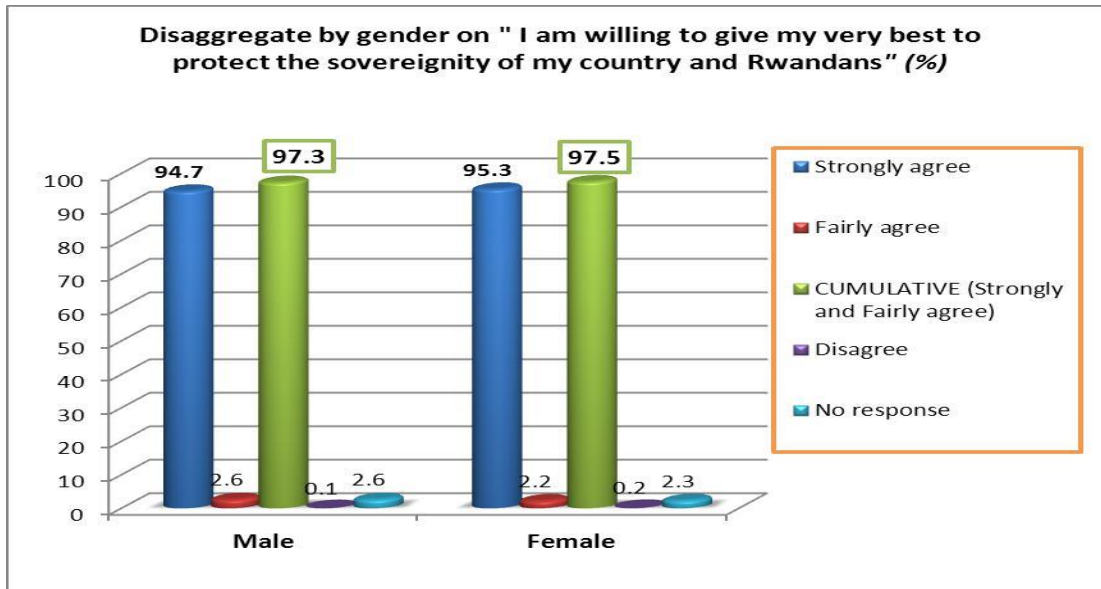
“Before a 1994, Rwandans viewed themselves along ethnic lines; nowadays, because of Ndi Umunyarwanda program, every Rwandan feels as Rwandan first irrespective of where s/he comes from.” (A student of Groupe Scolaire St Joseph of Kagyu, Muhanga district)

“There is a close relationship [between national identity and reconciliation] because when people feel that they share same nationality it makes them understand that what can bring consequences to one can also impact the other since they share same nation/ country.” (A member of Peacemakers of EPR, Remera–Rukoma, Kamonyi district)

Having a national identity fosters reconciliation in that it allows people to emphasize on what they have in common (bad or good) and less focus on what makes them different. (A member of Ukuri Kuganze association, Bugesera district)

In addition to Rwandans' accounts, the indication that a shared identity promotes reconciliation is indeed evidence in the fact that 97.4% of Rwandans (where 95% strongly agree and 2.4% agree) indicated that they *are willing to give their very best to protect the sovereignty of their country—Rwanda—and their compatriots—Rwandans.*

Figure 23: Citizens' level of willingness to do their best to protect their country and Rwandans (disaggregate by gender)



The above findings, disaggregated by gender, thus strongly show that both Rwandan male and female equally emphasize, at 97.3 and 97.5%, respectively, while willing to give their very best to protect the sovereignty of Rwandans and Rwandans.

As also shown in figure 20, the importance of citizenship and national identity toward reconciliation is indeed strengthened by favorable values. In this regard, the above figure shows that Rwandans totaling 96.6% (where 90.8% strongly agree and 5.8% agree) stress that at present, *Rwanda is guided by values that reconcile Rwandans*. Illustrative testimonies, with regard to the importance of Rwanda's favorable values and culture to reconciliation, read:

“We have shared values as Rwandans; and even those who are abroad should understand that we are Rwandans, which gives us value of Rwandan’s because Rwandans, we are one; we are no longer divided through ethnicity; we have the same name of Umunyarwanda (Rwandan).” (A member of Abaharanira Amahoro association, Burera district)

“The Rwandan culture helps us. Actually had not been that culture, reconciliation wouldn’t have been easily promoted. Unity requires the uniting culture that had characterized Rwandans in the past. So restoring that culture which had no intrigues, killings, etc. is important. Therefore the Rwandan culture helps Rwandans to successfully reconcile.” (A member of Abaharanira Amahoro association, Burera district)

“Shared values constitute a very important ingredient in reconciliation because there have been divisions that led to the genocide, as Rwandans had ignored their values. So shared values help people to avoid evil and strive toward what is good; and this indeed makes them feel as one because they realize that there are things that they share and which are beneficial to their lives.” (A student of Groupe Scolaire Bumba, Rutsiro district)

The above findings, indicating how much citizenship and identity contribute to reconciliation in Rwanda, are a result of unifying and reconciliatory values (such as integrity, honesty, equality, patriotism, and the like) that Rwanda has promoted in a number of mechanisms, such as Ndi Umunyarwanda and Itorero ry'Igihugu, Ingando, reconciliation clubs, etc.

It is worth emphasizing that the *Ndi Umunyarwanda* (Rwandanness) program, which was launched on November 8th, 2013 and being based on having open dialogue, was referred to, by Rwandans, as heavily reconciling Rwandans. It is actually aimed at critically examining Rwanda's history toward shaping a bright future in a way that looks beyond what divided Rwandans so as to have a nation built on trust and accountability and unity, telling the truth, repentance, forgiveness and healing to strengthen the culture of.⁵²

The *“Itorerory'Igihugu”* programme (thereafter to as *“Itorero ry'Igihugu”* known as 'Civic Education Academy) Established in 2007, is also cited at another reconciliatory program. Itorero ry'igihugu is a homegrown initiative inspired by the Rwandan culture. It was a traditional Rwandan school or center that was used to instill moral values and actions, and capacity to deal with ones problems.⁵³ The *Itorero ry'Igihugu* strives to harness Rwandans and support them in promoting (1) high levels of social cohesion/engagement, (2) values that help to promote positive attributes toward responsible and productive citizens, (3) high levels of patriotism, and (4) high levels of awareness on unity and reconciliation, among others. The values at the core of *Itorero ry'igihugu* are: *unity, patriotism, selflessness, integrity, responsibility, volunteerism, and humility.*

⁵² (Jeanne Byaje, Deputy Permanent Representative Of Rwanda to the United Nations 8TH Session of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals Conflict Prevention, Post-Conflict Peace building and Promotion of Durable Peace, Rule of Law and Governance Please Check Against Delivery New York, February 7th 2014 Available at: <http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/6668rwanda.pdf>)

⁵³ NURC, 2014. Available at: <http://www.nurc.gov.rw/index.php?id=77>

2.4.2. Summary on ‘‘Citizenship and Identity’’

On basis of the above findings it is noted that indicated considerable improvements in reconciliation in Rwanda, concerning the variable related to citizenship and identity, the table below provides the quantitative average summary, in this regard.

Table 5: Average on ‘‘Citizenship and Identity’’ in Rwanda

INDICATORS	%
1. I am proud to be Rwandan	97.3
2. Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else	95.6
3. At present Rwanda is guided by values that reconcile Rwandans	96.6
4. I am willing to give my very best to protect the sovereignty of my country and Rwandans	97.4
AVERAGE	96.7

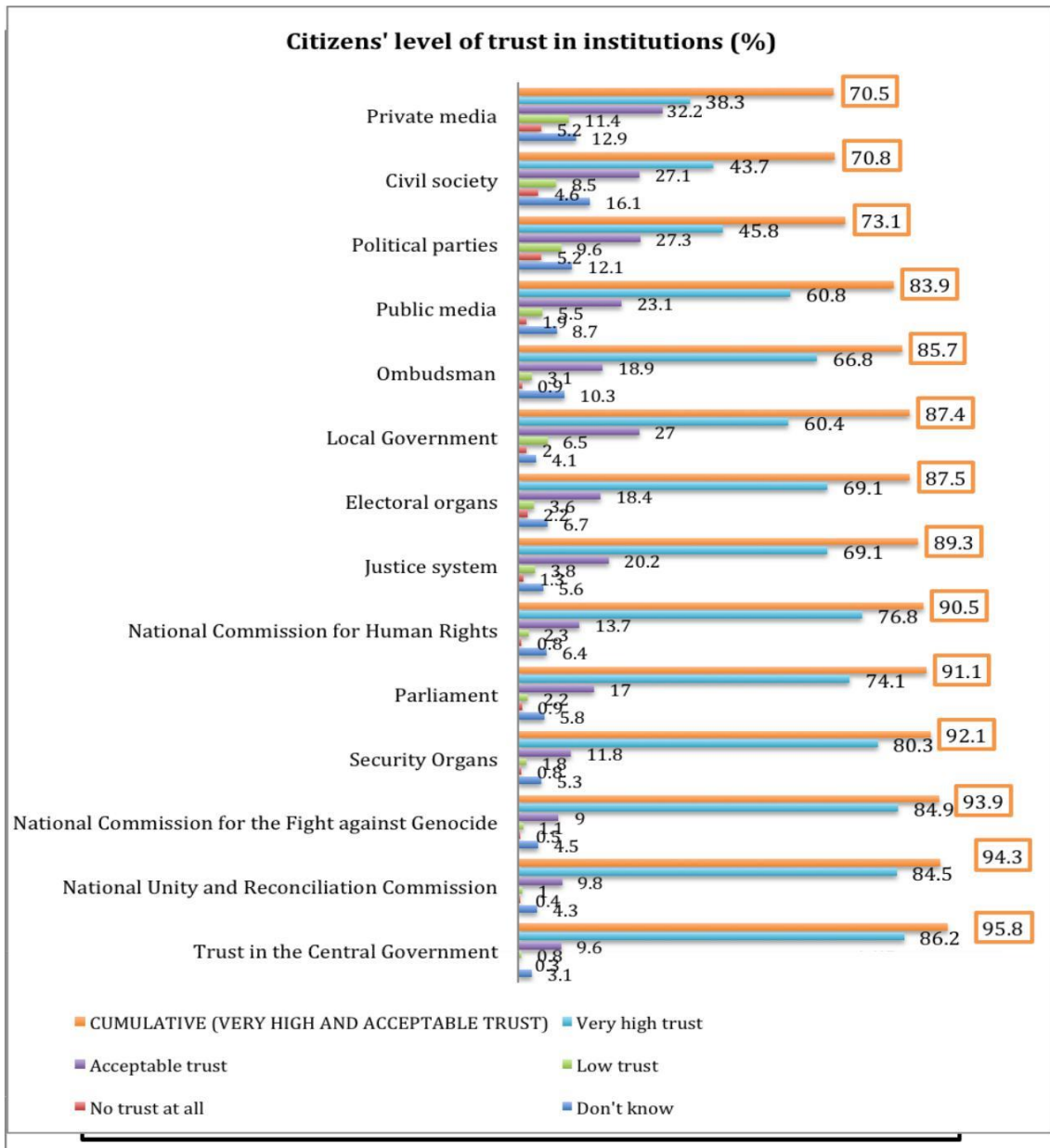
2.5. POLITICAL CULTURE

The assessment of ‘‘political culture’’, as another variable of reconciliation, is about trust or confidence that citizens have concerning the governance of their country, notably the institutions and the leaders. The hypothesis in this regard is that ‘if citizens view political structures, institutions, and leadership as legitimate and effective, national reconciliation is more likely to occur.’

2.5.1. Trust in institutions

As findings portrayed in the figure below indicate, citizens generally trust their institutions, whereby public ones receive a comparative high confidence. In this regard, trust in the Central Government scored high in comparison with other institutions. The figure below presents empirical findings in this regard.

Figure 24: Citizens' level of trust in institutions in Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Empirical findings portrayed in the above figure indicate that citizens expressed high confidence in public institutions in comparison with private institutions, namely the media, civil society and political parties. In this regard, the Central Government/Cabinet scored higher (95.8%), which is an improvement as the 2010 RRB findings had indicated the score of 92.4%.⁵⁴

Other institutions that also scored high include the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide that scored 93.9%, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (94.3%), and security organs (92.1%). The public institution that comparatively scored lower is the Local Government (87.4%), which however portrays a significant improvement given that the 2010 RRB

⁵⁴ NURC (2010).Ibid., p.22

findings had indicated the score of 84%.⁵⁵ Comparatively, private institutions, namely the private media, the civil society, and political parties scored lower (70.5%, 70.8% and 73.1%, respectively). Illustrative testimonies with regard to all the above are worth putting.

“Yes, I have something to say; governance institutions are helping us to reconcile but the Government performs its responsibilities better than other institutions; the districts, sectors, cells and villages, have also improved.” (A citizen from IPRC Vocational training, Musanze district).

We strongly trust our Government because it has provided us with good governance that has contributed to development in various domains. Poverty has been reduced, we access health care, our children are educated without any discrimination, and there are programs intended to lift people out of poverty (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

From what we hear, Rwandans have trust in their Government and the Security organs.” (A prisoner for genocide crimes in Mpanga prison, Nyanza district)

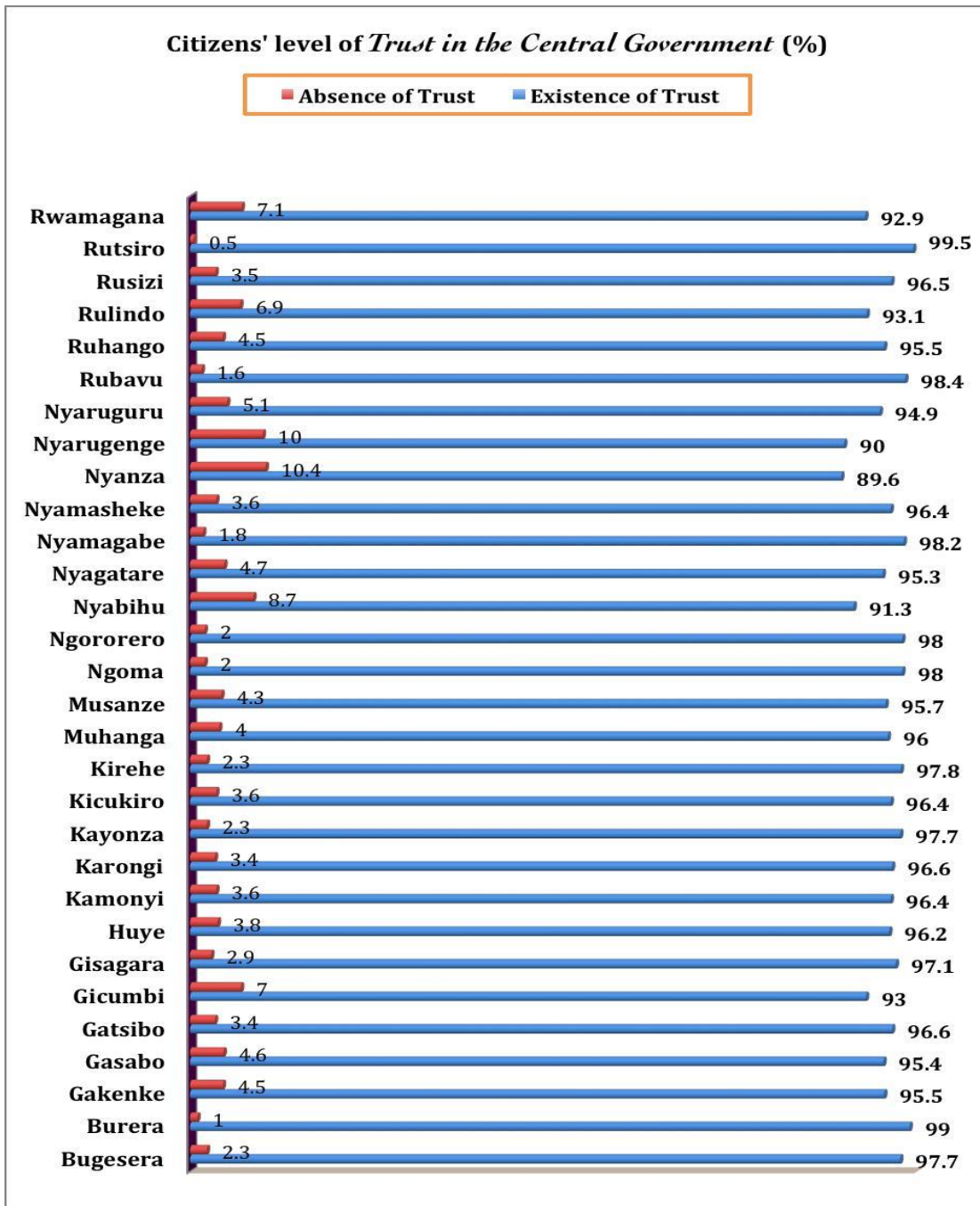
“Most of Rwandans have very high trust in the Government and security organs; actually we trust the President of the Republic, like at 98%. Otherwise, trust in local government is also there but there is need to continue improving the quality of service delivery.”

(A member of Garuka Urebe association, Kayonza district)

⁵⁵ NURC (2010).Ibid., p.22

In view of the above, there is need to also explore how the situation is per district. This is what the next figures portray, respectively.

Figure 25: Citizens' level of trust in the Central Government of Rwanda, per district

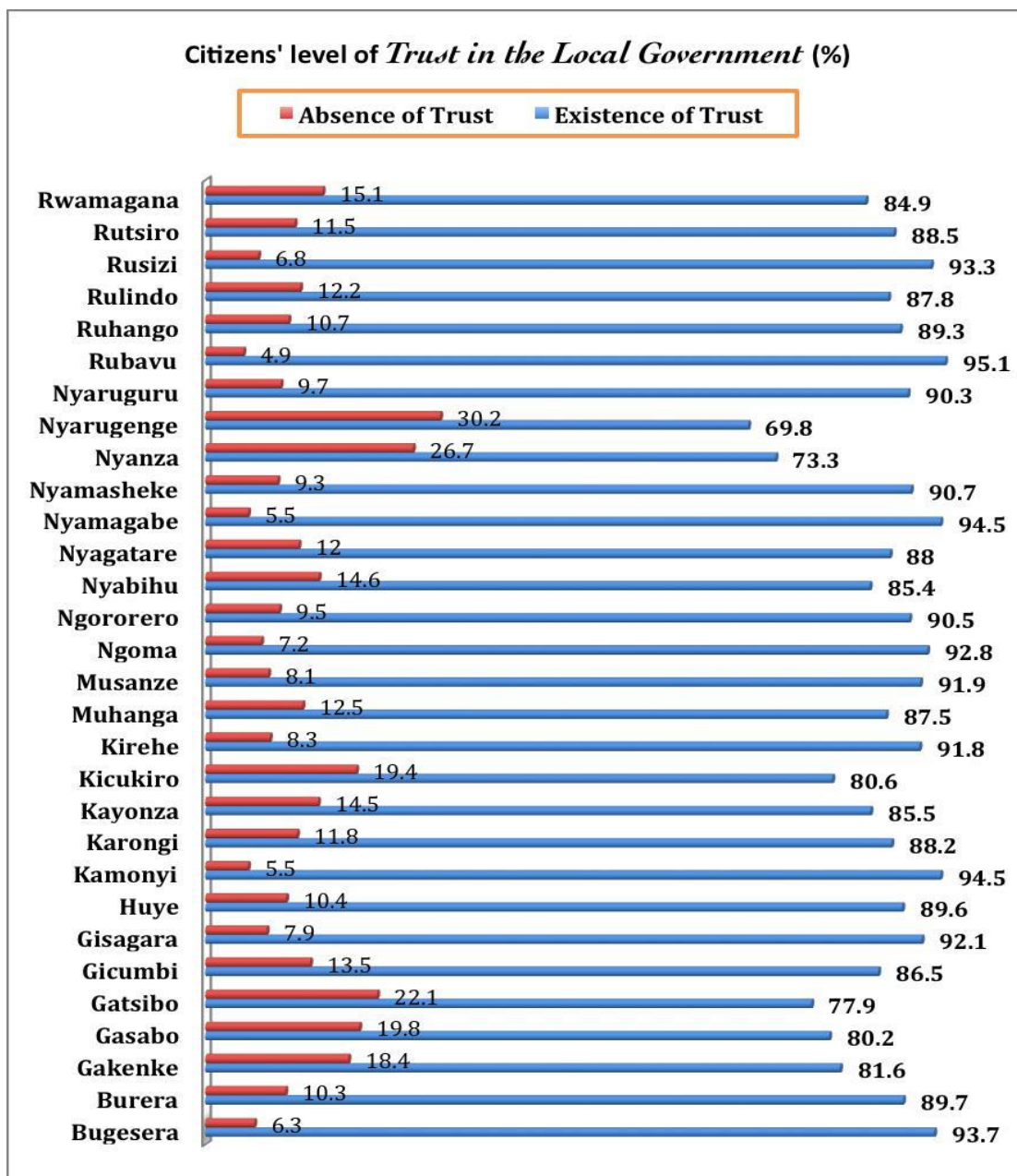


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Findings, portrayed in the above figure, indicate that in all districts, citizens expressed a high trust in the Central Government, more or less equally. Comparatively, Rutsiro district comes first with 99.5%. Other districts that take a lead in trusting the Central Government include Burera (99%) Rubavu (98.4%), Nyamagabe (98.2%), as well as Ngoma and Ngororero (98%).

Comparatively, Nyanza (89.6%) and Nyarugenge (90%) and are the districts that have expressed the least regarding the level of trust in the Central Government, although their scores are also very high in percentage.

Figure 26: Citizens' level of trust in the local government of Rwanda, per district



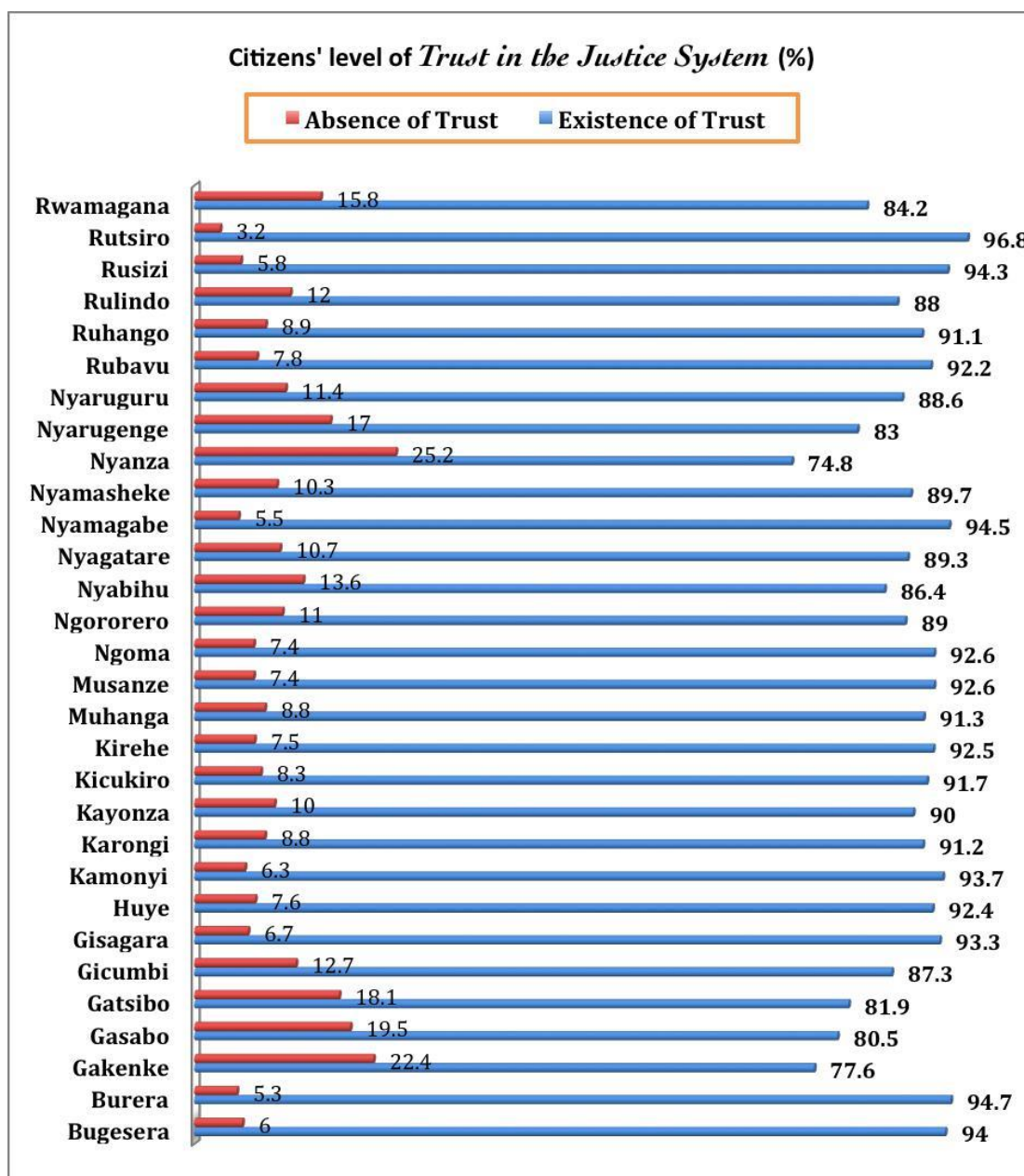
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

The above figure indicates that, generally, there is a high level of confidence in the local government, whereby the district that scored higher is Rubavu (95.1%). Other districts that also scored higher, comparatively, include Kamonyi and Nyamagabe (94.5%), Bugesera (93.7%), and Rusizi (93.3%).

Conversely, the district that comparatively expressed the relatively lowest trust in the Local Governments is Nyarugenge (69.8%) followed by Nyanza (73.3%) and Gatsibo (77.9%).

It is worth emphasizing that, as mentioned above, Nyarugenge and Nyanza are the districts that have also comparatively expressed the least as far as the level of trust in the Central Government is concerned.

Figure 27: Citizens' level of trust in the Justice system in Rwanda, per district

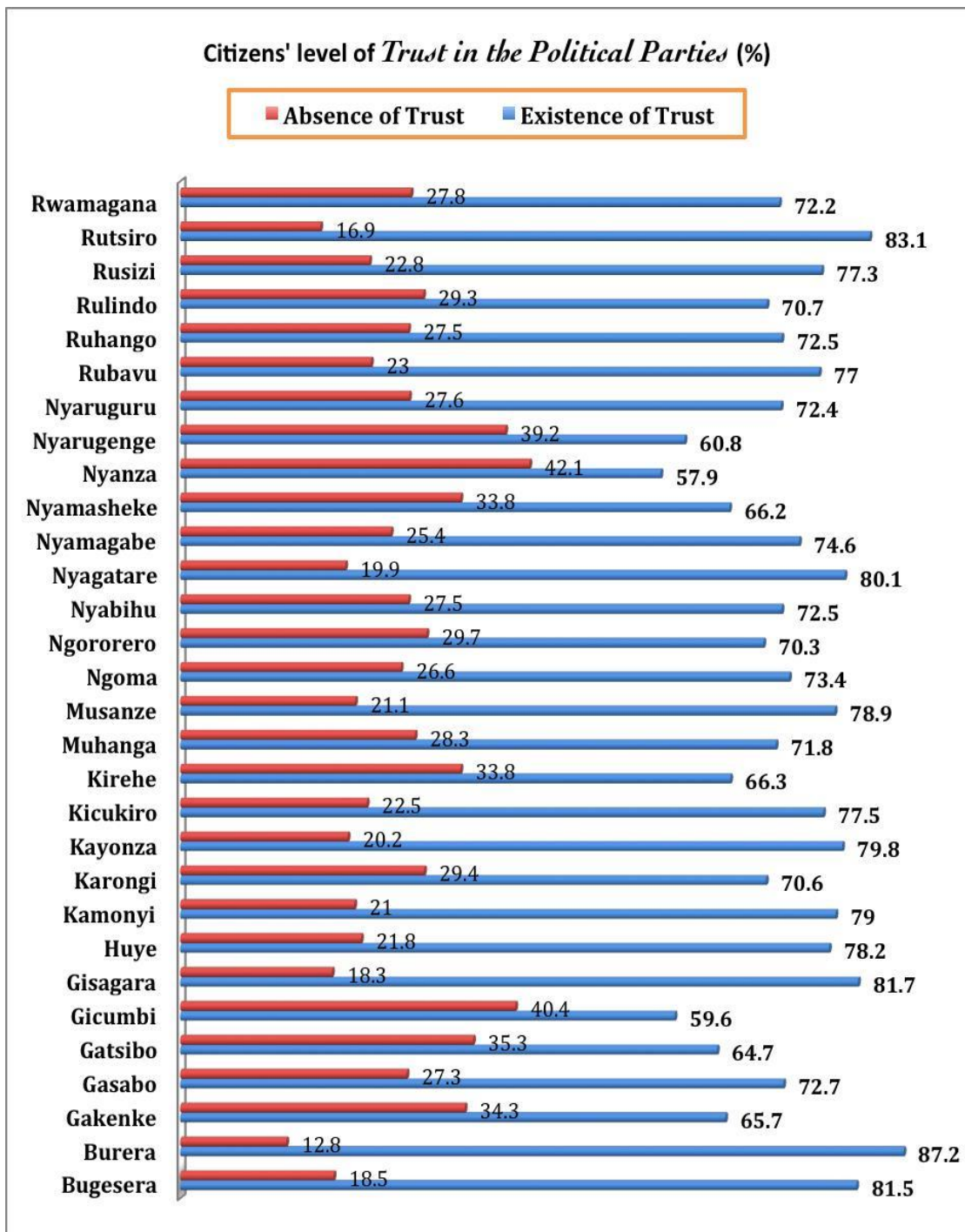


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Findings presented in the above figure indicate that citizens have expressed a high trust in the justice system whereby the district that comparatively scored higher is Rutsiro (96.8%). Note that, as indeed shown in figure 24, Rutsiro district had also taken the lead regarding the level of trust in

the Central Government. Again Nyanza district scores the least, comparatively, with regard to the level of confidence in the justice system.

Figure 28: Citizens' level of trust in Political parties in Rwanda, per district

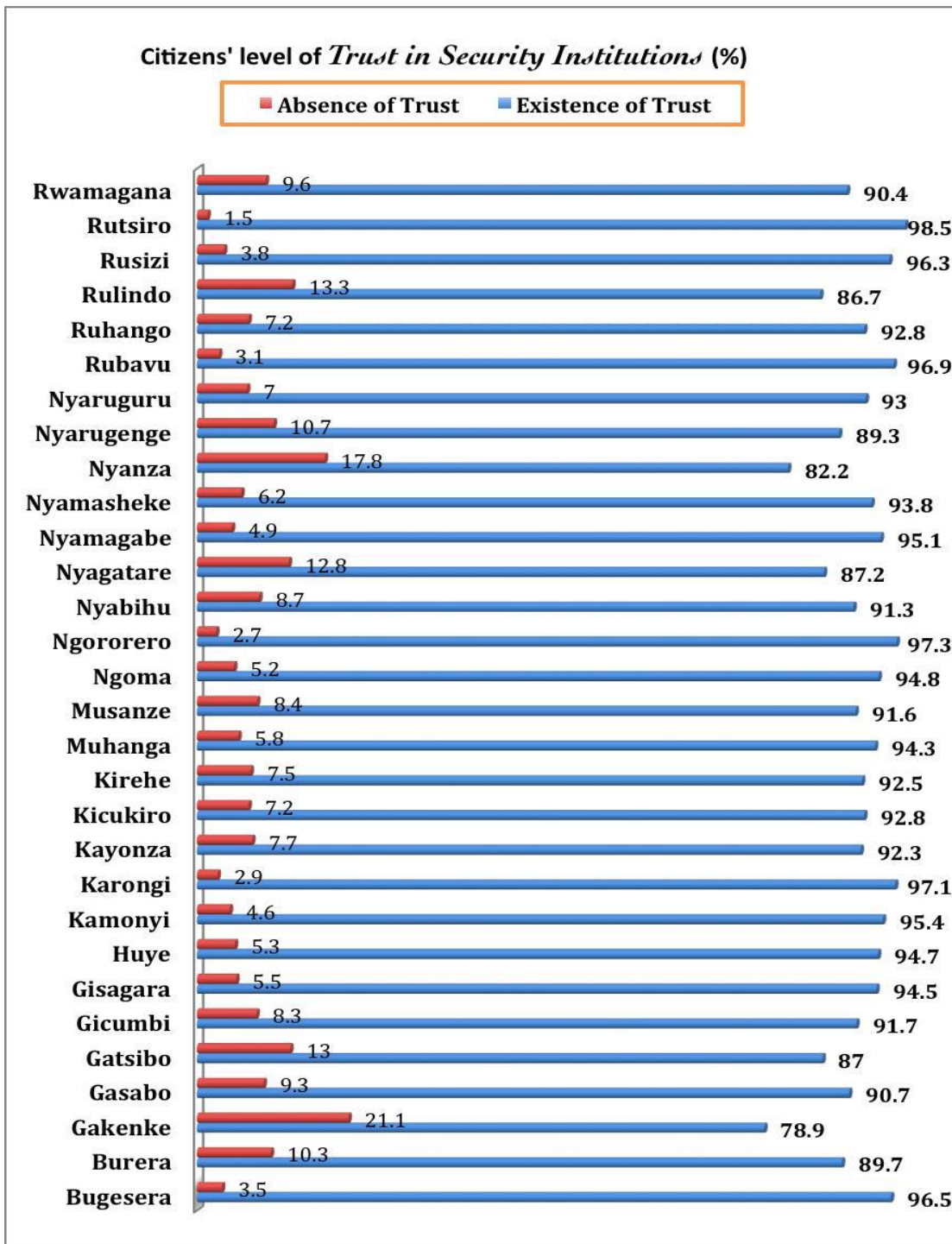


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

The above figure also portrays that there is a relatively positive level of trust in political parties whereby the district that scored higher is Burera (87.2%) followed by Rutsiro (83.1%).

Conversely, the districts that comparatively registered the lowest score on the level of trust in Political parties are Nyanza (57.9%) and Gicumbi (59,6%), respectively.

Figure 29: Citizens' level of trust in Security institutions in Rwanda, per district



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

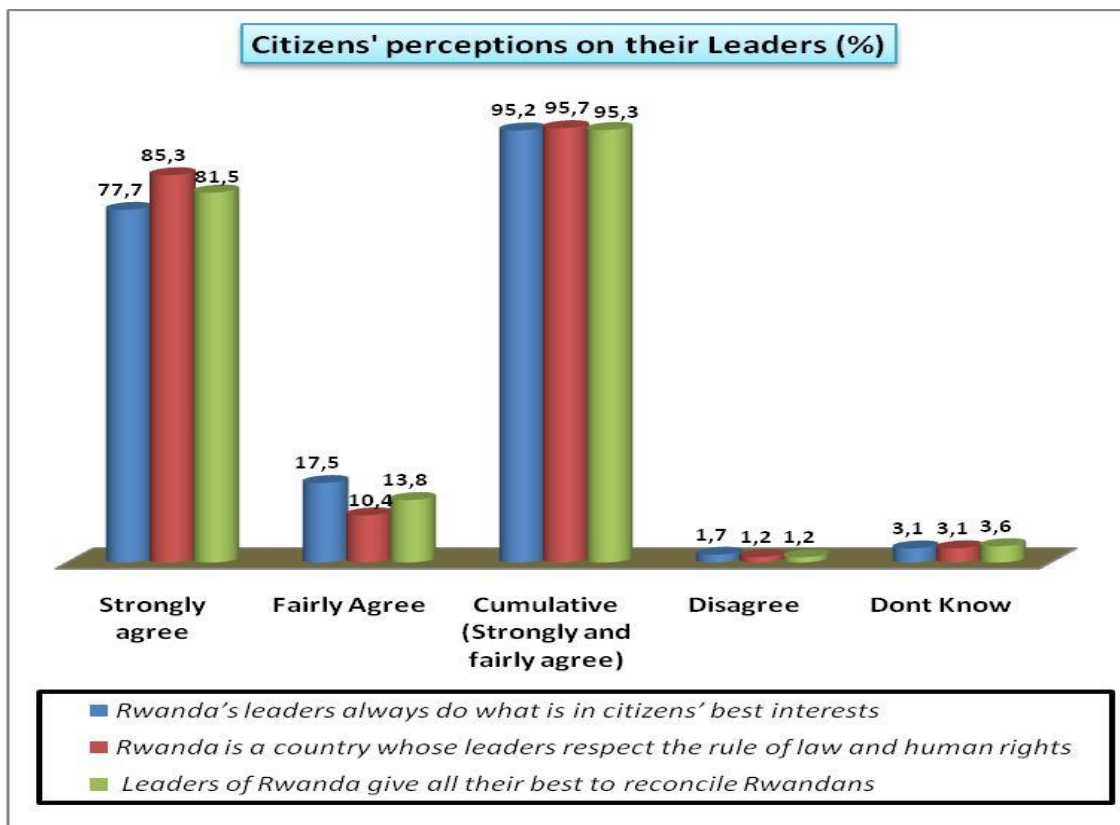
Security organs are currently very highly trusted by Rwandans. As findings presented in the above figure indicate there is a very high level of confidence of citizens toward their security organs whereby the district that scored higher is Rutsiro (98.5%). It is worth emphasizing again

that Rutsiro district had the highest trust in the Central Government and the Justice system. Other districts with the highest level of trust in Security institutions include Ngororero (97.3%) and Karongi (97.1%). Comparatively, Gakenke was the least in scores (78.9%). With the above very high level of confidence in public institutions, let us now get to how consistent empirical findings are, notably regarding citizens level of trust in their leaders.

2.5.2. Citizens' level of confidence in Leaders

Empirical findings indicate that citizens expressed high confidence in their leaders. This is evidenced in the fact that they are satisfied with how the rule of law is respected. They are also satisfied with leaders' high commitment to reconciliation and citizens' best interests. In particular, Rwandans strongly expressed a very high confidence in the President of the Republic, Paul Kagame. Their contentions were based on the fact that whenever their problems are not solved, there is an assurance that when the President of the Republic gets to know them, they will be immediately addressed. The figure below presents citizens' level of confidence in their leaders.

Figure 30: Citizens' level of confidence in Leaders of Rwanda

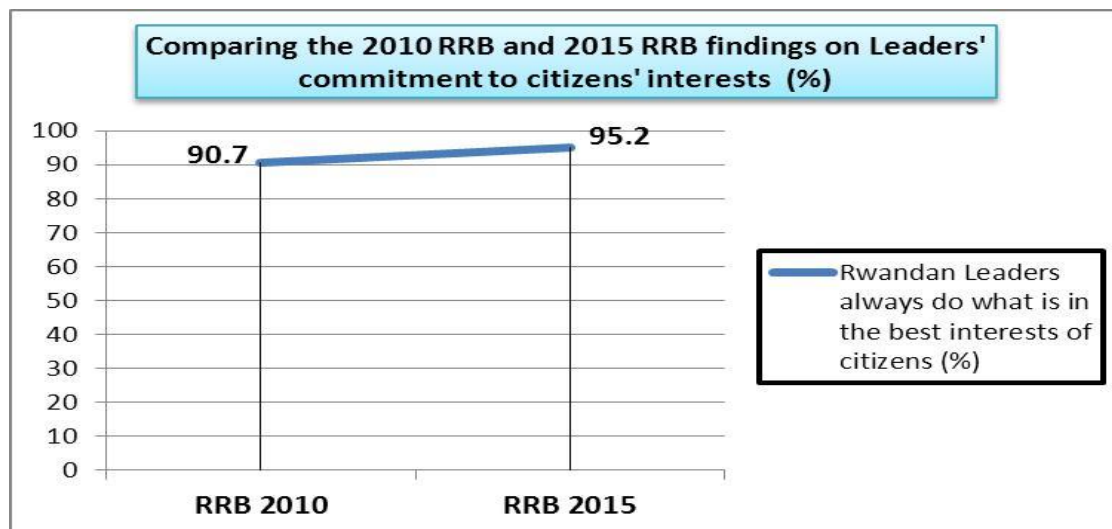


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Findings presented in the above figure indicate that citizens have a very high level of confidence in their leaders. It is in this perspective that 95.2% of Rwandans (where 77.7% strongly agree and 17.5% agree) subscribe to the opinion that *Rwanda's leaders always doing what is in the best interests of citizens.*

These findings indicate a significant improvement because the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that only 90.7% of Rwandans agreed with the above contention.⁵⁶ This is what the graph below indeed shows.

Graph 4: Comparing the 2010 RRB and the 2015 RRB on citizens' level of confidence in their Leaders



The above findings and the comparison between the 2010 RRB and the 2015 RRB findings show a significant improvement with regard to citizens' confidence in their leaders—from 90.7% in 2010 to 95.2% in 2015. Moreover, 95.3% of Rwandans (where 81.5% strongly agree 13.8% agree) stress that leaders of Rwanda give all their best to reconcile Rwandans. Illustrative testimonies, in this regard, are worth putting:

“Hope is there because the current leadership is different from the previous one, because it respects human rights and interests of citizens.”
(A student of Groupe Scolaire Don de Dieu, Kamonyi district)

“When we hear that the President...I mean Kagame; when we get to know that he will visit us, everybody hurries to make sure that s/he expresses his/her queries to him. We know that all our problems will be immediately solved, and even our local leaders shake because they know that their poor performance will be revealed; and you know, our President do not joke; he can't tolerate injustice, this is why we trust him.” (A member of Ukuri Kuganze association, Bugesera)

“...Consequently, the President shall continue to lead us. We shall vote for him again in order show that trust, and in a way of being thankful to him for what he has helped us to achieve” (A member of Peacemakers of EPR Remera –Rukoma, Kamonyi district)

⁵⁶ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.23

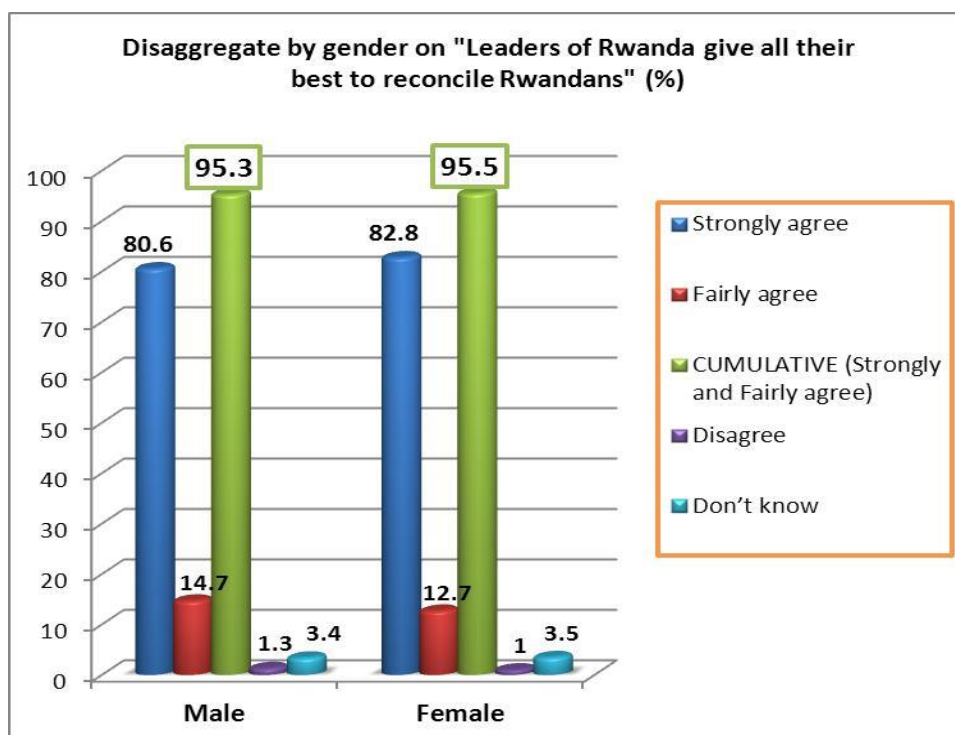
In connection with the above, the figure 29 also indicates that 95.7% of Rwandans (where 85.3% strongly agree 10.4% agree) agree with the consideration that *Rwanda is a country whose leaders respect the rule of law and human rights*. Illustrative testimonies in this regard, are also worth putting:

“The rule of law is respected in Rwanda because we no longer have laws that discriminate against and persecute one side of Rwandans as it was with the leadership of the past whereby laws allowed only some people to access education and employment to the detriment of others. Nowadays, the laws treat us equally and are applied to every Rwandan without distinction, and this is what we commend the government of Unity. And this is connected to reconciliation because Rwandans realize that laws that discriminate against Rwandans no longer exist; now Rwandans are the same; laws apply to everybody in the same way. (A student of Groupe scolaire Bumba, Rutsiro district)

“Nowadays, citizens no longer go very far to higher instances such as courts at district level for their problems to be solved. Instead they go to the cell, which is closer to them, and then their problems are quickly resolved. This is totally different from the past whereby accessing leaders was impossible.” (A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

“No Rwandan is sent away by Government institutions, be it at the level of the village, cell, sector, district, even the province. They never discriminate against citizens based on the high or else; we are all received; girls, boys, men...For example, in the past none knew anything about the Constitution, but now we know it, because of our leaders. This is also important for our reconciliation” (A member of Urembo Rwa Muko association, Musanze district).

Figure 31: Citizens' opinions on whether Leaders of Rwanda give all their best to reconcile Rwandans (disaggregated by gender)



The above figure indicates that both male and female equally (95.3% and 95.5%, respectively) affirm that leaders of Rwanda give all their best to reconcile Rwandans.

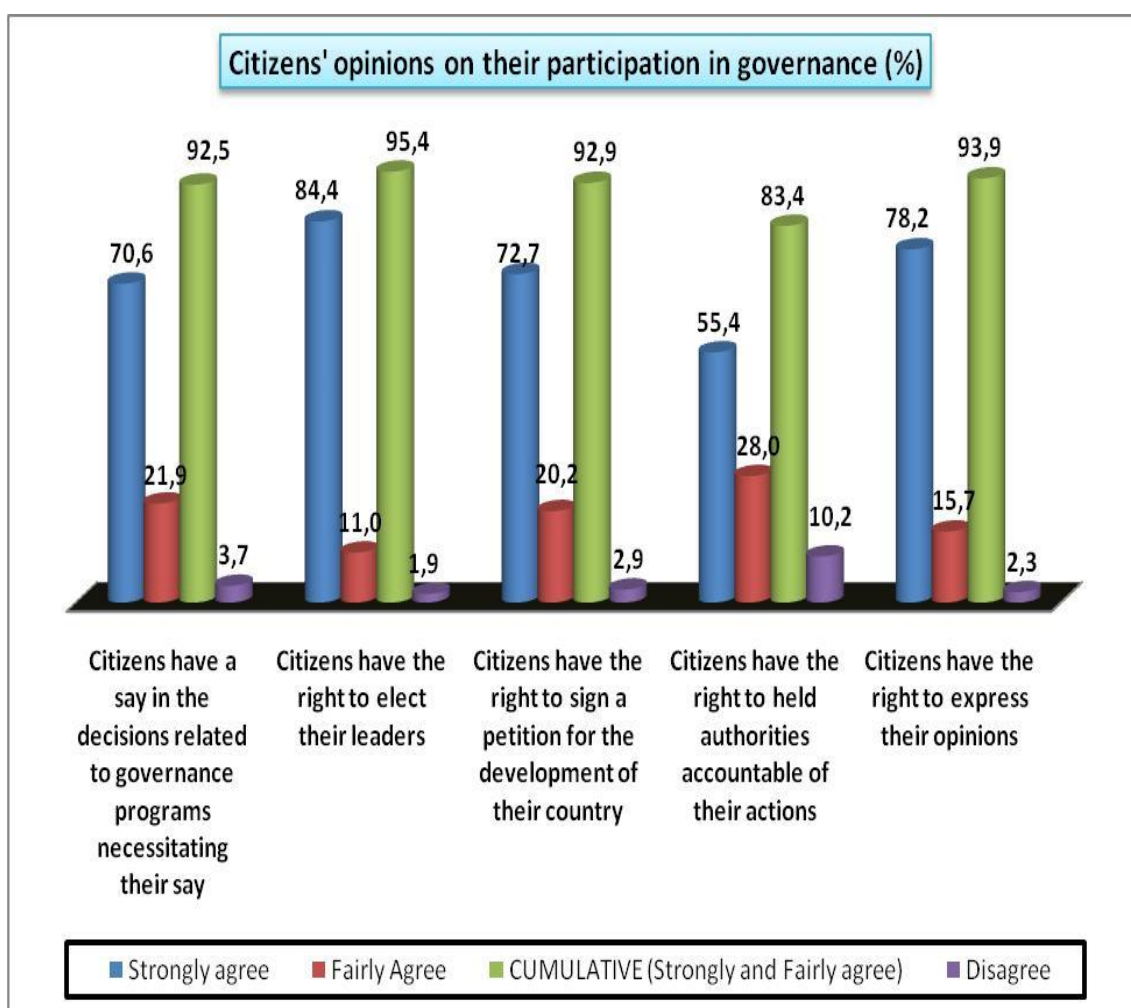
2.5.3. Citizens' participation and empowerment in governance

The level of trust in leaders is connected with the way citizens participate in the decisions that affect their lives. This goes hand in hand with citizens' empowerment that goes beyond their simple fact of knowing their right, but also exercising it.

2.5.3.1. Citizens' participation in governance

Rwandans expressed their opinions on their level of participation in the governance of Rwanda. The particular focus was on whether citizens have a say in the decisions related to governance programs necessitating their say, whether they actually have the right to express their opinions, whether they have the right to elect their leaders, whether they have the right to sign a petition for the development of their country and whether they have the right to hold their leaders accountable of their actions. Findings in this regard are presented in the figure below.

Figure 32: Citizens' perceptions on their participation in governance



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Empirical findings presented in the above figure indicate a very positive level of satisfaction of citizens with regard to their participation in the governance of Rwanda. It is in this regard that 92.5% of Rwandans (where 70.6% strongly agree and 21.9% fairly agree) contend that *Rwandan citizens have a say in the decisions related to governance programs necessitating their say*.

This marks a significant improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 52.3% of Rwandans agreed with this assertion⁵⁷.

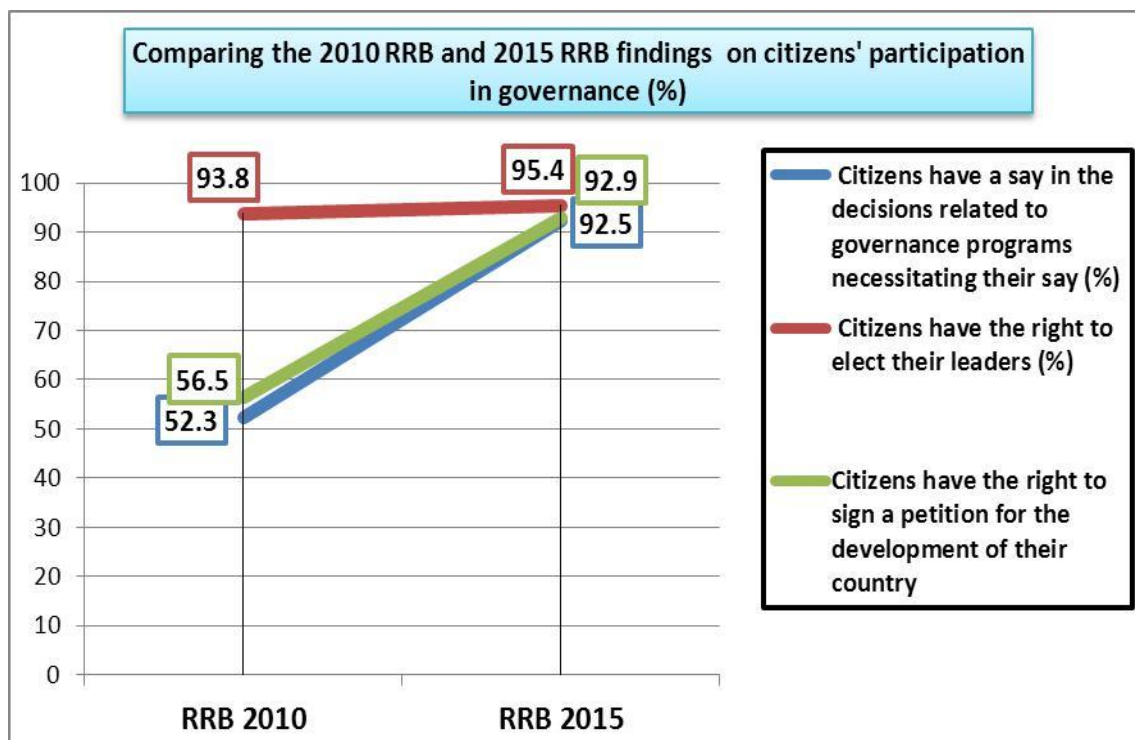
In addition, 95.4% of Rwandans (where 84.4% strongly agree and 11% fairly agree) stress that *citizens have the right to elect their leaders*. This also marks a significant improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 93.8%⁵⁸ of Rwandans had strongly agreed with this contention.

⁵⁷NURC (2010). Ibid., p.24

⁵⁸Idem.

Likewise, 92.9% of Rwandans (among with whom 72.7% strongly agree and 20.2% fairly agree) believe that *citizens have the right to sign a petition for the development of their country*. This again marks a significant improvement in reconciliation process as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 56.5%⁵⁹ of Rwandans had agreed with the above statement. The graph below shows the above-indicated improvements.

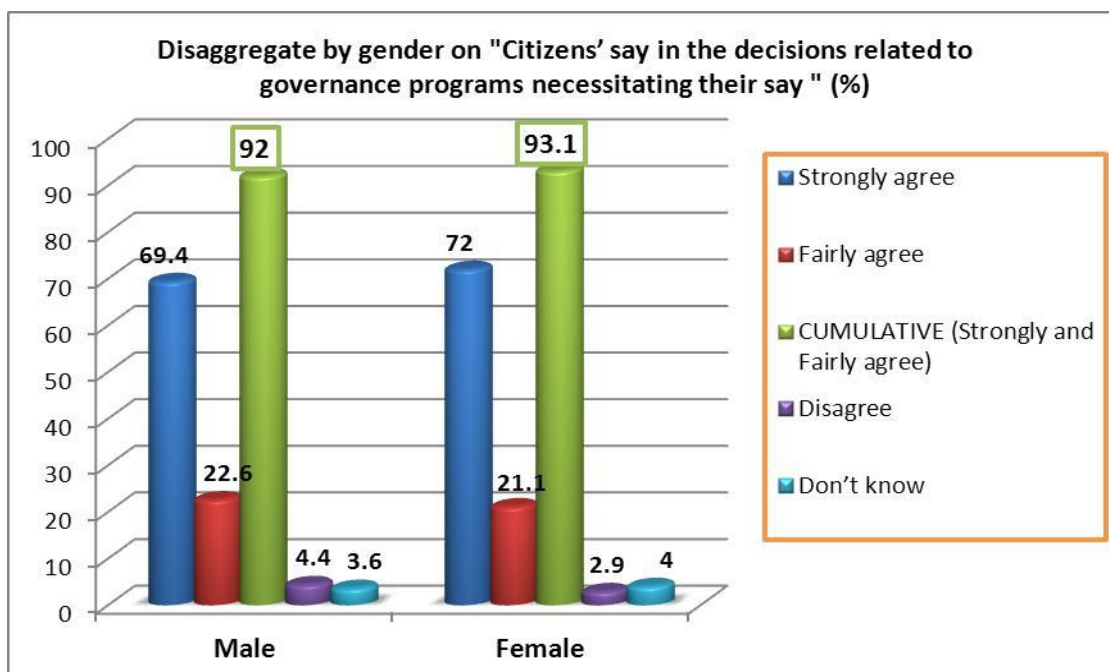
Graph 5: Comparing the 2010 RRB and the 2015 RRB on citizens' participation in governance



The above improvements are the result of the government's multiplication of efforts toward empowering citizens. The government had thus realized the problems of citizens' relatively absence in the governance of their country, which invited for, and manifested in, the multiplication of field visits by leaders (of both the central and local government).

⁵⁹ Idem.

Figure 33: Citizens' level of say in the decisions related to governance programs necessitating their say (disaggregated by gender)



Empirical findings presented in the figure 31 also indicate that 83.4% of respondent (where 55.4% strongly agree and 28% fairly agree) stress that *citizens have the right to held their authorities accountable of their actions*. Furthermore, 93.9% of Rwandans (where 78.2% strongly agree and 15.7% fairly agree) assert that citizens have the right to express their opinions. Some illustrative testimonies, in this regard, are worth putting.

“We have a say in the decisions that affect our lives because we give our views on basis of which those decisions are made. In addition, we are represented in all decision-making institutions like in the parliament and in the councils. So we take part in the decisions made there because we are the ones, who elected those representing us in those institutions. Participating in decision making relates to reconciliation because all Rwandans realize that they are treated equally in the governance of their country, without discrimination, which cements reconciliation among Rwandans.” (A student of Groupe scolaire Bumba, Rutsiro district)

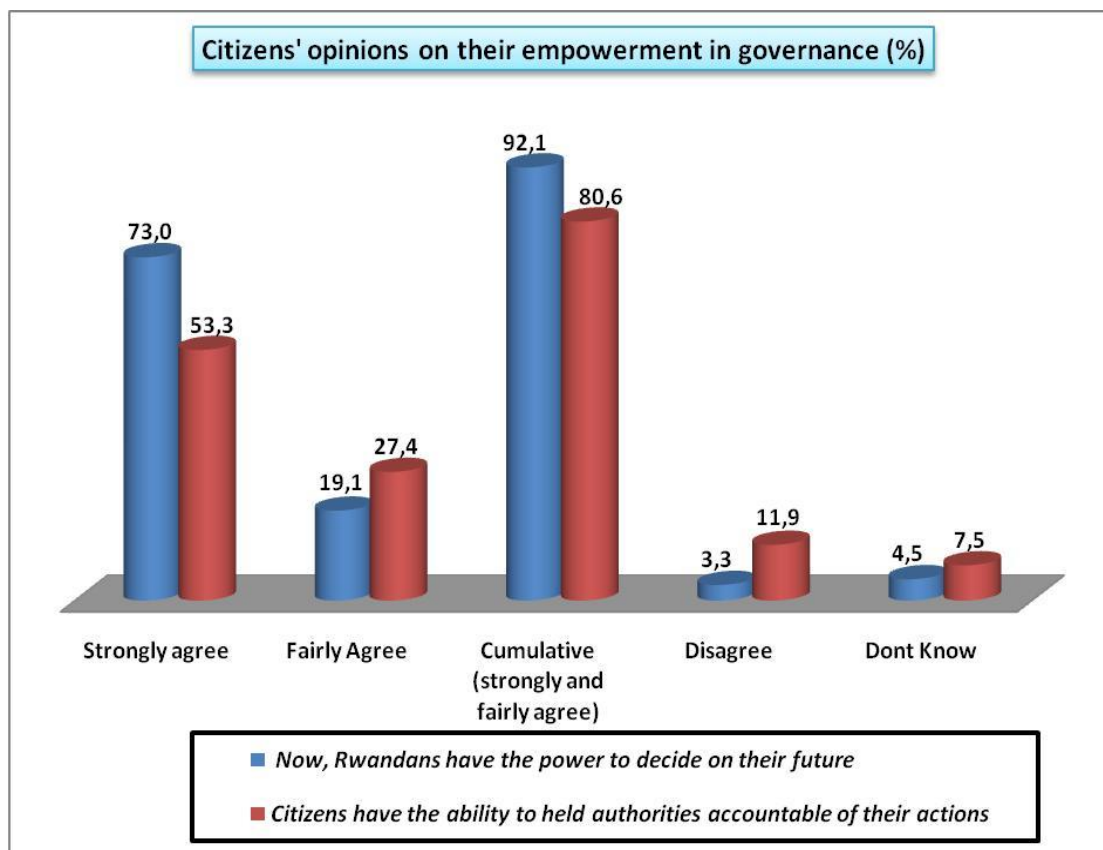
“Citizens participate because, for example, when there is need to build like these schools, leaders talk to us first, then after our common agreement we also participate in things like carrying stones and sand; so we do community work (umuganda); and actually we also rejoice to have participated in the realization of that project.” (A member of Abaharanira Amahoro association, Burera district)

“We participate in decision making because before a decision is taken, we are consulted and we give our opinions. Recently, we have expressed our opinions related to the revision of the constitution, and apart from that, parliamentarians came to ask us our opinions.” (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

2.5.3.2. Citizens' empowerment in governance

Citizens' empowerment is interlinked with citizens' participation. The figure below provides empirical findings on how Rwandans view their level of empowerment in the governance of Rwanda. As findings indicate, citizens are happy with the way they are empowered.

Figure 34: Citizens' perceptions on their empowerment in governance



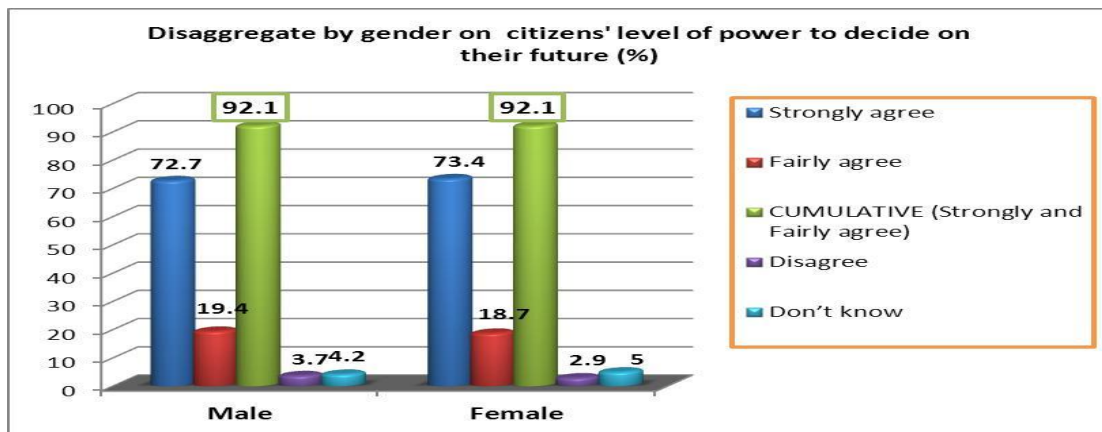
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

The above figure shows that 92% of Rwandans (where 73% strongly agree and 19.1% fairly agree) affirm that 'now Rwandans have the power to decide on their future'. Findings presented in the above figure also indicate that 81% of Rwandans (where 53% strongly agree and 27.4% fairly agree) account that 'citizens have the ability to hold authorities accountable for their actions'. Illustrative testimonies, in this regard, read:

"An example that I can give is that recently citizens themselves wrote to the parliament requesting to change the Article 101 of the Constitution. This is power already that citizens have." (A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

"When we elect the leaders with whom want, this is already power that we have. When we take part in performance contracts regarding how our districts should develop, this is already power that we have! We have the right to remove leaders who do not perform their responsibilities, this is power." (A member of Ubufatanye association, Gakenke district)

Figure 35: Citizens' level of power to decide on their future (disaggregated by gender)



The above graph indicates the significant level of improvement as far as Rwandans' power to decide on their future is concerned, which moved from 56.5% in 2010 up to 92% in 2015.

2.5.4. Summary on ‘Political culture’

Table 6: Average on ‘Political culture’ in Rwanda

INDICATORS	%
<i>Trust in institutions</i>	
1. Cabinet/Central Government	95.8
2. Parliament	91.1
3. Justice system	89.3
4. Local Government	87.4
5. National electoral organs	87.5
6. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission	94.3
7. National Commission for the fight against Genocide	93.9
8. Ombudsman	85.7
9. Security organs	92.1
10. Public media	83.9
11. National Commission for Human Rights	90.5
12. Private media	70.5
13. Civil society	70.8
14. Political parties	73.1
<i>Trust in Leaders</i>	
15. Rwanda’s leaders always do what is in citizens’ best interests	95.2
16. Rwanda is a country whose leaders respect the rule of law & human rights	95.7
17. Leaders of Rwanda give all their best to reconcile Rwandans	95.3
<i>Citizens’ participation in governance</i>	
18. Citizens have a say in the decisions related to programs necessitating their say	92.5
19. Citizens have the right to elect their leaders	95.4
20. Citizens have the right to sign a petition for the development of their country	92.9
21. Citizens have the right to held authorities accountable of their actions	83.4
22. Citizens have the right to express their opinions	93.9
<i>Citizens’ empowerment in governance</i>	
23. Now, Rwandans have the power to decide on their future	92.1
24. Citizens have the ability to held authorities accountable of their actions	80.6
TOTAL AVERAGE	88.4

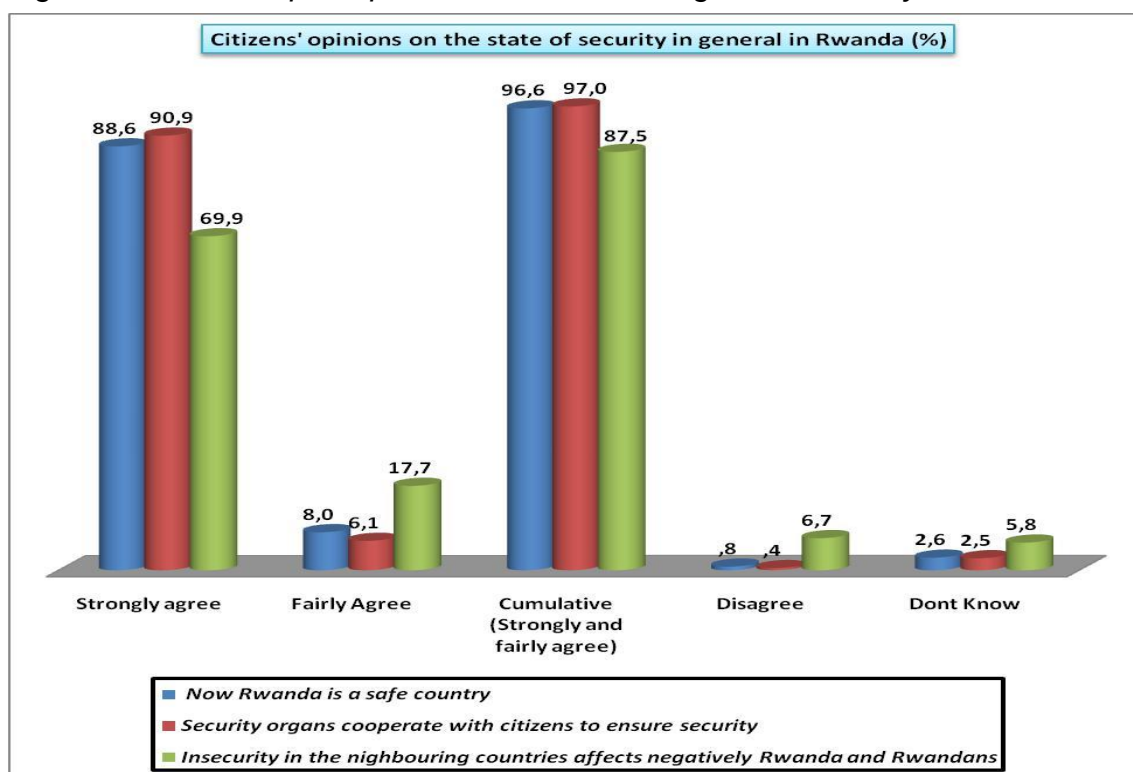
2.6. SECURITY AND WELLBEING

Security, in general and at individual/family level, was another variable that measured the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. The theoretical argument, in this regard, is that successful promotion of reconciliation after violence necessitates that security at all aspects—physical, structural, and psychological—be provided. The general hypothesis is that *if citizens feel well, secure and protected, they will be more willing to commit themselves to national reconciliation processes*. The assessment of the current status of reconciliation indeed provides empirical findings in this regard.

2.6.1. General security in Rwanda

How is security perceived in Rwanda in relation to reconciliation? Do Rwandans consider Rwanda as currently secure? What is their perception on the way security organs carry out their mission? Do the later cooperate with citizens? How do Rwandans view the impact of insecurity prevailing in the neighboring countries on Rwanda? The figure below presents empirical findings in this regard.

Figure 36: Citizens' perceptions on the status of general security

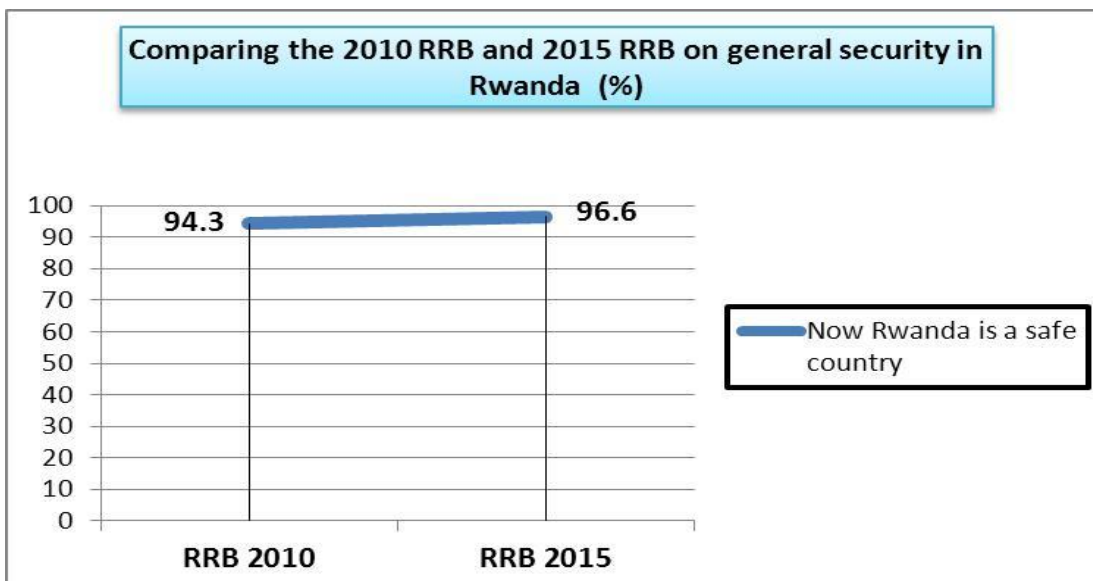


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure portrays, 96.6% of Rwandans (where 88.6% strongly agree and 8% fairly agree) stress that *Rwanda is a safe country*. In comparison with findings of the first Rwanda

Reconciliation Barometer (2010), the situation has greatly improved as the 2010 RRB⁶⁰ had indicated that only 94.3% of Rwandans noted that Rwanda is becoming a safer country to live in.

Graph 6: Comparing the 2010 and the 2015 on general security in Rwanda



The above comparison of the two RRBs indicates that there has been a significant improvement in reconciliation process in Rwanda as far as general security in Rwanda is concerned. Illustrative testimonies on security in Rwanda point to citizens' opinions on the connection between security and reconciliation, on the one hand, and their positive status of security in general, in Rwanda, on the other hand:

“Security to Rwanda and Rwandans is related to reconciliation because when people do not have security they are scattered, and they cannot be united, but when they enjoy security as it is the case for us in Rwanda, they put their effort together and prepare common projects for their development, as it is the case in this cooperative...Having security for Rwandans has thus a link with their reconciliation because security is a crucial pillar of reconciliation. People reconcile themselves when they are secure and in harmony. So reconciliation cannot take place without security”. (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

“Security for Rwanda and Rwandans is impressive to the extent that Rwanda is now helping other countries to also enjoy security...Security in Rwanda and Rwandans has a relationship with reconciliation because when people are secured without discrimination people realize that they are one.” (A member of Intwali association, Rulindo district)

⁶⁰ NURC (2010). *Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer*, Kigali, p.27

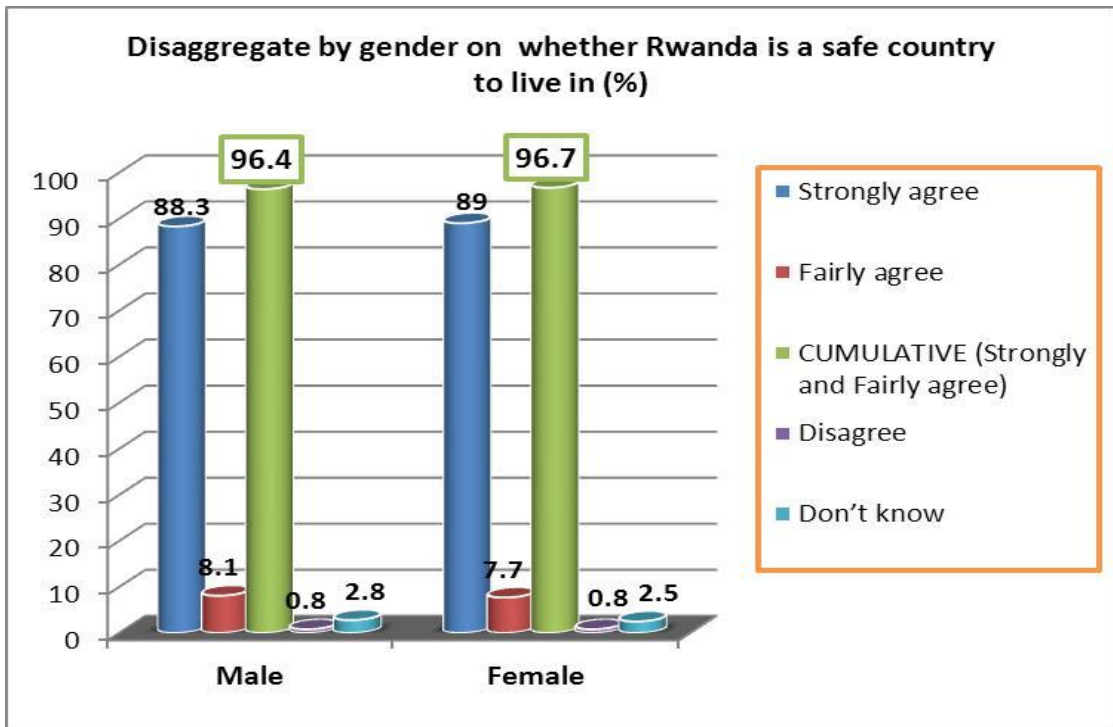
“In the past you couldn’t easily go to Ruhengeri or Gisenyi; it was a problem. This happened to me, I went there and they threw me out of the car, now you can go anywhere in Rwanda without any problem. For example, I recently sat in a small bar with somebody, and he told me that the Minister also often comes to that bar! In the past it was impossible to enter where authorities are!” (A member of Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge cooperative, Muhanga district)

“There is security in Rwanda and for Rwandans and it is strongly protected. The military and the police cooperate with citizens to safeguard security. So we feel that we are the same and that we should collaborate to maintain our security.” (A member of Tubibe Amahoro association, Karongi district)

“Rwanda and Rwandans have full security; it is not like in the previous years when this region was characterized by insecurity caused by Abacengezi [infiltrators]... During that period, we were insecure but nowadays we enjoy full security; thanks to our army and the leadership of his Excellency, Paul Kagame, who gave Rwanda and Rwandans full security.” (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

In addition, the figure 35 also shows that 97% of Rwandans (where 90.9% strongly agree and 6.1% agree) hold that *security organs cooperate with citizens to ensure security in Rwanda*. With regard to the problem of insecurity in the neighboring countries, 87% of Rwandans (where 69.9% strongly agree and 17.7% fairly agree) believe that it affects Rwanda and Rwandans’ reconciliation. However, 7% of Rwandans, who think that insecurity in the neighboring countries cannot hamper reconciliation in Rwanda, stress that Rwandans have already been united to the extent that none from outside can divide them again *“because now Rwandans are mature, and none can lie to them so that they renounce their unity”*, as affirmed by the A student of Groupe scolaire Bumba, Rutsiro district.

Figure 37: Citizens' opinions on whether Rwanda is a safe country to live in (disaggregated by gender)

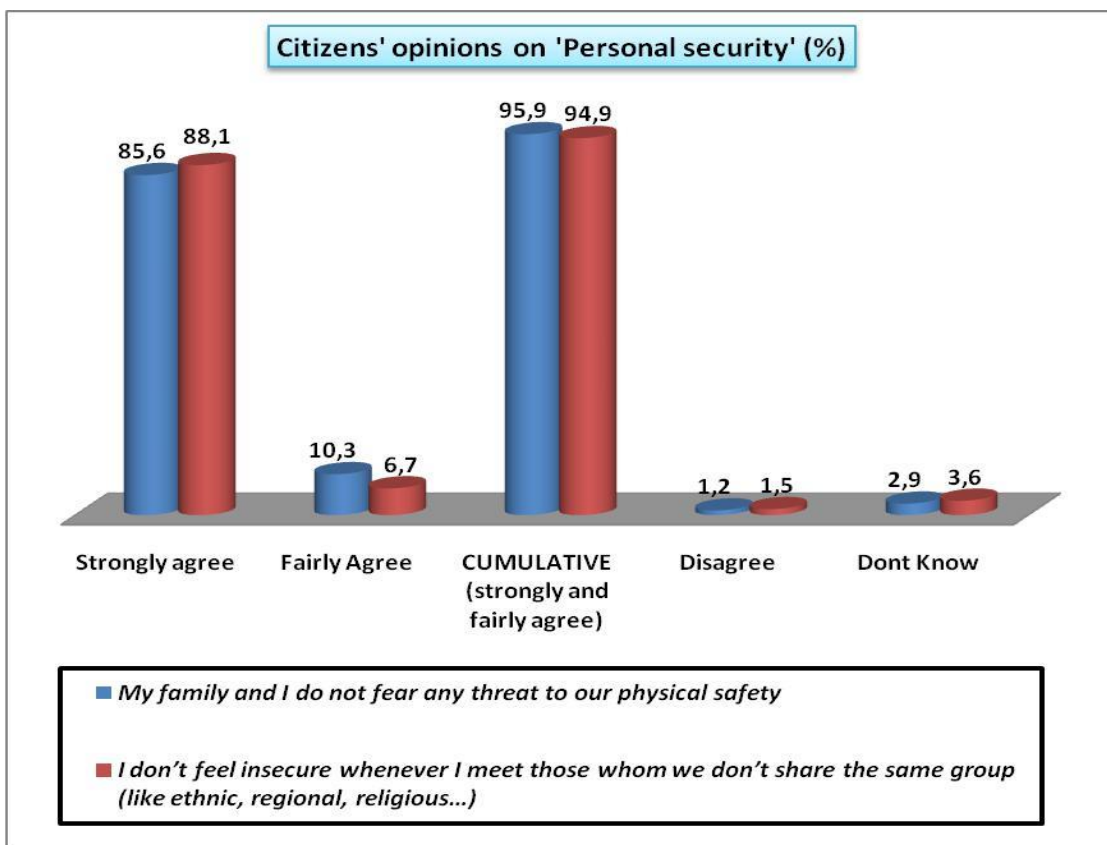


This figure indicates that both male and female are with the same opinion, at 96.4% and 96.7% respectively, that Rwanda is a safe country to live in.

2.6.2. Personal security

In view of the above findings emphasizing the fact that citizens consider Rwanda as a safe country, in general; how do they now, specifically, view security (physical threat) at individual or family level? Findings, in this regard, are portrayed in the figure below.

Figure 38: Citizens' perceptions on the status of personal security

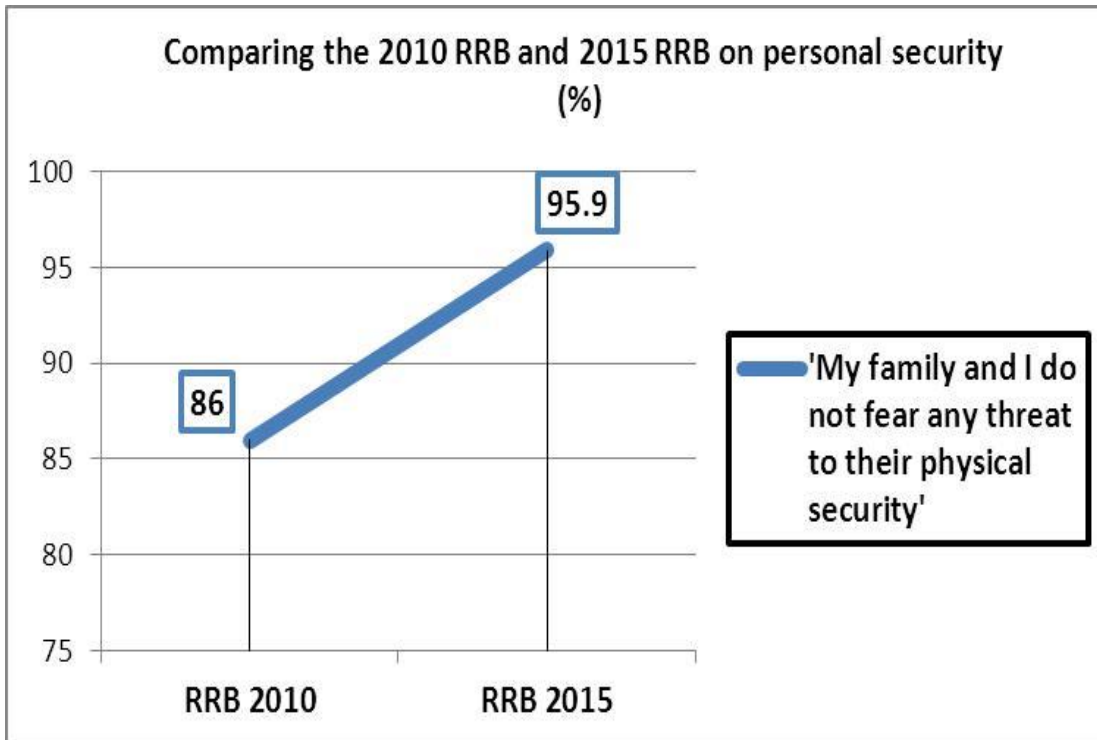


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Findings presented in the above figure indicate that Rwandans totaling 95.9% (where 85.6% strongly agree and 10.3% fairly agree) hold that they, personally, but also *their respective families, do not fear any threat to their physical security*. The above findings mark a significant improvement with regard to reconciliation in Rwanda as the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that 86% of Rwandans (among with whom only 44.2 strongly agreed)⁶¹ were in agreement with the statement that they do not currently fear a threat to their own physical safety or that of their families, as indeed shown in the graph below.

⁶¹ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.27

Graph 7: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on personal security



This graph indicates that there has been an improvement with regard to individual security since 2010; that is, from 86% to 98.9% in 2015.

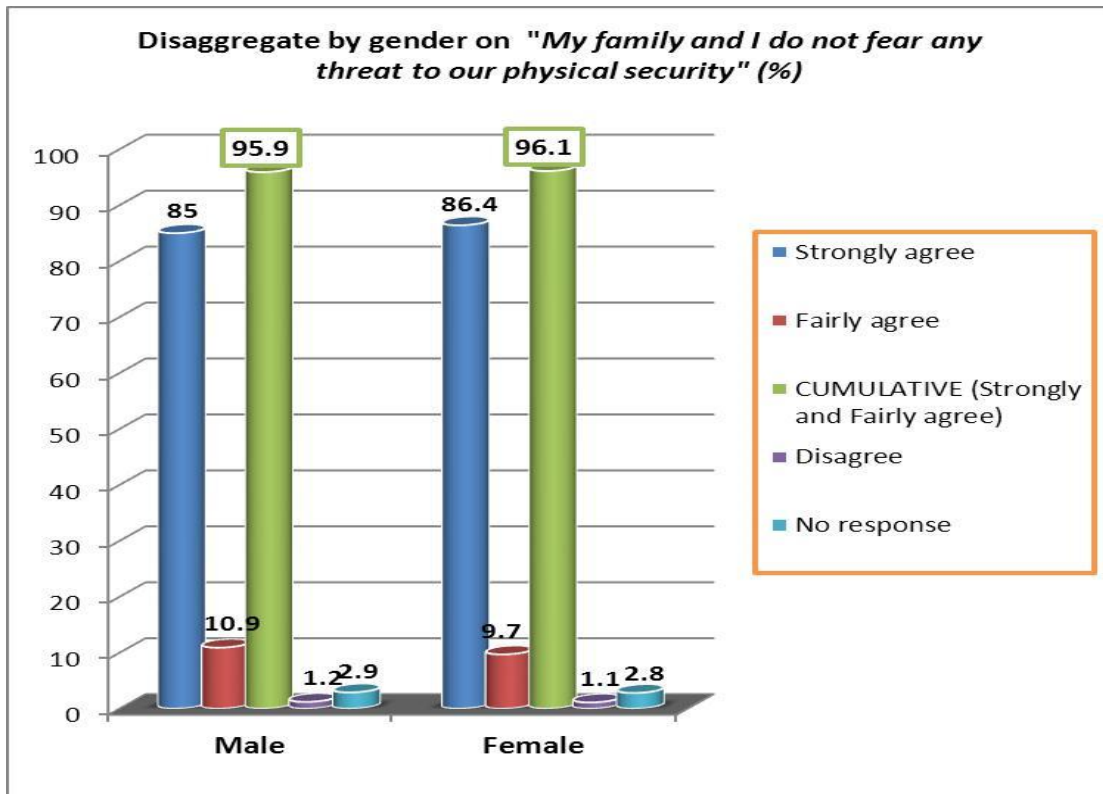
As the figure 37 also portrays, 95% of Rwandans (where 88% strongly agree and 6.7% fairly agree) stress that they never feel insecure whenever they meet other citizens with whom they do not share the same social category such as religion, ethnic or regional, etc. Illustrative accounts in this regard read:

“Now, we have security because every Rwandan moves and travels everywhere in the country without any discrimination, which promotes reconciliation. Now in Rwanda, because of security none is afraid of doing business.” (A student of Nyagatare secondary school, Nyagatare district)

“Right now, I can pick my bag and go wherever I want and stay there or return back; none asks me the identity card. Everybody in Rwanda is now free and has a value.” (A member of Ubumwe n’Ubwiyunge cooperative, Muhanga district)

“I feel very secure because we, Rwandans, have become united; none look at the other and see another picture. Because of full security in Rwanda, citizens feel happy and feel secure even better. Security of our properties is also guaranteed, and we feel comfortable, which improves our relations as Rwandans.” (A member of Muvumba P8 cooperative, Nyagatare district)

Figure 39: Citizens' level of personal security and that of their family (disaggregated by gender)



This figure indicates that both male and female are more or less with the same opinion, at 95.9% and 96.1% respectively, that Rwandans—individuals and their families—enjoy personal security.

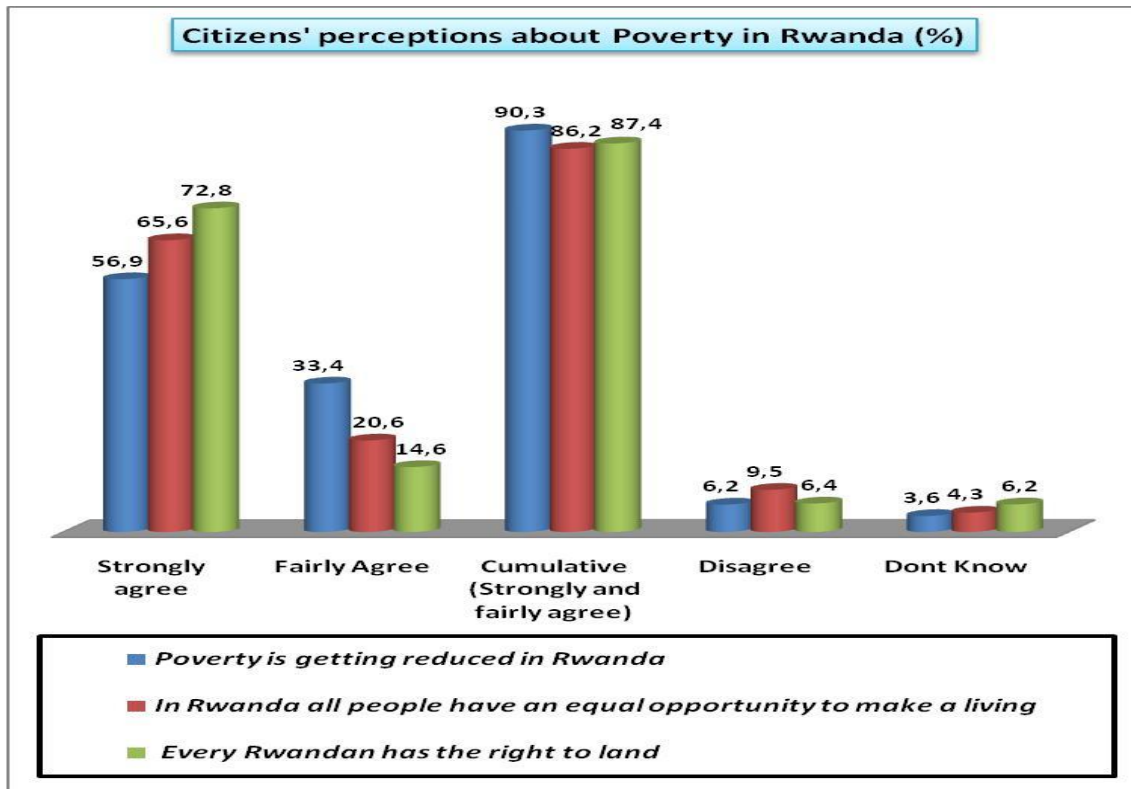
2.6.3. Economic security

It is commonly agreed that economic security is an important aspect to consider in rebuilding a society destroyed by violence. With regard to poverty, in particular, there remain debates on whether it has constituted a cause or as a factor in the divisions and genocide in Rwanda.⁶² But the fact that poverty has become one of the negative effects of violence and genocide in Rwanda (loss of human capital, properties destroyed and/or looted, and economy shake) appears self-evident. It is in this perspective that Rwandans' views on whether poverty is getting reduced and whether Rwandans have equal opportunity to make a living became relevant. Likewise, whether Rwandans have equal right to land—the basic resource for many people's rural livelihoods and for new productive activity⁶³—was also worth exploring.

⁶² African Rights (1995). *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*. Revised edition, London: African Rights, p.15.

⁶³ Republic of Rwanda/MINECOFIN (2013). EDPRS II-2013-2018, Kigali, p. X.

Figure 40: Citizens' perceptions about the status of poverty



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure shows, Rwandans totaling 90.3% (where 56.9% strongly agree and 33.4% fairly agree) feel that *poverty is getting reduced in Rwanda*. Some of citizens' accounts in this regard, are worth putting:

“Poverty has been much reduced in Rwanda; we are happy with that, because when people live in poverty, they start conflicting and become divided, opposed to each other as the Rwandan proverb says ‘those who have little to share call each other greedy’ and this hinders their reconciliation. Yes, poverty has been considerably reduced in Rwanda, but it has to be fully eradicated for us to be fully confident about our future (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district).

“When there is no economic security, poor people tend to consider rich people as the cause of misery, which impacts negatively on their relations; but when everyone is economically secure, when none starves, then people feel as one. In Rwanda things are getting improved.” (A member of Tubibe Amahoro association, Karongi district)

In addition, Rwandans totaling 86.2% (where 65.6% strongly agree and 20.6% fairly agree) stress that *in Rwanda all people have an equal opportunity to make a living*. The situation has thus improved given that the first RRB (2010) had indicated that 70.3%⁶⁴ of Rwandans were in agreement with this statement. This is what the graph below shows.

Graph 8: Comparing the 2010 RRB and the 2015 RRB on citizens' equal opportunity to make a living

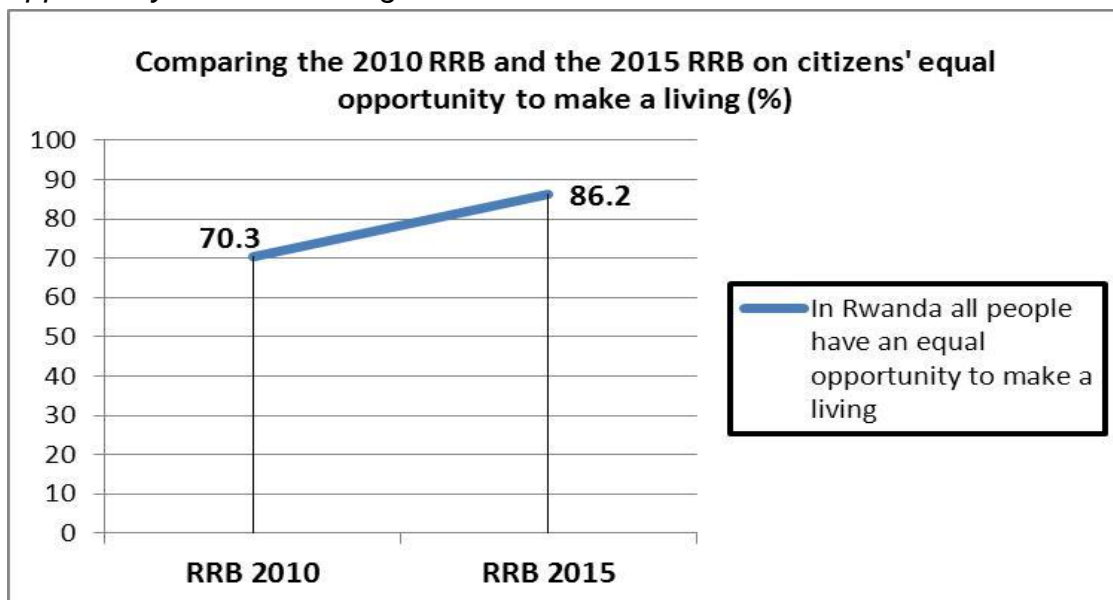
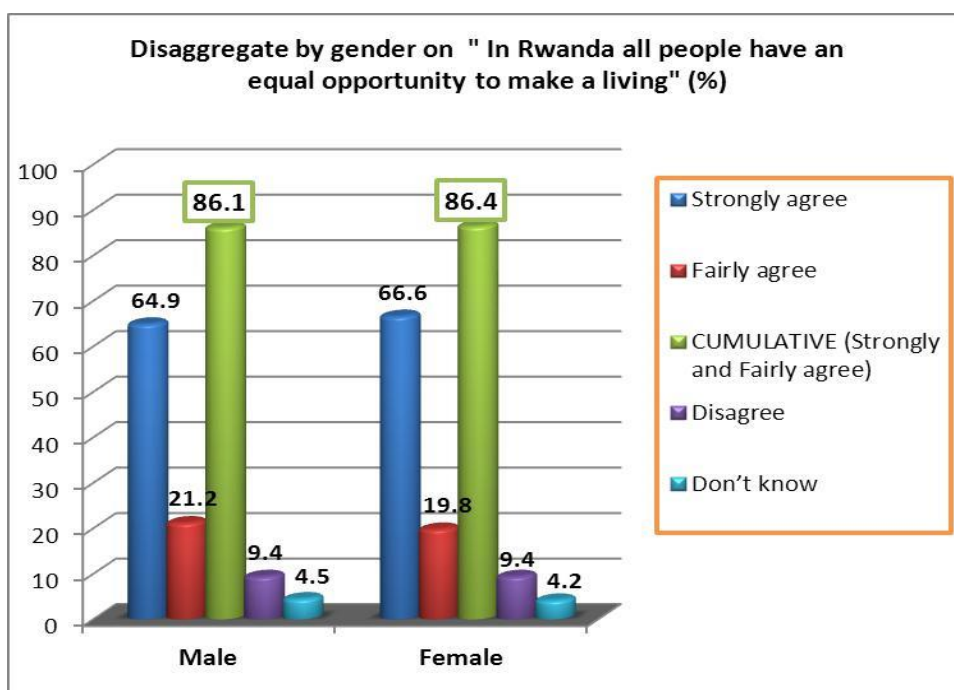


Figure 41: Citizens' opinions on equal opportunity to make a living (disaggregated by gender)

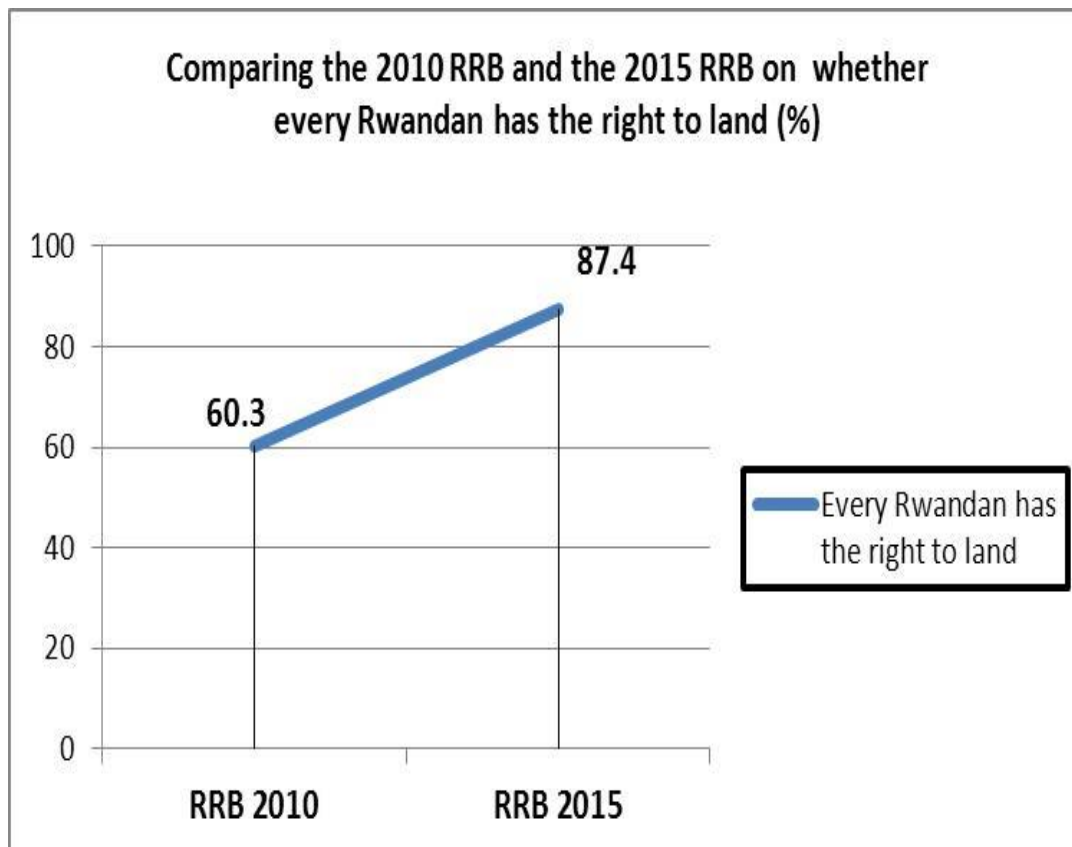


This figure indicates that both male and female are with the same opinion, at 86.1% and 86.4% respectively, that Rwandan citizens have equal opportunity to make a living.

⁶⁴ NURC (2010). Ibid., p. 28

Figure 39 also indicated that 87.4% of Rwandans (where 72.8% strongly agree and 14.6% fairly agree) believe that *every Rwandan has the right to land*. This marks another improvement as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 60.3% held that every Rwandan has the right to land.⁶⁵

Graph 9: Comparing the 2010 RRB and the 2015 RRB on whether every Rwandan has the right to land



The above graph indicates how the situation significantly improved since 2010 (60.3%) to 2015 (87.4%), with regard to the consideration that every Rwandan has the right to land. Some illustrative testimonies, in this regard, read:

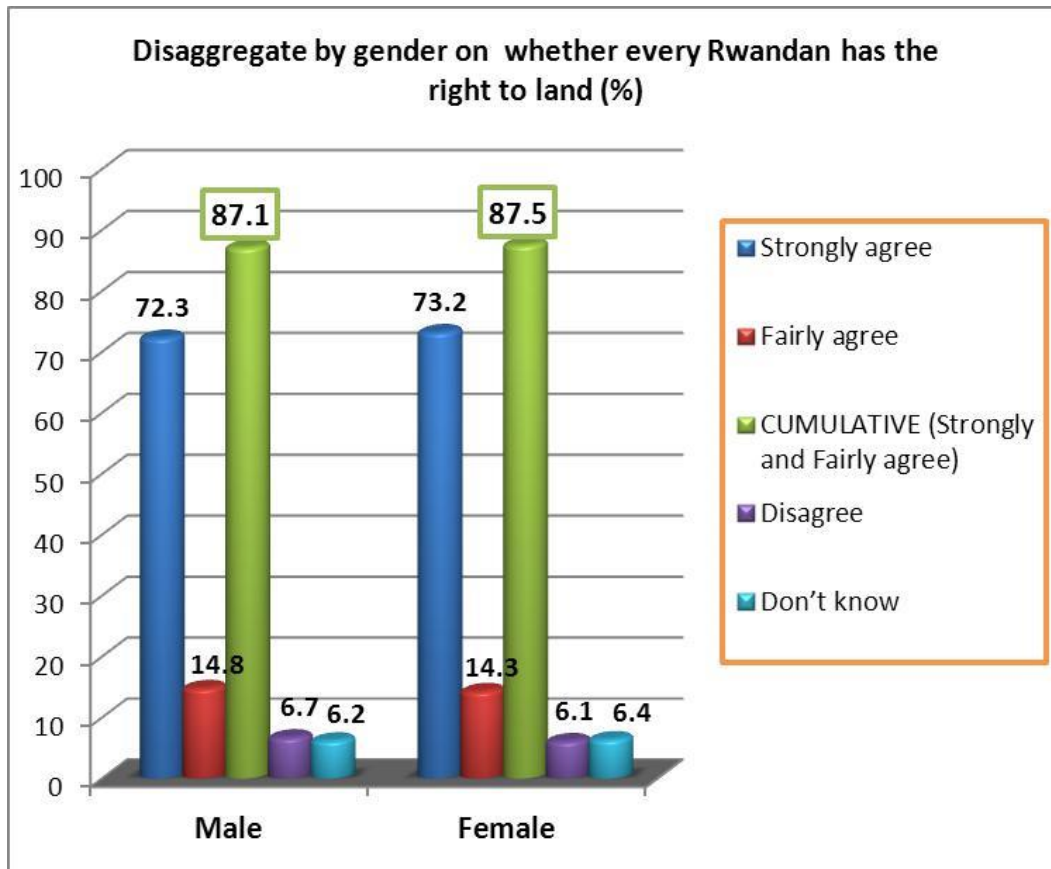
“I live in town but unlike in the past, now no Rwandan is denied the right to have land, even laws have now changed, women and girls also have the right to land. This is thus a sign of equality in Rwanda, which promotes reconciliation” (A member of ADEPR, Nyarugenge district)

“None is discriminated against in Rwanda, before opportunities were given to only some people to the detriment of others; land belonged to some; but now, there is no discrimination whatsoever, as every Rwandan has the freedom to make his/her living. Even women now have equal rights to land as men do.” (A student of Lycée de Kigali, Nyarugenge district)

⁶⁵ NURC (2010).Ibid., p. 28.

It is worth emphasizing here that in Rwanda land has always been the key resource on basis of which Rwandans survive. The fact that Rwandans, without discrimination, have now the right to land, thus enjoying the products from this land, is reconciliatory in comparison with the past of Rwanda whereby land belonged to only some categories of citizens to the detriment of others. Equal right to land in present Rwanda is indeed guaranteed by the existence of the legislation and consequent policies on land that have been promulgated/made in a way that favors equal access to land for all (in the example of land consolidation, land censure, and land registration).

Figure 42: Citizens' opinions on whether every Rwandan has the right to land (disaggregated by gender)

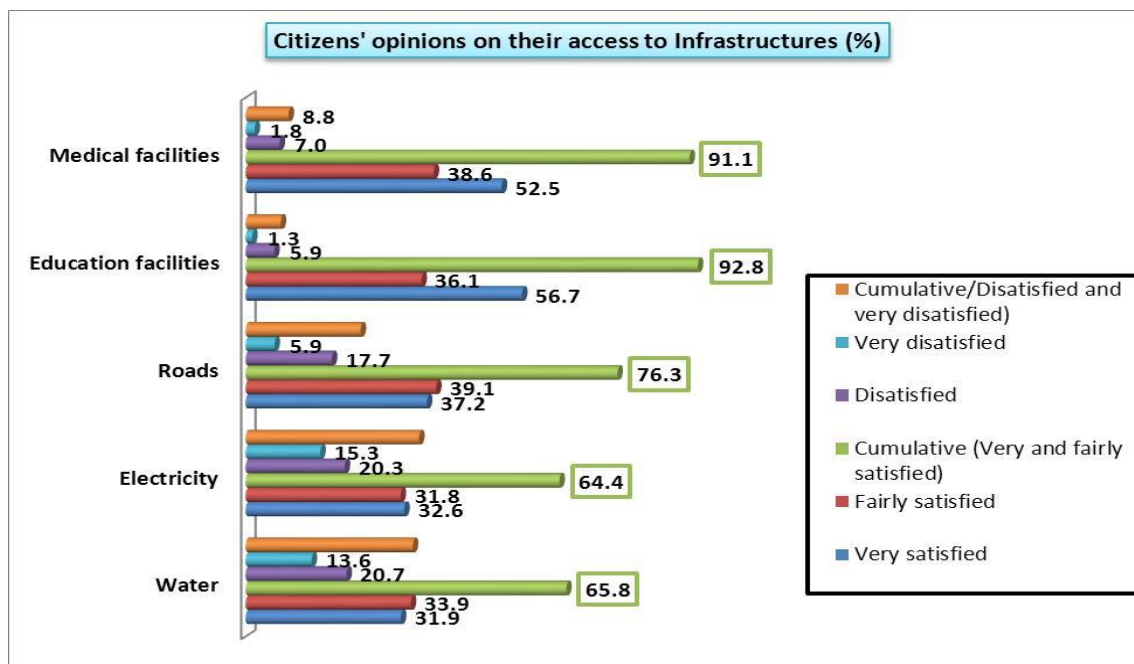


This figure indicates that both male and female are with the same opinion, at 87.1% and 87.5% respectively, that Rwanda citizens have equal rights to land.

2.6.4. Citizens' access to basic infrastructures⁶⁶

In connection with the above, on security, Rwandans were also requested to indicate their opinions on transparency in the distribution of key infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water, medication, and education. Findings in this regard are pictured in the figure below.

Figure 43: Citizens' perceptions on their access to basic infrastructure



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the figure above indicates a great satisfaction of Rwandans, with regard to the distribution of key infrastructure, points to education and medical facilities. This is evidenced by the total of 93% and 91% of Rwandans, respectively. 76% of Rwandans are also satisfied with their access to roads while the level of satisfaction with regard to citizens' access to water (66%) and electricity (64%) remains relatively less satisfactory, which is likely to be among the cause of possible conflict among neighbors.

⁶⁶ Infrastructure are here looked within the perspective of interpersonal conflict.

2.6.5. Summary on “security and wellbeing”

On basis of the above findings that indicated considerable improvements in reconciliation in Rwanda, concerning the variable related to ‘Security and wellbeing’, the table below provides the **quantitative average** in this regard.

Table 7: Average on “Security and wellbeing” in Rwanda

INDICATORS	%
National security	
1. Now Rwanda is a safe country	96.6
2. Security organs cooperate with citizens to ensure security	97
Personal security	
3. My family and I do not fear any threat to our physical safety	95.9
4. I do not feel insecure whenever I meet those with whom we do not share the same group (like ethnic, regional, religious...)	94.9
Economic security	
5. Poverty is getting reduced in Rwanda	90.3
6. In Rwanda all people have an equal opportunity to make a living	86.2
Right to basic assets and infrastructures	
7. Every Rwandan has the right to land	87.4
8. Citizens’ access to basic infrastructure	78
AVERAGE	90.7

2.7. JUSTICE,, FAIRNESS AND RIGHTS

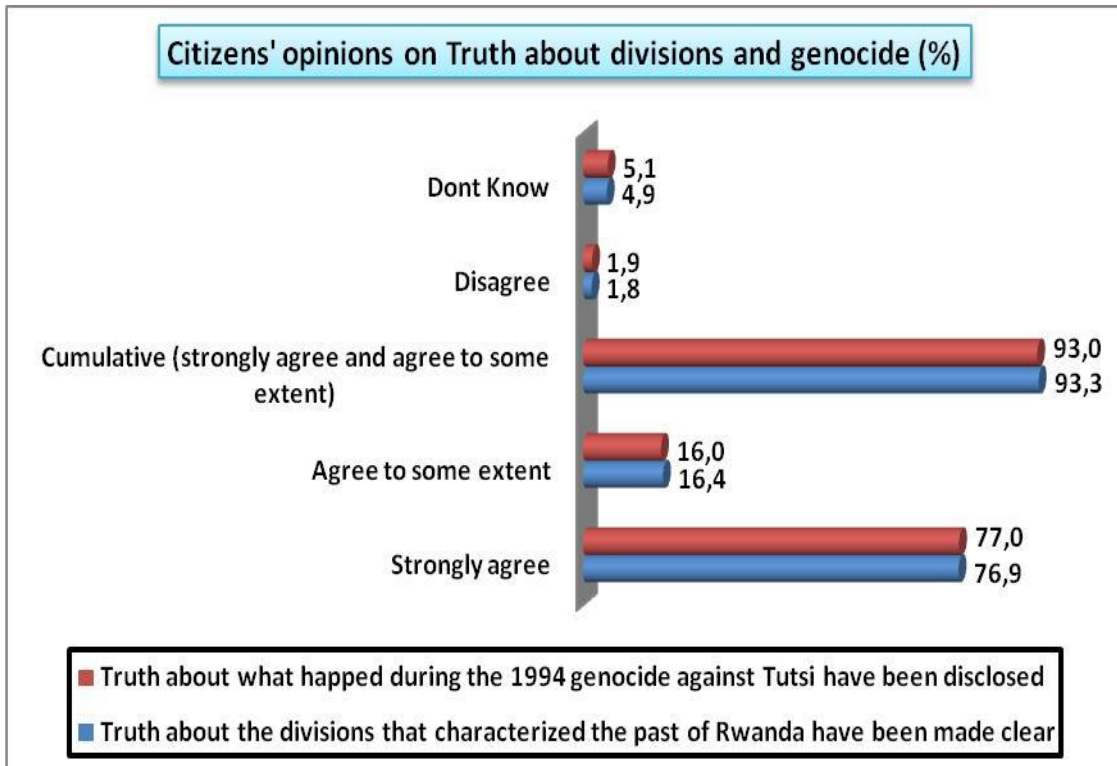
The general contention in the literature is that justice is part of reconciliation —indeed one of its ingredients. Many people argue that the search for peaceful coexistence and trust, demands that ‘justice be done’ so that, in one-way or another, the crimes of the past be acknowledged and punished.⁶⁷ The assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda hypothesized that *‘the more there is justice, fairness and respect of human rights in Rwanda, the more reconciliation among Rwandans increases.’* In this regard, truth constitutes the leading aspect of reconciliation.

⁶⁷ Blomfield et al., (2003). “The context of Reconciliation.” In Bloomfield David, Teresa Barnes and Luc Huyse (2003). *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict—A Handbook*, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), pp. 40-8, p.14.

2.7.1. Truth about the divisions and genocide

Seeking for accuracy for what happened is a vital step toward reconciliation. Survivors of violence often seek the truth of who organized, perpetrated and covered up crimes, and how they were able to do so. As it turns out to be, truth telling/knowing is a cornerstone and a base to all other justice-based reconciliation (punishment, healing, apology and forgiveness...) even though they all seem to overlap. Questions addressed to Rwandan citizens explored whether truth about divisions that characterized the past of Rwanda, on the one hand, and the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, on the other, has been disclosed. Findings in this regard are presented in the figure below.

Figure 44: Citizens' opinions on Truth about divisions and genocide in Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Empirical findings, presented in the above figure indicates that the combination of ‘agree to some extent’ and ‘strongly agree’ responses lead to the fact that 93.3% of Rwandans (where 76.9% strong agree and 16.4% agree to some extent) stress that “*Truth about the divisions that characterized the past of Rwanda have been made clear*”. Likewise, 93% of Rwandans (where 77% strongly agree and 16% agree to some extent) contend that “*Truth about what happened during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi has been disclosed*”. In this regard, Rwandans hold that truth about divisions that characterized the past of Rwanda and the genocide, which used to be disclosed during Gacaca hearings, is currently disclosed during training sessions on civic education academy/forums mostly in Itorero ry’igihugu and Ndi Umunyarwanda program.

Illustrative testimonies in this regard read:

“Truth is a strong foundation of reconciliation in Rwanda because people cannot reconcile based on lies, otherwise it will be a non-lasting reconciliation; but when reconciliation is built on truth about what happened, this lead to sustainable reconciliation. Truth has indeed been revealed long time ago notably in Gacaca courts and Ingando but currently truth is disclosed in training sessions that take place in Ndi Umunyarwanda program and Itorero ry’igihugu; we also discuss everything during Umuganda (A member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

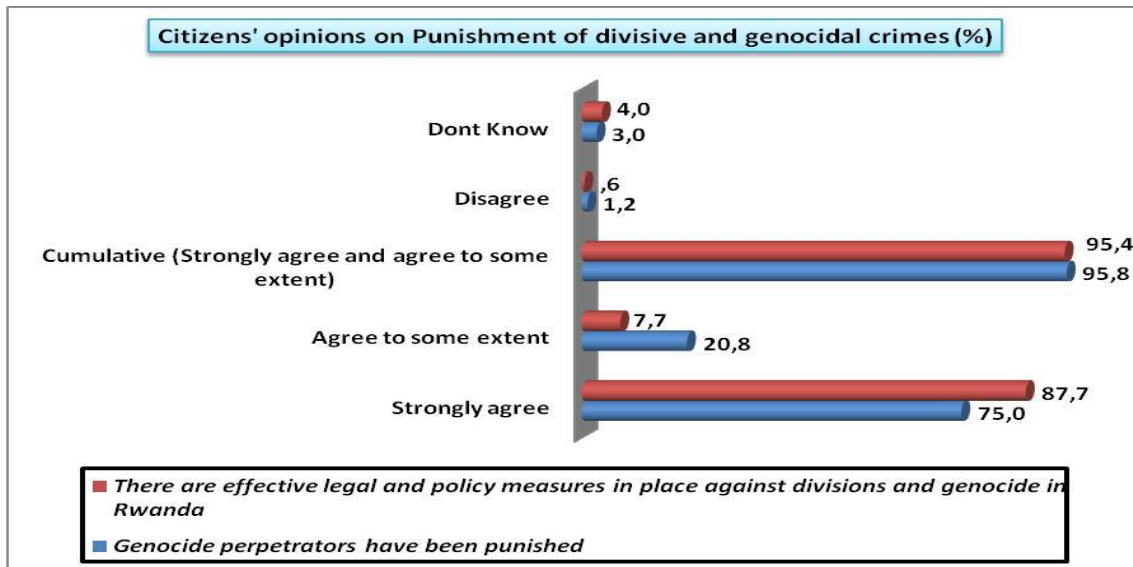
“Truth about what happened in the genocide is connected to reconciliation because we know very well that the genocide is one of the major factors that further divided Rwandans. Truth about what happened in the genocide must then be disclosed for reconciliation among people to be possible. I am happy with current programs such as Ndi Umunyarwanda and Itorero ry’igihugu because in these forums we discuss everything and we get to know the truth about what happened during the genocide.”
(A student of Groupe scolaire BUMBA, Rutsiro district)

“Gacaca courts used to be the forums for people to tell the truth about what happened in their communities, because participants in Gacaca were neighbors to each other during the genocide, so they knew what happened; and wherever truth was disclosed, reconciliation became promoted. This continued in Ndi Umunyarwanda program because everything is discussed.”
(A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

2.7.2. Punishment of divisive and genocidal crimes

The impunity that was long enjoyed by the authors of divisions in the past of Rwanda had resulted, through the years, in the trivialization of violations by Rwandan authorities and populations, which culminated in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Eradicating this impunity thus became a prerequisite for sustainable Reconciliation. Rwandans’ perceptions on ‘whether perpetrators have been punished’, and ‘whether there exist policies that fight divisions and genocide in Rwanda’ were thus paramount. Findings in this regard are presented in the figure below.

Figure 45: Citizens' opinions on punishment of divisive and genocidal crimes

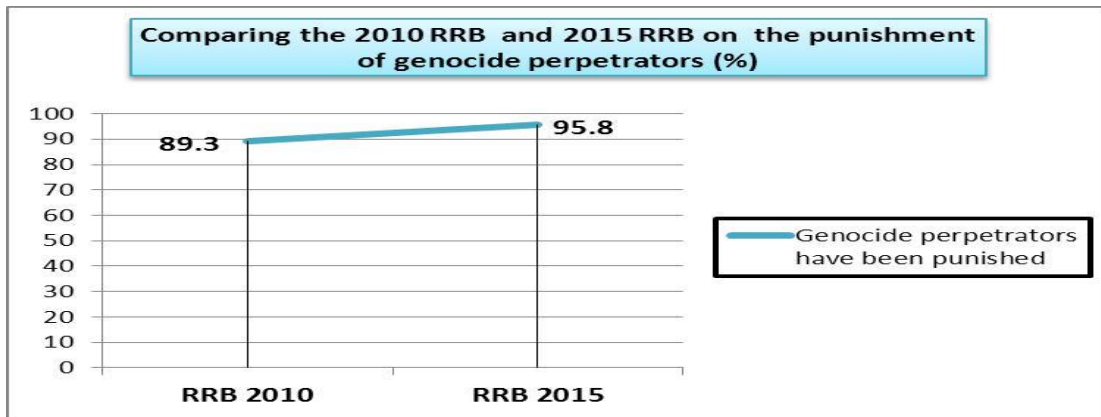


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Empirical findings, presented in the above figure portray positive results concerning the punishment of perpetrators of genocide crimes and the existence of policies that fight against divisions and genocide in Rwanda. It is in this regard that 95.8% of Rwandans (where 75% strongly agree and 20.8% agree to some extent) affirm that the “*genocide perpetrators have been punished*”. The above findings portray remarkable improvements given that the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that 89.3%⁶⁸ of Rwandans believed that those convicted through Gacaca received fair punishment.”

⁶⁸ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.41

Graph 10: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on the punishment of genocide perpetrators



Empirical findings presented in figure 44 also indicate that 95.4% of Rwandans (where 87.7% strongly agree and 7.7% agree to some extent) contend that “*there are effective legal policies and measures in place against divisions and genocide in Rwanda* . In this regard, Rwandans referred to the non-discriminatory laws and policies put in place, some promoting unity and equality, while others discourage and punish divisions and genocide ideology. Illustrative testimonies in this regard are worth putting:

“Punishing perpetrators was done even if there are those who have not yet been punished because they are still hiding. In fact punishment is important because this provides justice to survivors, which incites the later to not engage in revenge actions. Without the punishment of perpetrators, people may not see anything bad in doing evil. But punishment prevents people from doing evil again. In Rwanda people are being punished and reconciliation is promoted. Only those who are still hiding outside Rwanda or others who have not yet been captured are free; but one day they will also be caught because our government does not tolerate criminals.”
(A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

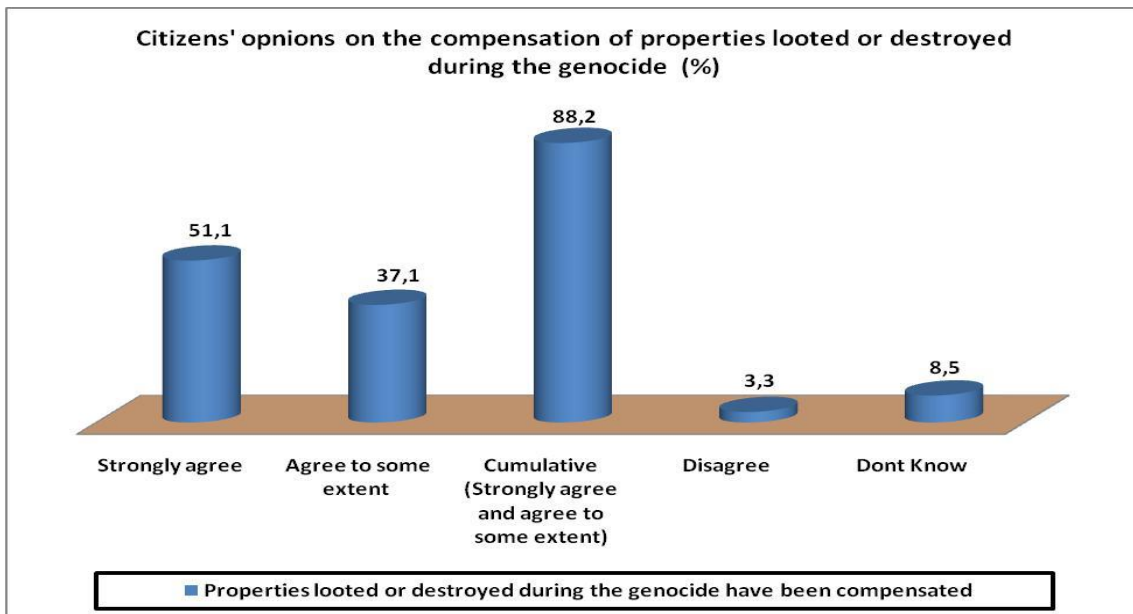
“Punishing perpetrators of the genocide and other crimes against humanity relates to reconciliation. Nowadays in Rwanda any act of discrimination is not tolerated, which is good. This is an indication of combating the culture of impunity that Rwanda has now put forward so as to promote reconciliation. “
(A student of Groupe scolaire BUMBA, Rutsiro district)

2.7.3. Compensation of properties looted/destroyed during the genocide

“Compensation of properties destroyed relates to reconciliation because when properties are not compensated, victims feel angry and cannot reconcile with those who destroyed or looted their properties.” (A student of Groupe scolaire Bumba, Rutsiro district)

In connection with the above leading statement, it is generally argued that the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda requires, among other things, that survivors whose properties have been destroyed/looted, during the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi be compensated. Empirical findings on citizens’ perceptions in this regard are presented in the figure below:

Figure 46: Citizens’ perceptions on compensation of properties looted/destroyed during the genocide



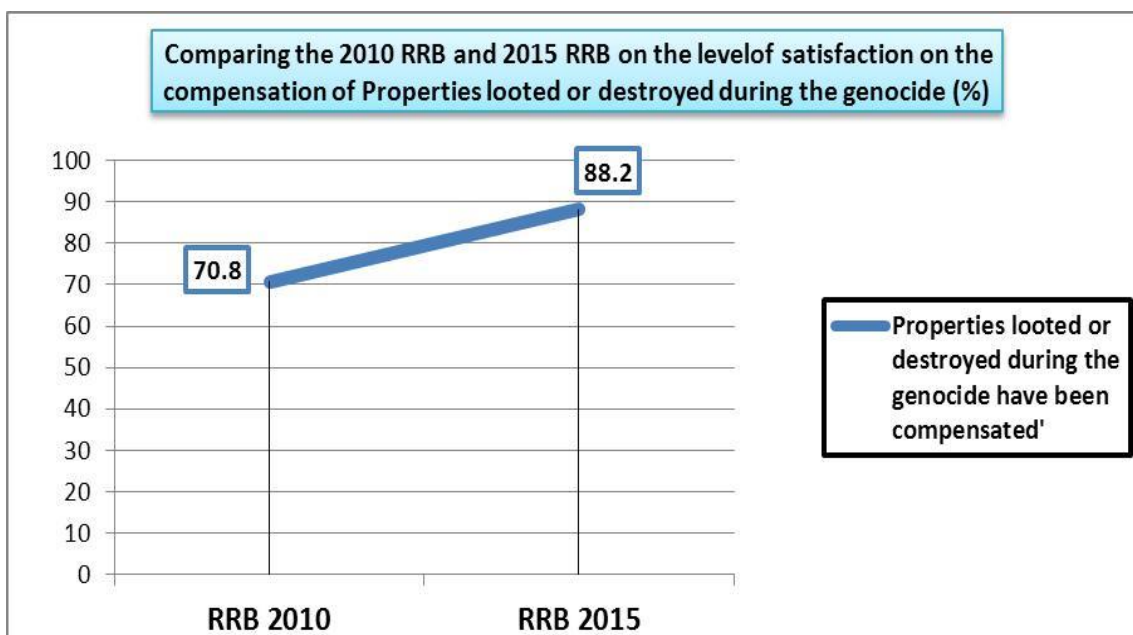
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure portrays, 88.2% of Rwandans (where 51% strongly agree and 37.1% agree to some extent) expressed satisfaction in response to whether “*properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated*”. Yet, five years before the present reconciliation barometer was carried out, the levels of satisfaction were comparatively lower. As a matter of fact, the RRB 2010 findings had indicated that only 70.8%⁶⁹ held that genocide survivors have been compensated for crimes committed against them, which also include the compensation of properties looted or destroyed.

⁶⁹ NURC (2010). Ibid. p.41

There has thus been an improvement with regard to the compensation of properties destroyed or looted during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, as the graph below indeed shows.

Graph 11: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on the level of satisfaction on the compensation of Properties looted or destroyed during the genocide

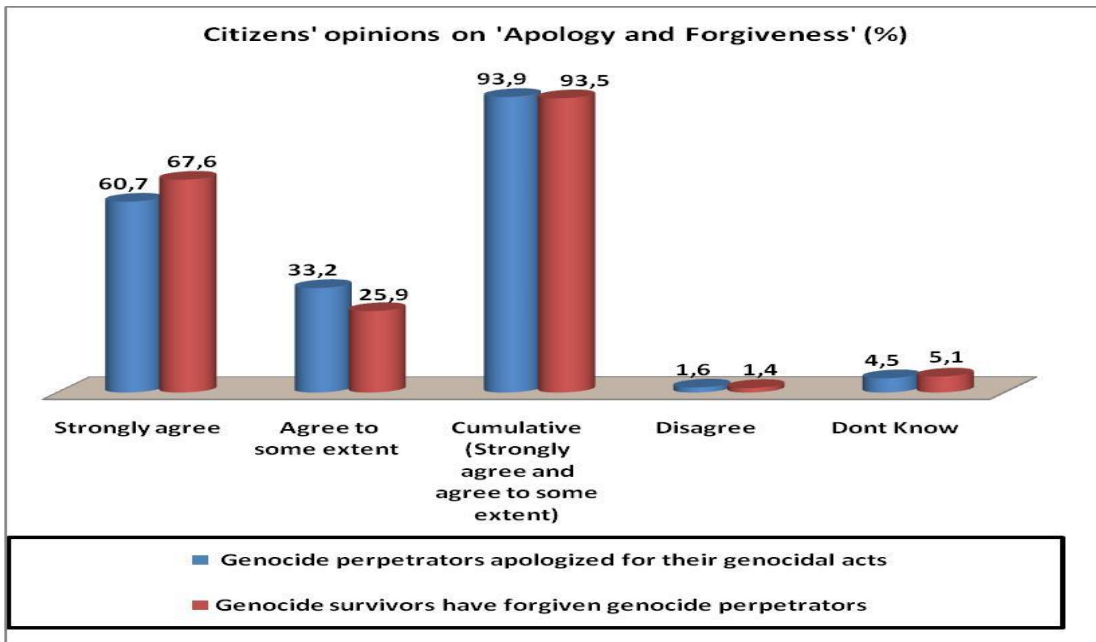


As the above graph indicates, the level of citizens' satisfaction with regard to compensation of properties destroyed or looted during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi indicate an improvement, from 70.8% in 2010 to 88.2% in 2015.

2.7.4. Apology and Forgiveness

There is a common contention that an essential ingredient of reconciliation after violence involves group processes of apology and forgiveness. Therefore, successful reconciliation process, after divisions and violence, necessitates, on the one hand, that the perpetrators voluntarily acknowledges their wrongdoings, and apologize for these evildoings. On the other hand, it becomes much more beneficial when the survivors' voluntary forgiveness is also granted toward renewed relationships. This is indeed the approach that Rwanda adopted. Whether these expressions of apology (implying acknowledgment) and forgiveness takes place was thus worth exploring. In this regard, empirical findings indicate significant improvements as the figure below portrays.

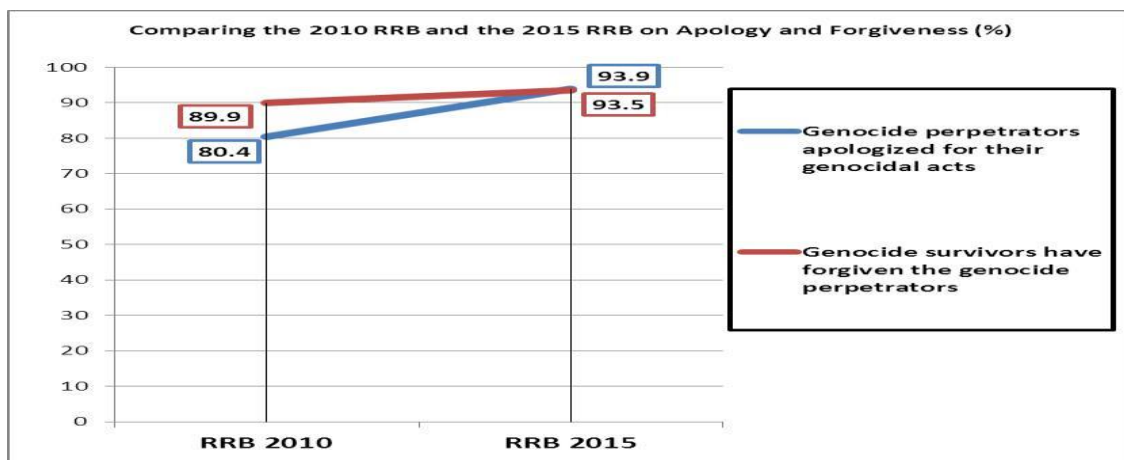
Figure 47: Citizens' perceptions on Apology and Forgiveness



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

The above figure indicates that 93.9% of Rwandans (where 60.7% strongly agree and 33.2% agree to some extent) assert that 'genocide perpetrators apologized for their genocidal acts'. Likewise, 93.5% of Rwandans (where 67.6% strongly agree and 25.9% agree to some extent) contend that the genocide survivors have forgiven the genocide perpetrators. This marks a remarkable improvement in comparison with the 2010 RRB findings that had indicated that 80.4% of Rwandans held that perpetrators expressed remorse and requested for forgiveness, while 89.9% of Rwandans stress that they have granted forgiveness.⁷⁰ The graph below portrays this comparison.

Graph 12: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on apology and forgiveness



⁷⁰ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.38

The above comparative analysis marks a great improvement in reconciliation status since 2010. Some of the illustrative accounts in this regard read:

“First of all, I must say that none can reconcile with somebody who does not acknowledge his/her guilt. This means that the great role is on the perpetrators. When somebody comes to you and apologizes and requests for forgiveness, this means that s/he has acknowledged the guilt; therefore, you can’t deny him/her forgiveness. The fact that perpetrators take a lead in acknowledging their acts during the genocide promotes reconciliation because survivors or other Rwandans get motivated and realize how deep the evil committed was , and forgive them”. (A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

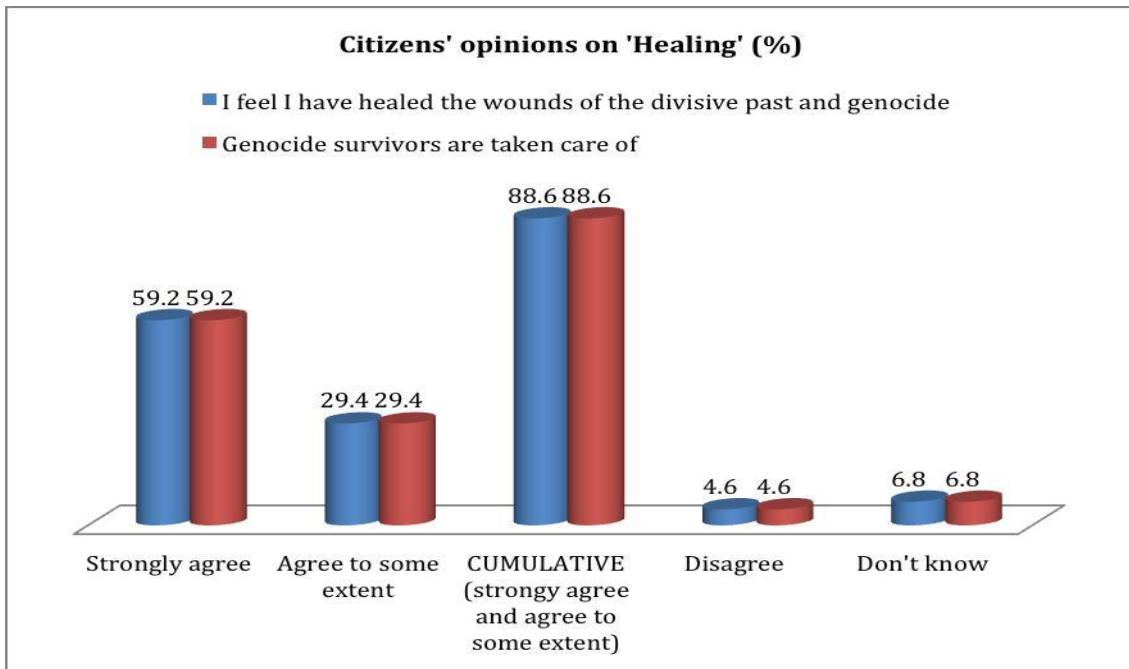
“When the perpetrator comes to you and asks for forgiveness, this constitutes a good step s/he has already made, which promotes reconciliation, and you can’t escape forgiving him/her.” (A citizen from Kirambo Teacher Training College, Burera district)

“I am one of the children, survivors of genocide. Now I am studying in senior six...people who killed my father asked for forgiveness and we forgave them. Some were given less punishment like TIG but I feel satisfied because justice has been granted to me. (A student of APARUDE secondary school, Ruhango district).

2.7.5. Individual Healing

Healing is about overcoming trauma experienced during or after a conflict. In Rwanda, it is impossible to overstate the extent to which there has been severe material loss, physical injuries, as well as emotional and psychological trauma in Rwanda after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. Nearly every Rwandan citizen has been affected, and so traumatized, by the legacy of the divisive past and violence, and particularly the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, whether from direct involvement in perpetrating such violence, from personal injury, or from the injury or death of loved ones. Whether this takes place in Rwanda was the question thus explored.

Figure 48: Citizens' perceptions on individual Healing



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As shown in the above figure, only 88.6% of Rwandans (where 59.2% strongly agree and 29.4% agree to some extent) indicate that *genocide survivors are taken care of* and that *they have healed the wounds of the divisive past and genocide*. This marks a significant improvement in reconciliation as the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that only 78.5% of Rwandans contended that they have healed the wounds from the genocide and divisions, while only 69% of Rwandans had considered that “genocide survivors are taken care of”⁷¹. This is what the graph below portrays.

⁷¹ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.38

Graph 13: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on apology and forgiveness

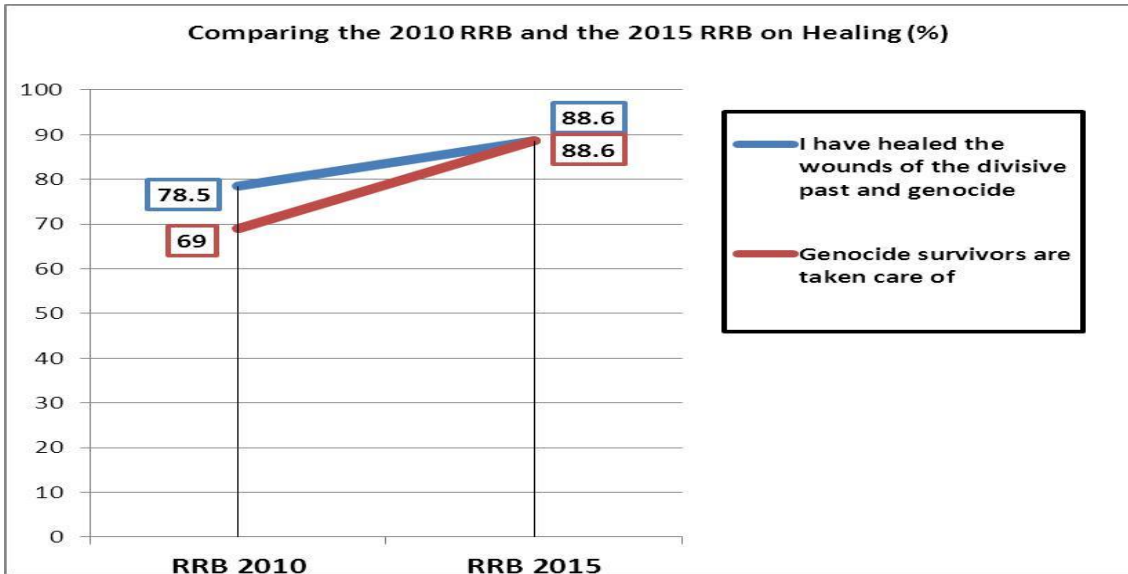
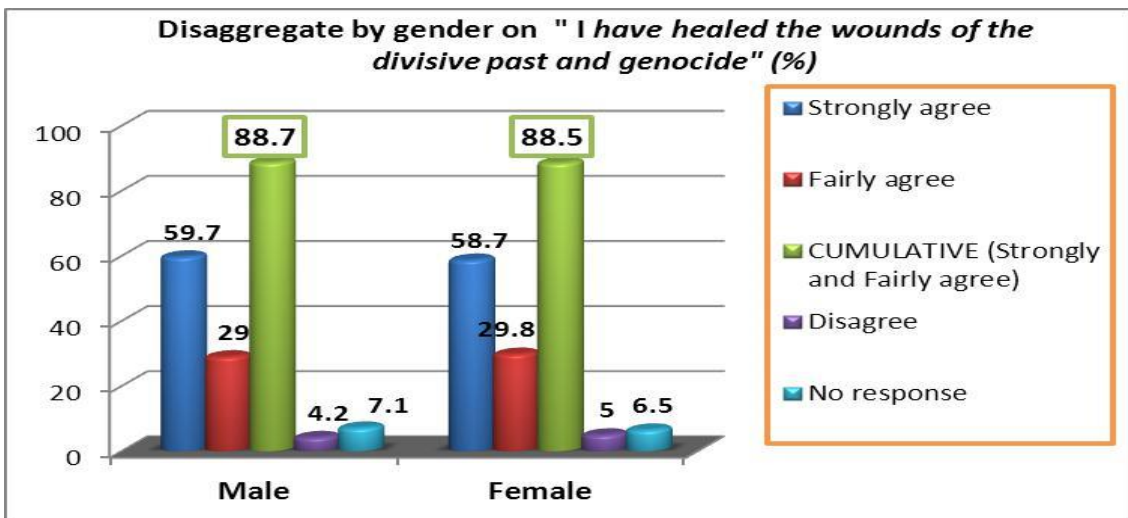


Figure 49: Citizens’ opinions on whether they have healed the wounds of the divisive past and genocide (disaggregated by gender)



The above figure portrays a great improvement in reconciliation, as far as healing is concerned, since 2010. Both male and female are with the same account, at 88.7% and 88.5% respectively, that wounds resulting from the divisive past and genocide got healed. In this regard, memory was given a particular attention in healing, as the accounts below emphasize:

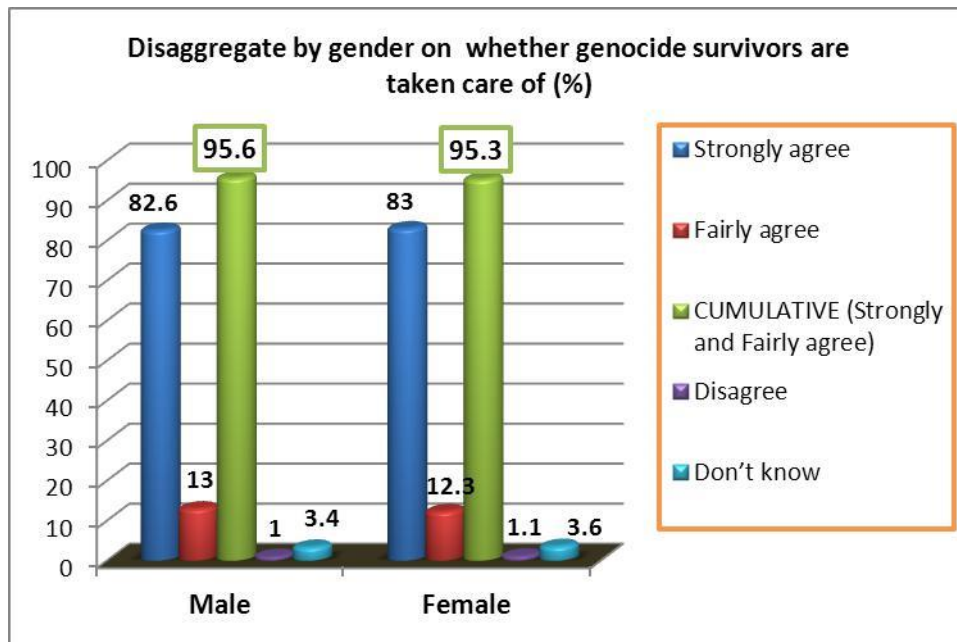
“Remembering ours who have been victims of the genocide; when we remember them, we feel better. Even though they died, we realized that at least the Rwandan community cares about the victims. When we commemorate the genocide, perpetrators also feel their guilt and ashamed, which encourages them to repent and ask for forgiveness. Memory is thus important because for example most of the time those who repented

provide support to survivors like farming, building houses...and this greatly contributes to reconciliation.” (A member of Ururembo Rwa Muko association, Musanze district).

Healing from trauma promotes reconciliation because when perpetrators asked for forgiveness we felt psychologically soothed because you can't fight evil with another evil. But you too, when s/he asks you for forgiveness you [survivor] feel soothed because you realized that s/he will live without suspicion that you might revenge. (A member of Abaharanira Amahoro association, Burera district)

“When a person who wronged you asks you for forgiveness, you feel soothed from the heart and the heavy burden that you had in your heart soothes and you start looking at him/her normally; you get near each other again, and you forgive him/her, which promotes reconciliation. This is what happened to us and those who killed ours. They repented and we forgave them, and we felt the burden of hatred and suspicion is little by little getting away.” (A member of Abaharanira Amahoro, Burera district)

Figure 50: Citizens’ opinions on whether genocide survivors are taken care of (disaggregated by gender)



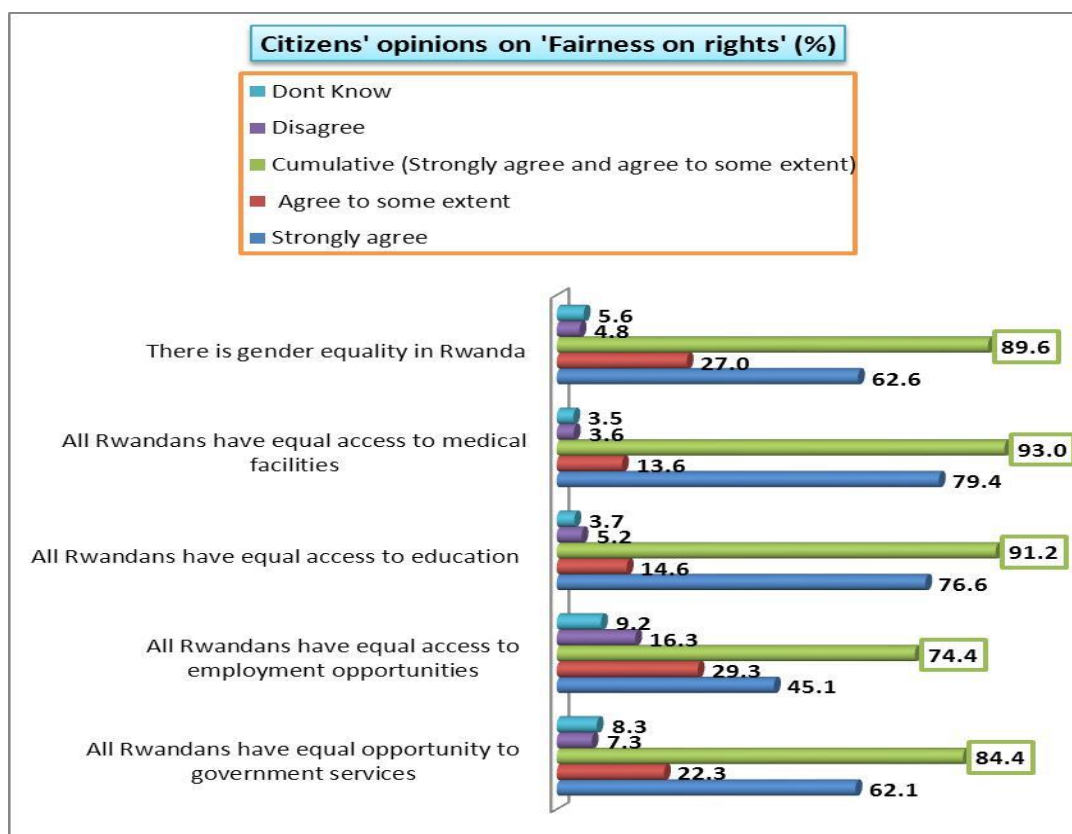
This figure indicates that both male and female are more or less of the same opinion, at 95.6% and 95.3% respectively, that genocide survivors are taken care of.

2.7.6. Fairness and respect of fundamental human rights

“Equality in rights is related to reconciliation; this is evidence that there is no discrimination among Rwandans because it is discrimination that divided Rwandans.” (A students of Groupe scolaire Bumba, Rutsiro)

Inequality constitutes a heavy obstacle to reconciliation. It even goes further to constitute a catalyst for the eruption of violence. Therefore, it was important to measure the level of equality in Rwanda, as far as reconciliation is concerned. Citizens’ perceptions in this regard are presented in the figure below.

Figure 51: Citizens perceptions on Fairness and respect of fundamental human rights

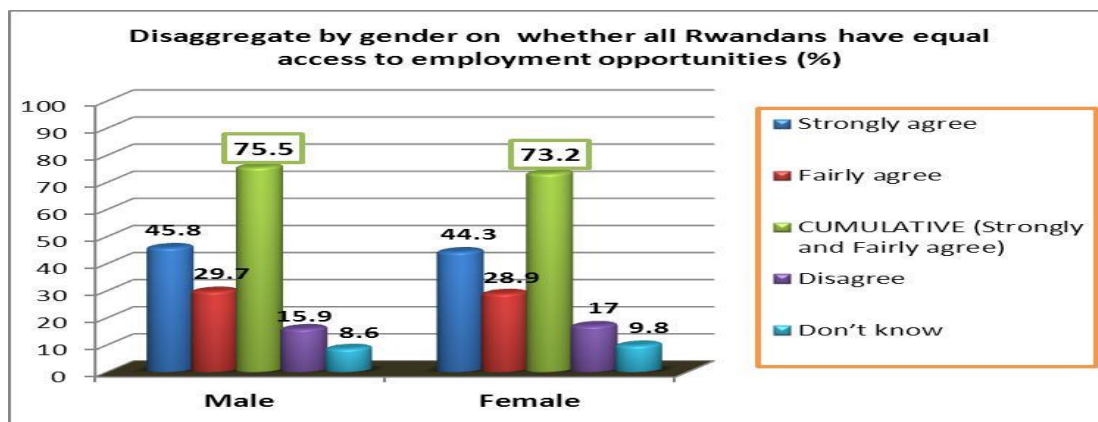


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Findings presented in the above graph portray positive results with regard to citizens’ perceptions about fairness on fundamental human rights’. It is in this regard that 93% of Rwandans (where 79.4% strongly agree and 13.6% are to some extent) affirm that ‘all Rwandans have equal access to medical facilities’. The above figure also shows that with regard to equality in employment opportunities 74.4% of Rwandans (where 45.1% of Rwandans strongly agree and 29.3% are to some extent) hold that ‘all Rwandans have equal access to employment

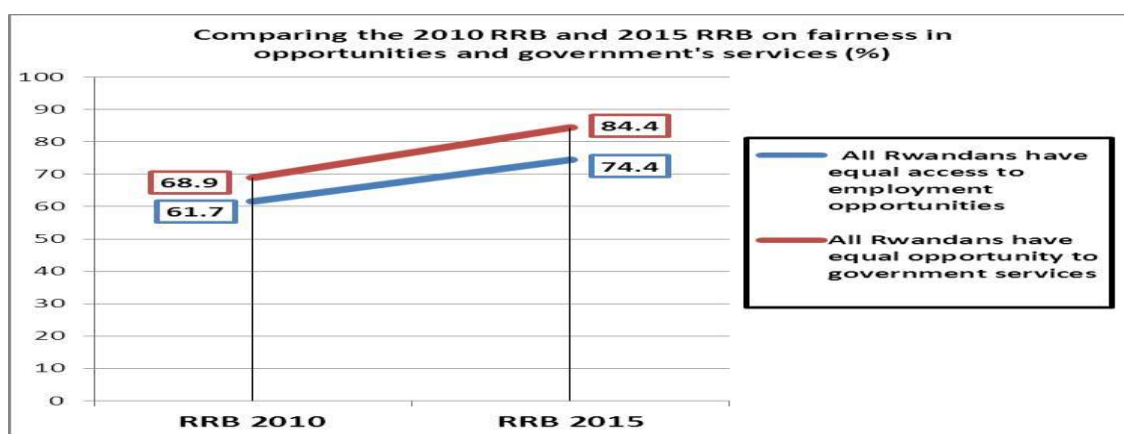
opportunities.’ This indicates that there has been great improvement as the 2010 RRB had indicated that only 61.7% of Rwandans agreed with this statement.⁷²

Figure 52: Citizens’ opinions on whether all Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities (disaggregated by gender)



This figure indicates that both male and female are with more or less the same opinion, at 75.5% and 73.2% respectively, that all Rwandans have equal opportunity to employment opportunities. Findings in figure 51 also indicate that 91.2% of Rwandans (where 76.6% strongly agree and 14.6% are to some extent) hold that ‘all Rwandans have equal access to education’. Likewise, 84.4% of Rwandans (where 62.2% strongly agree and 22.3% are to some extent) stress that ‘all Rwandans have equal opportunity to government services’, which shows a very significant improvement given that the 2010 RRB findings⁷³ that had indicated that that 68.9% of Rwandans agreed with this statement. The above comparison is shown in the graph below.

Graph 14: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on fairness in opportunities and government’s services



With regard to gender equality, findings presented in figure 51 indicate that 89.6% of Rwandans (where 62.6% strongly agree and 27% are to some extent) affirm that ‘there is gender equality in Rwanda’.

⁷²NURC (2010). Ibid., p.30

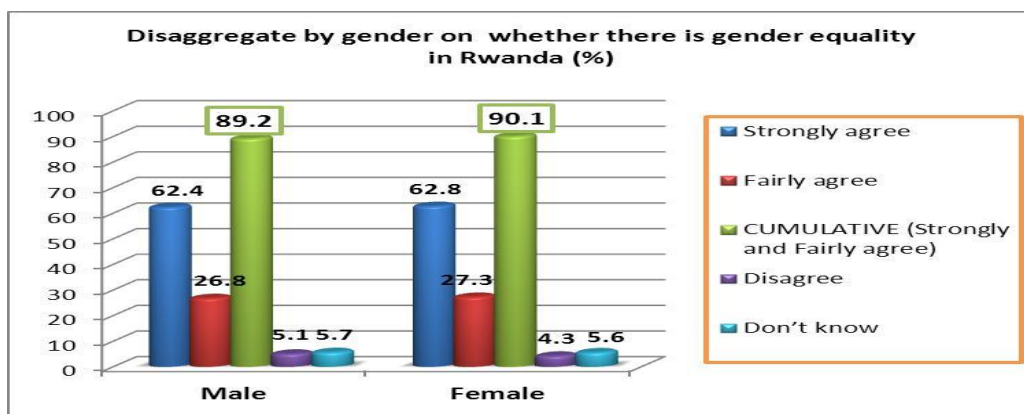
⁷³NURC (2010). Ibid., p.30

Some illustrative accounts in this regard are worth putting:

“I remember that in the past there was discrimination in schools whereby children were promoted to high school based on their ethnic background. Nowadays such discrimination exists no more. For me this is very good, and I think the process of reconciliation is satisfactory.” (A citizen from IPRC Vocational training, Musanze district)

“Unlike in the past all children have now equal opportunity to go to school. Apart from equal opportunities in education, the Government of unity even helps the poor to have school requirements like notebooks and books. This is why we thank this Government of Unity...In the past women were discriminate against. Nowadays with this Government, no women or girl is discriminate against.” (A member of Ururembo Rwa Muko association, Musanze district).

Figure 53: Citizens’ opinions on whether there is gender equality in Rwanda (Disaggregated by gender)



This figure indicates that both male and female are with more or less the same opinion, at 89.2% and 90.1% respectively, that there is gender equality in Rwanda.

2.27.7..7.SSummaryonJJustice,, fairness and rights

Table 8: Average non-Justice' fairness and rights' in Rwanda

INDICATORS	%
Truth	
1. Truth about the divisions that characterized the past of Rwanda have been made clear	93
2. Truth about what happened during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi have been disclosed	93.3
Punishment of crimes	
3. Genocide perpetrators have been punished	95.8
4. There are effective legal and policy measures in place against divisions and genocide	95.4
Compensation of properties destroyed/looted	
5. Properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated	88.2
Apology and forgiveness	
6. Genocide perpetrators apologized for their genocidal acts	93.9
7. Genocide survivors have forgiven genocide perpetrators	93.5
Individual healing	
8. I feel that I have healed the wounds of the divisive past and genocide in Rwanda	88.6
9. Genocide survivors are taken care of in Rwanda	88.6
Fairness and respect of fundamental human rights	
10. All Rwandans have equal opportunity to government services	84.4
11. All Rwandans have equal access to education	91.2
12. All Rwandans have equal access to medical facilities	93
13. There is gender equality in Rwanda	89.6
AVERAGE	91.4

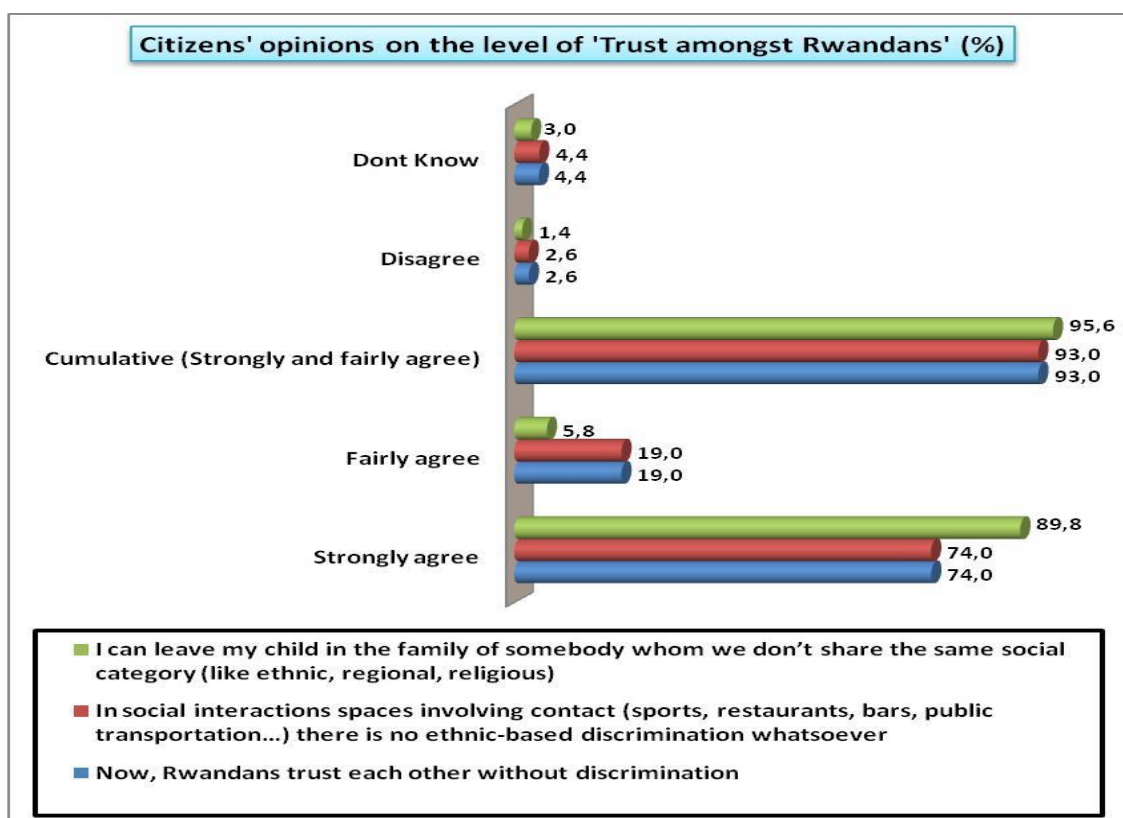
2.8. SOCIAL COHESION

There seems to be a common contention that social cohesion—a glue that binds a society together—is the leading evidence of successful reconciliation. In this regard, trust, tolerance and positive interactions among members of the society are key. Divisions and the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda profoundly destroyed the social fabric of Rwanda. The restoration of social cohesion among Rwandans appears therefore paramount and constitutes the core variable for the measurement of the status of reconciliation in Rwanda. Questions in this regard pointed to the level of mutual trust, tolerance and interactions among Rwandans, and the level of friendship and solidarity among them.

2.8.1. Trust among Rwandans

It is widely recognized that without a minimum level of inter-personal trust a society would not function. The assumption is that if trust increases between Rwandan citizens, Reconciliation among Rwandans is more likely to occur.⁷⁴ Mutual trust is thus the chief ingredient in social cohesion. The assessment of the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda thus explored the level of trust among Rwandans. Findings in this regard are presented in the figure below.

Figure 54: Citizens' opinions on Trust among Rwandans



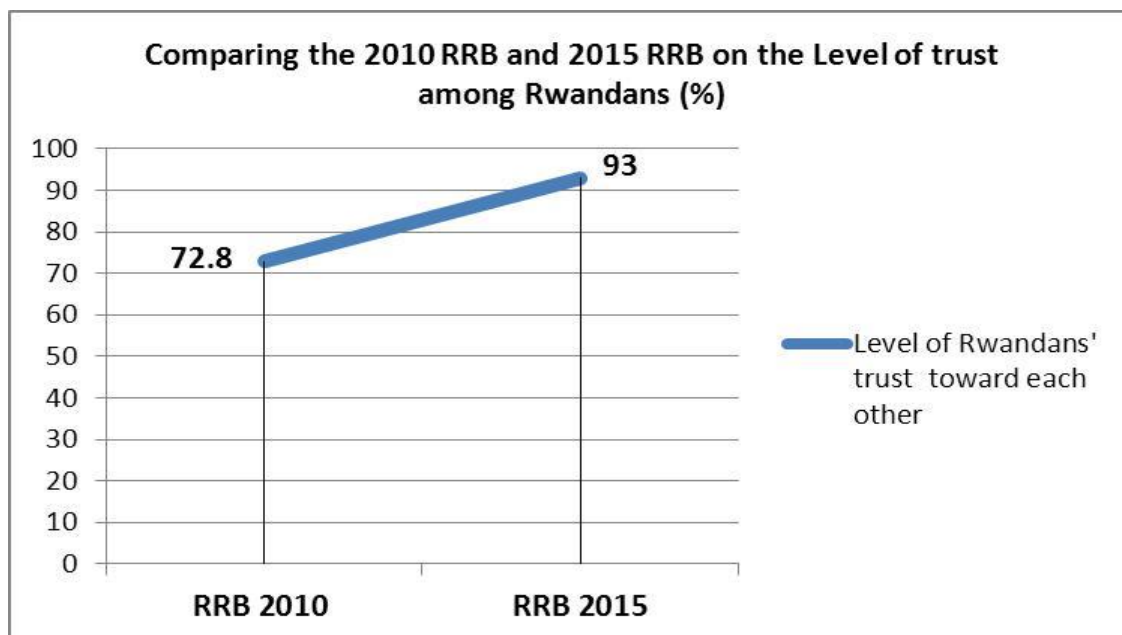
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure shows, there is a significant improvement concerning the level of mutual trust among Rwandans. In this regard, 93% of Rwandans (where 74% strongly agree and 19% fairly agree) stress that 'now Rwandans trust each other without discrimination' and that 'in social interaction spaces involving contact (sport, restaurant, bars, public transportations, etc.) there is no ethnic -based discrimination whatsoever.' This shows a significant improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 72.8%⁷⁵. The graph below shows this improvement.

⁷⁴NURC (2010). Ibidem. p. 21-22.

⁷⁵NURC (2010). Ibid. p.47

Graph 15: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on the Level of trust among Rwandans

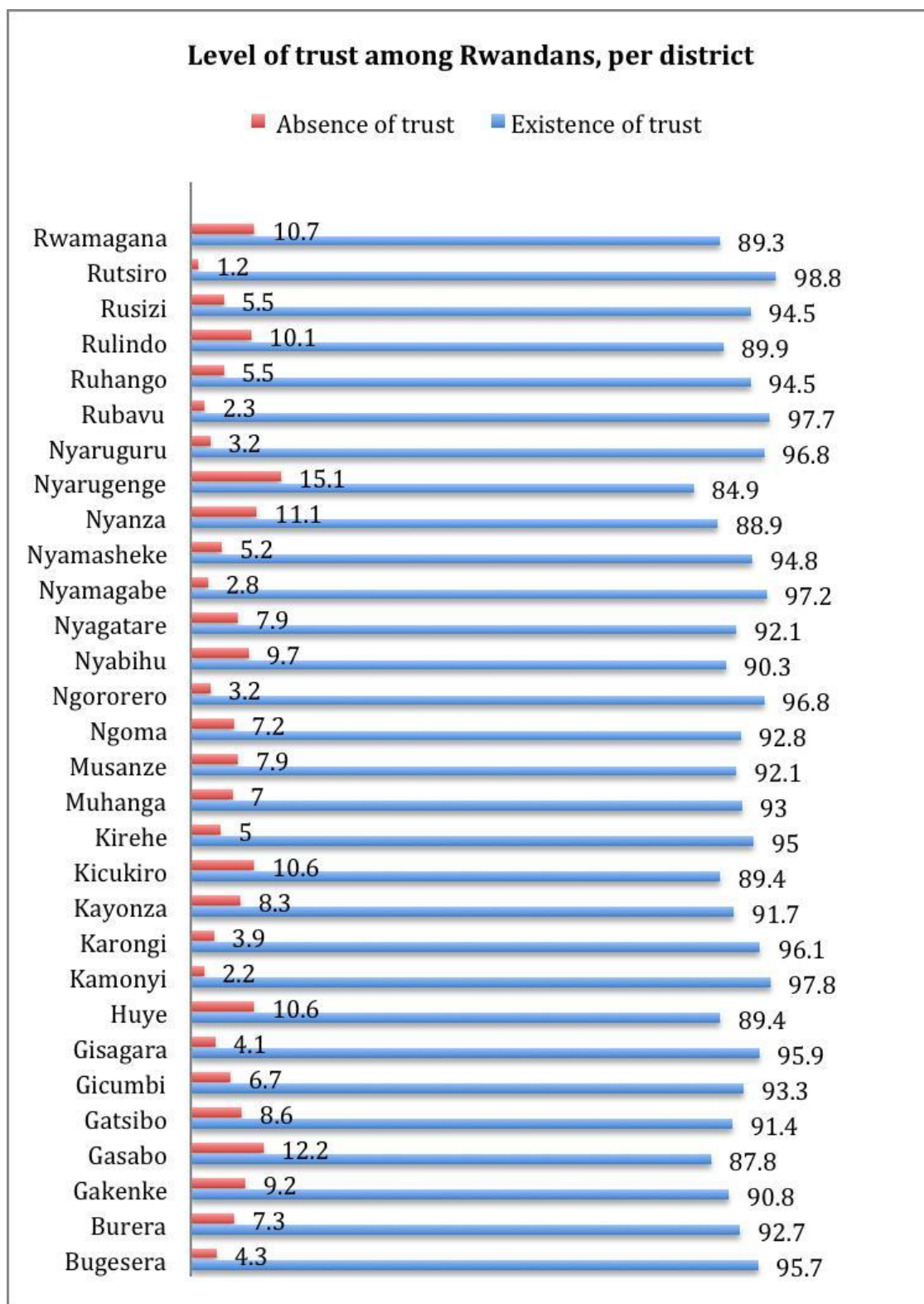


Likewise, the figure 53 indicates that 95.6% of Rwandans (where 89.8% strongly agree and 5.8% fairly agree) support the statement: “I can leave my child in the family of somebody with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious).” In this regard, ‘There is trust among Rwandans because there is no longer mutual suspicion among Rwandans’ was indeed the general contention of most of Rwandans. The following accounts appear also illustrative:

“Trust between Rwandans is good because we live in total harmony being in cooperative or in any other social event, we trust each other. This has a connection with reconciliation because when there is trust, suspicion is eliminated and we feel we are together and reconciled (a member of Dutabarane cooperative, Rutsiro district)

Yes, we trust each other. If we support each other in sorrow and joy, when our children go to school together and when as they come back they play together and share food together, what else do you want to know about trust? (a member of MUCECORE, Nyarugenge district).

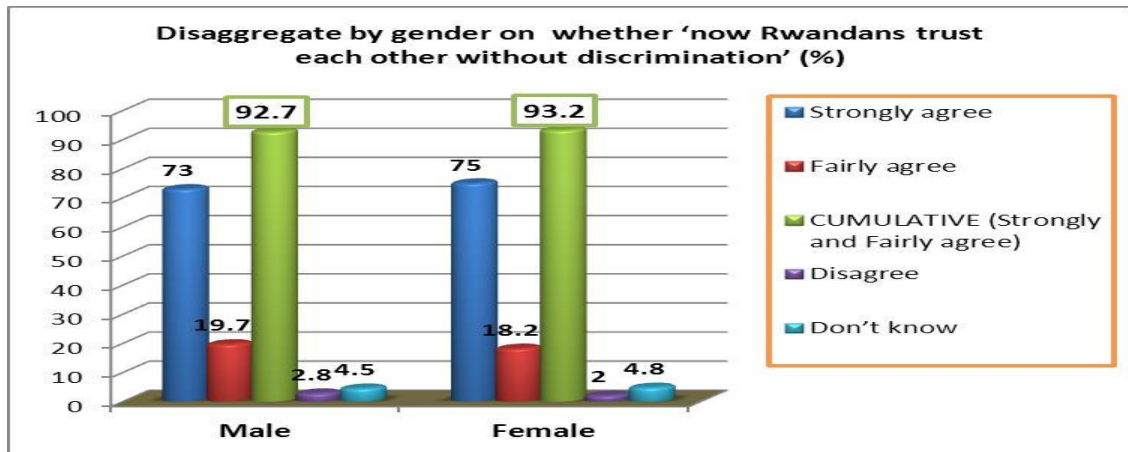
Figure 55: Citizens' opinions, per district, on Trust among Rwandans



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

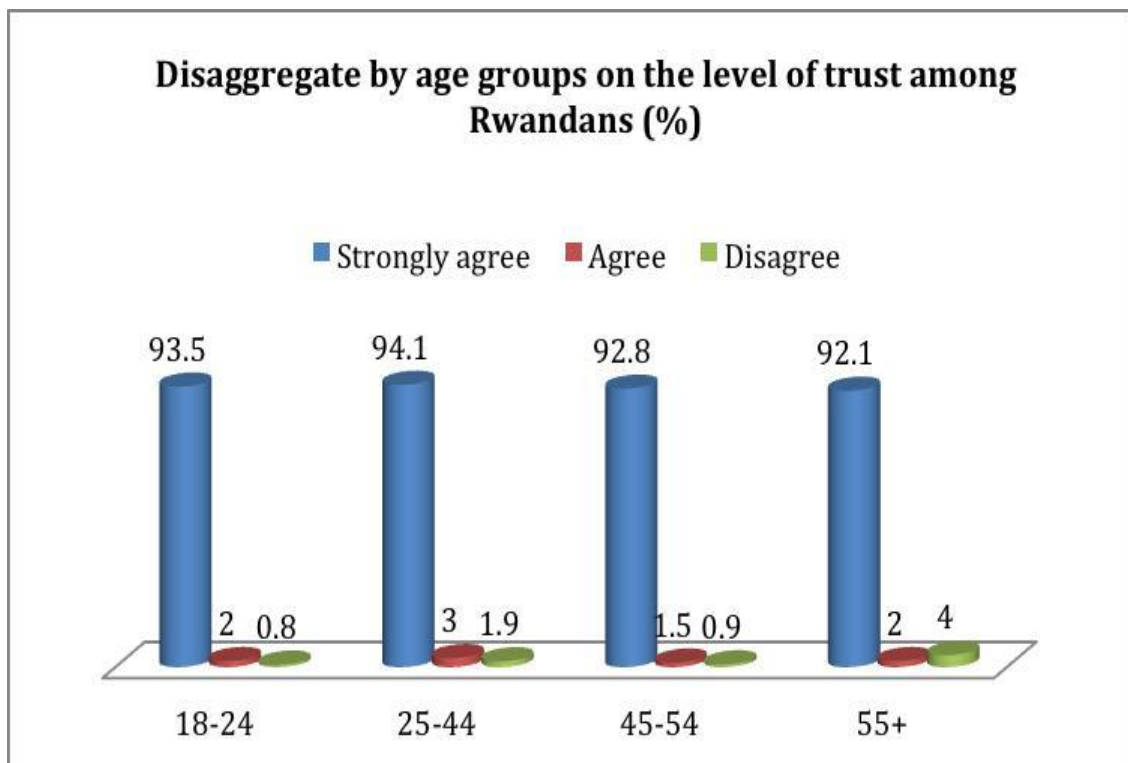
In view of the above figure, it appears that the district that registered a highest level of trust among citizens is Rutsiro (98.8%) while the district that registered the comparative least score in the level of trust among citizens, yet also high, is Nyarugenge (84.9%).

Figure 56: Citizens' opinions on whether Rwandans trust each other without discrimination (disaggregated by gender)



This figure indicates that both male and female are with more or less the same opinion, at 92.7% and 93.2% respectively, that 'now Rwandans trust each other without discrimination'.

Figure 57: Disaggregate by age groups on the level of trust among Rwandans

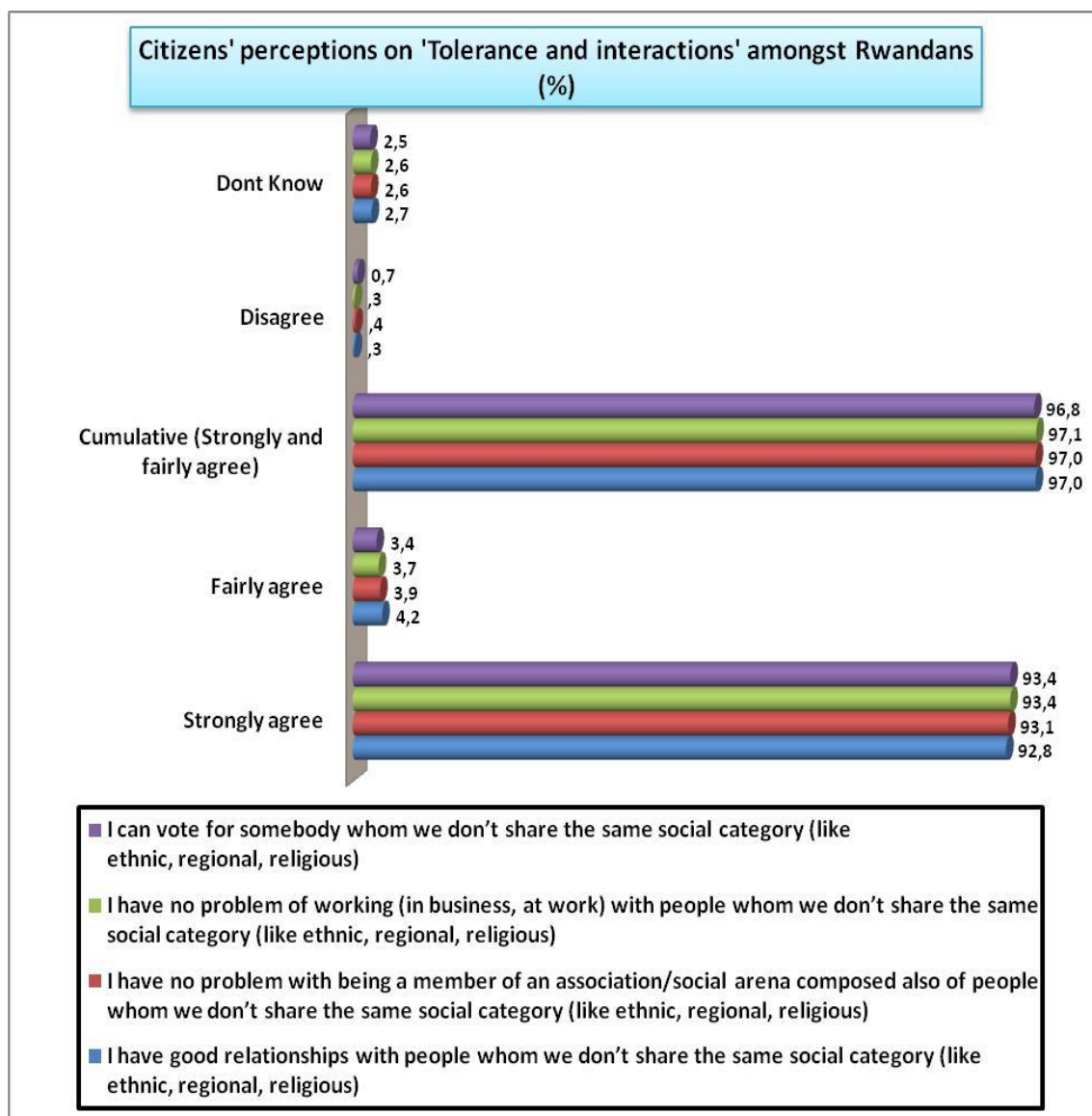


This figure indicates that Rwandans, of different age groups, are highly more or less equally in agreement with the consideration that, nowadays, there is trust among Rwandans.

2.8.2. Tolerance and interactions among Rwandans

Tolerance and positive interactions among Rwandans constituted another aspect that was assessed. In this regard empirical findings show significant improvements, in comparison with the 2010 RRB findings, as the graph below shows.

Figure 58: Citizens' perceptions on Tolerance and relationships among Rwandans



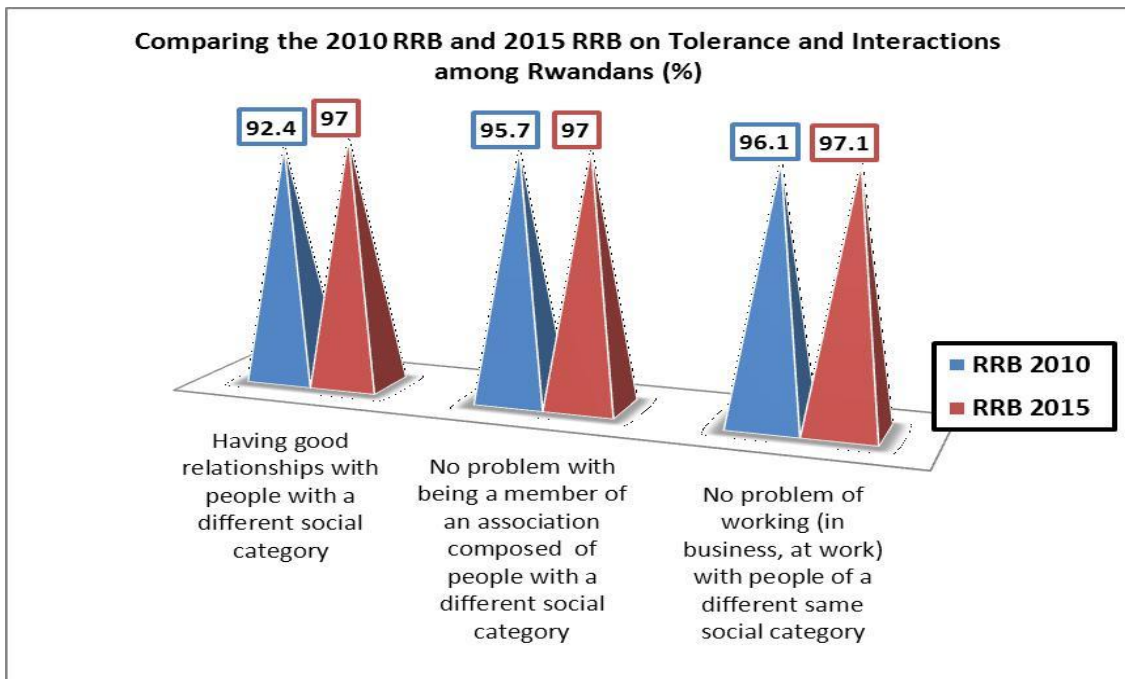
Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the figure above indicates, 97% of Rwandans (where 92.8% strongly agree and 4.2% fairly agree) hold that they 'have good relationships with people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. Likewise, 97% of Rwandans (where 93.1% strongly agree and 3.9% fairly agree) stress and that they 'have no problem with being a member of an association/social arena composed also of people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. In addition, 97.1% of Rwandans (where 93.4% strongly agree and 3.7% fairly agree) hold that they 'have no problem of working (in business, at

work) with people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'.

The above findings appear generally agree with those of the 2010 RRB while indicating a significant improvement given that the later scored 92.4%⁷⁶, 95.7%⁷⁷, and 96.1%⁷⁸, respectively, on the above three statements. The graph below pictures this.

Graph 16: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on Tolerance and Interactions among Rwandans



Findings, presented in figure 56, also indicate that 96.8% of Rwandans (where 93.4% strongly agree and 3.4% fairly agree), contend that they ‘can vote for somebody with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious).’ Illustrative testimonies in this regard read:

“Reconciliation is truly becoming successful in Rwanda. When I remember how people were suspicious toward each other after the genocide! I mean survivors and perpetrators; they couldn’t talk to each other, they couldn’t even work together in the street, but now you can’t think of that! Now people are united and have good relations.’ (A citizen from IPRC Vocational Training, Musanze district)

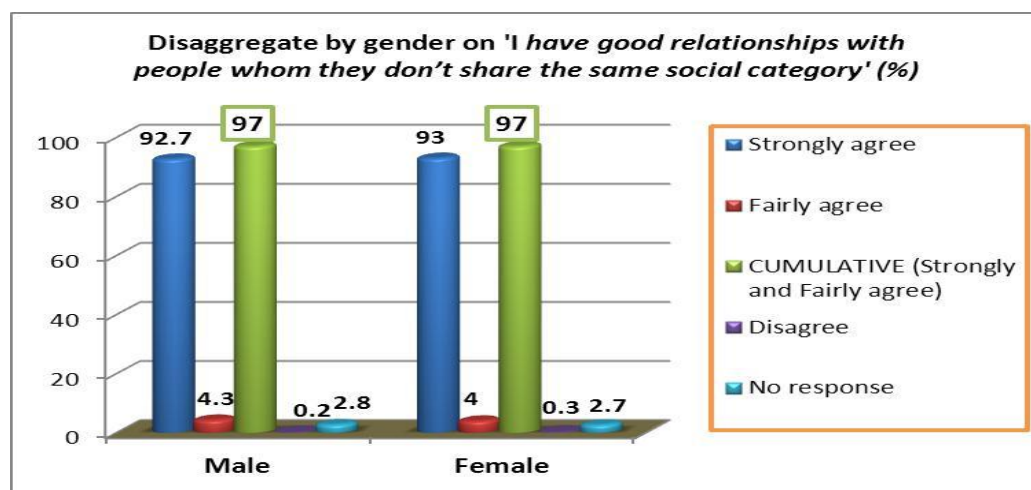
⁷⁶ NURC (2010). Ibid., p. 48.

⁷⁷ Idem., p. 50

⁷⁸ Idem., p. 52.

“It is not like long time ago when hatred and suspicion were characteristic soon after the 1994 genocide. Given the government’s commitment through such programs like umuganda, Itorero ry’igihugu, Ndi Umunyarwanda; education in general; we realized that we have to be united and tolerate each other because divisions cannot lead us anywhere. Good relationships are thus getting improved in Rwanda.” (A student of ETO-IPRC, Kicukiro district).

Figure 59: Citizens’ level of good relationships with people with whom they do not share the same social category (disaggregated by gender)

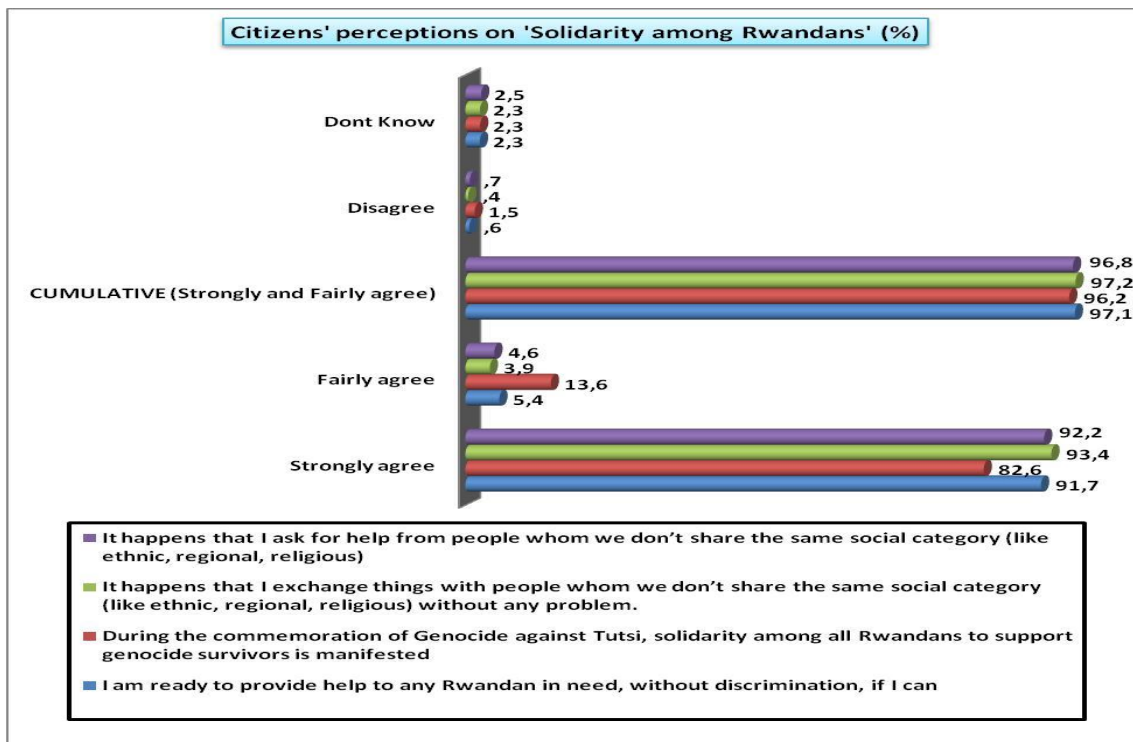


This figure indicates that both male and female are with the same opinion, at 97%, that they have good relationships with people of a different social category.

2.8.3. Solidarity among Rwandans

Mutual trust, tolerance and interactions have paved a way for solidarity among Rwandans. Solidarity manifested through participation in genocide commemoration and material support to genocide survivors, material benefits sharing among people of different backgrounds (e.g. ethnic, regional, and religious), and people from opposing sides during the genocide, are some of the aspects that have been explored. Findings in this regard are presented in the figure below:

Figure 60: Citizens' perceptions on Solidarity among Rwandans

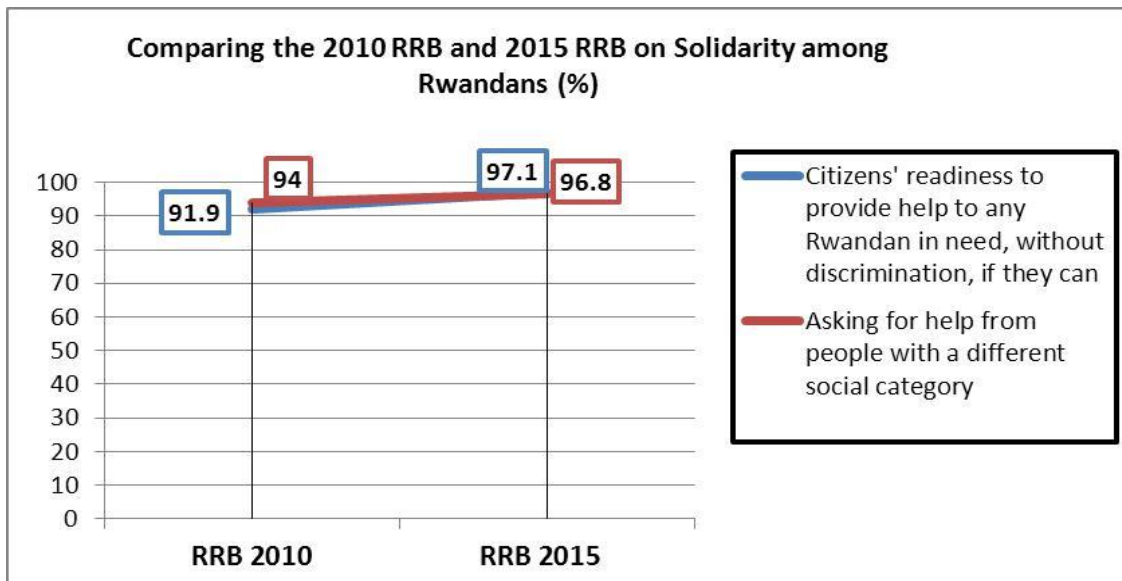


Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Findings presented in the above figure indicate a significant progress in reconciliation as far as solidarity among Rwandans is concerned. In this regard, 97.1% of Rwandans (where 91.7% strongly agree and 5.4% fairly agree) contend that they are 'ready to provide help to any Rwandan in need, without discrimination, if they can'. Likewise, 96.8% of Rwandans (where 92.2% strongly agree and 4.6% fairly agree) felt that 'it happens that they ask for help from people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. This marks a great improvement given that the 2010 RRB findings had scored 91.9% and 94% of Rwandans in agreement with the above two statements, respectively⁷⁹. This is what the graph below portrays.

⁷⁹ NURC (2010). Ibid., p.50

Graph 17: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on Solidarity among Rwandans



Empirical findings presented in figure 58 also indicate that 96.2% of Rwandans (where 82.6 % strongly agreed and 13.6% fairly agree) contented that ‘during the commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi, solidarity among all Rwandans to support genocide survivors is manifested’ while 97.2% of Rwandans (where 93.4% strongly agree and 3.9% fairly agree) contend that ‘it happens that they exchange things with people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem’. Some of illustrative accounts in this regard read:

“Yes, Rwandans live together peacefully; in the village for example, if a person does not have salt, s/he seeks help from the neighbor in this regard, and this is indeed how reconciliation gets promoted.” (A Student of Nyagatare secondary school, Nyagatare district)

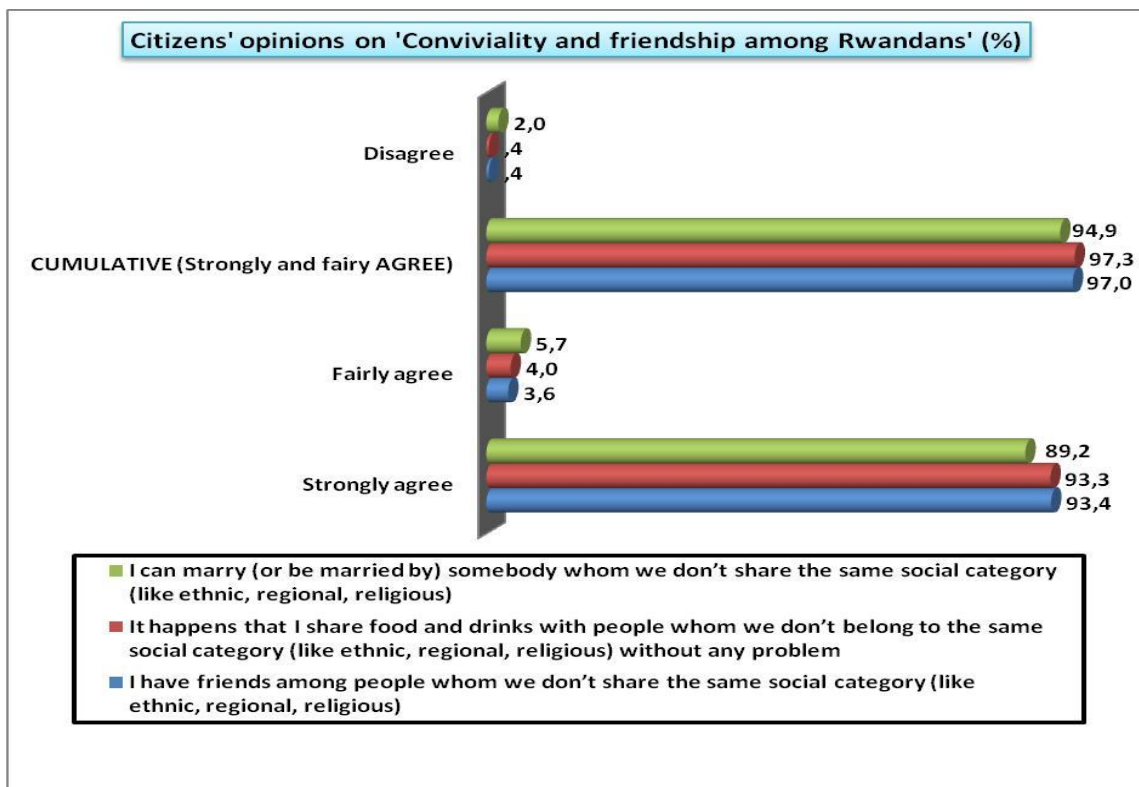
“If nowadays you meet the killer who exterminated your family, you talk and exchange; s/he gives you part of his harvest, this is an indicator of unity and reconciliation!” (A trainee of Justice and Peace initiative of Mushaka Parish, Rusizi district).

“Nowadays Rwandans live together peacefully, we support each other without discrimination; something that was completely inexistent soon after the genocide. I, personally, whenever I have a problem I ask anybody for help; I do not have to look at his/her ethnic background. When anybody also asks for help I contribute without asking his/her background. This is very good in reconciliation. This government is truly making us one.” (A citizen from Lycée de Kigali, Nyarugenge district).

2.8.4. Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans

Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans were also considered as an aspect of social cohesion. Traditionally, Rwandans organized convivial events illustrating friendship, celebrations and socialization. Divisions in the past and, particularly, the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, destroyed conviviality and friendship among Rwandans. Reconciliation promoted since the end of 1994 was thus expected, among other things, to restore conviviality and friendship among Rwandans, which constitute an important aspect of reconciliation. Findings in this regard are presented in the figure below:

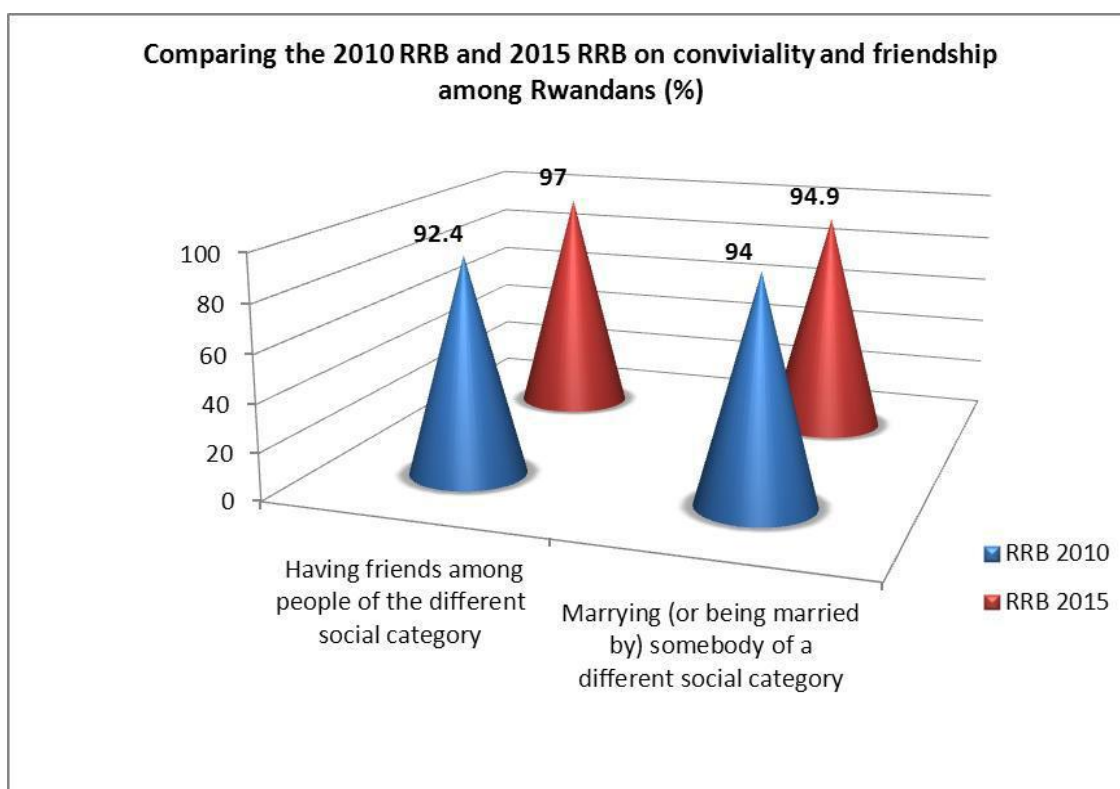
Figure 61: Citizens' perceptions on Conviviality and friendship among Rwandans



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the figure above indicates, 97% of Rwandans (where 93.4% strongly agree and 3.6% fairly agree), contend that they 'have friends among people with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)'. This marks a significant improvement as far as the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda is concerned as the 2010 RRB findings had indicated that 92.4% of Rwandans were in agreement with the above statement. Likewise, 94.9% of Rwandans (where 89.2% strongly agree and 5.7% fairly agree) stress that they can marry (or be married by) somebody with whom they do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious). The graph below shows this comparison.

Graph 18: Comparing the 2010 RRB and 2015 RRB on conviviality and friendship among Rwandans

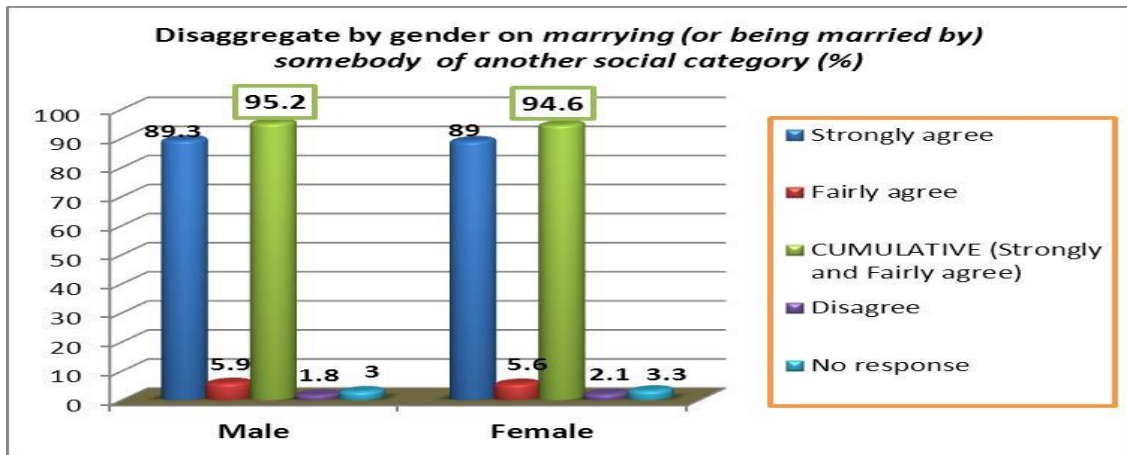


In addition, findings portrayed in figure 59 indicate that 97.3% of Rwandans (where 93.3% strongly agree and 4% fairly agree) hold that ‘it happens that they share food and drinks with people with whom they do not belong to the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem.’ Illustrative testimonies, in relation to the above improvements, appear also inspiring:

“If now the families of genocide perpetrators provide a bridegroom/bride to a genocide survivor; that is a clear evidence of reconciliation!” (A citizen from Nyamasheke health center, Nyamasheke district)

“Me too, I have realized that reconciliation has been successful; because I remember before 1998; during the genocide commemoration, people were forced to attend but little by little, as years went by, people came by themselves, and it is now about 99% and they even provide assistance to survivors. All this indicates that Rwandans are far ahead in reconciliation. Another thing is that of marriage; nowadays a boy just brings a fiancée from wherever, and none asks the family from which the fiancée comes. This is also an evidence of reconciliation. Another thing is the villagisation (Imidugudu) where people live together without any problem. People help each other when there is a problem to solve; they visit each other without discrimination, cohesion in levels of governance is rather a pure performance” (A member of Ururembo Rwa Muko association, Musanze district).

Figure 62: Citizens' opinions on the possibility of marrying (or being married by) somebody of another social category (disaggregated by gender)



This figure indicates that both male and female, more or less equally (95.2% and 94.6%, respectively), contend that they can marry (or being married by) somebody of another social category.

22..88..55.. Summary on “social cohesion”

Table 9:9: Average on ‘Social cohesion’ in Rwanda

Indicators	%
Trust among citizens	
1. Now, Rwandans trust each other without discrimination	93
2. I can leave my child in the family of somebody with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)	95.6
3. I can vote for somebody with whom we do not share the same social category	96.8
Tolerance and interactions among citizens	
4. In social interactions spaces involving contact (sports, restaurants, bars, public transportation...) there is no ethnic-based discrimination whatsoever	93
5. I have good relationships with people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)	97
6. I have no problem with being a member of an association composed also of people with whom we do not share the same social category	97
7. I have no problem of working (in business, at work) with people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)	97.1
Solidarity among citizens	
8. I am ready to provide help to any Rwandan in need, if I can	97.1
9. During the commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi, solidarity among all Rwandans to support genocide survivors is manifested	96.2
10. It happens that I exchange things with people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem	97.2
11. It happens that I ask for help from people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)	96.8
Conviviality and Friendship among citizens	
12. I have friends among people with whom we do not share the same social category	97
13. It happens that I share food and drinks with people with whom we do not belong to the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem	97.3
14. I can marry (or be married by) somebody with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious)	94.9
AVERAGE	96.1

2.9. THE CURRENT STATUS OF RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA

On basis of the previous findings, with regard to the six variables, it is now possible to determine the overall current status of reconciliation in Rwanda.

Table 10: The current status reconciliation in Rwanda per variables and by average

Variables	Indicators	Findings (%)	Average (%)
1. Understanding the past and envisioning the future	o Understanding of facts	91.7	91.8
	o History teaching	93.5	
	o Commitment to reconciliation	91.1	
	o Building the present & envisioning the future	91.2	
2. Citizenship and Identity	o National identity	95.6	96.7
	o Individual proudness of a shared identity	97.3	
	o Shared values and vision	96.6	
	o Commitment to national identity	97.4	
3. Political Culture	o Trust in Leaders	95.4	88.4
	o Confidence in the Executive	91.6	
	o Confidence in the Legislative	91.1	
	o Confidence in the Judiciary	89.3	
	o Trust in various public institutions	89.7	
	o Confidence in private institutions	72.4	
	o Citizens' participation in governance	91.6	
	o Citizens' empowerment in governance	86.3	
4. Security and wellbeing	o National security	96.8	90.7
	o Personal security	95.4	
	o Economic security	88.2	
	o Right to basic assets and infrastructures	82.7	
5. Justice, fairness and rights	o Truth	93,1	91.4
	o Punishment of crimes	95,6	
	o Compensation of properties destroyed/looted	88,2	
	o Apology and forgiveness	93,7	
	o Individual healing	88,6	
	o Fairness and respect of basic human rights	89,5	
6. Social Cohesion	o Trust among citizens	95.1	96.1
	o Tolerance and interactions among citizens	96.1	
	o Solidarity among citizens	96.8	
	o Conviviality and friendship among citizens	96.4	
AVERAGE			92.5

By considering the six variables measuring reconciliation in Rwanda, the above table indicates that, on average, the current status of reconciliation is at 92.5%.

This status of reconciliation indicates how much Rwanda is now far ahead in the process of reconciliation, notably in comparison with the RRB findings of 2010. The table and figure below portray this.

Table 11: Comparison between RRB of 2010 and RRB of 2015

Variables used to measure reconciliation	Comparison between RRB 2010 and RRB 2015 (%)	
	RRB 2010	RRB 2015
1. Understanding the past and envisioning the future	81.7	91.8
2. Citizenship and Identity	95.2	96.7
3. Political culture	77.8	88.4
4. Security and wellbeing	74.7	90.7
5. Justice, fairness and rights	77.2	91.4
6. Social cohesion	87.3	96.1
AVERAGE	82,3	92.5

Variable	RRB 2010 (%)	RRB 2015 (%)
AVERAGE	82.3	92.5
Social cohesion	87.3	96.1
Justice, fairness and rights	77.2	89.3
Security and wellbeing	74.7	90.7
Political culture	77.8	88.4
Citizenship and Identity	95.5	96.7
Understanding the past & envisioning the future	81.7	91.8

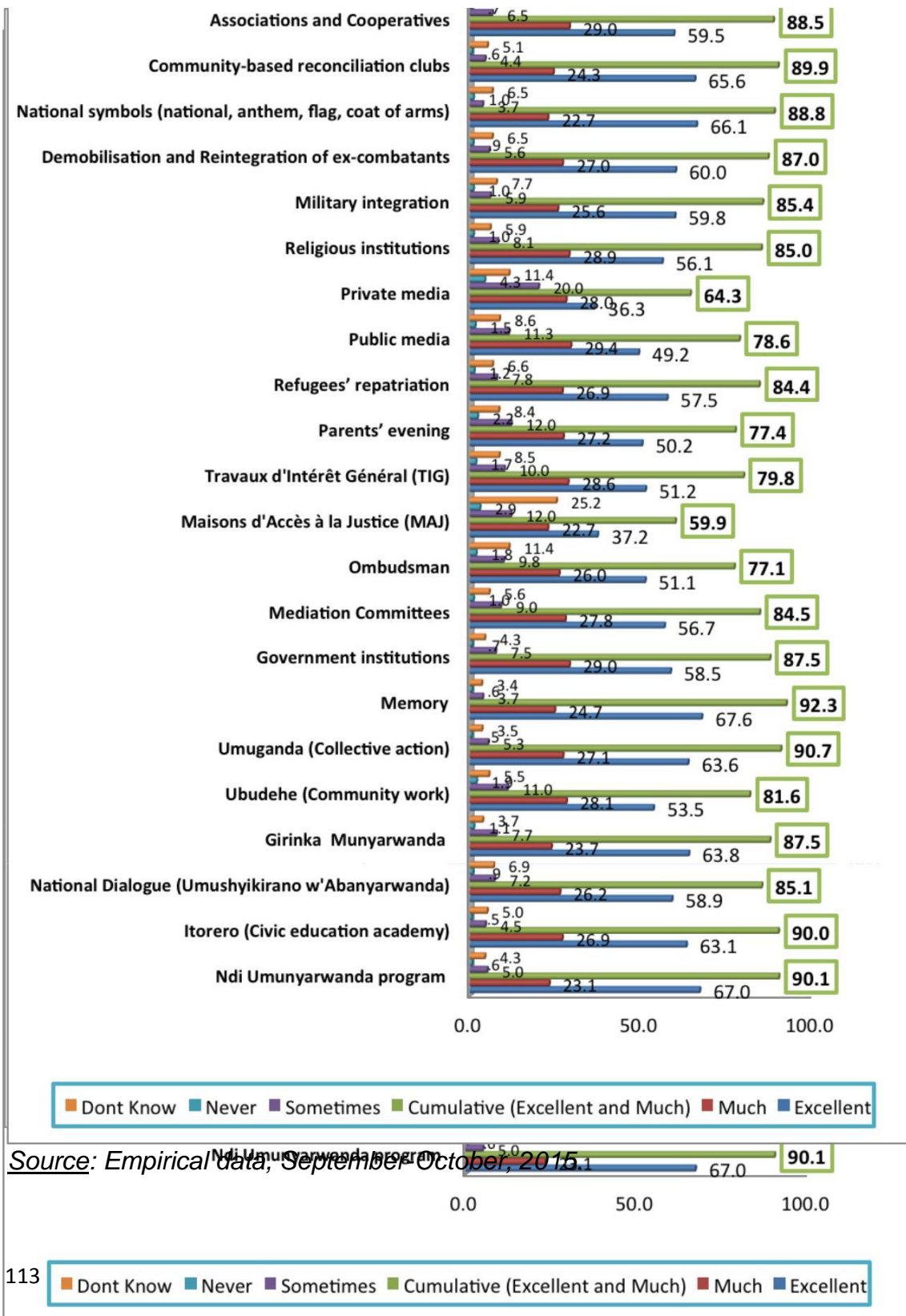
The above table and figure, comparing the status of reconciliation of 2010 and 2015 in Rwanda, indicate a remarkable improvement. On average, the status of reconciliation improved from **82.3%** in 2010 up to **92.5%** in 2015.

2.10. FACTORS FAVORABLE TO RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA

In view of all the above findings on the 6 variables that measured the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, and which indicated significant improvements in reconciliation, there is need to explore the factors that contributed/still contribute to this incredible success. All turn around a favorable institutional support whereby favorable mechanisms/programs have been decisive, within a favorable Rwandan culture.

These mechanisms are embedded within a *strong will and commitment of the Government of National Unity* through strong policy and legal measures that promote reconciliation on the one hand, and measures (laws...) and others combating and/or punishing any form of division and genocide ideology. The above favorable mechanisms are also driven by/embedded within the *favorable framework—the Rwanda culture* that favors social cohesion, hence reconciliation. The figure below portrays the mechanisms/programs in question.

Figure 63: Citizens' perception on the contribution of mechanisms/programs toward reconciliation in Rwanda



Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

Source: Empirical data, September-October, 2015.

As the above figure portrays, a number of mechanisms or programs contribute heavily to the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda.

As findings indicate, per score, the mechanisms or programs that takes a lead include memory⁸⁰ (92%), *Umuganda*⁸¹ (collective action), *Ubudehe*⁸² (community work), *Ndi Umunyarwanda* program⁸³, *Itorero ry'igihugu*⁸⁴ (civic education academy), *Girinka*⁸⁵, and community-based reconciliation clubs, which scored 90%. The mechanisms that have had a lower score include

⁸⁰ Memory here goes beyond genocide commemoration and include what happened in the past of Rwanda, in the genocide against Tutsi.

⁸¹ The *Umuganda*, dates back since the pre-colonial times and referred to Rwanda's tradition of voluntary work to achieve a range of societal objectives collectively. The program was reintroduced, after the 1994 genocide, so as to promote development through collective action. Consequently, collective action through *Umuganda* created/creates solidarity, unity among those participating in it. *Umuganda* bonds families and is a mechanism that solidified/solidifies social cohesion, social trust and reconciliation in Rwanda. It promoted/promotes neighborliness while removing the separation walls between neighboring communities.

⁸² *Ubudehe* is a homegrown solution rooted in Rwanda's culture of mutual support. The program was re-initiated towards the end of 2001 with the objective of enforcing community work at village or community level in order to alleviate poverty. Beside community work to support the poor and vulnerable, *Ubudehe* program was also introduced so as to reunite and reconcile Rwandans since the aftermath of the 1994 against Tutsi. The overall purpose was to build trust among Rwandans so as to start the process of healing and working together to build greater social capital and inclusion, to reduce citizen apathy toward the government and among themselves, and to strengthen each citizen's power to act and therefore build an active Rwandan citizen.

⁸³ *Ndi Umunyarwanda* is a Rwandan program, institutionalized since 2013, in Rwandan path toward unity and reconciliation. The program, based on having open dialogue and discussions, is aimed at looking beyond what divided Rwandans toward what unites them. By focusing on a shared citizenship, the program thus aims to restore the bond and solidarity between Rwandans.

⁸⁴ *Itorero* was a traditional Rwandan school or center that was used to instill moral values and actions, and capacity to deal with ones problems. It was reintroduced, in 2007, asa unity and reconciliation program with the overall objective of recreating a Rwandan characterized by constructive values founded on culture and on national vision.

⁸⁵ *Girinka*—a One Cow per Poor Family—is a national program aimed at providing poor families with cows. The program was initiated in 2000 by His Excellency, Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda in response to the alarmingly high rate of childhood malnutrition, and as a way to accelerate poverty reduction. *Girinka* also entails social and cultural program that enhances social cohesion, which contributed to the growing social capital in post-Genocide Rwanda each beneficiary is in turn requested to give the first-born calf to another worthy beneficiary in their community. This is known as the 'pass on of a cow' principle, which has helped to rebuild social relationships destroyed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

the MAJ⁸⁶ (60%) and the private media (64%), in agreement with the 2013 RGB's findings on the Rwanda Media Barometer⁸⁷.

As put above, these favorable mechanisms are embedded within a *favorable framework—the Rwanda culture* that favors social cohesion. In fact, in the Rwandan culture, unity, solidarity (in the sense of cooperation, interdependence or mutual support), and the fact that *none can live as an island*, have always been considered to be the foundation of the Rwandan society, and one of the best way for people to live and thrive.

The report of the Ministry of Local Government reflects this:

“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 Rwandan’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 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.”⁸⁸

The above statement of the Ministry of Local Government backs up some of the Rwandans’ contentions, which emphasize the Rwandan saying: *umutwe umwe wifasha gusara* ’ (one’s individual thinking only assists on one’s way to insanity/madness), or *ntawigira* (none can achieve anything by him -or herself). It is on the basis of this traditional culture of solidarity that social cohesion and so reconciliation is promoted.

⁸⁶ *Maisons d’Accès à la Justice* (MAJ), are justice bureaus initiated by the Ministry of Justice, in 2007. The MAJ serves as the first point of orientation with legal aid service for Rwandans. The MAJ mainly provides legal information/education as well as legal advice. They provide legal and judicial aid to indigents and needy people. They may assist, counsel, represent and plead, before all courts, for indigents. They also analyze cases, offer legal advice and mediation to parties, sensitize the population on their legal rights, assist prisoners and provide legal training to local mediators.

⁸⁷ RGB (2013). *Rwanda Media Barometer*, Kigali, p.72

⁸⁸ Ministry of Local Government (2002). *Ubudehe to fight poverty, Report*. Kigali, p.1

2.11. CHALLENGES TO RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA

The process of reconciliation in Rwanda still faces some challenges that have not yet been fully addressed. Citizens indicated the persistence of ethnic-based stereotyping (as expressed by 27.9% of citizens), genocide ideology (as expressed by 25.8% of citizens), and the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide in Rwanda that are not yet fully healed, as expressed by 4.6% of citizens.

2.11.1. Ethnic-based stereotypes

Ethnic-based stereotypes constitute another challenge to reconciliation in Rwanda. This is manifested in the fact that, as discussed previously notably regarding the variable on 'understanding the past, present and envisioning the future (see figure 11) 27.9% of Rwandans held that ' *there are Rwandans who still view themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses* '. This is indeed a legacy of a long history of divisions, since colonial administration up to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. It follows therefore that ethnic-based stereotypes, the eradication of which appears to be a long process, constitute another hindrance to reconciliation in Rwanda. A citizen's illustrative account in this regard is worth putting:

"This is what we told you. Those people having genocide ideology also have ethnic stereotypes...Even genocide survivors have ethnic stereotypes because ethnicity was used to exterminate them, ethnicity cannot be moved in our minds quickly because this has always been used to divide us. Of course we do not show that publicly but most of us; we carry ethnicity within ourselves. A big step in reconciliation has been made but removing ethnic stereotypes will take more time." (a member of Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge Cooperative, Muhanga district).

2.11.2. Genocide ideology

Genocide ideology is another persisting challenge that hinders/could hinder reconciliation in Rwanda. This appears founded given that, as discussed previously notably regarding the variable on 'understanding the past, present and envisioning the future (see figure 11), 25.8% of citizens stressed that *there are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others*. It follows therefore that genocide ideology has not yet been fully eradicated in Rwanda, which constitutes a hindrance to the process of reconciliation. Illustrative testimonies, in this regard, read:

"Even if we are moving forward in reconciliation, there are still people in Rwanda and outside Rwanda who still have genocide ideology and who continue to sow it among us."

(A member of Intwali association, Rulindo district)

"...I can give an example of people from FDLR, who are still in the forests, who still have genocide ideology. Many of people here too in the country have genocide ideology, which is often manifested during genocide commemoration in April. Some foreign media too still carry genocide ideology and broadcast it..." (a member of Tubibe Amahoro association, Karongi District)

2.11.3. Wounds resulting from past divisions and genocide not yet fully healed

The fact that wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide in Rwanda are not yet fully healed have also been indicated by citizens as another challenge that could hinder the process of reconciliation in Rwanda. This is indeed reflected upon by the fact that, as seen in figure 48, only 88.6 % of citizens indicated that they have healed the wounds resulting from the divisive past and genocide whereas 4.6% of citizens held that the wounds in question have not yet been healed. This is understandable for Rwandans to fully heal the wounds resulting from the deep -rooted ethnic divisions, discrimination, and particularly the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, remains a long process. This is indeed expressed in the following account of a cooperative member:

“Considering the long history of divisions in Rwanda, I think that everyone can realize that the wounds have been very deep for all Rwandans. Genocide survivors are still struggling with life; many of us survivors, still have wounds that can be seen with eyes and wounds that you cannot see. We are still suffering. Yes, the government is trying to help us but it will take time because we suffered a lot. Even these killers, I think they are suffering. They have shame, and most of them are in prison. So it will take time to heal all of us...” (a member of Ukuri Kuganze Association, Bugesera district)

3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (2015) was to track the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda, through citizens' views and experiences, while identifying the reconciliation favorable factors and challenges, toward the necessary recommendations for a way forward. The assessment, which combined the quantitative and the qualitative approaches, focused on 6 variables namely: (1) understanding the past, present and envisioning the future, (2) citizenship and identity, (3) political culture, (4) security and wellbeing, (5) justice, fairness and rights, and (6) social cohesion.

3.1. Conclusion

Rwanda is far ahead in the process of reconciliation. Findings indicate that, on average, an improvement has been made in this regard. The current status of reconciliation in Rwanda (2015) is at **92.5%**, while it was at **82.3%** in 2010 (see table 11).

With regard to the variable related to 'understanding the past, present and envisioning future of Rwanda', findings indicate that its status is at 91.8% on average, while this variable had only scored 81.7% in 2010. Rwandans are ahead in the process of understanding and confronting the sources of their historical divisions and genocide. This improvement was made possible through a reconciliatory-based history teaching that led to citizens' increased commitment to fight, at all costs, against anything that may again cause divisions and genocide while engaging in building the present and future of Rwanda.

Concerning *citizenship and identity* variable, findings indicate that its measurement is at 96.7% on average, which is manifested in Rwandans' pride to be Rwandans, which is supported by reconciliatory values. This marks an improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 95.2%, in this regard.

The variable related to *political culture* emphasized that citizens expressed a high level of trust in institutions and their leaders, at 88.4% on average, which is a great improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 77.8%.

With regard to *security and wellbeing* variable, findings scored it at 90.7% on average. This also marks a considerable improvement as the 2010 RRB had only scored 74.7%, in this regard. Nowadays, Rwanda is indeed considered as a safe country whereby security organs cooperate with citizens to ensure security.

As far as the *justice, fairness and rights* is concerned, findings indicate that its measurement is at 91.4% on average. This positive image refers to truth, apology and forgiveness, compensation of property destroyed/looted, punishment of crimes, healing and equal rights. In this regard, a remarkable improvement has thus been made given that the 2010 RRB had only scored 77.2%

The variable of *social cohesion* focused mainly on the level of trust, positive interactions and solidarity among Rwandans. In this regard, findings indicate that its measurement is at 96.1% on average. Here, too, a considerable improvement was made given that the 2010 RRB had only scored 87.3%.

In view of the above achievements, the contributing factors pointed to the strong political will and Rwanda's supportive culture, as well as various mechanisms and/or programs that promote/d reconciliation among Rwandans. In spite of this improvement, there remain however some challenges to the process of reconciliation, notably ethnic -based stereotyping (as expressed by 27.9% of citizens), genocide ideology (as expressed by 25.8% of citizens), and the wounds resulting from the divisive past and the genocide in Rwanda that are not yet fully healed (as expressed by 4.6% of citizens).

3.2. Recommendations

Reconciliation in Rwanda remains a process. In this regard, so far, a remarkable progress has been made. A way forward, in this regard, suggests the following:

1. The mechanisms/programs, which have been indicated as promoting reconciliation in Rwanda (see figure 63) should be consolidated, monitored, and ensured that they are effectively mainstreamed. Programs, notably those comparatively scored high should receive particular support. Embedded within continued good governance, these programs include, but not limited to: Ndi Umunyarwanda, Itorero ry'igihugu, Reconciliation clubs, memory, Umuganda, Ubudehe, Girinka, Villagisation, Associations and cooperatives, etc. In this regard:
 - a) There is need to keep good leadership now in place (as evidenced in citizens high level of trust in leaders—see figure 30), along with citizens' participation in governance is important, as nothing could effectively be done in the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda without good leadership/governance.
 - b) The districts that were comparatively best performers in the promotion of reconciliation (see figures 13, 20, 55) should be recognized so as to encourage others to do the same.
 - c) There is need for official recognition of *individuals and/or institutions (indashyikirwa)*, who have so far best demonstrated their commitment, as role models, in the promotion of reconciliation in Rwandan.
2. Findings also indicated that some citizens' wounds, resulting from the divisive past, and the genocide in Rwanda, are not yet fully healed. This is so put as only around 88.6% of citizens had stressed that they have healed the wounds in question or that they are taken care of (see figure 48). Therefore, a systematic evaluation of those still having these wounds should be undertaken and special programs providing a psychological and material support to their benefit should consequently be initiated.

3. Findings also indicated that the properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have not yet been fully compensated (see figure 46). There is thus need for effective measures (in the example of a special fund) to ensure that such properties are fully compensated.
4. Considering the challenges emphasizing the persistence of genocide ideology and ethnic stereotyping among Rwandans, the following measures need to be undertaken:
 - a) Strong emphasis on *formal educational programs for reconciliation*—with the purpose of fighting genocide ideology and ethnic based stereotypes while instilling reconciliatory values and principles—in a way that is both preventive and sustainable (impacting positively on future generations). This could be made compulsory and could start with children’s formal education since their early school ages (starting at kindergarten or preschool levels) to primary, high school and university levels in both public and private institutions;
 - b) Having special *informal educational programs*, promoting reconciliation, notably those involving regular contact and/or interactions among Rwandans of all walks of life. These settings could include sport activities, local government meetings, parties, public gatherings (car stations, buses and taxis, restaurants, businesses, institutions, libraries, etc.);
 - c) Initiating competition programs (sanctioned with awards), on matters pertaining to reconciliatory among Rwandans, at individual, family, and village levels; in schools, sport activities, media, public and private institutions; and other formal and informal settings;
 - d) Having regular debates/dialogue at the level of villages on different issues and programs pertaining to reconciliation among Rwandans.
 - e) The districts that were found, comparatively, still having problems (where people still have genocide ideology or view each other through ethnic lenses— see figures 14 and 15), should be given a particular attention in order to know the reasons behind the problems in question and how to address them;
 - f) Keeping the enforcement, and effective sensitization of measures, policies, laws, and strategies aimed at discouraging and punishing any form of divisions, ethnic stereotyping and genocide ideology;
5. Findings also indicated that, comparatively, the private sector (the private media and MAJ), are still lagging behind in the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda (see figure 63) and, consequently, have a lower trust from citizens (see figure 24). Therefore, there is need to *sensitize* and *encourage* (through notably merit awards) the private sector (notably the media and the civil society), as well as political parties to have more performance-based reconciliatory initiatives in their programs.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

My name isand I am a researcher on behalf of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission concerning the survey on the status of reconciliation in Rwanda. This questionnaire intends to collect information in this regard and you are among the citizens selected. The information that you will provide will assist the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to know the current status of reconciliation in Rwanda. I assure you that the information you provide will be treated in strict confidentiality and that your names will not appear anywhere while reporting the findings.

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

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

Nitwa.... nkaba ndi umushakashatsi wa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge ukora ubushashatsi bugamije kumenya aho igipimo cy' Ubwiyunge kigeze mu banyarwanda. Uri umwe mu banyarwanda batoranijwe kugirango uduhe amakuru y'uko ubwiyunge buhagaze aha iwanyu. Amakuru uduha azafasha Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge kumenya uko ubu Ubwiyunge buhagaze mu Rwanda. Amakuru uduha azegeranywa n'ayabandi kandi amazina yawe ntabwo azagira aho agaragara muri raporo.

Uramutse wumva hari ikibazo udashaka gusubiza wacyihorera; ndetse uramutse unashatse guhagarika ikiganiro nabyo nta kibazo kandi nta ngaruka biri bukugireho. Ndagushimiye cyane ku kuba wemeye kugira uruhare muri ubu bushashatsi.

IDENTIFICATION/Umwirondoro

Residence/Aho ubarizwa

1.1. Province/Intara/Intara	
2.2. District/District/Akarere/Akarere	
3.3. Sector/Sector/Umurenge	
4.4. Cell/Cell/Akagagali	
5.5. Village/Village/Umudugudu/gudu	

Socio-demographic Characteristics/Irangamimerere

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

6.6. Sex/Sex/Igits/itsina	Male/Male/gabogabo		
	Female/Female/goregore		

7.7. Age/Age/Imyaka/ka	18-24		
	25-44		
	45-54		
	55+		

8. Marital status/Irangamimerere	Single/ <i>Ingaragu</i>	
	Married / <i>Ndubatse</i>	
	Divorced/ <i>Natandukanye n'uwo twashakanye</i>	
	Widow/er/ <i>Ndi umupfakazi</i>	
	Other (specify)/ <i>Ikindi (kivuge).....</i>	

99..	No Formal Education/ <i>Ntabwo nageze muu ishuri</i>	
	Education/Amashuri Primary/ <i>Amashuriashuri abanza</i>	
	Secondary/ <i>Amaashuri yisumbuyebuye</i>	
	Vocational training/ <i>Amashuriashuri y'ubumenyienyi--ngiro/Imyugayuga</i>	
	University/ <i>Kaminuzainuza</i>	
	Other (specify) <i>Ikindi (kivuge).....</i>	

10. Religion/dini	Roman Catholic/ <i>Umugatulika</i>	
	Protestant/ <i>Umuporotestanti</i>	
	Pentecost/ <i>Umupantekoti</i>	
	77 Day Adventist/ <i>Umudivantisti w'Umunsiunsi waa 77</i>	
	Jehovh Witness/ <i>Umuhanya wa Yehova</i>	
	Muslim// <i>Umuyisilamuu</i>	
	Other (specify)/ <i>Ikindi (rivuge).....</i>	
	No religion/ <i>Nta dini ngira</i>	
11.. Employment status/Umurimurimo ukora	Unemployed/ <i>Nta kazi</i>	
	Employed/ <i>Mfite akazi</i>	
	Retired/ <i>Ndi muu kiruhuko cy'izabukuru</i>	
	Student/ <i>Umunyeshuri</i>	
	Other (indicate it)/ <i>Ikindi (Kivuge).....</i>	

UNDERSTANDING OF RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA/ UKO/UKOUBWIYUNGE BWUMVWAMURWANDARWANDA

1212.. What do you think reconciliation is? Wumva Ubwiyunge ari iki?	Strongly agree Ndabyemera cyane	Agree Ndabyemera	Disagree Simbyemera	Strongly disagree Simbyemera	Strongly disagree Simbyemera	Do not know Simbimbizi	Do not know Simbimbizi
	11	2 2	3 3	4 4	4 4	99 99	99 99
11.. Asking for forgiveness/ <i>Gusaba imbabazi</i>							
22.. Forgive// <i>Gutanga imbabazi</i>							
33.. Forget what happened/ <i>Kwibagirwa ibyabayee</i>							
44.. Punishment of perpetrators of crimes // <i>Guhana abakoze ibyaha</i>							

5. Building good relationships/ <i>Kubaka imibanire myiza</i>					
6. Others (indicate)/ <i>Ibindi (bivuge)</i> .					

13. When talking of reconciliation in Rwanda, it is between with whom and with whom? (Put a sign in the box of your choice) / Iyo bavuze Ubwiyunge mu Rwanda, wumva ari ubwiyunge hagati ya nde na nde? (Shyira akamenyetso aho wahisemo)	
1. Genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors/ <i>Abakoze Jenocide n'abacitse ku icumu rya Jenocide</i>	
2. Rwandans and their history/ <i>Abanyarwanda n'amateka yabo</i>	
3. Hutu and Tutsi / <i>Abahutu n'Abatutsi</i>	
4. Well off and poor/ <i>Abakire n'abakene</i>	
5. The Government and its people/ <i>Leta n'Abaturage</i>	
6. Leaders between themselves/ <i>Abayobozi hagati yabo</i>	
7. Rwandans and the international community/ <i>U Rwanda n' Amahanga</i>	
8. Others (specify) <i>Abandi (bavuge).....</i>	

OPINIONS ON THE POSSIBILITY & IMPORTANCE OF RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA

14. What is your say on the importance or possibility of Reconciliation in Rwanda? <i>Ni iki wavuga ku kamaro, n' ugushoboka k'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda?</i>	Strongly agree <i>Ndabyemera cyane</i>	Agree <i>Ndabyemera</i>	Disagree <i>Simbyemera</i>	Strongly disagree <i>Dimbyemera na mba</i>	Do not know <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	4	99
1. Reconciliation is necessary in Rwanda <i>Ubwiyunge ni ngombwa mu Rwanda</i>					
2. Reconciliation is possible in Rwanda <i>Ubwiyunge burashoboka mu Rwanda</i>					
3. Reconciliation is done on a voluntary basis in Rwanda <i>Kwiyunga bikorwa ku bushake mu Rwanda</i>					

A. UNDERSTANDING THE PAST & ENVISIONING THE FUTURE OF RWANDA

/Gusobanukirwa n'amateka no kubaka ahazaza by'u Rwanda

<p>15. What is your opinion regarding the following statements on the past and the future of Rwanda? <i>Ni gute wemerabitekerezobikurikira?</i></p>	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Fairly agree	Fairly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Fairly agree	Fairly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
	<i>Ndabyemera</i>	<i>Ndabyemera</i>	<i>Ndabyemera</i>	<i>Ndabyemera</i>	<i>Ndabyemera</i>	<i>Ndabyemera</i>	<i>Ndabyemera</i>
	<i>cyane cyane</i>	<i>cyane cyane</i>	<i>gahoro</i>	<i>gahoro</i>	<i>gahoro</i>	<i>gahoro</i>	<i>gahoro</i>
	1	2	2	3	3	99	
<p><i>Understanding of facts about the past of Rwanda</i> Gusobanukirwa n'amateka y'u Rwanda</p>							
<p>1. Major issues about the divisions in the history of Rwanda have been frankly discussed and understood in Rwanda. <i>Ibintu mu Rwanda n'icyateye macakubiri ubu byamaze byumvikanyweho mu Rwanda</i></p>							
<p>2. The causes/factors of Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda have been frankly discussed and commonly understood in Rwanda. <i>Ibyateye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda byumvikanyweho mu Rwanda</i></p>							
<p><i>History teaching / Iyigishwari y'amateka</i></p>							
<p>3. The way history was taught before 1994 in Rwanda created divisions that led to the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. <i>Uko amateka yigishwari yemereye ya 1994 mu Rwanda yateye amamacakubiri yagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 mu Rwanda.</i></p>							
<p>4. After the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the way history is being taught and understood reconciles Rwandans. <i>Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994, uko amateka bu n'uko yumvikana yigishwa birunga Abanyarwanda</i></p>							
<p><i>Commitment to reconciliation / Guharanira ubwiye</i></p>							
<p>5. We are who would prefer to die instead of genocide or dividing Rwandans. <i>Hari rwanda bahitamo aho gukora Jenoside cyangwa gucamo ibice</i></p>							

ibice abanyarwanda.

6. I am one of those who would prefer to die instead of engaging in divisions or genocide/ <i>Ndi umwe mu bantu bashobora kwemera kubizira aho kwishora mu macakubiri cyangwa Jenocide.</i>				
7. There are Rwandans who would try to commit genocide, if conditions were favorable. <i>Hari abanyarwanda bashobora kuba bakora Jenocide baramutse babonye urwaho.</i>				
8. There are Rwandans who still view themselves, and others, through ethnic lenses <i>Hari Abanyarwanda bacyirebera, ndetse bakanarebera abandi, mu ndorerwamo z'amoko.</i>				
9. There are Rwandans who still sow divisions and genocide ideology in others <i>Hari abanyarwanda bagenda bacengezamo abandi ivangura n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide</i>				
Building the present and Envisioning the future/Kubaka igihe cy'ubu n'ahazaza heza				
10. Rwandans are now committed to fight, at all costs, against anything that may again cause divisions and genocide <i>Ubu Abanyarwanda biteguye gukora ibishoboka byose kugirango barwanye icyasubiza u Rwanda mu macakubiri cyangwa Jenocide.</i>				
11. I am one of those determined to fight against divisions and genocide at all costs <i>Ndi umwe mu bantu biteguye kurwanya amacakubiri na Jenocide uko byagenda kose.</i>				
12. Genocide can never happen again in Rwanda. <i>Nta Jenocide ishobora kongera kuba mu Rwanda.</i>				

B. CITIZENSHIP & IDENTITY / Ubwenegihugu n' ibiranga umuntu

16. What is your opinion about the following statements/ <i>Ni gute wumva ibitekerezo bikurikira ku Ubwenegihugu n'ibiranga umuntu?</i>	Strongly agree <i>Ndabyemera cyane</i>	Agree to some extent <i>Ndabyemera gahoro</i>	Strongly disagree <i>Simbyemera na gato</i>	Do not know <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	99
1. I am proud to be Rwandan. <i>Ntewe ishema ryo kuba Umunyarwanda</i>				
2. Rwandans view themselves as Rwandans first before anything else <i>Abanyarwanda biyumva nk'Abanyarwanda mbere y'ikindi icyo aricyo cyose</i>				

3. At present Rwanda is guided by values that reconcile Rwandans. <i>Ubu u Rwanda rugendera ku ndangagaciro zunga Abanyarwanda</i>				
4. I am willing to give my very best to protect the sovereignty of my country and Rwandans <i>Niteguye gukora ibishoboka byose kugirango mparanire ubusugire bw'igihugu cyanjye n'Abanyarwanda.</i>				

C. POLITICAL CULTURE/ Icyizere n'uruhare by'abaturage mu miyoborere

TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS / Icyizere mu nzego n'ibigo					
17. What is your level of trust regarding the following institutions? <i>Ni ikihe cyizere ufitiye inzego zikurikira?</i>	Very high trust <i>Icyizere gihebuje</i>	Acceptable trust <i>Icyizere giciriritse</i>	Low trust <i>Icyizere kiri hasi</i>	No trust at all <i>Nta cyizere na mba</i>	Do not know <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	4	99
<i>Trust in institutions/Icyizere mu nzego</i>					
1. Central Government/ <i>Guverinoma</i>					
2. Local administration/ <i>Inzego z'ibanze</i>					
3. Parliament/ <i>Inteko Ishinga Amategeko</i>					
4. The justice system/ <i>Inzego z'ubutabera muri rusange</i>					
5. Political parties/ <i>Imitwe ya politiki</i>					
6. National electoral organs/ <i>Inzego zishinzwe amatora</i>					
7. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission/ <i>Commission y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge</i>					
8. National Commission for the fight against Genocide/ <i>Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo kurwanya Jenoside</i>					
9. Ombudsman/ <i>Urwego rw'Umuwunyi</i>					
10. Civil society / <i>Imiryango n'amashyirahamwe bitari ibya Leta</i>					
11. Security organs/ <i>Inzego z'Umutekano</i>					
12. Public media / <i>Ibitangazamakuru bya Leta</i>					

13. Private media/ Ibitangazamakuru byigenga					
14. National Commission for Human Rights/ Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'uburenganzira bwa muntu					

18. What is your view on the performance of leaders /Ni iki uvuga ku mikorere y'abayobozi?	Strongly agree Ndabyemera cyane	Agree to some extent Ndabyemera gahoro	Strongly disagree Simbyemera na gato	Do not know Simbizi
	1	2	3	99
Trust in Leaders/ Icyizere mu bayobozi				
1. Rwanda's leaders always do what is in citizens' best interests. <i>Abayobozi b'igihugu bakora iteka ibiganisha ku nyungu rusange z'abaturage</i>				
2. Rwanda is a country whose leaders respect the rule of law and human rights <i>U Rwanda ni igihugu cyubahiriza amategeko n'uburenganzira bwa muntu</i>				
3. Leaders of Rwanda give all their best to reconcile Rwandans/ <i>Abayobozi bitanga uko bashoboye kugirango bunge abanyarwanda</i>				

19. What is your view on the participation and empowerment of citizens in country's governance Ni iki uvuga ku ruhare n'ubushobozi by'abaturage mu miyoborere y'igihugu?	Strongly agree Ndabyemera cyane	Agree to some extent Ndabyemera buhoro	Strongly disagree Simbyemera na gato	Do not know Simbizi
Citizens' participation in governance Uruhare rw'abaturage mu miyoborere	1	2	3	99
1. Citizens have a say in the decisions related to programs necessitating their say. <i>Abaturage bahabwa ijamba mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo biyanyeye n'ibikorwa bisaba uruhare rwabo</i>				
2. Citizens have the right to elect their leaders <i>Abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo kwitorera abayobozi</i>				
3. Citizens have the right to sign a petition for the development of their country <i>Abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo gusaba ibigomba gukorwa mu iterambere ry'igihugu</i>				

4. Citizens have the right to held authorities accountable of their actions <i>Abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo kugenzura niba abayobozi barangiza neza inshingano zabo.</i>				
5. Citizens have the right to express their opinions <i>Abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo gutanga ibitekerezo</i>				
Citizens' empowerment in governance Ubushobozi bw'abaturage mu miyobore				
6. Now, Rwandans have the power to decide on their future <i>Ubu Abanyarwanda bafite ubushobozi bwo kwigenere uko ejo habo hazaza hagomba kumera</i>				
7. Citizens have the ability to held authorities accountable of their actions. <i>Abaturage bafite ubushobozi bwo kugenzura niba abayobozi barangiza neza inshingano zabo</i>				

D.SECURITY / Umutekano n'imibereho myiza

2020.. What is your opinion on your security and general security in Rwanda? <i>Ni Nigute wumvava umutekano wawen'umutekano murirusange mu Rwanda?</i>	Strongly agree/ <i>Ndabyemera cyane</i>	Agree to some extent <i>Ndabyemera buhoro</i>	Strongly disagree <i>Simbyemera na gato</i>	Do not know <i>Simbiizii</i>
	1	2	3	99
National security in Rwanda/Umutekano mu Rwanda murirusange				
11.. Now Rwanda is a safe country <i>Ubuuu Rwanda ni igihugu gifite umutekano usesuye</i>				
22.. Security organs cooperate with citizens to ensure security <i>Inzego z'umutekano zifatanyan'abaturage kubungabunga umutekano</i>				
33.. Insecurity in the neighboring countries affects negatively Rwanda and Rwandans <i>Umutekano mucye urangwamubihugubidukikije ubangamiye u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda</i>				
Personal security/Umutekano wamuntu				
44.. My family and I do not fear any threat to our physical safety.. <i>Yabajye, cyangwa umuryango wanjye twumva turi mumutekano usesuye</i>				

5. I do not feel insecure whenever I meet those with whom we do not share the same group (like ethnic, regional, religious...) <i>Nta mpungenge ngira icyo mpuye n'abo tudahuye (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>					
Economic security/Umutekano mu by'ubukungu					
6. Poverty is getting reduced in Rwanda <i>Mu Rwanda ubukene buragenda bugabanuka</i>					
7. In Rwanda all people have an equal opportunity to make a living. <i>Mu Rwanda, abantu bose bafite amahirwe angana yo gukora ngo bibesheho</i>					
Right to basic assets and infrastructures/Uburenganzira ku mutungo n'ibikorwa remezo by'ibanze					
8. Every Rwandan has the right to land <i>Buri munyarwanda afite uburenganzira ku butaka</i>					
21. What is your level of satisfaction 22. of your access to infrastructure? <i>Ni gute ubona uko ibikorwa remezo byakwegerejwe?</i>	Very Satisfied <i>Biranyuz e cyane</i>	Fairly satisfied <i>Biranyuze</i>	Disatisfied <i>Ntibinyuze</i>	Very dissatisfied <i>Ntibinyuze na gato</i>	Do not know <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	4	99
1. Water/ <i>Amazi</i>					
2. Electricity/ <i>Amashanyarazi</i>					
3. Roads/ <i>Imihanda</i>					
4. Education facilities/ <i>Amashuri</i>					
5. Medical facilities/ <i>Amavuriro</i>					

E.EJUSTICE/Ubutabera/amahirweamahirweanganaanganan'uburengn'uburenganziraanzira

23. What is your opinion on justice in relation to reconciliation in Rwanda? <i>Ni gute wumva ibijyanye n'uko ubutabera buhagaze ku bijyanye n' ubwiyunge mu Rwanda?</i>	Strongly agree <i>Ndabyemera cyane</i>	Agree to some extent <i>Ndabyemera</i>	Disagree <i>Simbyemera na gato</i>	Do not know/ <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	99
Truth about the divisions and genocide/Ukuri				
1. Truth about the divisions that characterized the past of Rwanda have been made clear <i>Ukuri ku byabaye mu macakubiri yaranze amateka y'u Rwanda kwashyizwe ahagaragara</i>				
2. Truth about what happened during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi have been disclosed <i>Ukuri ku byabaye muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994 kwaragaragajwe</i>				

Punishment of divisive and genocidal crimes Guhana ibyaha by'amacakubiri na Jenocide				
3. Genocide perpetrators have been punished <i>Abakoze ibyaha bya Jenocide barahanwe</i>				
4. There are effective legal and policy measures in place against divisions and genocide in Rwanda <i>Hari ingamba n'amategeko bihamye bihana amacakubiri na Jenocide mu Rwanda</i>				
Compensation of properties looted/destroyed during the genocide/Kwishyura imitungo yangijwe cyangwa yasahuwe muri Jenocide				
5. Properties looted or destroyed during the genocide have been compensated <i>Imitungo yangijwe cyangwa yasahuwe muri Jenocide yarishyuwe</i>				
Apology and Forgiveness I Gusaba imbabazi no Kubabarira				
6. Genocide perpetrators apologized for their genocidal acts <i>Abakoze ibyaha bya Jenocide babisabiye imbabazi</i>				
7. Genocide survivors have forgiven genocide perpetrators <i>Abarokotse Jenocide batanze imbabazi ku bakoze ibyaha bya Jenocide</i>				
Individual healing/Gukira ibikomere				
8. I feel that I have healed the wounds of the divisive past and genocide in Rwanda <i>Numva naramaze gukira ibikomere natewe n'amacakubiri na Jenocide mu Rwanda</i>				
9. Genocide survivors are taken care of in Rwanda <i>Abacitse ku icumu rya Jenocide bitaweho mu Rwanda</i>				
Fairness and respect of basic human rights I Uburenganzira bungana				
10. All Rwandans have equal opportunity to government services <i>Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana mu guhabwa serivisi</i>				
11. All Rwandans have equal access to employment opportunities <i>Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana mu itangwa ry'akazi</i>				
12. All Rwandans have equal access to education <i>Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana yo kwiga</i>				

13. All Rwandans have equal access to medical facilities. <i>Abanyarwanda bose bafite amahirwe angana yo kwivuzza</i>				
14. There is gender equality in Rwanda <i>Mu Rwanda uburinganire bw'abagabo n'abagore burubahirizwa</i>				

F. SOCIAL COHESION/IMIBANIRE

24. What is your opinion on the current status of social cohesion in Rwanda? <i>Ni gute wumva uko imibanire y'Abanyarwanda imeze kugeza ubu?</i>	Strongly agree <i>Ndabyemera cyane</i>	Fairly agree <i>Ndabyemera buhoro</i>	Disagree <i>Simbyemera</i>	Do not know <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	99
Trust among Rwandans/Ubwizerane mu banyarwanda				
1. Now, Rwandans trust each other without discrimination <i>Ubu abanyarwanda barizeranye na kuvangura</i>				
2. In social interactions spaces involving contact (sports, restaurants, bars, public transportation...) there is no ethnic-based discrimination whatsoever <i>Aho abantu bahurira (mu mashuri, mu mikino n'inyidagaduro, restora n'utubari, mu mamodoka atwara abagenzi...) nta vangura iryo ari ryo ryose rishingiye ku moko riharangwa</i>				
3. I can leave my child in the family of somebody with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Nshobora gusiga umwana wanjye mu rugo rw'uwo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>				
Tolerance and interactions/Kubahana n'imibanire				
4. I have good relationships with people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Nsabana n'abo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>				
5. I have no problem with being a member of an association/social arena composed also of people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Kujya mu ishyirahamwe/ihuriro ririmo abo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...) nta kibazo binteye</i>				
6. I have no problem of working (in business, at				

work) with people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Gukorana (mu kazi, m bucuruzi...) n'abo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...) ntacyo bintwaye</i>				
7. I can vote for somebody with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Nshobora gutora uwo tuda huje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>				
Solidarity among Rwandans <i>Ubufatanye n'ubucuti mu banyarwanda</i>				
8. I am ready to provide help to any Rwandan in need, without discrimination, if I can <i>Umunyarwanda uwo ariwe wese ansabye ubufasha mbufite nabumuha</i>				
9. During the commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi, solidarity among all Rwandans to support genocide survivors is manifested <i>Umu gihe cyo kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bafatanyiriza hamwe guhumuriza no gufata mu mugongo abarokotse Jenoside</i>				
10. It happens that I exchange things with people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem. <i>Njya ntizanya ibikoresho n'abo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...) nta kibazo</i>				
11. It happens that I ask for help from people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Njya nsaba ubufasha abo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>				
Conviviality & friendship among Rwandans <i>Ubusabane n'ubucuti mu banyarwanda</i>				
12. I have friends among people with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) <i>Mfite inshuti mu bantu tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>				
13. It happens that I share food and drinks with people				

with whom we do not belong to the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) without any problem. <i>Njya nsangira n'abo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...) nta kibazo</i>				
14. I can marry (or be married by) somebody with whom we do not share the same social category (like ethnic, regional, religious) 15. <i>Nshobora kuromgora/ kurongorwa cg gushyingira uwo tudahuje (ubwoko, akarere, idini...)</i>				

G. FACTORS PROMOTING RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA/IBITEZA UBWIYUNGE IMBERE MU RWANDA

25. How do you view the role of the following mechanisms/programs with regard to the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda? <i>Ni gute ubona uruhare rwa gahunda cyangwa inzego bikurikira mu bijyanye no kubaka ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda?</i>	Excellent <i>Bihebuje</i>	Much <i>Cyane</i>	Sometimes <i>Rimwe na rimwe</i>	Never <i>Nta na rimwe</i>	Do not know <i>Simbizi</i>
	1	2	3	4	99
1. Ndi Umunyarwanda program /Gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda					
2. Itorero ry'igihugu program (Civic education academy)/Gahunda y'Itorero ry'igihugu					
3. National Dialogue/Umushyikirano					
4. Girinka Munyarwanda					
5. Ubudehe (Community work)					
6. Umuganda (Collective action)					
7. Memory/Kwibuka					
8. Public apology/Gusaba imbabazi					
9. Government institutions/Inzego z'ubuyobozi					
10. Mediation Committees/Abunzi					
11. Ombudsman/Umuvunyi					
12. MAJ (Maisons d'Accès à la Justice)					
13. TIG (Travaux d'Intérêt Général) /Imirimo nsimburagifungo					
14. Parents' evening/Umugoroba w'ababyeyi					
15. Refugees' repatriation/Gucyura impunzi					
16. Public media/Ibitangazamakuru bya Leta					
17. Private media/Ibitangazamakuru byigenga					
18. Religious institutions/Amadini					
19. Military integration/Guhuza ingabo zahoze zihanganye					

20. Demobilisation and Reintegration of ex-combatants /Gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abavuye ku rugerero					
21. National symbols (national, anthem, flag, coat of arms)/Ibirango by'igihugu (indirimbo yubahiriza igihugu, ibendera...)					
22. Community-based reconciliation clubs/Amatsinda y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge					
23. Associations and Cooperatives/Amashyirahamwe n'Amakoperative					
24. Villagization/Gutura mu midugudu					
25. Apology and forgiveness					
26. Solidarity for Health insurance/Ubwisungane mu kwivuzza					
27. Others (list them) Ibindi (bivuge).....					

Thank you so much/Urahoze cyane

Names and signature of the researcher/Amazina n'umukono by'Umushakashatsi

- Names and signature of research supervisor/ Amazina n'umukono by'uwaganzuye imigendekere y'ubushakashatsi.....
 - Names, signature and telephone number of the government official of the area where the study was carried out/ Amazina, umukono, na telefoni by'Umuyobozi w'aho ubushakashatsi bwakorewe.....
 - Date of fieldwork exercise/Itariki ubushakashatsi bwakoreweho.....
-

⇒ Appendix 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Understanding the past & envisioning the future

1. What is your say on the way the past of Rwanda is taught, understood? How that does relates to the future of Rwanda?
How does that relate to reconciliation in Rwanda?

Citizenship and identity

2. What do you say about the conneciton between the following with reconciliation in Rwanda?
Having a national identity
Having a shared vision
Having a shared culture

Political culture

3. What is your opinion on trust of Rwandan citizens to public institutions, leadership
4. What is your say on the status of Rwandans' participation and empowerment with regard to reconciliation in Rwanda?
5. What do you think of the way the rule of law is applied and how does that relate to reconciliation in Rwanda?

Security and wellbeing

6. What is your opinion on individual security in Rwanda in relation to reconciliation?
7. What is your opinion on security in general in Rwanda in relation to reconciliation?
8. Is there any connection between economic security and reconciliation in Rwanda
9. Is there any impact of regional security to reconciliation in Rwanda?

Justice, fairness and rights

10. What is your opinion about the connection between following aspects and reconciliation in Rwanda?
 - Truth
 - Acknowledgment of human right abuses
 - Punishment for human right abuses
 - Compensation for human right abuses
 - Forgiveness
 - Individual healing
 - Memory
 - Apology
 - Equality and social justice

Social cohesion

11. What is your opinion about the connection between following aspects and reconciliation in Rwanda?
12. What is your general assessment of reconciliation process in Rwanda? Is Rwanda moving at the right direction?

13. What do you think are major hindrances to reconciliation in Rwanda and what do you suggest as a solution in this regard?

⇒ **Appendix 3: SPECIFIC CASES VISITED**

PROVINCES	DISTRICTS	CASES	
Kigali city	1. Nyarugenge	1. Lycée de Kigali 2. ADEPR	
	2. Kicukiro	3. ETO-IPRC 4. Centre des Jeunes Gatenga	
	3. Gasabo	5. Prison of Kimironko 6. MUCECORE	
Southern province	4. Nyanza	7. Prison Mpanga	
	5. Gisagara	8. Ni Umunyarwanda club 9. TTC-SAVE	
	6. Nyaruguru	10. Duhozanye cooperative 11. Groupe scolaire St Paul Kibeho	
	7. Huye	12. Groupe scolaire officiel de Butare 13. ASSOCIATION « UBUTWARI BWO KUBAHO »	
	8. Nyamagabe	14. Cyanika Twisungane cooperative 15. Groupe scolaire Don Bosco	
	9. Ruhango	16. APARUDE secondary school 17. GROUPE SCOLAIRE INDANGABUREZI	
	10. Muhanga	18. KOPERATIVE UBUMWE N'UBWIYUNGE 19. GROUPE SCOLAIRE ST JOSEPH DE KABGAYI	
	11. Kamonyi	20. Groupe Scolaire Don de Dieu 21. Peacemakers of EPR (Remera –Rukoma)	
	Western province	12. Karongi	22. Tubibe Amahoro association 23. TTC RUBENGERA
		13. Rutsiro	24. Dutabarane cooperative 25. Groupe scolaire Bumba
		14. Rubavu	26. Prison of Nyakiliba 27. Groupe scolaire Inyemeramihigo 28. Abakunda amahoro association
15. Nyabihu		29. Abanyeshuri APEREL 30. Cooperative Ibukwa Muhinzi) 31. EAV Bigogwe	
16. Ngororero		32. Ngoupe scolaire intwari-Nyange 33. Vocational Training Centre/Assumption	
17. Rusizi		34. Mushaka Parish 35. G.S. Gihundwe	
18. Nyamasheke		36. Nyamasheke Health Centre 37. Cleaning Co Ltd	
Northern province		19. Rulindo	38. Groupe scolaire de Shyorongi 39. Intwali association
		20. Gakenke	40. Ecole secondaire de Nyarutovu
		21. Musanze	41. IPRC Vocational training Musanze 42. Ishyirahamwe Ururembo rwa MUKO
	22. Burera	43. Kirambo Teacher Training College 44. Abaharanira Amahoro association	
	23. Gicumbi	45. Group scolaire APAK-Inyange 46. Club Abanyamahoro	

Eastern province	24. Rwamagana	47. Prison of Ntsinda
		48. Groupe scolaire St Aloys
	25. Nyagatare	49. Nyagatare secondary school
		50. Muvumba P8
	26. Gatsibo	51. Cooperative COPRORIZ-NTENDE
		52. Ecole Islamique de Kiramuruzi
	27. Kayonza	53. Garuka Urebe association
		54. Groupe scolaire de Gahini
	28. Kirehe	55. EER- Paroisse GATORE
		56. Ecole secondaire de Rwinkwavu
	29. Ngoma	57. ASPEK
		58. Groupe scolaire Cyasemakamba
30. Bugesera	59. APEBU	
	60. Ukuri Kuganze Association	

⇒ Appendix 4: VILLAGES SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION

VILLAGES VISITED— PER SECTOR, CELL, DISTRICT AND PROVINCE

Province	District	Sector	Cellule	Village
KIGALI OF CITY	NYARUGENGE	1. Muhima	1. Kabeza	1. Ingenzi
		2. Gitega	2. Kora	2. Kinyambo
		3. Nyamirambo	3. Cyivugiza	3. Intwari
		Nyamirambo	Cyivugiza	4. Shema
		4. Mageregere	4. Mataba	5. Burema
		5. Nyakabanda	5. Nyakabanda II	6. Kanyiranganji
		6. Kimisagara	6. Kimisagara	7. Nyakabingo
		Nyakabanda	7. Nyakabanda I	8. Akinkware
		7. Kanyinya	8. Nyamweru	9. Nyamweru
		Nyakabanda	9. Munanira II	10. Kokobe
		Kimisagara	Kimisagara	11. Muganza
		Nyamirambo	10. Rugarama	12. Munanira
		Nyamirambo	Cyivugiza	13. Muhoza
		Kimisagara	Kimisagara	14. Amahoro
		Kanyinya	11. Nzove	15. Ruyenzi
	GASABO	8. Bumbogo	12. Nyagasozi	16. Akanyiramugarura
		9. Ndera	13. Cyaruzinge	17. Gatere
		10. Rusororo	14. Bisenga	18. Gasiza
		11. Kacyiru	15. Kamutwa	19. Agasaro
		12. Jali	16. Agateko	20. Kinunga
		13. Kinyinya	17. Gasharu	21. Kami
		14. Remera	18. Rukiri II	22. Ubumwe
		Kacyiru	19. Kibaza	23. Amahoro
		15. Kimironko	20. Kibagabaga	24. Buranga
		Kacyiru	21. Kamutwa	25. Kanserege
		Kacyiru	Kibaza	26. Urukundo
		Kinyinya	22. Gacuriro	27. Kabuhunde li
		Kimironko	23. Nyagatovu	28. Ibuhero
		16. Gisozi	24. Ruhango	29. Kumukenke
		Kinyinya	25. Kagugu	30. Giheka
	KICUKIRO	17. Gahanga	26. Murinja	31. Mashyiga
		Gahanga	27. Karembure	32. Kabeza
		18. Niboye	28. Nyakabanda	33. Amarebe
		19. Masaka	29. Gitaraga	34. Ruhanga
		20. Gikondo	30. Kinunga	35. Ruganwa I
		21. Kanombe	31. Kabeza	36. Muhabura
		22. Nyarugunga	32. Nonko	37. Kavumu
		Nyarugunga	Nonko	38. Gasaraba
		23. Kagarama	33. Muyange	39. Muyange
		24. Kigarama	34. Bwerankori	40. Imena
		Kanombe	35. Kabeza	41. Nyenyeri
		25. Gatenga	36. Nyarurama	42. Bisambu
		Gatenga	37. Gatenga	43. Amahoro

		Gatenga	38. Nyanza	44. Isonga
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	NYANZA	26. Gatenga	Nyanza	45. Sabaganga
		27. Ntyazo	39. Kagunga	46. Bukinanyana
		28. Mukingo	40. Kiruli	47. Nyabishinge
		29. Busoro	41. Shyira	48. Rusharu
		Busoro	42. Kimirama	49. Gitwa
		Mukingo	43. Nkomero	50. Kibonde
		30. Busasamana	44. Kavumu	51. Majyambere
		Busasamana	45. Rwesero	52. Bukinankwavu
		31. Cyabakamyi	46. Karama	53. Gahondo
		Busasamana	47. Kibinja	54. Rugari B
		Cyabakamyi	Karama	55. Karama
		Mukingo	48. Ngwa	56. Rutete
		32. Kibilizi	49. Cyeru	57. Matara
		Busoro	50. Shyira	58. Gahogo
		Busasamana	51. Nyanza	59. Mugonzi
		33. Muyira	52. Gati	60. Kinyoni
	GISAGARA	34. Mukindo	53. Gitega	61. Magi
		Mukindo	54. Nyabisagara	62. Nyabihama
		35. Kigembe	55. Gatovu	63. Akamana
		36. Musha	56. Bukinanyana	64. Kigoma
		Mukindo	57. Runyinya	65. Nyiranguri
		37. Save	58. Zivu	66. Rwanzana
		Kigembe	59. Agahabwa	67. Ruhuha
		38. Kigembe	60. Nyabikenke	68. Akabahizi
		Save	61. Rwanza	69. Ryamaguri
		39. Ndora	62. Bweya	70. Mirayi
		Mukindo	Runyinya	71. Akamaranga
		40. Kibirizi	63. Kibirizi	72. Mareba
		41. Ndora	64. Dahwe	73. Gitwa
		42. Muganza	65. Cyumba	74. Mutorerwa
		Ndora	66. Gisagara	75. Rugara
		NYARUGURU	43. Munini	67. Nyarure
	44. Ngoma		68. Kiyonza	77. Gacumbi
	45. Ruramba		69. Giseke	78. Kidogo
	46. Ruheru		70. Remera	79. Cyivugiza
	47. Nyagisozi		71. Nkakwa	80. Rubuga
	48. Ngoma		72. Kibangu	81. Gituramigina
	49. Nyabimata		73. Gihemvu	82. Bugina
	Ngoma		74. Nyamirama	83. Rushubi
	Ngoma		75. Mbuye	84. Ururambo
	Nyagisozi		76. Nyagisozi	85. Ryabidandi
	50. Busanze		77. Kirarangombe	86. Bukinanyana
	51. Ngera		Nyamirama	87. Kinteko
	52. Mata		78. Ramba	88. Ramba
Ruheru	79. Gitita		89. Gahotora	
Ruheru	Remera	90. Kirwa		
HUYE	53. Kigoma	80. Rugarama	91. Ryaruhimbya	
	54. Rusatira	81. Buhimba	92. Agasharu	
	55. Simbi	82. Nyangazi	93. Karebero	
	56. Mbazi	83. Mwulire	94. Bumbogo	

	Mbazi	84. Rugango	95. Mpinga
	57. Ruhashya	85. Muhororo	96. Nyakabingo
	58. Mukura	86. Buvumu	97. Kabeza
	Rusatira	87. Kimuna	98. Kimigo
	Mukura	Buvumu	99. Remera
	Ruhashya	88. Mara	100. Rwamara
	59. Huye	89. Rukira	101. Nyanza
	Mukura	90. Bukomeye	102. Bweramana
	Ruhashya	91. Gatovu	103. Dutare
	Ruhashya	92. Karama	104. Rukubiro
	Ruhashya	93. Rugogwe	105. Akanyana
NYAMAGABE	60. Nkomane	94. Musaraba	106. Rutare
	61. Musebeya	95. Gatovu	107. Nyarubande
	62. Kibirizi	96. Bugarama	108. Munazi
	63. Kaduha	97. Kavumu	109. Gataba
	64. Gatare	98. Gatare	110. Gashasha
	65. Musange	99. Masagara	111. Nyagihima
	66. Uwinkingi	100. Bigumira	112. Cyumuganza
	67. Cyanika	101. Gitega	113. Gasharu
	68. Kibumbwe	102. Kibibi	114. Gatandaganya
	Nkomane	103. Nkomane	115. Mugari
	69. Kamegeri	104. Bwama	116. Kigarama
	70. Buruhukiro	105. Rambya	117. Nkamba
	71. Gasaka	106. Nyamugari	118. Nyamugari
	72. Kaduha	Kavumu	119. Kamonyi
	Kaduha	107. Nyabisindu	120. Kivumu
RUHANGO	73. Byimana	108. Nyakabuye	121. Nyarutovu
	74. Ruhango	109. Buhoro	122. Nyarutovu
	75. Ntongwe	110. Nyarurama	123. Gikoni
	76. Bweramana	111. Buhanda	124. Mpunu
	77. Mbuye	112. Cyanza	125. Murambi
	Byimana	113. Mpanda	126. Kanyarira
	78. Kabagali	114. Munanira	127. Kavumu
	Ntongwe	Nyarurama	128. Munini
	Ruhango	115. Gikoma	129. Gikumba
	79. Mwendu	116. Gafunzo	130. Nyamugari
	Mwendu	117. Kubutare	131. Buhoro
	Ruhango	118. Rwoga	132. Ruhango
	Ntongwe	119. Kebero	133. Nyabigunzu
	80. Kinazi	120. Rutabo	134. Kanka
	Kinazi	121. Burima	135. Burima
MUHANGA	81. Kibangu	122. Ryakanimba	136. Mwumba
	82. Nyamabuye	123. Gitarama	137. Nyarusiza
	Kibangu	124. Rubyiniro	138. Butare
	83. Kabacuzi	125. Buramba	139. Kabayaza
	84. Nyabinoni	126. Gashorera	140. Ryakiyange
	85. Cyeza	127. Kivumu	141. Bwiza
	Nyamabuye	128. Gifumba	142. Samuduha
	86. Muhanga	129. Nganzo	143. Gitongati
Muhanga	130. Tyazo	144. Kivomo	

		87. Kiyumba	131. Rukeri	145. Busindi
		88. Nyarusange	132. Musongati	146. Ngororano
		89. Cyeza	133. Kigarama	147. Kajeje
		Kiyumba	134. Remera	148. Cyakabiri
		90. Shyogwe	135. Mbare	149. Buriza
		Nyamabuye	136. Gahogo	150. Rutenga
	KAMONYI	91. Rukoma	137. Mwirute	151. Mwirute
		92. Nyamiyaga	138. Kabashumba	152. Murehe
		93. Gacurabwenge	139. Gihinga	153. Nyarunyinya
		Rukoma	140. Remera	154. Kanyinya
		Nyamiyaga	141. Kidahwe	155. Rwezamenyo
		94. Karama	142. Nyamirembe	156. Gaji
		Karama	Nyamirembe	157. Nyakizu
		95. Rugarika	143. Nyarubuye	158. Musave
		Rugarika	144. Kigese	159. Kirega
		Nyamiyaga	145. Mukinga	160. Kayenzi
		96. Kayumbu	146. Muyange	161. Kaje
		97. Kayenzi	147. Nyamirama	162. Bushara
		Nyamiyaga	148. Ngoma	163. Munyinya
		Gacurabwenge	149. Nkingo	164. Kamonyi
98. Mugina	150. Jenda	165. Munini		
WESTERN PROVINCE	KARONGI	99. Ruganda	151. Biguhu	166. Nyagasozzi
		100. Rubengera	152. Gitwa	167. Muremera
		101. Murundi	153. Nzaratsi	168. Ruhondo
		Murundi	154. Kareba	169. Bwenda
		102. Rwankuba	155. Rubazo	170. Nyaruyaga
		103. Gishyita	156. Musasa	171. Kamunungu
		104. Mutuntu	157. Kinyonzwe	172. Matyazo
		105. Gitesi	158. Nyamiringa	173. Kivuruga
		106. Murambi	159. Nyarunyinya	174. Gituntu
		107. Rugabano	160. Gitovu	175. Nganzo
		108. Gishyita	161. Cyanya	176. Gataba
		109. Rubengera	162. Mataba	177. Ruvumbu
		Murundi	163. Kamina	178. Kiraro
		110. Gashari	164. Mwendu	179. Gakurwe
	Murundi	165. Nzaratsi	180. Gatwaro	
	RUTSIRO	111. Nyabirasi	166. Cyivugiza	181. Kamananga
		112. Manihira	167. Muyira	182. Rutangaza
		Nyabirasi	168. Ngoma	183. Kaje
		113. Ruhango	169. Kavumu	184. Nyundo
		114. Mushonyi	170. Biruyi	185. Bushunga
115. Mukura		171. Karambo	186. Gihumo	
Ruhango		172. Gatare	187. Kamuramira	
Mukura		173. Kagusa	188. Bucyeye	
Mukura		174. Kagano	189. Kibavu	
116. Gihango		175. Mataba	190. Muyange	
117. Rusebeya	176. Mberi	191. Marimba		
Ruhango	177. Rugasa	192. Kiraza		
118. Kivumu	178. Bunyoni	193. Nyarubuye		

	Rusebeya	179. Kabona	194. Nyagasambu
	Gihango	180. Congo-Nil	195. Mukebera
RUBAVU	119. Bugeshi	181. Kabumba	196. Ryarukara
	120. Rubavu	182. Rukoko	197. Rutagara
	121. Nyundo	183. Gatovu	198. Cyima
	122. Kanama	184. Musabike	199. Kabingo
	Kanama	185. Mahoko	200. Shusho
	123. Nyamyumba	186. Kinigi	201. Nyabisusa
	Kanama	187. Kamuhoza	202. Kagarama
	124. Busasamana	188. Gasiza	203. Munanira
	125. Gisenyi	189. Nengo	204. Gacuba
	126. Mudende	190. Mirindi	205. Tamira
	127. Rugerero	191. Rwaza	206. Byima
	Nyundo	192. Terimbere	207. Ruhango
	Gisenyi	193. Mbugangari	208. Ubwiyunge
	Gisenyi	194. Bugoyi	209. Ituze
	Gisenyi	Mbugangari	210. Iyobokamana
NYABIHU	128. Muringa	195. Mulinga	211. Kivugiza
	129. Rambura	196. Nyundo	212. Myumba
	130. Rurembo	197. Rwaza	213. Rwanika
	131. Jomba	198. Guriro	214. Kabari
	132. Shyira	199. Kanyamitana	215. Kamahoro
	Rurembo	200. Murambi	216. Kabyaza
	Muringa	201. Mulinga	217. Gakamba
	133. Jenda	202. Rega	218. Terimbere
	134. Rugera	203. Nyarutembe	219. Mwambi
	Rambura	204. Mutaho	220. Nyiragikokora
	Jenda	205. Kabatezi	221. Runyanja
	Jenda	Rega	222. Bihinga
	135. Mukamira	206. Rugeshi	223. Kamenyo
	136. Karago	207. Busoro	224. Rebero
Jenda	208. Gasizi	225. Kinyengagi	
NGORORERO	137. Sovu	209. Kagano	226. Gitabage
	138. Muhanda	210. Mashya	227. Karuhindura
	139. Ndaro	211. Kabageshi	228. Masoro
	Muhanda	212. Nganzo	229. Ntaruko
	Ndaro	213. Bijyojojo	230. Kibuga
	140. Kageyo	214. Muramba	231. Gashinge
	Kageyo	215. Kageshi	232. Cyungo
	141. Kavumu	216. Gitwa	233. Nyarukara
	Muhanda	217. Nganzo	234. Gisebeya
	142. Ngororero	218. Mugano	235. Nyenyeri
	143. Nyange	219. Nsibo	236. Murambi
	Ndaro	220. Kibanda	237. Ruhuha
	144. Matyazo	221. Rutare	238. Ruhurura
	Matyazo	222. Binana	239. Kavumu
Matyazo	223. Rwamiko	240. Rwamiko	
RUSIZI	145. Nyakarenzo	224. Karangiro	241. Gihusi
	146. Nyakabuye	225. Gasebeya	242. Kanoga

		147. Giheke	226. Kamashangi	243. Kamuhozi
		Giheke	227. Gakomeye	244. Kagarama
		148. Nkanka	228. Kamanyenga	245. Hepfo
		149. Rwimbogo	229. Ruganda	246. Ruhinga
		150. Gashonga	230. Kacyuma	247. Torero
		Rwimbogo	231. Karenge	248. Gishoma
		151. Muganza	232. Gakoni	249. Gatanga
		152. Gitambi	233. Gahungeri	250. Kazinda
		Giheke	234. Cyendajuru	251. Murinzi
		153. Gikundamvura	235. Kizura	252. Mubera
		Gitambi	236. Mashasha	253. Ruvuruga
		Gikundamvura	237. Mpinga	254. Matyazo
		Gitambi	Mashasha	255. Kankuba
		NYAMASHEKE	154. Shangji	238. Burimba
	155. Ruharambuga		239. Wimana	257. Gasumo
	156. Bushekeri		240. Buvungira	258. Yove
	157. Macuba		241. Nyakabingo	259. Rwankuba
	158. Rangiro		242. Murambi	260. Bigeyo
	Ruharambuga		243. Ntendezi	261. Risansi
	159. Nyabitekeri		244. Kinunga	262. Shenyeri
	160. Mahembe		245. Nyakavumu	263. Cyiya
	Mahembe		246. Kagarama	264. Nyamiheha
	161. Kanjongo		247. Kibogora	265. Nyagacaca
	162. Kagano		248. Gako	266. Musagara
	Kagano		249. Rwesero	267. Kijibamba
	163. Karengera		250. Higiyo	268. Rujeberi
	Kagano	251. Mubumbano	269. Kabuyekeru	
164. Shangji	252. Nyamugari	270. Rubavu		
NORTHERN PROVINCE	RULINDO	165. Burega	253. Taba	271. Cyinzuzi
		Burega	254. Karengeri	272. Kizenga
		166. Ngoma	255. Mugote	273. Cyabasigi
		167. Cyinzuzi	256. Rudogo	274. Gihuke
		168. Buyoga	257. Busoro	275. Gashana
		169. Mbogo	258. Rurenge	276. Gakoma
		170. Rukozo	259. Buraro	277. Shyondwe
		171. Ntarabana	260. Kajevuba	278. Rukore
		Ntarabana	261. Kianza	279. Nyamurema
		172. Masoro	262. Kabuga	280. Nyakizu
		173. Buyoga	Busoro	281. Rugarama
		174. Kinihira	263. Rebero	282. Kabuga
		Ntarabana	264. Mahaza	283. Kibebo
	175. Base	265. Rwamahwa	284. Kiruli	
	176. Shyorongi	266. Bugaragara	285. Gatwa	
	GAKENKE	177. Muzo	267. Rwa	286. Gacaca
		178. Muhondo	268. Gasiza	287. Gahinga
		Muhondo	269. Gihinga	288. Gihinga
		179. Cyabingo	270. Muhororo	289. Musebeya
		180. Kivuruga	Gasiza	290. Nyarungu
181. Minazi	271. Gasiho	291. Gihinga		

182. Rusasa	272. Nyundo	292. Nyundo	
Muzo	273. Mubuga	293. Mwirire	
Kivuruga	274. Cyintare	294. Buhuga	
183. Mugunga	275. Nkomane	295. Kabuga	
184. Mataba	276. Gikombe	296. Muyaga	
185. Busengo	277. Mwumba	297. Mugunga	
186. Nemba	278. Gisozi	298. Kanzoka	
Muzo	279. Mubuga	299. Kavuzza	
187. Coko	280. Nyange	300. Karoli	
MUSANZE	188. Rwaza	281. Nyarubuye	301. Buhama
	189. Gashaki	282. Kigabiro	302. Butate
	190. Remera	283. Kamisave	303. Mikamo
	191. Nyange	284. Cyivugiza	304. Rusenge
	Nyange	Cyivugiza	305. Nyabitare
	192. Kinigi	285. Bisoke	306. Bunyenyeri
	193. Gacaca	286. Gakoro	307. Murundo
	194. Kimonyi	287. Buramira	308. Kagwene
	195. Gataraga	288. Mudakama	309. Rubaka
	Gacaca	289. Gakoro	310. Nkomero
	196. Musanze	290. Rwambogo	311. Kirerema
	197. Muhoza	291. Ruhengeri	312. Burera
	Muhoza	292. Cyabararika	313. Yorodani
	Muhoza	Ruhengeri	314. Susa
	Muhoza	293. Mpenge	315. Mpenge
BURERA	198. Butaro	294. Nyamicucu	316. Gahira
	199. Rugarama	295. Gafumba	317. Kabaya
	Butaro	296. Gatsibo	318. Murambi
	Butaro	Nyamicucu	319. Kibingo
	200. Gatebe	297. Rwaswa	320. Nganzo
	201. Bungwe	298. Bushenya	321. Bushenya
	Gatebe	299. Rwambogo	322. Mubuga
	202. Rugengabari	300. Mucaca	323. Karubamba
	Butaro	301. Rusumo	324. Kanyesogo
	203. Kinoni	302. Ntaruka	325. Cyamabuye
	204. Gahunga	303. Nyangwe	326. Remera
	Bungwe	304. Tumba	327. Mubuga
	Bungwe	Tumba	328. Nyarukore
	205. Cyanika	305. Nyagahinga	329. Ruko
	206. Nemba	306. Rushara	330. Kagesera
GICUMBI	207. Mukarange	307. Rusambya	331. Kabungo
	208. Kaniga	308. Mulindi	332. Gisunzu
	209. Bukure	309. Kigabiro	333. Gabiro
	210. Rukomo	310. Gisiza	334. Nyarubuye
	Kaniga	311. Gatoma	335. Nyakagera
	211. Ruvune	312. Gashirira	336. Remera
	212. Muko	313. Ngange	337. Kimpongo
	213. Nyamiyaga	314. Kabuga	338. Kaduha
	214. Rwamiko	315. Kigabiro	339. Mutambiko
	215. Giti	316. Murehe	340. Kigabiro

		Rukomo	317. Cyuru	341. Sabiro	
		Bukure	318. Karenge	342. Muguruka	
		Muko	319. Kigoma	343. Karumuli	
		216. Byumba	320. Nyamabuye	344. Nyiragasuruba	
		Giti	321. Tanda	345. Nganwa	
EASTERN PROVINCE	RWAMAGANA	217. Karenge	322. Kangamba	346. Kangamba	
		218. Muhazi	323. Nyarusange	347. Kidogo	
		219. Nyakaliro	324. Bihembe	348. Butare	
		Nyakaliro	325. Gishore	349. Rusagara	
		Muhazi	326. Kabare	350. Umunini	
		220. Nzige	327. Akanzu	351. Akanzu	
		221. Muyumbu	328. Ntebe	352. Gasave	
		222. Gishali	329. Cyinyana	353. Nyakagarama	
		Muyumbu	330. Nyarukombe	354. Rubona	
		Gishali	331. Gati	355. Umunanira	
		223. Kigabiro	332. Bwiza	356. Rutaka	
		224. Musha	333. Musha	357. Kadasumbwa	
		Gishali	334. Ruhunda	358. Mpungwe	
		Muhazi	Nyarusange	359. Plage	
		Muyumbu	335. Akinyambo	360. Rugarama	
			NYAGATARE	225. Tabbagwe	336. Gishuro
	226. Karangazi	337. Rwenyemera		362. Rwenyemera	
	227. Katabagemu	338. Rugazi		363. Rwigasangango	
	228. Karama	339. Nyakiga		364. Kavumu	
	229. Mimuri	340. Rugari		365. Isangano	
	Karama	341. Bushara		366. Ihuriro	
	230. Musheru	342. Rugarama II		367. Umunini	
	Karangazi	343. Nyamirama		368. Nyamirama I	
	231. Rwimiyaga	344. Kabeza		369. Rukiri I	
	232. Tabagwe	345. Nyabitekero		370. Kabirizi	
	233. Nyagatare	346. Gakirage		371. Gakirage	
	Nyagatare	347. Barija		372. Barija A	
	234. Rwimiyaga	348. Rutungu		373. Gakagati I	
	Nyagatare	349. Cyabayaga		374. Cyabayaga	
	Nyagatare	350. Nyagatare	375. Mirama I		
		GATSIBO	235. Nyagihanga	351. Nyamirama	376. Nyamiyaga
	236. Muhura		352. Bibare	377. Mugogo	
	237. Kiramuruzi		353. Akabuga	378. Akagarama	
	238. Gatsibo		354. Manishya	379. Nyaruhanga	
	239. Rugarama		355. Kanyangese	380. Cyampirita	
	Muhura		356. Gakorokombe	381. Uwakibungo	
	240. Kiziguro		357. Agakomeye	382. Agatovu	
	241. Murambi		358. Murambi	383. Agacyamo	
	Kiziguro		359. Ndatemwa	384. Gorora	
	242. Gasange		360. Teme	385. Buburankwi	
	243. Rwimbogo	361. Munini	386. Humure		
	Kiziguro	362. Mbogo	387. Akabuye		
	Kiramuruzi	363. Akabuga	388. Ubuhoro		
	244. Rugarama	364. Gihuta	389. Agatare		

	245. Kabarore	365. Kabarore	390. Bihinga
KAYONZA	246. Kabare	366. Kirehe	391. Gikombe
	Kabare	Kirehe	392. Nyabiyenzi
	247. Murundi	367. Karambi	393. Rumuri
	248. Kabarondo	368. Cyinzovu	394. Gihuke
	249. Mukarange	369. Kayonza	395. Munazi
	250. Gahini	370. Juru	396. Kamudongo
	251. Rukara	371. Rwimishinya	397. Nyarutunga li
	252. Nyamirama	372. Gikaya	398. Gasharu
	Kabarondo	373. Rusera	399. Umucyo
	253. Ruramira	374. Nkamba	400. Umubuga
	Kabare	375. Rubumba	401. Gakenyeri
	254. Murama	376. Rusave	402. Bwinyana
	255. Ruramira	377. Umubuga	403. Kamukire
	Rukara	378. Rukara	404. Butimba
	Kabare	379. Gitara	405. Rugunga
KIREHE	256. Nyarubuye	380. Nyarutunga	406. Rubare
	257. Kirehe	381. Gahama	407. Muhweza
	Kirehe	382. Nyabigega	408. Duterimbere
	258. Gahara	383. Nyagasenyi	409. Mugatare
	Gahara	384. Butezi	410. Kivogera
	259. Mushikiri	385. Cyamigurwa	411. Kareng
	Nyarubuye	386. Nyabitare	412. Rwamagana
	260. Kigarama	387. Kigarama	413. Rurenge
	261. Mpanga	388. Rubaya	414. Rubaya
	262. Musaza	389. Kabuga	415. Rwamurema
	Gahara	390. Muhamba	416. Murama
	263. Kigina	391. Rugarama	417. Kagega
	264. Gatore	392. Curazo	418. Gatenga
	Musaza	393. Gasarabwayi	419. Gasarabwayi
	Musaza	394. Musaza	420. Muyoka
NGOMA	265. Karemba	395. Akaziba	421. Rukizi
	266. Rukira	396. Nyinya	422. Karuruma
	267. Kibungo	397. Gahima	423. Gasoro
	268. Remera	398. Nyamagana	424. Bukiranzuki
	Remera	Nyamagana	425. Ryinteko
	269. Rurenge	399. Rujambara	426. Akarambaraye
	270. Mugesera	400. Mugatare	427. Kampara
	Rurenge	401. Akagarama	428. Rugazi
	271. Mutenderi	402. Karwema	429. Gitesanyi
	272. Murama	403. Gitaraga	430. Kizenga
	273. Gashanda	404. Cyerwa	431. Gako
	274. Rukumberi	405. Ntovi	432. Iyantende
	275. Sake	406. Kibonde	433. Umucyo
	276. Kibungo	407. Kareng	434. Musamvu
	277. Kazo	408. Karama	435. Mpandu
BUGESERA	278. Ngeruka	409. Nyakayenzi	436. Kibaya
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